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# **The University of Glasgow's Faculty of Divinity in the First World War\***

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How did the First World War affect Divinity at the University of Glasgow? As part of a wider, comparative project exploring the impact of the First World War across the University, not only on the Faculty of Divinity, but also in Medicine, Law, and Science, this article considers the challenges faced by the Divinity Faculty during the period of the war, and the ways in which it responded to them. It draws on archival sources, primarily the minute books of the Faculty of Divinity, and on the list of Divinity students who had broken off their studies to engage in War Service, compiled by the Church of Scotland from spring 1915. It also draws on biographical work undertaken as part of the Glasgow University Story project,

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investigations into the residents of the houses in Glasgow's Professors' Square, and extant printed sermons. A further key source is the set of memorial photographs of the Divinity Students who died in the First World War, still displayed today in today's Theology and Religious Studies building. These photographs raise particularly interesting questions about the way in which the Divinity Faculty defined its community and its membership.

The University of Glasgow was established in 1451, and Divinity has been taught in Glasgow ever since. When the First World War broke out on 4 August 1914, Glasgow's Divinity Faculty was constituted by the holders of the four professorships: of Divinity (established in 1640), Henry Reid;<sup>1</sup> of Ecclesiastical History (founded in 1716 by George I), James Cooper;<sup>2</sup> Hebrew and Semitic Languages

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Martyn Beckwith Reid (1856-1927) was Professor of Divinity at the University of Glasgow from 1903 to 1927. See:

<http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH2229&type=P&o=&start=0&max=20&l=%3Cbr>. From 1451 until the late nineteenth century, the university's Principal was also the primary Professor of Theology; for the changes to the University of Glasgow's constitution at this time, see Alec Cheyne, 'John Caird: (1820-1898): Preacher, Professor, Principal', in: Wm Ian P. Hazlett (ed.), *Traditions of Theology in Glasgow 1450-1990: A miscellany* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1993), 42-58, especially 55-58.

<sup>2</sup> James Cooper (1846-1922), was Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Glasgow from 1899 to 1922. He was Dean of the Faculty of Divinity from 1912 until January 1915, and served as Moderator of the Church of Scotland in 1917-18. He was also the first chaplain to the OTC. See H. J. Wotherspoon, *James Cooper: a memoir* (London: Longmans, 1926), and Douglas Murray, 'James Cooper (1846-1922) at Glasgow: Presbytery and Episcopacy', in: Hazlett (ed.), *Traditions of Theology in Glasgow*, pp. 66.74. More briefly:

<http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH2081&type=P&o=&start=0&max=20&l>, and compare also Annika Firn's notes on Cooper at:

<http://www.historypin.org/tours/take/id/4868/title/Professors%27%20Square%20%26%20The%20Great%20War/#12>.

(founded in 1709 by Queen Anne), William B. Stevenson;<sup>3</sup> and Divinity and Biblical Criticism (founded in 1861 under the patronage of the crown, at that time Queen Victoria), George Milligan, who taught New Testament.<sup>4</sup> The Divinity Hall was made up of between sixty and seventy students: it admitted between fifteen and twenty-five students annually, most of whom read for a three-year BD with

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<sup>3</sup> William Barron Stevenson (1869-1954) was Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages at the University from 1907 until he retired in 1937; in 1937 he was elected Dean of Faculties from 1953 'in token of the [University's] esteem and affection. Stevenson was Dean of the Faculty of Divinity from January 1915 until 6 September 1917, when he resigned 'in order to take up Government Work in London.' See <http://universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH1426&type=P>; Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 6 September 1917, GU Archives [hereafter GUArch] DIV 1/5, pp. 87-88; the Glasgow College Journal, Whitsun 1955, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> George Milligan (1860-1934) was Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism at the University of Glasgow from 1910 to 1932, and Clerk of Senate from 1911 to 1930. He became Dean of the Divinity Faculty after Stevenson's departure in 1917, serving until January 1921. See <http://universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH1200&type=P>; Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 12 January 1921, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 150.

the intention of being ordained.<sup>5</sup> There were also other Theological Colleges in Glasgow, including of the United Free Church which was sited in Lynedoch Street in Woodlands, which had about 100 students, most of whom were taking a four-year course, also training for ordained ministry.<sup>6</sup> The University's Divinity Faculty and the United Free College were at the beginning of the First World War separate institutions, offering distinct courses, although negotiations for Union

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<sup>5</sup> The classlists for first-year Divinity include twenty names for 1911-12, and fourteen for 1912-13 (GUArch R9/1/18 classbook 1911-1912, p. 68, GUArch R9/1/19 classbook 1912-1913, p. 70). Two accounts of the Divinity Hall in the first decade of the twentieth century add some colour to these figures: James Hutchison Cockburn, 'The Divinity Hall in my Time,' *University of Glasgow Faculty of Divinity and Trinity College Bulletin* [hereafter: *Trinity College Bulletin*], No 5 (October 1957), pp. 1-2; here p. 1, who reports 'It is half a century since my "year" left the Hall for various assistantships.' There were 23 students, of whom 18 took the BD. R[obert]. J[ohn]. Thomson, 'The Divinity Hall in my Time,' in *Trinity College Bulletin* No. 5 (October 1957), pp. 2-3; here p. 2, who records that his BD class of 1907 was 'a very small one' at fourteen members. The *Trinity College Bulletin* is held in Glasgow University Archive (GUArch GB 248 DC 084/8/5). His obituary indicates that Cockburn graduated from the University of Glasgow MA (presumably in around 1904) and BD (according to his article, in 1907), although his name does not appear in the database of graduates. Thereafter he became a parish minister in Glasgow. During the First World War, he served as a chaplain. From 1918 he was minister at Dunblane Cathedral, and served as Moderator of the Church of Scotland 1941-42. In March 1945, he moved to Geneva as Director of the Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid under the auspices of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches. See the obituary for James Hutchison Cockburn in the Newsletter of the *Friends of Dunblane Cathedral* 11 (1973), pp. 100-102. Thomson entered the Divinity Hall in October 1907 having graduated MA that June; he graduated BD in 1910:

<http://universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH22352&type=P>.

<sup>6</sup> This figure is based on that given in the minutes of the Senate of the United Free Church College for the 1914-15 session, including students who had joined up (GUArch GB 248 DC 084/1/2/2; meeting 1 December 1914).

between the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church had begun in 1908.<sup>7</sup>

The University community centred on Professors' Square, where Stevenson lived at No. 7, Cooper at No. 8, and Reid at No. 12.<sup>8</sup> The Square was a 'pleasant and congenial' community, Cooper's biographer recorded: neighbours called on one another and the evenings were filled with formal entertainments,<sup>9</sup> including, in Cooper's case, dinners for the Divinity students whom he invited annually, usually six or seven men at a time.<sup>10</sup> Cooper was known for his kind heart and the 'warmth of his devotion to the Mother Church'.<sup>11</sup> He also had an 'uncanny gift for names and faces' which helped him to remember students who had left the university years before.<sup>12</sup> His students called him Jimmy, albeit not to his face.<sup>13</sup> Cooper was also chaplain to the OTC which meant that he had contact

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<sup>7</sup> For a brief discussion of the complex process of amalgamating New College, Edinburgh's United Free Church College, and Divinity Faculty, see S. J. Brown, 'Dual identity: Church College and University Faculty,' in David F. Wright and Gary D. Badcock (eds), *Disruption to Diversity: Edinburgh Divinity 1846–1996* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), pp. 169–185; here p. 175–177. In Edinburgh, United Free Church candidates were admitted to read for University postgraduate degrees from 1917, when a joint School of Postgraduate study was established (*ibid.*, p. 175), but this does not seem to have been the case in Glasgow. Evidence that a Theological college existed at 53 Hillhead Street is provided by a 1915 War Bond issued to 'The Theological College at 53 Hillhead Street'. However, no further information has been found about this college. Until 1911, 53 Hillhead Street was a private residence: [http://www.glasgowwestaddress.co.uk/Hillhead\\_Street/53\\_Hillhead\\_Street.htm](http://www.glasgowwestaddress.co.uk/Hillhead_Street/53_Hillhead_Street.htm).

<sup>8</sup> At the time of writing, Theology and Religious Studies at Glasgow is based in No 4 The Square.

<sup>9</sup> Wotherspoon, *James Cooper*, p. 344. Cooper believed that a Church of Scotland minister needed to be at home in all environments, and sought to give his students the experience of formal dining.

<sup>10</sup> Cockburn, 'The Divinity Hall in my Time,' p. 2; Thomson, 'The Divinity Hall in my Time,' p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Thomson, 'The Divinity Hall in my Time,' p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Wotherspoon, *James Cooper*, p. 350.

<sup>13</sup> Thomson, 'The Divinity Hall in my Time,' p. 3.

to a wide range of students, and not only those at the Divinity Hall. Reid's pre-war students remembered him as a small man with a 'sharp, nimble, almost mordant wit which was not much appreciated,' who could be pompous and self-opinionated but was generally approachable, encouraging his students to call at No. 12, where he lived alone (they seem to have been particularly welcome if they called to see him about tea time).<sup>14</sup> Stevenson was an inspirational teacher who 'stimulated in [his students] an undoubted interest in the Old Testament;' he published on the Book of Job and produced a Syriac grammar.<sup>15</sup> Milligan was an expert on the newly discovered papyri and their contribution to understanding the language of the New Testament.<sup>16</sup> The Professors were complemented by a number of visiting lecturers and assistants.

### **Teaching in a time of war – the effect on the Divinity Faculty**

When the academic session 1914-15 began in autumn 1914, the routine of the Faculty initially continued largely without change. Alongside their teaching and preaching commitments and their social engagements around Professors' Square, the Divinity professors habitually met about twice a month to discuss the day-to-day running of the Faculty, and these meetings continued. The minutes of these meetings, now in the GU Archive,<sup>17</sup> indicate that they were comprised largely of mundane discussions that were probably replicated across the other academic departments of Glasgow University. Students'

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<sup>14</sup> Cockburn, 'The Divinity Hall in my Time,' p.1; Thomson, 'The Divinity Hall in my Time,' p. 3; Robert T. Hutcheson, *The University of Glasgow, 1920-1974: the memoir of Robert T. Hutcheson* (Glasgow: Glasgow University Library 1997), p. 31.

<sup>15</sup> Thomson, 'The Divinity Hall in my Time,' p. 3. Robert Carroll, 'Hebrew, heresy and hot air: Biblical Studies in Glasgow since 1900,' in Hazlett (ed.), *Traditions of Theology in Glasgow*, pp. 87-98, here p. 89.

<sup>16</sup> Ernest Best, 'The Study of the New Testament in Glasgow from the Disruption to the First World War,' in Hazlett (ed.), *Traditions of Theology in Glasgow*, pp. 27-42, here pp. 40-41.

<sup>17</sup> GUArch, DIV 1/4 and DIV 1/5.

class attendance and exam results were discussed regularly. Topics for each term's teaching were negotiated, and the merits of offering teaching in subjects such as Christian Ethics, Comparative Study of Religions, the English Bible, Homiletics, Liturgics, Church Law, Church Music and Biblical Criticism considered.<sup>18</sup> In autumn 1914, student numbers were slightly reduced – certainly, several students who had been expected either to begin or to continue their studies had enlisted<sup>19</sup> – but although staff and students were doubtless exercised by the War, the minutes suggest that it initially did not impinge on the daily business of the Faculty. However, from February 1915 this began to change, largely in response to the demands placed by the war on the Church of Scotland, and references to the war began to become more frequent in the Professors' discussions.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The need for the first six of these subjects was proposed by the Divinity Faculty in St Andrews and considered by the Glasgow Faculty at a meeting on 7 March 1914 who agreed that 'instruction in such subjects as:- New Testament Greek, Advanced Hebrew, Comparative Religion, Christian Ethics, Church Law, and Practical Theology – being subjects agreed upon by the Divinity Faculty of this University on 17th April 1901; as well as of the other subjects approved by the Faculty at St Andrews' would be desirable. The had already approved a course of lectures in Church Law (meeting of 15 January 1915; GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 22), and a lecture on Church Music by a lecturer appointed by the General Assembly (meeting of 24 February 1914; DIV 1/5, p. 24). The University proposed 'Courses in Biblical Criticism' which were welcomed by the Professors who believed that this 'would conduce to greater educational efficiency' (meeting of 3 February 1915; GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 44).

<sup>19</sup> According to the class lists, twenty-four students were enrolled the first-year Divinity class of 1914-15, roughly the same number as the Junior class of 1913-14, which had had twenty-three students (GUArch, R9/1/20, classbook 1913-1914, pp. 72-75; R9/1/21, classbook 1914-1915, pp. 60-63). However, as discussed below, the Divinity professors knew of seven continuing students and ten prospective students who had enrolled in the armed forces or volunteered for war service rather than matriculating for their courses at the Divinity Faculty, and there may have been more.

<sup>20</sup> A comparison between the Divinity records and those of a number of Glasgow's science departments suggests that Divinity was quite unusual in this explicit engagement with the effects of the War on the Faculty.



The first minuted mention of the war occurred on 3 February 1915, when Professors Cooper, Reid and Milligan discussed a letter from Professor Paterson of Edinburgh, written 'on behalf of the Committee appointed by the Commission of Assembly to consider what privileges might be granted to students whose course has been interrupted by service in connection with the war.'<sup>21</sup> They agreed to send to the Committee 'the Senate's Memorandum regarding students and the list of students absent on Military Service.'<sup>22</sup> At the next meeting, Stevenson reported that he had sent 'the names of seven students who had attended classes during a part of this session and were now engaged on military service': of these, two were third-year students: H. S. Brisby and W. G. Strachan; four were second-year students: A. D. Duff, George Macgregor, John M. Smith and F. W. S. Teggart; and one was a first year student: John Bell. Stevenson also listed eight students who had intended to return in the Winter session of 1914, but who had undertaken war service instead, including David Forsyth, 'Assistant to the Professor of Hebrew, now

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<sup>21</sup> This was the Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh University, William Paterson Paterson, who had studied in Leipzig, Erlangen and Berlin. In 1915 Paterson published an edited collection: *German culture: the contribution of the Germans to knowledge, literature, art, and life* (London: Jack, 1915). He went on to co-edit *Social ills and problems*, the Report for the Church of Scotland Commission on the War, in 1918. See Peter Hoeres, *Der Krieg der Philosophen: die deutsche und britische Philosophie im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004), p. 162; and compare also George Newlands, 'Divinity and dogmatics,' in Wright and Badcock (eds), *Disruption to diversity*, pp. 116-133; here pp. 119-121.

<sup>22</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 3 February 1915, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 45.

in the RAMC'.<sup>23</sup> Two former first-year students, John McNab and George Mills, were undertaking chaplaincy work with the YMCA in France; the others were serving in the army. The Professors felt that it was up to the Church of Scotland to take a lead on the question of whether theological students should be encouraged to enlist:

the Faculty are of the opinion that a) the theological students would welcome guidance regarding their duty in present circumstances and b) that this might appropriately be given to them in a resolution of the Assembly.<sup>24</sup>

In its report to the General Assembly on 26 May 1915, the 'Committee on Privileges for Divinity Students engaged on War Service' identified three categories of students: eight students who had joined up in autumn 1914, either before or very soon after term had begun, who should, the Committee felt be expected to take an extra term to make up for the missed session twenty-two students who had completed the first semester of 1914-15 before joining up, who the Committee recommended should be exempt both from the second semester and from the examination; fifteen students who had

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<sup>23</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 26 February 1915, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 46. The lists from the four Divinity Faculties were published in Church of Scotland, *Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly* (Edinburgh: Lorimer and Chalmers 1915) [hereafter GA 1915], pp. 1062-1065. In total, forty-five students and at least twenty prospective students were serving. Besides the fourteen students from Glasgow (not including Forsyth), and ten prospective students, St Andrews reported that seven students were undertaking war service; Aberdeen listed four current students and indicated knowledge of five (unnamed) prospective students; Edinburgh listed nineteen current students, a 'special case' and five prospective students. Six of the regular students, including two Glasgow men, were serving with the YMCA in France, one Edinburgh student was assistant chaplain in Cromarty; the rest were undertaking military service. By May 1915, just one of these sixty-five students, A. M. Fenwick, a prospective Glasgow student, had been killed in action.

<sup>24</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 26 February 1915, GUArch DIV 1/5, pp. 46-47.

completed their studies for 1914-15 but not taken their end-of-year examinations before joining up, who, it was recommended, should be exempt from their examination.<sup>25</sup> It was further agreed that students who had indicated that they were prospective students of Divinity might be admitted without the entrance examination, and attendance for one term would count for the whole session.<sup>26</sup> These provisions initially applied only to Divinity Students in the 1914-15 session, although the Assembly further directed that the committee 'make provisional arrangements for a summer term in 1916, if there is a prospect of this being called for.'<sup>27</sup> The Committee commented on 'the loss to the Church from the interruption of the preparation of so many of her students,' and called for 'an increase in labour, devotion, and self-sacrifice' amongst 'those who are bearing the burden of the spiritual work at home.'<sup>28</sup> In autumn 1915, however, both the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church agreed that their ministers could volunteer, and instructed congregations to support ministers who chose to do so.<sup>29</sup>

This decision had significant consequences for the ministry of the Church of Scotland: ministers who enlisted – as many did, including a significant number who joined up as fighting troops rather than as chaplains – potentially left their congregations without spiritual

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<sup>25</sup> GA 1915, pp. 1058-1060.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1060.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1061. However, as the 1916 report of the Committee observed 'in the present condition of affairs, no measures were called for.' Church of Scotland, *Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly* (Edinburgh: Lorimer and Chalmers 1916) [hereafter GA 1916], p. 696.

<sup>28</sup> GA 1915, pp. 1061.

<sup>29</sup> S. J. Brown, 'The Scottish and Irish Reformed Churches and the First World War,' in: Hans-Georg Ulrichs, Marco Hofheinz, Georg Plasger and Michael Weinrich (eds), *Der Erste Weltkrieg und die reformierte Welt* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Theologie 2014), pp. 254-271, at p. 261. The response was high, as Brown observes: 'By May 1916, the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland had 184 ministers serving as chaplains with the British armed forces; by May 1917, the number had increased to 256 and by May 1918 to 300' (*ibid.*, 260).

support in a time of considerable need. Newly graduated divinity students could help to fill these gaps, and yet they too felt called to serve their country, and many enlisted.

The effects can be vividly seen in the Divinity Faculty's class lists, particularly through the Divinity class, which was divided into year groups. In 1913-14, twenty-three first-year students, thirteen second-year students and nineteen third year students were enrolled in the Divinity class.<sup>30</sup> In 1914-15 the class had twenty-four first-year, twenty-two second-year and fourteen third-year students.<sup>31</sup> During the year, seven left to undertake War Service, and another seven joined up after completing the session. In 1915-16, numbers enrolled had dropped to eight first-years, fifteen second-years and twelve third-years.<sup>32</sup> In 1916-17, there were again eight first-year students and twelve third-year students, but just four second-year students.<sup>33</sup> For the 1917-18 session, numbers dropped to five first-year, two second-year and one third-year students.<sup>34</sup> In contrast, as the War ended, 1918-1919 saw numbers increase to twenty-nine (now no longer divided into year groups),<sup>35</sup> and in 1919-20 they were up to forty-nine.<sup>36</sup> These two years saw the return of thirteen students who had withdrawn from their studies earlier in the war, and the matriculation of a further seven who had been identified as prospective students. As the Dean observed at a Faculty meeting on 14 January 1919, the second term of that session 'was recognized by the University as a complete session,' and 'Divinity Students might reckon the term as

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<sup>30</sup> GUArch R9/1/20, classbook 1913-1914, p. 75.

<sup>31</sup> GUArch, R9/1/21, classbook 1914-1915, pp. 62-63.

<sup>32</sup> GUArch, R9/1/22, classbook 1915-1916, pp. 44-45.

<sup>33</sup> GUArch, R9/1/23, classbook 1916-1917, pp. 36-37.

<sup>34</sup> GUArch, R9/1/24, 1917-1918, pp. 32-33.

<sup>35</sup> GUArch, R9/1/25, 1918-1919, p. 52.

<sup>36</sup> GUArch, R9/1/26, 1919-1920, pp. 102-103.

complete session for the purpose of the B.D. degree.’<sup>37</sup> Summer sessions were instituted in 1919 and ran until at least 1922.<sup>38</sup>

Students who had completed their BD course before enlisting did not pose any problem to the University and Church authorities, since they had fulfilled all their requirements. The situation was different for those who enlisted during their courses, and considerable thought was given by the Church of Scotland to the question of how they should complete their theological training. By January 1916, with the introduction of conscription imminent, Glasgow’s Professors of Divinity were agreed that special arrangements were necessary:

Attested theological students who complete their second session in March and are liable to be called up under the Derby scheme should be permitted

(1) to take the First Department of the BD examination in March.

(2) to present themselves for examination in not less than two subjects instead of three.<sup>39</sup>

Here too, Glasgow’s Divinity Faculty was in step with the Church of Scotland. The same meeting noted that the 1916 General Assembly would be proposing a modified theological curriculum ‘(a) for those returning from military service [and] (b) for students commencing their course during the war’, calling for a joint meeting of the Professors from the four Divinity Faculties to discuss this proposal.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 14 January 1919, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 107.

<sup>38</sup> See, for instance, Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meetings, 12 March 1919 and 8 March 1922, GUArch DIV 1/5, pp. 111, 202-203.

<sup>39</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 19 January 1916, GUArch DIV 1/5, pp. 60-61.

<sup>40</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 19 January 1916, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 61.

In preparation for that meeting, which took place in March, the Glasgow Professors agreed:

to meet the case of Divinity Students who had served in the army in the present War the Faculty recommend that

(1) a Theological Course of two regular sessions (or four terms) should be accepted instead of the normal course of three sessions.

(2) a qualifying summer term of three months duration should be instituted and count pro tanto in the reckoning of a student's course.<sup>41</sup>

In March 1916, the Assembly Committee asked for the Faculty's views on the position of Arts students who had broken off their studies but wished to proceed to a BD.<sup>42</sup> Here the Professors were adamant that no shortened course should be allowed:

any abbreviation of the curriculum should only diminish the time spent in attendance on the theological classes. The Faculty are of the opinion that it would be particularly detrimental to the efficiency and reputation of the Ministry to shorten the prescribed Arts Courses and that it is better educationally to leave intact at least one of the two curricula required of candidates for the Ministry.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 16 February 1916, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 62. The date for this meeting is given in the minutes as having been arranged for 10 March (p. 62) but as having taken place on 1 March (p. 63). The full proposal is found in GA 1916, p. 697.

<sup>42</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 19 March 1916, GUArch DIV 1/5, pp. 63-64.

<sup>43</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 19 March 1916, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 64.

They also recommended that each University should be allowed to make its own arrangements for the shortened course of theological studies, if possible proceeding on a case-by-case basis.<sup>44</sup> In both these matters, however, the proposal finally taken to – and accepted by – the General Assembly differed from Glasgow’s recommendation. General rules for the amount of time to be completed by Divinity students who had broken off, or been prevented from starting, their studies were agreed, with particular care taken to ensure that students attained New Testament Greek, although they were to be exempt from Hebrew.<sup>45</sup> The General Assembly also recommended that students who had served in the forces for more than one year might be exempted from one year of either their Arts or the Divinity course, or, if they had served for more than two years, from one year of each.<sup>46</sup> Discussions of the modified course of studies continued in 1917, when it was decided to offer a ten-week course of supervised summer reading.<sup>47</sup> In 1918, a report to the General Assembly recorded that this course had been successfully taken by ‘three privileged students’.<sup>48</sup>

The practical outworkings of this policy in Glasgow’s Divinity Faculty can be seen from the matriculation patterns of students who were wounded and discharged from war service. Malcolm Laing completed his second-year studies in the 1914-15 session, joining up

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<sup>44</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 19 March 1916, GUArch DIV 1/5, pp. 64-65. At the faculty meeting on 10 November 1916, it was reported that first two students had begun ‘the modified course in divinity’ that October (GUArch DIV 1/5, pp. 76-77). Further discussions of the special course for those who had undertaken war service continued throughout the war. See, for instance, Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 4 June 1917, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 82.

<sup>45</sup> GA 1916, pp. 697-698, and for the modified course in Divinity, see pp. 699-700.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 698-699, and for the modified course in Arts, see pp. 700-701.

<sup>47</sup> Church of Scotland, *Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly* (Edinburgh: Lorimer and Chalmers 1917) [hereafter GA 1917], pp. 631-635.

<sup>48</sup> Church of Scotland, *Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly* (Edinburgh: Lorimer and Chalmers 1918) [hereafter GA 1918], pp. 481-482.

without taking his exams. Discharged in 1916, he returned to take his third year in the 1916-17 session. By May 1918, he was minister of Applecross. However, it was only in 1919 that these provisions were taken up by significant numbers. As agreed in 1916, the second term of 1918/19 was recognised as a full session for returning students,<sup>49</sup> and this decision is clearly reflected in the matriculation numbers for that session given above.

### **The Faculty at war – recording those serving and remembering the fallen**

As the war progressed, significant numbers of students enlisted. From 1915, the annual report of the 'Committee on Privileges for Divinity Students engaged in War Service' to the General Assembly listed the names and, where known, the regiments of 'students of Divinity, active or prospective, engaged in war service' as they were described in 1915. Successive reports recorded that in 1915 forty-five Scottish Divinity students were undertaking War Service, of whom fourteen were from Glasgow; in 1916, ninety-six Divinity students were serving, of whom forty-two were from Glasgow; in 1917, 107 Divinity students were serving, of whom forty-seven were from Glasgow; and in 1918 the total was 111, of whom forty-seven were from Glasgow.<sup>50</sup> Fenwick, the first to be killed in action in December

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<sup>49</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 14 January 1919, GUArch DIV 1/5, pp. 107-108.

<sup>50</sup> The General Assembly lists give the cumulative totals for each Divinity Faculty:

	St Andrews	Glasgow	Aberdeen	Edinburgh	total
1915	7	14	4	20	45
1916	12	42	12	30	96
1917	15	47	13	32	107
1918	18	47	14	32	111



1914, was not explicitly named in the Committee's 1915 report, but from 1916, the Committee included in its report the names of those it knew to have been killed: in 1916 five students, four from Glasgow and one from Edinburgh; in 1917, eleven students, one from St Andrews, five from Glasgow, two from Aberdeen, and three from Edinburgh; and in 1918 nine students (although they noted that there might be others not notified to them), two from St Andrews, four from Glasgow, and three from Aberdeen. Of the twenty-six Church of Scotland Divinity students known to have died, fourteen, therefore, were from Glasgow.<sup>51</sup>

The 1916 list for the University of Glasgow was pasted into the Faculty minutes book with the minutes for the meeting on 22 May

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The figures are drawn from GA 1915, pp. 1062-1065; GA 1916, pp. 702-706; GA 1917, pp. 636-641 and GA 1918, pp. 483-489. Except in the case of Glasgow, lists of prospective students are marked as incomplete or give no names, and these figures have not been included here. It is, however, clear from the Glasgow classbooks that not all students who interrupted their studies were included in the General Assembly's list. William Wright undertook the first two years of his BD in 1914-15 and 1915-16, reappears in the Divinity class list for 1919-20, and in October 1920 was granted permission to take the BD Hebrew exam in India; arrangements to make this possible were agreed on 16 February 1921 (Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 11 October 1920, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 140; 154-5). The General Assembly's cumulative list should therefore be taken to represent numbers of Divinity students who were known to be seeking ordination in the Church of Scotland.

<sup>51</sup> The full figures of those who had been killed in action or died of their wounds and whose deaths had been notified to the Church of Scotland:

	St Andrews	Glasgow	Aberdeen	Edinburgh	total
1915		1			1
1916		4		1	5
1917	1	5	2	3	11
1918	2	4	3		9
1919	2		3		5
total	5	14	8	4	31

However, at least one Glasgow student known to be killed is not included on these lists.

1916. It included the names of forty-two current students: the fourteen who had appeared on the May 1915 list, and a further twenty-eight who had entered war service since. In addition, the names of seventeen prospective students were given, adding nine names to the 1915 list (two of those listed in 1915 do not appear on the 1916 list; one of whom had been listed 'wounded' in 1915). Whereas by May 1915, just one had been killed in action and one wounded, by May 1916, of the Glasgow students three were listed as 'invalided' and five 'killed in action'.<sup>52</sup>

Less than a month later, perhaps prompted by discussion of this list, Reid spoke of the situation in his closing address of the 1915-16 session to the much-reduced Senior Divinity class:

We have watched the steady ebbing of our numbers, and to-day we are face to face with the fact that practically all our students have been armed for the national service. Nearly fifty of them are either in home cantonments getting ready, or in the field of battle.<sup>53</sup>

Regardless of the position of the Church of Scotland, Reid, if his June 1916 address can be taken as expressing his stance on this question,

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<sup>52</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 22 May 1916, GUArch DIV 1/5, pp. 70-71. One name included on the list pasted into the minutes book has been so thoroughly deleted as to be illegible; from the list in GA 1915, it can be seen that this was Arthur Robertson MA (YMCA). This was presumably Christian Arthur Robertson, who according to the university's records continued to be matriculated for his BD until 1917 when he graduated. If he had not joined up, this would explain why his name had been scored through. However, 'Arthur Robinson MA YMCA' also appears in the General Assembly list for 1917; in 1918 the entry has been altered to 'Arthur Robertson MA Hamilton (assistant)'. In this article, Robertson has been included in the figures for Glasgow.

<sup>53</sup> H.M.B. Reid, *Theology after the war: closing lecture in the senior class of divinity, Glasgow University, session 1915-16* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1916), 4.

positively encouraged students to enlist, seeing this as a matter of honour for the 'Divinity men'. In his address he affirmed:

Our men have proved their manhood. They have shown that the Divinity Hall is no refuge for slackers or detrimentals, but proportionately the most martial section of the university.<sup>54</sup>

Reid acknowledged that 'There has been real sacrifice and pain,' but, he enthused:

never has one of them finally made his choice for God and country without feeling a wonderful sense of joy. I have seen those happy, exalted looks of men who came to say – 'I have attested' – or 'I am ordered on service.'<sup>55</sup>

Reid spoke too of the inspiration offered by individual decisions to enlist:

Some of us saw the light on Robert Rennie's face as he came up the worn stair in his new uniform, promoted from the ranks, to tell us that he was a subaltern in his old regiment, and 'going out again' to France. A few weeks after, he fell. His death will preach even better sermons than he would have written had he lived. It has preached already to us in this Hall in many an hour, and with it have been mingled the voices of Monteith, Fenwick, Gordon Macdonald (most gallant soldier of Christ!), Forsyth, Macfarlan [sic: actually Macfarlane], Macgregor, Herbert Dunn, and others of our band.<sup>56</sup>

Reid's message to the remaining students was unequivocal: by joining up, and potentially sacrificing their lives, the men of the

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<sup>54</sup> Reid, *Theology after the war*, 4.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 4-5.

Divinity Faculty were not only doing their duty, but also (and for Reid probably more importantly) serving God.

The men named by Reid in this address can all be identified,<sup>57</sup> and their biographies shed interesting light on the self-understanding of the Divinity Hall – ‘our band’. Two were included in the General Assembly list as ‘Prospective Students of Divinity’: Robert Rennie,<sup>58</sup> and Allan Mills Fenwick.<sup>59</sup> One – but only one – had been a current student: George Macgregor, who had joined up during the second

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<sup>57</sup> This has been possible with the help of the databases of Glasgow University’s Roll of Honour and of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, combined with the list of Glasgow Divinity Students serving, and a collection of photographs still displayed in No 4 The Square, ‘*Icones theologorum qui in bello magno pro patria mortui sunt* (1914-1919).’

<sup>58</sup> Robert Rennie was born on 21 March 1892, the son of a ploughman. He graduated MA in 1914 and was intending to begin his BD that autumn. In November 1914, he went to France with the 5th Cameronians (Scottish Rifles), and in November 1915 was commissioned as Second Lieutenant in the 9th Cameronians, the promotion to which Reid referred. He was killed in action on 9 February 1916. See <http://universitystory.gla.ac.uk/ww1-biography/?id=2884> and GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 71. Glasgow’s Roll of Honour lists Rennie as ‘Reverend’, but given his biography, it seems unlikely that he was ever ordained. Rennie’s photograph does not appear in the *Icones theologorum*.

<sup>59</sup> Fenwick was born 16 June 1893, had also graduated MA in June 1914, having studied Latin, Logic, Mathematics, English and Political Economy and had intended to proceed to the BD that autumn. On the outbreak of war, he enlisted in the 5th Battalion of the Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) and was killed in action on 9 December 1914. See <http://universitystory.gla.ac.uk/ww1-biography/?id=2041> and GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 71. Fenwick’s photograph also does not appear in the *Icones theologorum*.

year of his BD.<sup>60</sup> David Forsyth, in contrast, was a colleague: a brilliant Divinity student at the University of Glasgow from 1909 to 1912, he took prizes in Hebrew, Church History, Arabic, Aramaic, and Divinity and Biblical Criticism, as well as the McFarlan and Cook Prize for the most distinguished student. In 1914, Forsyth was appointed Assistant in Hebrew at the University of Glasgow. However, when war broke out, he enlisted as a Private in the Royal Army Medical Corps, being promoted to 2nd Lieutenant in the 7th (Blythswood) Battalion of the Highland Light Infantry on 28 May 1915. He died on 17 June 1915, aged 28.<sup>61</sup> Forsyth's decision to join up thus had implications not only for himself, his family and friends, but also for the teaching of Hebrew at Glasgow.

The other men to whose deaths Reid alluded were former students. Charles Gordon Macdonald had completed his BD in 1914, when he was appointed assistant minister in Hamilton parish. William Barr Macfarlane was a third-year student in 1913-14, although had already been appointed assistant minister South Dalziel Parish Church in Motherwell in 1913. Both had been members of the OTC whilst at Glasgow. William Neve Monteith and Herbert Dunn were older, having graduated BD in 1904 and 1907 respectively. They were ministers in their thirties, who chose to join up as combatants; Monteith married just a few months before he was killed at Loos, and

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<sup>60</sup> Macgregor was born on 2 July 1888 in Banff, and took his MA at Glasgow in 1911, returning to begin his BD in 1913. At the end of the first term of his second year of theological studies, he joined up and served as 2nd Lieutenant with the 8th Battalion of the Seaforth Highlanders. He was killed in action on the first day of the Battle of Loos, 25 September 1915, aged 27. See <http://universitystory.gla.ac.uk/ww1-biography/?id=3911> (not having graduated BD, only his MA is noted), and GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 70. A photograph of George Macgregor is included in the *Icones theologorum*.

<sup>61</sup> David Forsyth, born on 27 October 1886, attended Fettes College in Edinburgh before studying Divinity at Glasgow. See <http://universitystory.gla.ac.uk/ww1-biography/?id=825>. A photograph of David Forsyth is included in the *Icones theologorum*, but, not being a student, his name is not included on the General Assembly's list of students who were undertaking war service.

left a posthumous son. Reid's 'band' of Divinity students did not encompass only current or prospective students, but also graduates.<sup>62</sup> He cited them as an example for those students who remained at the university.

The final student named in the 1916 General Assembly list as killed in action was John MacDonald Smith, who, like Macgregor, had enlisted at the end of the first term of his second year. Smith was killed on 12 May 1916 at Loos, just a few days short of his twenty-sixth birthday. This can also have been only days before the General Assembly list was printed for presentation at General Assembly on 25 May.<sup>63</sup> The fact that *killed in action* was already printed against his name is a testimony to the speed with which the news reached not only his family, but also his Church and his lecturers.

The inexorable progression of the war is poignantly illustrated by the fact that by May 1918, fourteen of the sixty-six Glasgow Divinity students – current and prospective – who had undertaken war service had been killed, one was missing (later declared killed in action), one was a prisoner of war, and eight had been discharged, two of whom having been seriously wounded.<sup>64</sup> In September 1918, another Glasgow student, Hugh McLellan Scott, would be killed, bringing the

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<sup>62</sup> For biographical information about Charles Gordon Macdonald, see <http://universitystory.gla.ac.uk/ww1-biography/?id=3747> (although the date of his BD is there incorrectly given as 1913); William Barr Macfarlane, see <http://universitystory.gla.ac.uk/ww1-biography/?id=3933> and GUArch, R9/1/19, classbook 1912-1913, p. 71 (there appears to be no record of his having graduated BD); William Neve Monteith, see <http://universitystory.gla.ac.uk/ww1-biography/?id=229P>; Herbert Dunn, see <http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH25676&type=P> and <http://www.glasgowncropolis.org/profiles/rev-herbert-dunn/>. Photographs of Macdonald, Macfarlane, Monteith, and Dunn are included in the *Icones theologorum*.

<sup>63</sup> See <http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/ww1-biography/?id=2559> and GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 70; the former gives his regiment as 10th Cameronians, the latter as 12th. Smith's photograph is included in the *Icones theologorum*.

<sup>64</sup> See Appendix 1 for an annotated transcript of the General Assembly list.

total to nearly one quarter.<sup>65</sup> At their meeting on 6 October 1919, the Divinity Professors ‘agreed to insert in the minutes, a list of Theological Students who had fallen in the War.’<sup>66</sup> This list does not appear anywhere in the minutes book, but perhaps was the origin of the *Icones theologorum qui in bello magno pro patria mortui sunt* (1914-1919), a collection of photographs of the Glasgow Divinity students who had died, which included twenty-two photographs, half of them of men who had been current students when the war broke out; the remainder of former students. Prospective students were not included, even though Glasgow had consistently provided the most comprehensive list of prospective Divinity students for the General Assembly’s list.<sup>67</sup>

The fact that the names of those BD graduates who served in the forces did not appear on the General Assembly list while those of the prospective students did, illustrates the very different purposes they served. The General Assembly’s cumulative list was intended to provide precise information about the stage at which Divinity students who had joined up had left their studies, and thus to make it possible to decide what programme they should complete on their return, in order that they might be ordained to the Church of Scotland. The *Icones Theologorum*, in contrast, functioned as a memorial for those who had been a part of the community and were still remembered in

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<sup>65</sup> The GU Roll of Honour does not record the date of his death, but it is give on his record in the Commonwealth War Graves: <http://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead/casualty/828875/SCOTT.%20HUGH%20MCLELLAN>.

<sup>66</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 6 October 1919, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 120.

<sup>67</sup> They are listed in Appendix 2. Eleven were certainly former students; one, William Black, does not appear on the General Assembly lists and may have been an independent student. Listed as a third-year BD student in 1914-15, it has not proved possible to identify him more precisely. There is a Lance Corporal William Black in Glasgow University’s First World War Roll of Honour <<http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/ww1-biography/?id=1457>> but he is not listed as been having killed, and the information given does not accord with any entry in the Commonwealth War Graves database.

death. The most recent graduate to be depicted was Neil Leitch, who had been ordained on 3 September 1914 to serve as assistant minister at St Columba's in Glasgow; he was killed on 20 May 1916, aged 28.<sup>68</sup> The oldest was Frank W. Saunders, Minister of the Parish of Anworth, who had graduated from Glasgow MA (1902) and BD (1905). Saunders served as 2nd Lieutenant with the 8th Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders; he was killed on 1 August 1918 aged 37.<sup>69</sup> An unusual career was that of Robert Hellier Napier, born on 12 August 1884, who graduated MA in 1905 before embarking on a brilliant BD career, which saw him awarded the Caird Prize in Divinity two years consecutively, a prize in Church History, second prize in Divinity and Biblical Criticism, a prize in Hebrew and Semitic Languages, and the Black Fellowship as the top student of his year. After graduating BD in 1908, in 1909 he went as a missionary and Bible translator to Nyassaland (now Malawi). When war broke out he remained in Africa, serving as Intelligence Officer, before being gazetted to the King's Africa Rifles. He was killed in Portuguese Africa on 11 February 1918.<sup>70</sup> The inclusion of these men in the *Icones theologorum* indicates a sense that they had continued to belong to the Divinity Faculty from which they had graduated, some of them nearly a decade before. However, Glasgow's Roll of Honour also includes BD graduates who do not appear amongst the *Icones theologorum*, such as Captain Gavin Lang Pagan, minister of St George's Church Edinburgh, who had graduated BD in 1896 and was 44 when he was killed in action on 28 April 1917. These accounts

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<sup>68</sup> See <http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/ww1-biography/?id=2761>; Leitch was a third-year student of Divinity in 1912-13 (GUArch, R9/1/19, classbook 1912-1913, p. 71), although there appears to be no record of his having graduated BD.

<sup>69</sup> See <http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH21822&type=P>; <http://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead/casualty/275091/SAUNDERS,%20FRANK%20WILLIAM>. Saunders' photograph is included in the *Icones theologorum*.

<sup>70</sup> See: <http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/ww1-biography/?id=4010>. Napier's photograph is included in the *Icones theologorum*.



offer a reminder that it was not only university students who enlisted, but also men in their late twenties, thirties and forties. They also, once again, highlight the proportion of Church of Scotland ministers who chose to serve, not as chaplains, but as combatants.

The sense of community expressed through the *Icones theologorum* and Reid's address is profound. Only one current BD student on the General Assembly list was killed in action but not included in the *Icones theologorum*: Hugh McLellan Scott, a second-year student who had joined up after completing the 1914-15 session. Scott was killed in September 1918, but his death was not registered in the 1919 General Assembly list, and it may not have been known to those compiling the list of current and past students for the *Icones theologorum*.

Despite their different purposes, taken together, the General Assembly lists and the *Icones theologorum* suggest that the Divinity Hall experienced a real sense of community across graduates, current

students and incoming students, and that this was preserved through the war and in its memorialisation.<sup>71</sup>

### **Preaching and teaching during the war – the role of Glasgow's Divinity Professors**

Not only students served: a number of Glasgow's Divinity lecturers and examiners also engaged themselves in the war effort. The case of David Forsyth, Assistant Lecturer in Hebrew, has already been cited. In September 1916, Daniel Lamont, the examiner in Theology, reported that he was 'proceeding immediately to France and would be unable to act as examiner at the forthcoming BD examination'.<sup>72</sup> In 1917, a scheme to share teaching with the United Free Church

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<sup>71</sup> The sense that prospective and current BD students 'belonged' not only to the Divinity Hall but to the ministry, is in a few cases buttressed by the addition of 'Reverend' to their names in the Glasgow Roll of Honour even when they were not serving as chaplains: see 2nd Lieutenant William Barr (Reverend) Macfarlane, 2nd Lieutenant Edward John Howard (Reverend) MacIldowie, and 2nd Lieutenant Robert (Reverend) Rennie. Other may have been ordained but not serving as chaplains: this was certainly the case for Intelligence Officer and Lieutenant (Reverend) Robert Hellier Napier (see above); Lance Corporal (Reverend) Gilbert Wilkie Elliott [MA 1905], who had been a minister at West United Free Church in Forfar (now St. Margaret's Church, Forfar: see memorial plaque at <<http://warmemscot.s4.bizhat.com/warmemscot-ftopic7632.html>>; 2nd Lieutenant (Reverend) Norman Reid Mitchell [MA (1900); BD (1902)], who was minister at Whitsome from 1906-1911, and then at Steven memorial Church, Bellahouston until he joined up <<http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH21185&type=P>>; Captain (Reverend) Gavin Lang Pagan [MA (1895); BD (1896)], minister of St George's Church Edinburgh (now St George's West) from from 1909), and perhaps also for Lieutenant J (Reverend) Carmichael [no further information]. Elliott would have done his theological training at the United Free Church College; Mitchell and Pagan, over a decade after completing their BDs, were perhaps no longer seen as 'Divinity men'. In total Glasgow's Roll of Honour lists twenty-seven men as 'Reverend'; the remaining nineteen all served as chaplains.

<sup>72</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 28 September 1916, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 72.

College<sup>73</sup> enabled Stevenson to apply for leave of absence from the University ‘in order to take up Government Work in London’.<sup>74</sup> He spent the remainder of the war working for the Admiralty Intelligence Department, returning only in autumn 1919.<sup>75</sup> The Professor of Modern History, Dudley Medley, went to work with the YMCA in France: in September 1918, the remaining Divinity Professors resolved that he should be requested ‘to keep in view the needs of theological students on active service who had not yet completed their theological curriculum.’<sup>76</sup>

Cooper, who turned 68 in 1914, not only continued to exercise his role as Professor of Ecclesiastical History and, initially, Dean of the Faculty, but also intensified his involvement with the Officers’ Training Corps (OTC), considering this, according to his biographer, ‘the most congenial, or at least the best enjoyed’ of his University responsibilities.<sup>77</sup> Cooper had been appointed the first ever chaplain to the OTC at Glasgow University in 1911, and from at least 1913 he participated in OTC camps, for instance near Ilkley, Stobs, Bolton

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<sup>73</sup> See p. XX below.

<sup>74</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 6 September 1917, GUArch DIV 1/5, pp. 87-88.

<sup>75</sup> Michael Moss, J. Forbes Munro and Richard H. Trainor, *University, City and State: The University of Glasgow since 1870* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for the University of Glasgow, 2000), p. 135. Stevenson communicated to the Divinity Faculty Meeting on 12 March 1919, that ‘it was impossible that he would be back for the work of the summer term’ and would not therefore be able to contribute to the special summer session arranged to respond to ‘the needs of Ex-War Service Students of Divinity’. Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 12 March 1919, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 111.

<sup>76</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 24 September 1918, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 105. For a biographical note on Medley, see: <http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH2079&type=P&o=&start=0&max=20&l>. Medley appears once in the list of preachers during the war, with a sermon on the ‘Salvation of the Individual’ (‘Register of the Preachers before the University,’ GUArch CH 2/1, entry for 10 January 1915).

<sup>77</sup> Wotherspoon, *James Cooper*, p. 270.

Abbey and Mirfield. At Montrose there was also an Aviation Camp which he often visited.<sup>78</sup> When war broke out, Cooper 'wrote at once to know if his OTC lads needed him';<sup>79</sup> within the first two days of the war, four hundred of his University Company had volunteered their service.<sup>80</sup> In November 1914, Cooper published a rousing poem in the *Glasgow University Magazine*, in which he encouraged students to join up:

*Britain's Call to Arms*

Arise! ye sons of British blood,  
The hour is come to do or die!  
Against the free the tyrant's brood  
Their blood-stained banner wave on high.

...

Then rise, ye sons of British blood!  
Show of what metal ye are made;  
Against the despot's conscript brood  
To freedom's arm lend freeman's aid.

Till brutal force is fain to own

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., pp. 270-275.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., p. 274.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid. Recruitment was high across Scotland: in the early stages of the war, Scotland's rate of recruitment was the highest across the United Kingdom: in Glasgow, 22,000 men had enlisted by the first week of September 1914. Scotland provided 22 of the 157 battalions of the British Expeditionary Force in France, and, Brown suggests, 'probably experienced higher casualties as a proportion of its population than any other political unit within the British Commonwealth' ('The Scottish and Irish Reformed Churches and the First World War,' [PAGE](#); Keith Jeffrey, *Ireland and the Great War* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000], p. 6; see also James L. MacLeod, '“Greater Love Hath no Man than This”: Scotland's Conflicting Religious Responses to Death in the Great War,' *Scottish Historical Review* 81 [2002], pp. 71-72).

Itself o'ercome by juster might,  
And lays its godless weapons down,  
Confessing Him who judges right.<sup>81</sup>

His preaching later in the war seems, however, to have been less jingoistic.<sup>82</sup> Nonetheless, Cooper continued to offer his services as chaplain to the Territorial Army outwith University sessions.<sup>83</sup> He was clearly proud of his involvement in the OTC, signing himself in the preachers' register variously as 'Professor of Ecclesiastical History' and 'The University Chaplain GUOTC'.<sup>84</sup> Despite his age, Cooper had found a way to serve the war effort whilst continuing to fulfil his teaching responsibilities in Glasgow.

Reid's catalogue of the fallen, although doubtless intended both to make sense of the deaths of his students and to inspire others to follow their example, also offered a poignant reminder of the 'real sacrifice and pain' experienced by those who enlisted. Increasingly, the war and its demands seem also to have influenced the themes chosen by those who preached to Glasgow's University Students, a responsibility which was shared by the Professors of the Divinity Faculty and invited external preachers, not all of whom were Presbyterian. The themes of these University Sermons were recorded in the 'Register of the Preachers before the University' and indicate an engagement with the war which extended even after the Armistice had been declared.<sup>85</sup> Before the war, themes of the University

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<sup>81</sup> *Glasgow University Magazine*, November 1914, p. 11.

<sup>82</sup> See, "'The Bible is the Word of God. ... What does it tell us about war?' The use of Scripture in Professor James Cooper's *The Soldiers of the Bible* and in his sermon on the National Day of Prayer and Intercession, 3 January 1915," *Journal of the Bible and its Reception* (in press).

<sup>83</sup> Wotherspoon, *James Cooper*, p. 274.

<sup>84</sup> See, for instance, entries for 2 May 1915 and 30 April 1916 respectively (GUArch CH 2/1).

<sup>85</sup> GUArch CH 2/1. This register has no page numbers; references to specific sermon titles can be found from the date of the sermon, and where this is given in the text, no footnote is used.

Sermons had an exegetical focus: they carried titles such as 'Commentary on the Romans' and the 'Gospel of St. Mark.' After August 1914, such exegetical sermons continued to be given, particularly by Milligan,<sup>86</sup> but the sermon titles show a marked increase in war-related themes such as courage and duty, morality and steadfastness. For example, on 1 November 1914, Haller Mursell, the Minister of the Thomas Coats Memorial Baptist Church in Paisley, entitled his sermon the 'Duty of Courage', taking as his text Joshua 1:5: 'There shall not any man be able to stand before thee all the days of thy life: as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee: I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee' (AV). On 13 December 1914, Milligan preached on 'Holy Living and Holy Dying'; on 15 and 22 February 1915, David Cairns, Professor of Theology at the United Free College Aberdeen considered 'If Christ is for us who can be against us?'<sup>87</sup> John Brown, the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, discussed 'Joy of Self-Sacrifice' taking as his text Hebrews 12:2: 'Looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.' Duty and suffering were key themes for Cooper, who preached on 'Our Duty to Caesar' (30 April 1916), the 'Patience of Job' (26 November 1916), and, for an OTC

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<sup>86</sup> See, for instance, a series of sermons on the synoptic gospels in the 1916-17 session: 12 November 1916, 'The Making of the Gospels'; 10 December 1916, 'The Gospel of Mark'; 18 February 1917, 'The Gospel of St Matthew'; 29 April 1917, 'The Gospel of St Luke'.

<sup>87</sup> The list of preachers was strikingly ecumenical, perhaps under Cooper's influence: it included not preachers from the Church of Scotland, the United Free Church, including both Moderators every year, and the Presbyterian Church in England, but also Baptists, Episcopalians (the Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway) and Anglicans (the Bishops of London and Durham). For Cooper's ecumenical interests and his thoughts as a young man about whether should become Anglican, see Murray, 'James Cooper at Glasgow,' pp. 69-72.

Church Parade on 13 May 1917, on ‘Crowned because HE suffered.’<sup>88</sup> These titles chimed with the mood of his diary, which was filled, his biographer records, with ‘consternation, suspense, rumour, alarm [and] appeals[s] to the Judge of all the Earth’ for the safe return of his students.<sup>89</sup> Towards the end of the war – as we now know, but he and his congregation did not – the chaplain to the Clyde Defences, W.W. Beveridge, preached on ‘The Spirit of our Fighting Men.’ The engagement with the social situation continued post-war: on 24 October 1920, the newly appointed Bishop of Durham, Hensley Henson, who had an avowed interest in deepening relationships with ‘non-episcopal’ churches, was invited to address Glasgow University, preaching on ‘Christian Duty in Difficult Times’.<sup>90</sup>

Reid’s university sermons considered themes less obviously related to the war, but he entitled a retrospective assessment offered on 19 October 1919 ‘The Bad Dream of War’. This seems a long way from his 1916 address to the Senior Divinity class, although even early in the war Reid was not simply bellicose in his approach. In a sermon preached in St Andrews in May 1915, he identified the suffering on the battlefield with the crucified Christ and a sense of having been abandoned by God:

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<sup>88</sup> Cooper preached and published several sermons directly on the war: *Our twofold need in the present war* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1915): this was given in St Andrew’s Parish Church, Glasgow, on Sunday 3 January 1915, which was a day appointed nationally for prayer and intercession. See Methuen, ‘The very nerve of faith is touched’, and Charlotte Methuen, ‘The Bible is the Word of God.’

<sup>89</sup> Wotherspoon, *James Cooper*, 270.

<sup>90</sup> Henson was closely involved in the drafting of the 1920 Lambeth Conference ‘Appeal to All Christian People’ and a strong proponent of the recognition of the orders of ‘non-episcopal’ churches. See Charlotte Methuen, ‘Lambeth 1920: The Appeal To All Christian People,’ in: Melanie Barber, Gabriel Sewell and Stephen Taylor (eds), *From the Reformation to the Permissive Society: A Miscellany in Celebration of the 400th Anniversary of Lambeth Palace Library* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer 2010), 521-564; especially 524, 528, 537n.13.

What remains is the agonised figure on the Cross, around which heave a troubled multitude and a continual battle. It is so at this moment on the plains of France and in the raging East, where one might think that he looks from his Cross on blood-stained fields and cries, 'My God, why hast Thou forsaken me?'<sup>91</sup>

However, and in line with the changing tone of preaching which a number of scholars have observed as the war progressed,<sup>92</sup> there is a striking difference between the crusading, exhortative spirit of his address to the Senior Divinity class in June 1916, and the much more muted tone of his address the following year.<sup>93</sup> In June 1917, he acknowledged:

the idea of God was never more beset than today, when everywhere the unbidden questions rise, Does God care? If there is a God, why does He not act? [...] If Jesus is God, why does he not come as promised? If the Holy Spirit is God, whence come the foul spirits of slaughter and rapine?<sup>94</sup>

Reid's shift in mood was doubtless in large part a response to the ongoing news of death and slaughter from the front and the widespread sense of loss and grief which affected so many people. However, it

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<sup>91</sup> H.M.B. Reid, *Ecce puer!* (James McLehose, Glasgow, 1915), p. 6.

<sup>92</sup> See, for instance, Albert Marrin, *The last crusade: the Church of England in the first World War* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1974); A. J. Hoover, *God, Germany and Britain in the Great War* (New York: Praeger, 1989); Stewart J. Brown, ' "A Solemn Purification by Fire": Responses to the Great War in the Scottish Presbyterian Churches, 1914–19,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45 (1994), pp. 82–104; Peter Matheson, 'Scottish war sermons,' *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 17 (1972), pp. 203–13; Charlotte Methuen, 'The very nerve of faith is touched.'

<sup>93</sup> H. M. B. Reid, *Mystery in religion: closing lecture in the divinity classes* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1917), p. 8; discussed in Methuen, 'The very nerve of faith is touched'.

<sup>94</sup> Reid, *Mystery in religion*, p. 5.



may also reflect the challenges he was facing closer to home, as the Divinity Faculty struggled to cope with the changes in its circumstances.

### **Living with the war – practical, financial and ecumenical consequences**

Not only was the number of students affected by the war, but so too were the resources and financial support available to the remaining pupils. Several times during the war years, the Divinity Faculty considered applications for teaching posts at the Divinity School. On 21 February 1917, the meeting discussed a request from Charles B. Marbon that he be appointed teacher of Elocution. However, in Marbon's case, as in that of several other petitioners, the Faculty decided that it was 'inadvisable to add to the existing list during the duration of the War'.<sup>95</sup> As the war progressed, financial considerations became more pressing. The Divinity Hall continued to try to support high-achieving students in the further study of theology. However, all too often, the demands of the war put paid to their plans. On 20 October 1915, a letter from Robert Stevenson was presented to the Faculty meeting. Stevenson, having graduated MA in 1912 and BD (first class) in 1915, had been awarded the prestigious Black Fellowship. He requested that the Fellowship be suspended: he had enlisted in the Black Watch (Royal Highlanders) and been posted Second Lieutenant, and wished to take up the funding on his return. The Faculty agreed to seek permission from the Senate for this suspension, but Stevenson was killed on 23 August 1917; he would

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<sup>95</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 21 February 1917, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 78.

not return to Glasgow and his fellowship.<sup>96</sup> Stevenson's case demonstrates that such fellowships and other bursaries and prizes were still being awarded in 1915. However, in 1918, under the Emergency Powers Act enacted by the British government in 1915, the Divinity Faculty was instructed by the University Senate to suspend scholarships, prizes and bursaries.<sup>97</sup> On 4 February 1918, the minutes recorded:

after consideration the Faculty decided to recommend for suspension in accordance with the above, the Black Theological Fellowship, the Jamieson Prize and the Findlater Scholarship Prize.<sup>98</sup>

At the same meeting, the faculty decided that unallocated bursaries, from October 1917 should be recommended for suspension, 'but that the 1918 Bursaries should be offered for competition as usual on the understanding that no Bursary was to be awarded except to a candidate who would have gained it under pre war conditions'.<sup>99</sup> Their concern that standards might be falling is illustrated by a comparative table of the marks awarded in the bursary examinations from 1912 to 1918, which shows not only that the marks were lower,

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<sup>96</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meetings, 20 October and 1 November 1915, GUArch DIV 1/5, pp. 55-56, 57-58. For Stevenson, see <http://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead/casualty/140519/STEVENSON,%20R>,

<http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/ww1-biography/?id=3281>, and

<http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH23902&type=P>. A

photograph of Robert Stevenson is included in the *Icones theologorum*.

<sup>97</sup> It is not clear which Act is meant, but it may have been in relation to the funding of pensions and the financial provision for those serving in the forces: see Ludwik Ehrlich, 'British Emergency Legislation During the Present War,' *California Law Review* 5 (1917), pp. 433-451; here pp. 437-438.

<sup>98</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 4 February 1918, GUArch DIV 1/5, pp. 97-98.

<sup>99</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 4 February 1918, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 98.

but that the numbers of students had declined significantly.<sup>100</sup> Most of the Divinity bursaries were reinstated in 1919, but the Black Fellowship would not be awarded again until 1920.<sup>101</sup>

The decline in numbers was significant. As noted above, the Glasgow Divinity class lists for 1915-16 include eight first years, fifteen second years, and twelve third years, down from twenty-three, thirteen, and nineteen two years earlier.<sup>102</sup> The numbers enrolling in classes and presenting themselves for examination were decreasing. At the United Free Church College, numbers decreased from 60 regular students and 21 non-regular students in December 1914<sup>103</sup> to 27 regular and 10 non-regular students as reported at the meeting on 21 December 1916.<sup>104</sup> At the meeting on 21 February 1917, Glasgow's Divinity Faculty proposed a closer cooperation with the United Free Church's College:

an interchange of views regarding the expediency of making for next session an arrangement with the Glasgow Free Church

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<sup>100</sup> 'University of Glasgow Bursaries in theology': table tucked into GUArch DIV 1/5.

<sup>101</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meetings, 19 March 1919, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 114; 2 December 1919, p. 124; 11 February 1920, p. 128. In 1929, the Faculty discovered that due to its suspension during the War, enough income had accrued in the Black fund to make it possible to award two fellowships: 29 April 1929, p. 133.

<sup>102</sup> See above, p. XX.

<sup>103</sup> United Free Church College Senate Meeting 1 December 1914, GUArch 248 DC 084/1/2/2: '17 regular students in the 1st year, 11 in the 2nd, 17 in the 3rd, and 15 in the 4th, making 60 in all. 13 members of the College, not included in the above list, have gone on military service, and 12 others are working in the guild camps.'

<sup>104</sup> United Free Church College Senate Meeting 21 December 1916, GUArch 248 DC 084/1/2/2: '1 regular student in the 1st year, 11 in the 2nd, 6 in the 3rd, 9 in the 4th, making 27 in all. The non-regular students numbered 10.'

College of the United Free Church similar to that presently existing in Edinburgh and Aberdeen.<sup>105</sup>

There was clearly some caution, and it was agreed to write to Aberdeen and Edinburgh to ask for 'particulars of their arrangements and how far their methods of co-operation were judged to have been successful.'<sup>106</sup> On receiving these responses, the minutes of the next meeting, on 3 March 1917, record:

it was unanimously agreed that the whole question of co-operation between the United Faculties of Divinity and the Theological Colleges of the United Free Church during the period of war should be discussed at a conference of the Professors of the Divinity Faculties on the opening day of the Assembly.<sup>107</sup>

In June Stevenson, as Dean, reported from that meeting that 'in view of the needs of the Church and the claims of National Service' (and despite Reid's dissent), 'Co-operation between the Divinity Faculties of in the Universities and the Halls of the United Free Church' had been approved, 'wherever this can be arranged'.<sup>108</sup> Meetings to

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<sup>105</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 21 February 1917, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 78.

<sup>106</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 21 February 1917, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 78.

<sup>107</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 3 March 1917, GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 79.

<sup>108</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 3 March 1917, GUArch DIV 1/5, pp. 82-83.

discuss cooperation in Glasgow took place on 13 and 20 June,<sup>109</sup> and a joint scheme of teaching was agreed, to begin with a joint opening of the session on 15 October 1917.<sup>110</sup> Combining classes in Hebrew and of Church History freed Stevenson to take up his war work in London, and Cooper to serve as Moderator of the General Assembly.<sup>111</sup> The two Glasgow theological colleges would not be finally unified until 1930, although the idea received approval in 1923. However, the First World War brought about significant cooperation, and this must have helped the cause of Union.

### Conclusions

How did the First World War affect Divinity at the University of Glasgow? Over all, the University of Glasgow lost 432 staff and students, men and women, whose names are recorded on the panels in the chapel, itself built and opened in 1929 as a memorial to these students' lives.<sup>112</sup> Of these, 22 are listed as having been awarded the BD, but as this article has shown, this number neglects those who had begun but not yet completed their Divinity studies, and who had not yet graduated BD. The Divinity Faculty lost at least 25 current or prospective students, and compiled a memorial to 22 of its current and former students, some of whom had had brilliant university careers.

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<sup>109</sup> As recorded in GUArch DIV 1/5, pp. 84-87. These meetings were attended only by Stevenson and Milligan. Cooper sent his apologies to both due to absence; Reid was absent without apology. The teaching of New Testament, Church History, and Junior Hebrew was to take place jointly. The Church of Scotland candidates would have their own Divinity and Senior Hebrew classes; the United Free Church candidates their own classes in Divinity, Ethics and 'Practical Training' (GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 86).

<sup>110</sup> Details of this were worked out at a meeting on 14 September 1917: see GUArch DIV 1/5, pp. 89-92. The arrangement was confirmed 'by a majority' (against Reid's protest, which related specifically to the payment of fees) for 1918-19 on 3 June 1918 (GUArch DIV 1/5, p. 101).

<sup>111</sup> Glasgow University Divinity Faculty Meeting, 6 September 1917, GUArch DIV 1/5, pp. 87-88. For Cooper's duties, see GArch DIC 1/5, p. 86.

<sup>112</sup> See <http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/chapel/>.

Despite these losses, the Divinity professors sought to continue their business with an eye to maintaining standards whilst bearing in mind the needs of those who had gone to war. Nonetheless, the Divinity professors were quicker than some in the university to engage with the consequences of the war. Although the impetus for this came to large extent from the Church of Scotland, it may have been influenced also by Cooper's close involvement in the OTC. Perhaps most significantly in the long run, the First World War brought together the University's Divinity Hall and the United Free Church College, in a precursor of the amalgamation that would in 1930 form Trinity College. Despite Reid's objections, therefore, an important step in ecumenical, inter-presbyterian cooperation took place during – and as a direct result of – the First World War.

**Appendix 1: The General Assembly's list of students serving in the forces, as compiled in May 1916 and subsequently annotated, with additions from the 1918 General Assembly list**

Printed contemporary text is in columns 1-3 in regular typeface; *contemporary hand-written additions are given in italics*; 1918 additions are underlaid in grey; [comments and our additions are in square brackets].

	Name	Details of service	Comments	Information from GU Roll of Honour, GU pre-1915 graduates database, and other sources
A.—Students who left during the session				
Third year students who left at the end of the First Term				
1	Henry S. Brisby	2nd Lieut. 5th Inniskilling Fusiliers	invalided discharged locum at Dumbarton	GU RoH: student

- |   |  |  |                                       |  |
|---|--|--|---------------------------------------|--|
| 2 | D[onald]<br>M[cGavin]<br>K[err]<br>McKay, M.A. | Cadet<br>2nd Lieut, 5th<br>A[rgyll] and<br>S[utherland]<br>Highlanders |                                       | MA 1913. GU<br>RoH: Inns of<br>Court OTC   |
| 3 | J[ames]<br>L[amont]<br>Fyfe Scott,<br>M.A.     | 6th A[rgyll] and<br>S[utherland]<br>Highlanders                        | severely<br>injured and<br>discharged | MA 1912. 2nd<br>Perhaps<br>sometime<br>Highland Light<br>Infantry; see<br>medal index<br>card archive<br>(WO372/17).<br><i>Fasti ecclesiae<br/>Scoticae</i> , 5,<br>137: ordained<br>28 June 1918;<br>minister of<br>Rhynd, near<br>Perth, 1922-<br>1955<br>GU RoH |
| 4 | W. G[reig].<br>Strachan, M.A.<br>.             | R[oyal] A[rmy]<br>M[edical]<br>C[orps], Irish<br>brigade               |                                       |  |
- Second year students who left at the end of the First Term
- |   |                                |  |  |   |
|---|--------------------------------|--|--|---|
| 5 | John S[teele]<br>Allan M.A.    | 2nd Lieut.<br>R[oyal] S[cots]<br>F[usiliers]                   | killed in<br>action,<br>reported<br>1917 | GU RoH: killed<br>in action, 12<br>October 1916   |
| 6 | A[lfred]<br>D[rummond]<br>Duff | 2nd Lieut. 11th<br>A[rgyll] and<br>S[utherland]<br>Highlanders | discharged<br>Minister of<br>Aberlour    | MA 1912. GU<br>RoH biography:<br>lost arm in First<br>World War,<br>ordained and<br>served as parish<br>minister;<br>chaplain and |

				POW in Second World War <sup>113</sup>
7	James Hill	2nd Lieut. R[oyal] S[cots] F[usiliers]		MA 1911. GU RoH: student
8	George Macgregor, M.A.	2nd Lieut. 8th Seaforth Highlanders	killed in action killed in action, reported 1916	MA 1911. GU RoH: killed in action on the first day of the Battle of Loos, 25th September 1915
9	James Mudge, M.A.	2nd Lieut. 12th Scottish Rifles		MA 1914 (left at end of second year BD, 1916. GU RoH: student GU RoH: student
10	Frank [Francis] Robertson M.A.	2nd Lieut. 5th H[ighland] L[ight] I[nfantry]		
11	J[ohn] M[acDonald] Smith, M.A.	2nd Lieut. 12th Scottish Rifles	killed in action killed in action, reported 1916 missing	MA 1913. GU RoH: killed in action 12 May 1916
12	F[rancis] W[illiam] S[tuart] Teggart, M.A.	Lieut. 15th A[rgyll] and S[utherland] Highlanders		MA 1911. GU RoH: killed in action
First year students who left at the end of the First Term				
13	William Bodin	Naval Service Indian Expeditionary Service		GU RoH: Naval Service – Persian Gulf, Student

<sup>113</sup> See <http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/ww1-biography/?id=1929>.



14	John W. Baird, M.A.	2 Lieut, 3rd H[ighland] L[ight] I[nfantry]	MA 1913. GU RoH
15	Foster Franklin, M.A.	Captain and Adjutant Air Service Sheffield	MA 1915. GU RoH: 3rd Highland Light Infantry, MA, wounded

First year students who left before the end of the First Term

16	John Bell	Private 16th Lancaster Regiment	Invalided 1916 Captain 16th Lancaster Regiment	GU RoH
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B.—Students who left at the end of the session

Third year—

17	William Barclay, M.A.	2 <sup>nd</sup> Lieut. R[oyal] F[ield] A[rtilillery]		MA 1910
17	John [Munro]	2nd Lieut, 4th A[rgyll] and S[utherland] Highlanders	killed in action	MA 1912; BD 1915. GU RoH: died of wounds 2 December 1917
18	Garlick, B.D.			
18	Edward J Harris, M.A:	<i>Pte 2/6 A[rgyll] and S[utherland] Highlanders</i> 2 <sup>nd</sup> Lieut. 6 <sup>th</sup> A[rgyll] and S[utherland] Highlanders		MA 1912; BD 1916. GU RoH
19	E[dward] J[ohn] H[oward] M[a]cIldowie, B.D.	2nd Lieut, 9th H[ighland] L[ight] I[nfantry]	killed in action, reported 1917	GU RoH: (Reverend) MacIldowie, [killed 1 November 1916]
20	George M[urray]	R[oyal] S[cots] F[usiliers]		MA 1912. GU RoH: Egyptian
21				

	D[avidson]	Cairo (assistant)		Expeditionary Force
	Short, B.D.			MA 1912; BD
21	R[obert]	Cadet	killed in	1916. GU
22	Wright Smith, M.A.		action, reported 1917	RoH: 2nd Lieutenant, 6th Highland Light Infantry, killed in action 12 February 1917
22	Robert Stevenson, B.D.	2nd Lieut. Black Watch	killed in action	MA 1912; BD 1915. GU RoH: killed in action [23 August 1917]
Second year—				
23	W[illiam]	2nd Lieut. 9th	severely	MA 1910. GU
24	M[illar] Blackwood, M.A.	Royal Scots [Fusiliers]	wounded	RoH
24	Alistair			Probably
25	Campbell, M.A.			Alastair Campbell, MA 1912. On GU RoH could be Alistair Campbell, MA or 2nd Lieutenant A F Campbell, King's Own Scottish Borders, student second-year BD student 1915-16
25	John Fairlie,	Y.M.C.A.		
26	M.A.	[crossed out in 1916 list 'licensed for India' appended] India, (probationer)		

26	Malcolm	14th A[rgyll] and	Discharged	MA 1913. GU
27	Laing, M.A.	S[utherland] Highlanders	Minister Applecross	RoH
28	A[rchibald] E[wing?] Macintyre, M.A.	Y.M.C.A.	Assistant at Bluevale	MA possibly 1914; second- year BD student 1915-16
27	Arch[ibald]	2nd Lieut. 19th		MA 1912. GU
29	Mackenzie	H[ighland] L[ight] I[nfantry]		RoH: student.
28	Arch[ibald]	Y.M.C.A.		MA possibly
30	M[orton?] Paterson, M.A.			1913; second- year BD student 1915-16
29	[Christian]	Y.M.C.A.	[name	MA possibly
31	Arthur Robertson M.A.	Hamilton (assistant)	scored out in 1916 minutes book list]	1914; BD 1917; second-year BD student 1915- 16; third-year BD student 1916-17
30	W[illiam]	2nd Lieut. 6th		MA 1913. GU
32	T[homas] Smellie, M.A.	A[rgyll] and S[utherland] Highlanders		RoH: Order of the British Empire (OBE); mentioned in dispatches; Assistant Minister in North Berwick 1918; ordained 17 February 1921 to Lowson Memorial Parish, Forfar; 1925 the High Kirk, Rothesay; 1936 St And- rew's Dundee; 1941 united

				charge Pollok-shields-Titwood parish. <sup>114</sup>
31	Hugh	2nd Lieut, 3 <sup>rd</sup>		*14 April 1892;
33	M[cLellan]	H[ighland]		MA 1912. GU
	Scott, M.A.	L[ight] I[nfantry]		RoH: Captain;
				killed in action
				6 September
				1918 <sup>115</sup>
32	Andrew	2nd Lieut,	killed in	second-year BD
34	G[ardyne]	A[rgyll] and	action	student 1915-
	Young	S[utherland]		16; GU RoH:
		Highlanders		killed 13
				October 1917
	First year—			
33	Thomas R.	R[oyal] A[rmy]		GU RoH
35	Allison, M.A.	M[edical]		
		C[orps]		
		2/6 A. & S.		
		Highlanders		
		2nd Lieut,		
		A[rgyll] and		
		S[utherland]		
		Highlanders		
34	N[eil] Louis			first-year BD
37	A. Campbell			student 1915-
				16; GU RoH:
				6th Argyll And
				Sutherland
				Highlanders,
				student
35	Thomas	2nd Lieut. 7th		MA 1914. GU
38	K[ennedy]	H[ighland]		RoH: student
		L[ight] I[nfantry]		

<sup>114</sup> See <http://www.pollokshieldschurch.org.uk/the-church/history/ministers-of-pollokshields/the-rev-william-t-smellie-obe-ma.php>.

<sup>115</sup> See <http://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead/casualty/828875/SCOTT,%20HUGH%20MCLELLAN>.

	Johnstone, M. A.			
39	John Livingstone	6th A[rgyll] and S[utherland] Highlanders		not listed in the GU BD matriculation lists
36	Walter	2nd Lieut. 9th	<i>invalided</i>	GU RoH:
40	M{a}cintyre	Black Watch	1916 St Mary's Dumfries [from 1917]	student
37	Andrew			dob 28
41	L[ow] M[acgregor] Mackenzie, M.A.			February 1890; MA 1911; BD 1920. GU RoH: Private A L M MacKenzie, Argyll And Sutherland Highlanders
38	George	R[oyal] A[rmy]		
42	Mackenzie, M.A.	M[edical] C[orps]		
43	John Mackinnon, M.A.		killed in action, reported 1917	Matriculated GU for yer 1913-14
39	John	Y.M.C.A.	prisoner of war	MA 1914. GU
44	S[trathearn] McNab, M.A.	[crossed out in 1916 list 'A[rgyll] & S[utherland] Highlanders' appended]		RoH: 2nd Lieutenant, Cameron Highlanders, student
	James S[trathearn] McNab, M.A.			
40	James A[rchi- bald] M[ont- gomery] Miller, M.A.	2nd Lieut. 7th Northumberland Fusiliers	killed in action	GU RoH: killed in action 16 April 1917

41	George Mills,	Y.M.C.A.		MA 1914, first-
46	M.A.	31st Divisional Signals		year BD student 1914-15
42	John M.	R[oyal] A[rmy]		first year BD
47	Munro, M.A.	M[edical] C[orps] Corporal, 5 <sup>th</sup> Bn, H[ighland] L[ight] I[nfantry]		student 1915-16
C.—Prospective Students of Divinity—Intending Students of the First Year who joined H.M. Forces				
43	James	2nd Lieut.	discharged	MA 1914. GU
48	A[itken] Boag	R[oyal] S[cots] F[usiliers]		RoH: Lieutenant J A Boag, Royal Scots Fusiliers, MA. GU RoH: Lieutenant J A Calderwood, 4th Cameronians – Scottish Rifles, Student. GU RoH: student
44	J. A.	3rd Scottish		
49	Calderwood	Rifles		
50	G. M. Dunn	R[oyal] G[arrison] A[rtillery]		
45	A[llan]	Scottish Rifles	killed in	*16 June 1893;
51	M[jills] Fenwick		action reported 1916	MA 1914. GU RoH: killed in action, 9 December 1914. GU RoH: student.
46	David B.	6th Lochiel		
52	Gavin	Cameron		
47	J. Kilgour	3rd Scottish	[may have	
53		Rifles	been killed, 25 September 1915]	

48	Donald	Cameron		GU RoH:
54	McLeod	Highlanders		possibly Sgt Donald McLeod, killed in action, 14 March 1915.
49	W[alter]	2nd Lieut.		BSc 1910. GU
55	B[uchanan] McMichael, B.Sc.	Gordon Highlanders		RoH: killed in action in France 27 July 1916, aged 31 <sup>116</sup>
50	Donald	Naval Service	discharged	GU RoH: Royal
56	Macphail M.A.			Naval Volunteer Reserve, d'student.
51	R.	Munitions Work		
57	Macpherson			
58	A. R. Ferguson M.A.	Munitions		
52	R. Morris	R[oyal] A[rmy]		
59		M[edical]		
		C[orps]		
53	James F.	Munitions Work		
60	Morrison, M.A.			
54	Dixon	2nd Lieut, 19th	killed in action	GU RoH: killed at
61	Provand	London Regiment	killed in action, reported 1917	Highwood 15 September 1916
55	C. N. M.	Lieut. 3rd Black		GU RoH: Staff
62	Ramsay, M.A.	Watch		Captain

<sup>116</sup> <http://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead/casualty/556879/McMICHAEL,%20WALTER%20BUCHANAN>.

56 63	Robert R. Rennie, M.A.	Scottish Rifles	killed in action killed in action, reported 1916 discharged	MA 1914. GU RoH: (Reverend) killed 9th February 1916
57 64	E. O. Rodger	2nd Lieut [K]ing's [O]wn [S]cottish [B]orderers		GU RoH: student
58 65	George Charles Smith	Lieut. 13th Scottish Rifles		GU RoH: possibly Captain George C Smith, Highland Light Infantry, student, Military Cross, Mentioned in Dispatches.
66	Robert Woodburn			

The 1919 list includes the names of the same 66 men, and in most cases indicating their situation in May 1919.

**Appendix 2: alphabetical list of those whose photographs are included in the *Icones theologorum qui in bello magno pro patria mortui sunt* (1914-1919) (preserving spelling in the captions):**

J. S. ALLAN  
WILLIAM BLACK  
HERBERT DUNN  
DAVID FORSYTH  
J. M. GARLICK  
NEIL LEITCH  
C GORDON MACDONALD



W. B. MACFARLANE  
GEORGE MACGREGOR  
JAMES MACKIE  
DUGALD MCARTHUR  
J. E. H. MCILDOWIE  
IAN MCKINNON  
J. A. M. MILLAR  
W. N. MONTEITH  
R. H. NAPIER  
F. W. SAUNDERS  
JOHN M. SMITH  
R. WRIGHT SMITH  
ROBERT STEVENSON  
F. W. STUART TEGGART  
ANDREW G. YOUNG