

# CLYDE STREET 1833-1841: THE VETERINARY TEACHING AND LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

Alastair A. Macdonald

## INTRODUCTION

The teaching environment of the veterinary school in Clyde Street, Edinburgh, in the 1830s, comprised many different components for each of the students who attended. It is obviously not possible to describe them all, but important to attempt to give something of an impression as this is missing from the current literature. Clearly, the physical environment of the veterinary school was an essential element, as was the structural layout of the neighbourhood and indeed of the town of Edinburgh itself. The teaching staff and the community of men attending the veterinary classes as students contributed a very great deal to the meaningful context in which individual learning took place. Similarly, the daily practice of seeing, listening and learning, access to lectures, dissection of animal tissues, study and making of anatomical preparations, discussion over specimens of veterinary and farriery relevance, time spent working in the smithy, time spent reading at home and in various library facilities, as well as the study and treatment of clinical cases, all contributed towards that environment. In addition, the wider professional and social contexts of living in Edinburgh, such as the numbers and locations of veterinary and farriery businesses, where to live, sleep, eat, relax, worship, meet like-minds, play sport, be entertained, were all core elements of student life in nineteenth century Scotland.

Briefly stated, Edinburgh and its dependencies in 1833, were said to have the following: a population of 187,000 people; one university; two theatres; 60 churches and chapels; 122 mail and stage coaches; seven London steam ships; 100 Hackney coaches; 300 physicians, surgeons and dentists; 560 teachers of various branches of education; 500 grocers; 470 spirit dealers; 170 taverns and eating houses; 64 livery stables; 270 bakers; 270 fleshers; 350 booksellers, binders, stationers and engravers. Its main manufacturing industry was said to be shawl-weaving.<sup>1</sup> The town was also busy with baking, brewing, distilling, book printing, wiredrawing, coach-building, and the manufacture of machinery for paper mills.<sup>2</sup>

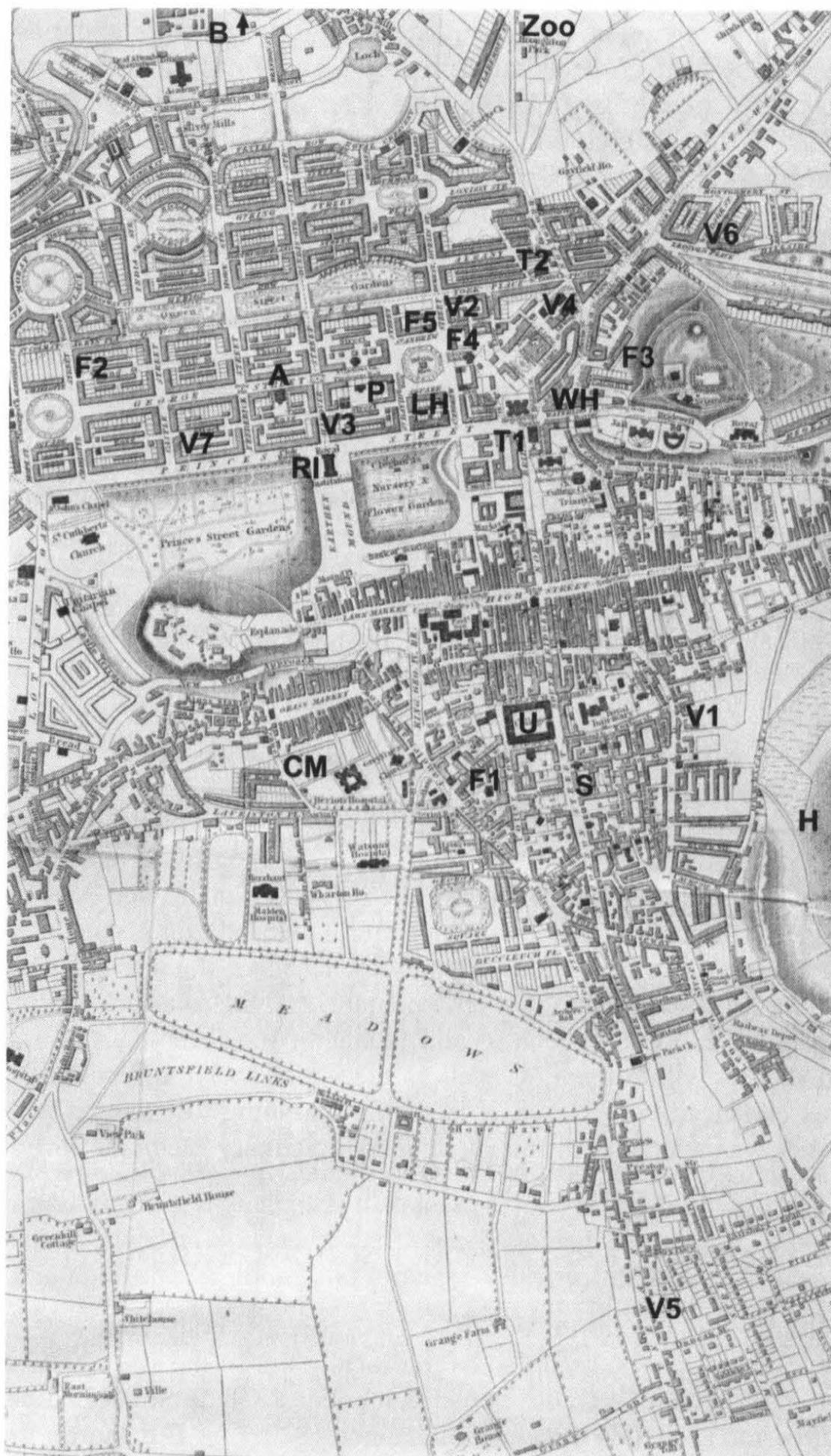
This paper seeks to explore in some depth a number of the particular aspects of veterinary student life in Edinburgh. To give some geographical context, the locations of a number of key elements have been mapped. The veterinary school was located in the east end of the New Town of Edinburgh (Fig. 1). It was built on the north side and towards the west end of Clyde Street. The veterinary surgeons working in Edinburgh during the period 1833-1841 are listed, together with their 1839 work addresses, in Table 1, and the location of these businesses in 1839-40 are indicated (Fig. 1). In addition to the learning resources in Clyde Street, the students had access to lecture and library facilities in the University of Edinburgh and in the College of Surgeons (Fig. 1). Circulating libraries and bookshops were also present in the town<sup>3, 4</sup> as were theatres, botanical gardens, a zoological garden and galleries of art (Fig. 1). Parkland and open spaces of countryside were readily available; Princes Street gardens, Cleghorn's nursery and flower gardens, Calton Hill, Holyrood Park on the south-east side of the town, and the Meadows to the south were the most obvious (Fig. 1).

Various aspects of the teaching and learning environment of veterinary students in Edinburgh during the nineteenth century have been touched upon previously.<sup>5,6,7,8</sup> In this article closer attention is drawn to some of the details sketched out earlier. In particular, the learning context will be explored in geographical, physical, resource and social environmental terms.

Due to recent research, we are much more aware of what comprises a student's learning environment. This has led to an understanding of the concept of deep learning which includes both knowing the subject of study and practicing that knowledge.<sup>9,10</sup> It has also encouraged a better understanding of the extent of the learning environment. It includes not only the teachers, the learners themselves, and other people who inhabit that environment, and the roles that they play, but also encompasses the architecture and layout of the teaching spaces and the physical objects within them, as well as the wider social and cultural setting.<sup>9</sup> With this enhanced perspective, it is worth beginning to examine with 'hind-sight' what was available to the students of veterinary medicine in Edinburgh between the years 1833 and 1841.

## **THE CLYDE STREET VETERINARY SCHOOL BUILDING**

The buildings on the north side of Clyde Street, about 36m east of Saint Andrews Square, can be regarded as the focal point in the veterinary students' learning environment.<sup>11</sup> An old house at number 8 Clyde Street had been used for lectures and specimen demonstration since 1829.<sup>8,12,13</sup> But shortly thereafter, it had outgrown its usefulness and requests were being made for improvement.<sup>5,14</sup> William Dick replaced this house by having a purpose-build



**Fig. 1. Map of Edinburgh – See Next Page**

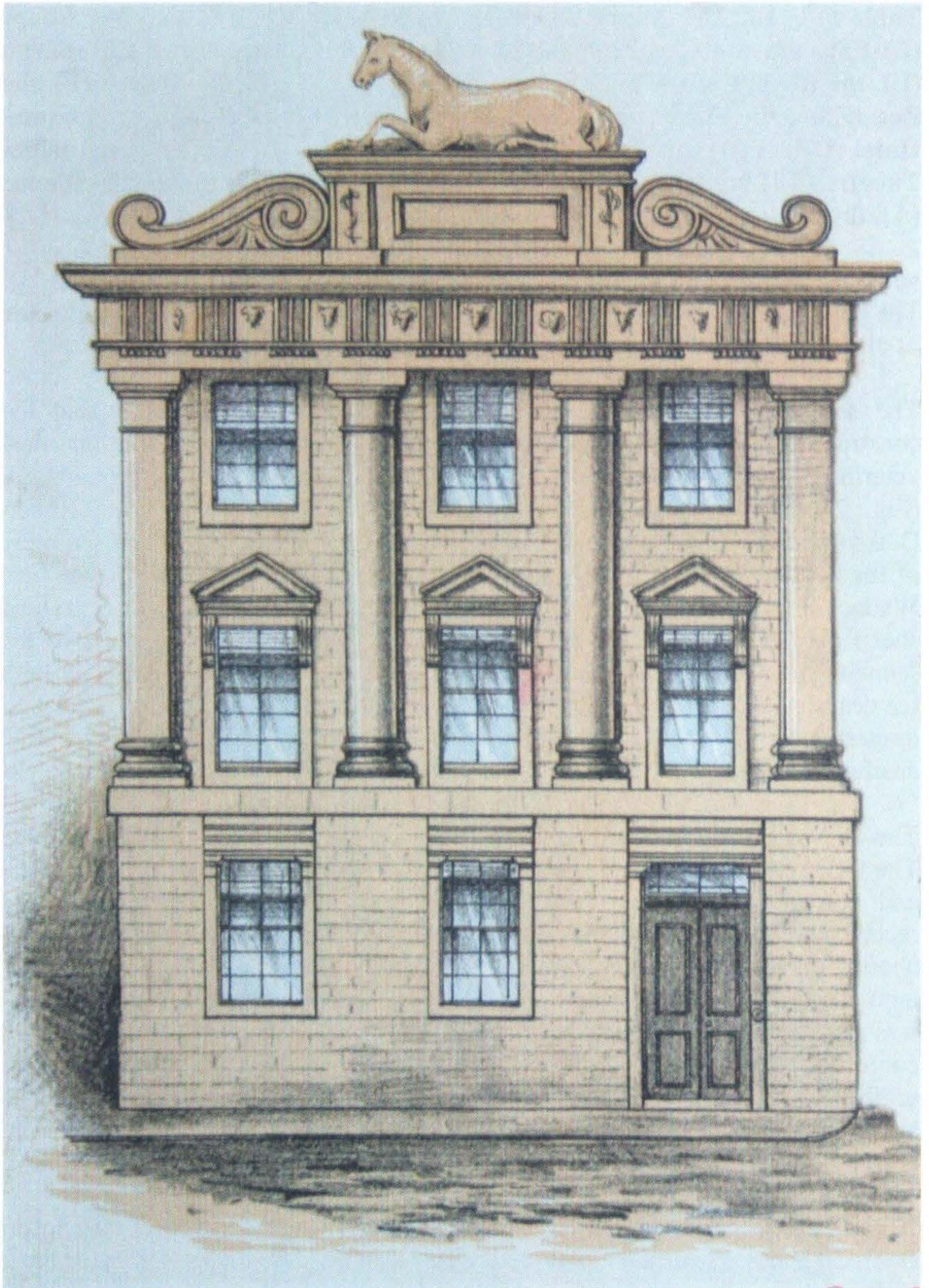
**Fig. 1. Map of Edinburgh (Lizars 1839-40) with the Address Locations (see Table 1) of the Veterinary Surgeons Marked (V1-V7), the Farriery Shops (F1-F5), and the Geographical Locations of the University of Edinburgh (U), the Royal College of Surgeons (S), Royal College of Physicians (P), the Zoo (Zoo), the Direction towards the Botanical Gardens (B), the London Hotel (LH), the Waterloo Hotel (W), the Theatre Royal (T1), the Adelphi Theatre (T2) the Royal Institution Art Gallery (RI), the Assembly Rooms (A), the Western Edge of Holyrood Park (H), the Cattle Market (CM).**

veterinary school constructed, costing some £2,500 from his own resources.<sup>15,16</sup> The Highland Society agreed to assist by contributing £50 towards the provision of classroom and museum facilities.<sup>16,17,18</sup>

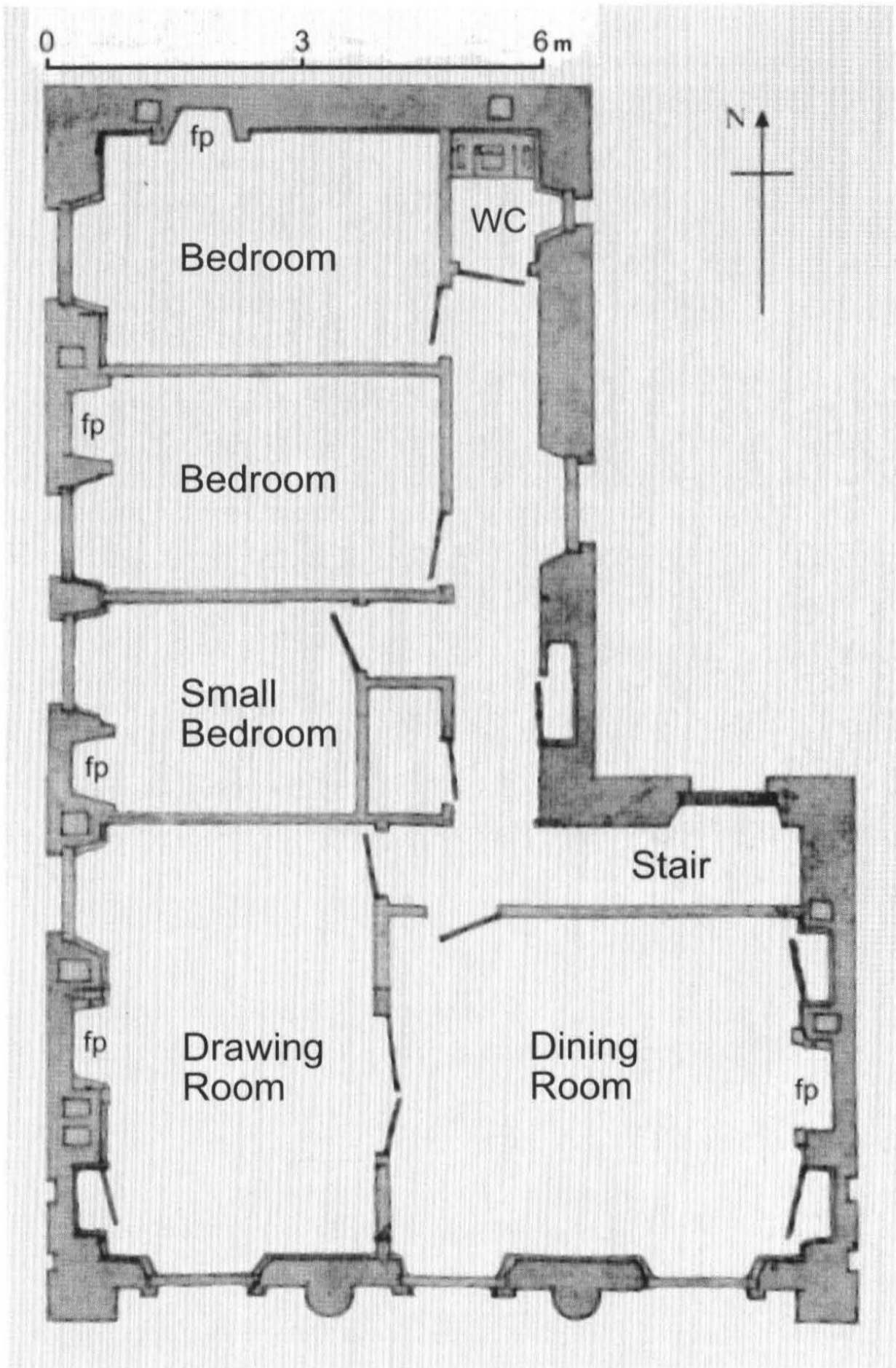
The starting year 1833 was chosen because it was in that year that the construction work was completed,<sup>17</sup> and William Dick opened his new veterinary school building on Clyde Street in the New Town of Edinburgh (Fig. 2). The architecture was designed by architects Richard and Robert Dickson<sup>19</sup> and was constructed by Messrs. Smith and Watson.<sup>20</sup> The sculpture of the horse on the top of the façade was by A. Wallace, a partner in the firm Wallace and White.<sup>21</sup> A carved row of animal heads, of horse, dog, ox and sheep on both sides of the stag's head, was set into the building above the second-floor windows of its façade (Fig. 2). These icons were consistent with the desire of the Highland Society to have veterinary surgeons trained to treat all domestic farm livestock in Scotland.<sup>6</sup> They also reflected the comparative anatomical training provided to William Dick by his mentor John Barclay.<sup>22</sup>

The Dick family home occupied rooms in the top two floors of the building. The top floor (Fig. 3) contained two bedrooms (each about 13 m<sup>2</sup> in floor area) and a smaller bedroom (about 8.5m<sup>2</sup> in floor area). Each of these rooms received light from a window on the west side. The dining room (floor area about 23m<sup>2</sup>) and adjoining drawing room (floor area about 18m<sup>2</sup>) looked south onto Clyde Street, the drawing room having a window in the west side. A toilet was situated at the northerly end of the corridor.<sup>19</sup> It will remain a matter of conjecture whether the more elderly John and Jean Dick occupied the most northerly bedroom and their daughter Mary slept in the adjacent bedroom. The small bedroom and adjacent closet on the top floor had beds in them and were used by the two domestic-maid servants.<sup>23</sup>

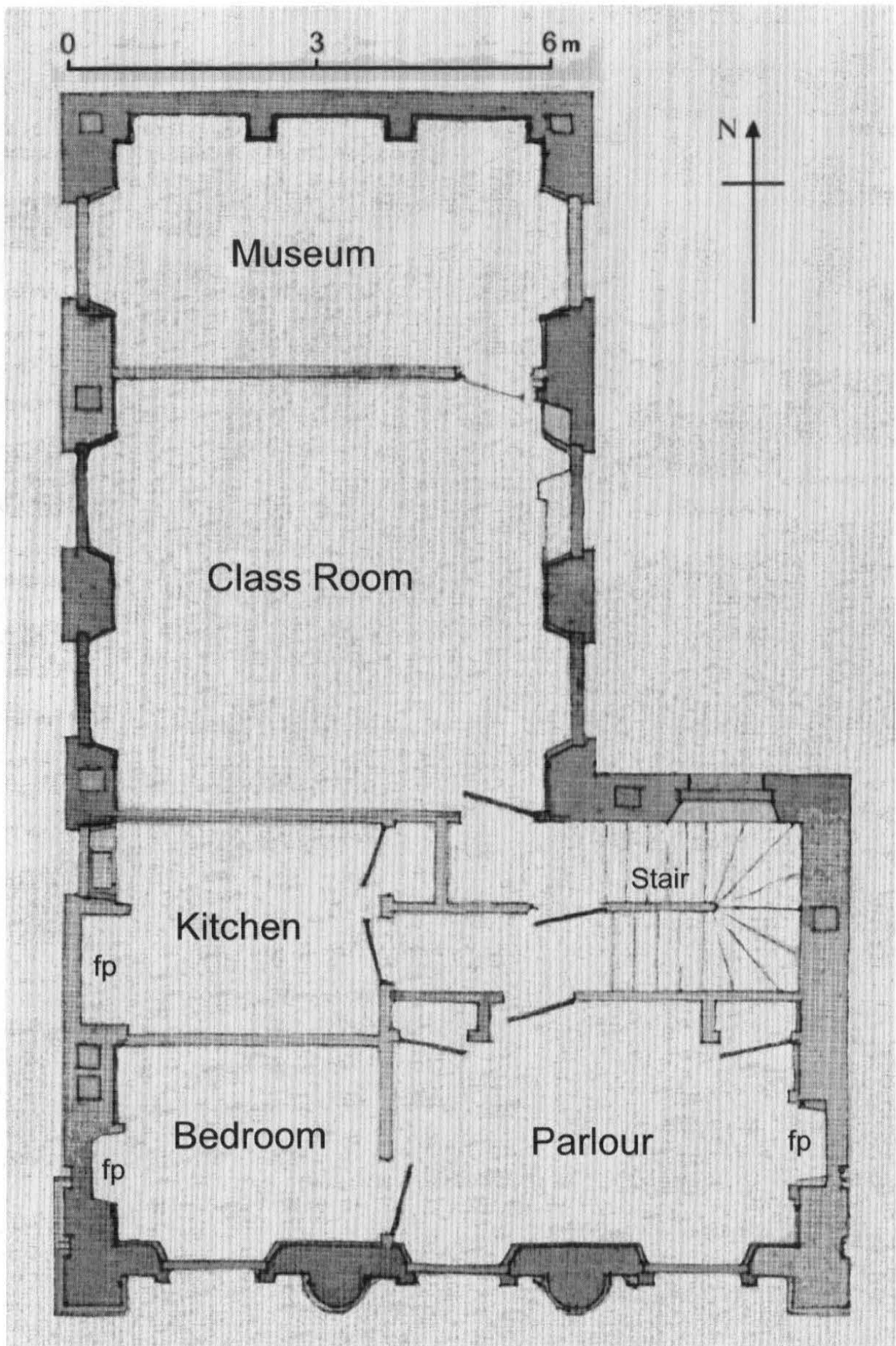
It had been suggested earlier<sup>12,13</sup> that Mary used the bedroom on the lower floor.<sup>19</sup> However, further analysis of the available William Dick portraiture suggested that this south-facing bedroom (about 8m<sup>2</sup> in floor area) and its adjacent south-facing parlour (about 15m<sup>2</sup> in floor area) would more probably



**Fig. 2. The Façade of the New Veterinary School on Clyde Street in 1833**



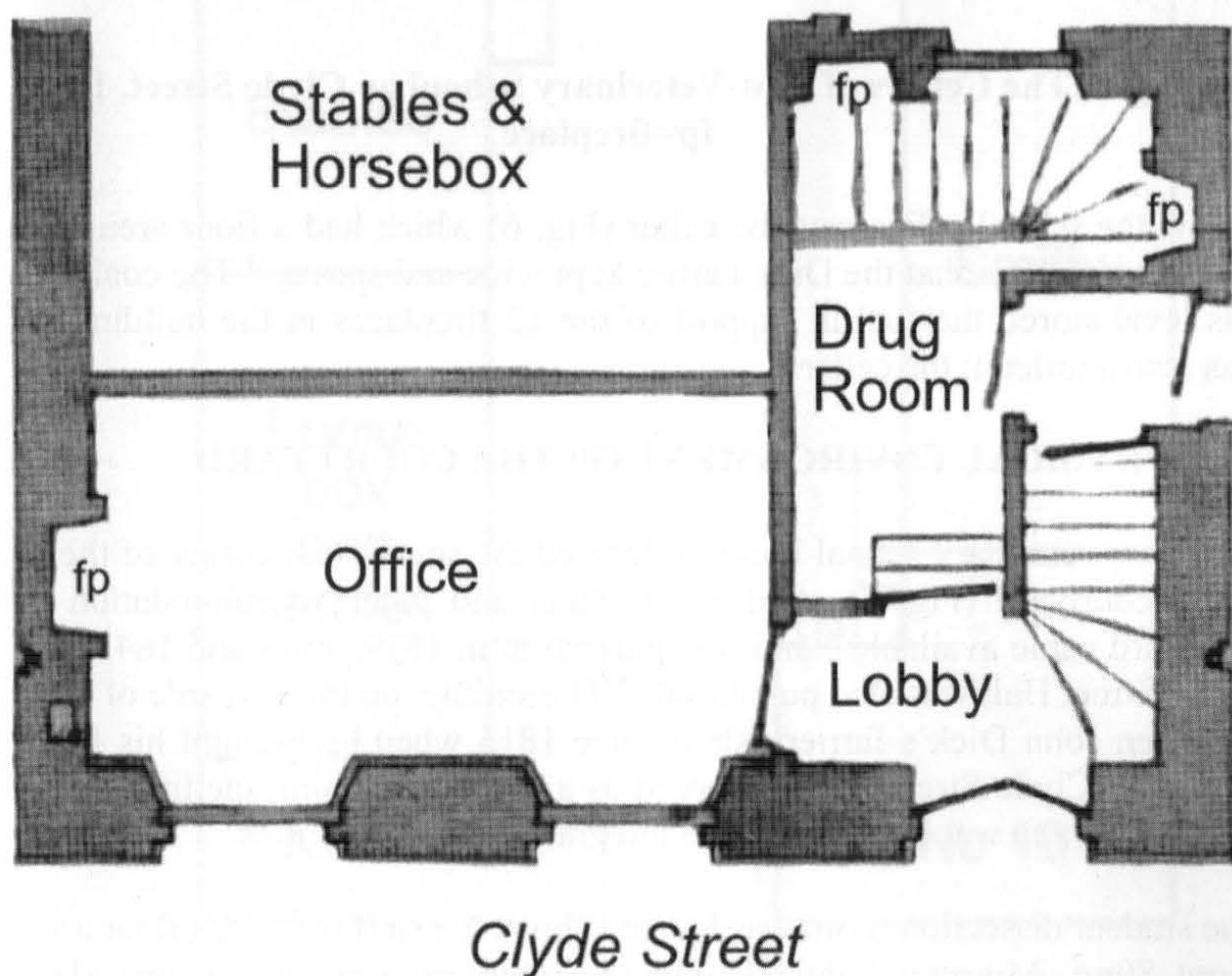
**Fig. 3. Plan of the Top Floor, where the Dick Family Lived, in the New Veterinary School on Clyde Street, 1833. fp=fireplace, WC=toilet**



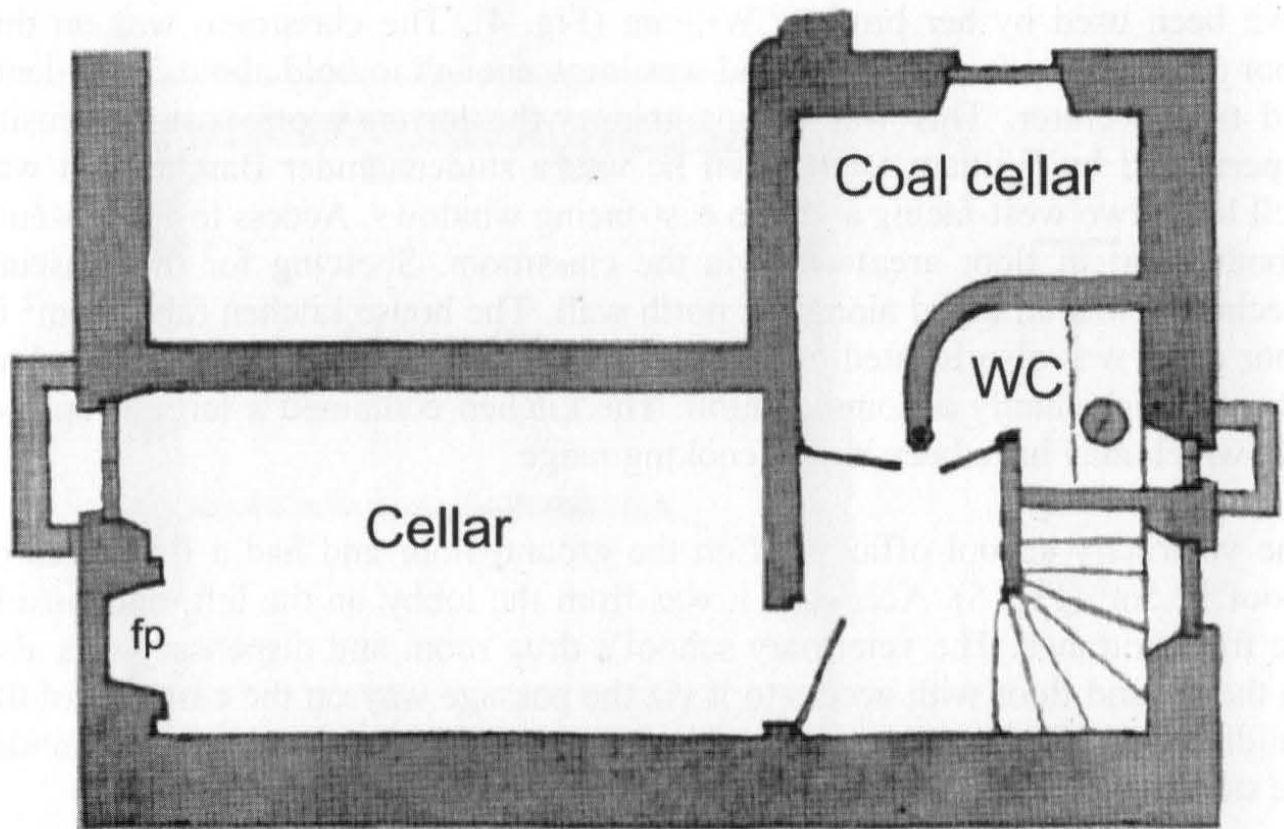
**Fig. 4. Plan of the Teaching-floor of the New Veterinary School on Clyde Street, 1833. fp=fireplace**

have been used by her brother, William (Fig. 4). The classroom was on this floor (about 32m<sup>2</sup> in floor area) and was large enough to hold about 50 students and their lecturer. This was comparable to the lecture-room seating density experienced by William Dick when he was a student under Barclay.<sup>22</sup> It was well lit by two west-facing and two east-facing windows. Access to the museum (about 17m<sup>2</sup> in floor area) was via the classroom. Shelving for the museum specimens was arranged along the north wall. The house kitchen (about 9m<sup>2</sup> in floor area) was also located on this floor, through a door off the stair landing into the Dick family accommodation. The kitchen contained a large fireplace, into which may have been built a cooking range.

The veterinary school office was on the ground floor and had a floor area of about 17.5m<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 5). Access to it was from the lobby on the left, once inside the front entrance. The veterinary school's drug room and dispensary was also on the ground floor with access to it via the passage way on the east side of the building (Fig. 5). Horsebox and stable accommodation were constructed under the students' classroom and museum.



**Fig. 5. Plan of the Office on the Ground Floor of the New Veterinary School on Clyde Street, 1833. fp=fireplace.**



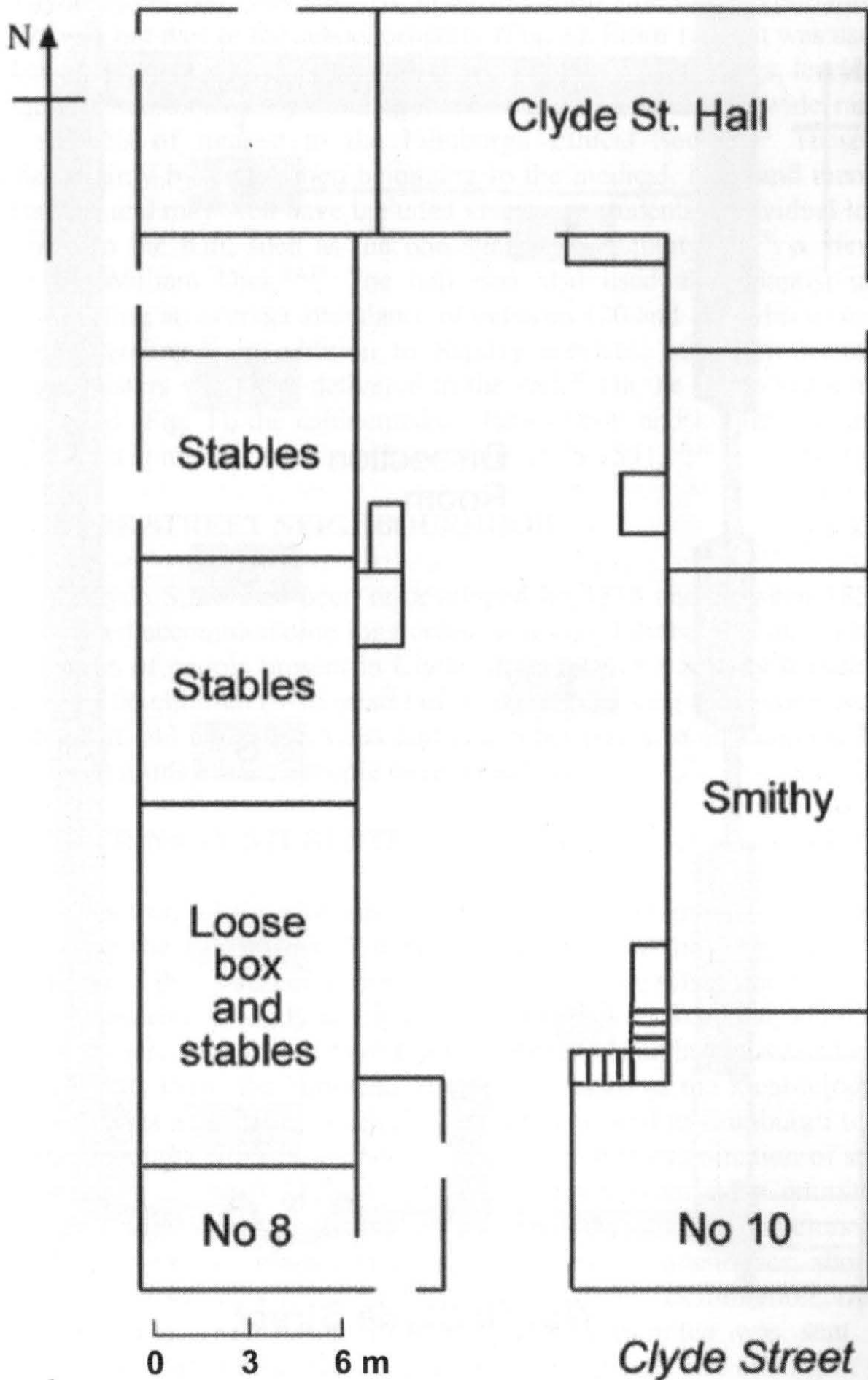
**Fig. 6. The Cellars of New Veterinary School on Clyde Street, 1833  
fp=fireplace**

Below the school office was the cellar (Fig. 6) which had a floor area of about 16m<sup>2</sup>. It was here that the Dick family kept wine and spirits.<sup>23</sup> The coal cellar at this level stored the fuel in support of the 12 fireplaces in the building. There was also a toilet in the cellar.

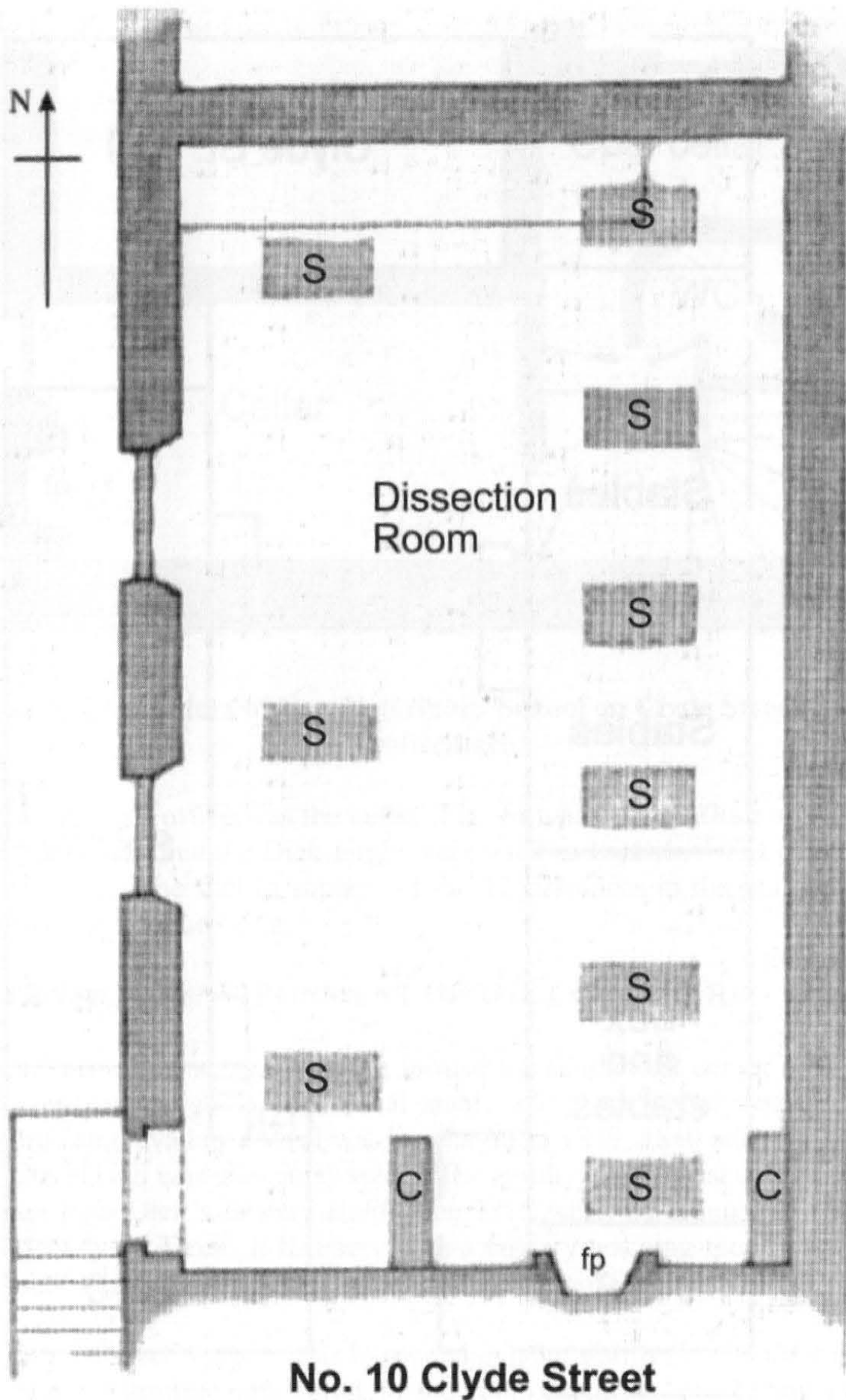
### **THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE COURTYARD**

The new, veterinary school building formed the south-west corner of the Clyde Street courtyard (Fig. 7). Additional stable and other accommodation in the courtyard came available<sup>24</sup> and was purchased in 1839, 1840 and 1841, and the Clyde Street Hall was also purchased.<sup>25</sup> The smithy, on the east side of the yard, had been John Dick's farriery shop since 1815 when he brought his family to live in 15 Clyde Street<sup>8</sup>. It had served as a farriery teaching facility for his son from 1823<sup>8</sup> and was now part of the integrated school facilities.

The student dissection room was located above the smithy.<sup>26,27</sup> Its floor area was about 80m<sup>2</sup>. Morning light fell into the room from six east-facing skylights (Fig. 8). Afternoon light was provided by three west-facing skylights and two west-facing windows. Heat, additional to that coming from the forge below, was provided from a fireplace against the south wall.



**Fig. 7. Ground-level Plan of the Clyde Street Courtyard Buildings, 1833**



**Fig. 8. The First-floor Plan of the Dissection Room of the New Veterinary School on Clyde Street, 1833. C=cupboard; S=skylight.**

The Clyde Street Hall was situated along the north side of the courtyard, and initially was not part of the school property (Fig. 1). From 1832, it was used in a number of different ways, for courses of weekly evening meetings, lectures and colloquial discussions on phrenology, moral philosophy and a wide range of other subjects of interest to the Edinburgh Ethical Society.<sup>28</sup> These were attended mainly by young men belonging to the medical, legal and mercantile professions, and may well have included veterinary students. Individual lectures were held in the hall, such as the one against the annuity tax<sup>29</sup>, a viewpoint shared by William Dick.<sup>12,13</sup> The hall was also used as a Baptist church, accommodating an average attendance of between 120 and 140 who were in the habit of attending.<sup>30</sup> In addition to Sunday services, afternoon lectures by visiting ministers were also delivered in the hall.<sup>31</sup> On the south-east corner of the courtyard (Fig. 1), the cabinetmaker, James Scott and his family, and two lodgers, lived at number 10 Clyde Street from 1836-1841.<sup>3,4,32</sup>

## THE CLYDE STREET NEIGHBOURHOOD

Much of Clyde Street had been re-developed by 1815 and between 1833 and 1841 provided accommodation for a cross-section of Edinburgh folk. According to the census of people present in Clyde Street taken on Sunday 6 June 1841, there were 106 children (0-15 years) of whom 24 (15-year olds) were working, and a total of 143 adults (16 years and older) belonging to 46 families. The 57 varied occupations of these people were listed.<sup>32</sup>

## THE VETERINARY STUDENTS

Although data on all the students is not available, it is possible to identify a number from the published lists of those who obtained their diplomas, and to find out where they had come from.<sup>18,33</sup> Most of those who formed the initial cohorts of students to study at Clyde Street came from Scotland, although, in 1825 two farriers from the north of England came to take the course and another in 1828.<sup>34,35</sup> In 1825, the Highland Society requested of the local agricultural societies in Scotland that they select likely men to send to Edinburgh to study veterinary medicine at Dick's school.<sup>36</sup> The first public examination of students took place on 23 April 1828.<sup>37</sup> In 1829, a report from the Committee on Veterinary Subjects was presented by Mr Fergusson to the Directors of the Highland Society recommending that two years of attendance should be required before students could present themselves for examination; this was agreed to.<sup>38</sup> The 1830 report from the same committee was sent to 46 agricultural societies in Scotland, commenting that 'steady and intelligent young men, of plain ordinary education, may be rendered extremely well qualified for veterinary practice' after attendance for two successive sessions at the Clyde

Street school.<sup>39,40</sup> Those students who attended two courses, and were afterwards found qualified at the annual examination by the committee of Medical Examiners in April, received engraved certificates.<sup>40,41</sup>

The size of the veterinary student population grew from 1832-33 to 1840-41 (Table 1). Although the total numbers of students for several of these years has been incompletely recorded, this may have been due to the varied nature of the students attending classes. Some were practical or professional students (totals available for 1832-33, 1835-36 and 1839-40), that is, those studying with the intention of becoming practicing veterinary surgeons.<sup>42</sup> Of these professional men, the numbers (and names) of the candidates passing the annual examinations were recorded (Table 1). A number of general or amateur gentlemen were not able to attend the evening professional course, and so, since 1828, Mr Dick had organised a popular course of lectures for them. That afternoon course ran for a number of years, and these specially arranged lectures were advertised.<sup>43</sup> In 1830, nine general or amateur, students attended regularly.<sup>40</sup> In addition, the veterinary classes were open to students of agriculture in the University of Edinburgh.<sup>18,44</sup> The numbers and frequency of attendance of those students are unknown. Neither the names of the amateur students nor those from the university's agriculture classes, nor indeed those for whom William Dick provided lectures at other times, are now known. Two of the medical examiners of the students in 1832, one of whom was the President of the Edinburgh College of Surgeons, attended the whole course of Dick's lectures.<sup>45</sup> Their presence in the veterinary school will certainly have had something of a 'leavening' influence. Both unmarried and married men studied at the Edinburgh Veterinary School.<sup>46,47</sup>

Many students were from blacksmith families, and some were smiths.<sup>46</sup> Some had studied medicine (e.g. Robert McIntosh, diploma 1839) or surgery (e.g. George Douglas, diploma 1843). Some had army backgrounds (e.g. John Campbell, diploma 1842). From 1834, students were coming from further afield; in 1835, one practical man came from New York and one from London in addition to the steady stream from towns and villages in Scotland. A student from America was noted to have studied in 1835, and another from Canada (William C. Lord, diploma 1842). The first student from Ireland (Edward Dycer) appeared in the diploma list for 1838, and the first from Wales was Charles G. Pugh (diploma 1842). At the general meeting of the Highland Society on 23 June 1840, it was reported that there had been a large increase in the number of students, now from all parts of Scotland, England, Ireland and even Australia.<sup>48</sup> The ages of the students varied too. The small amount of evidence available from the 1841 census suggests that when they arrived in Clyde Street, they were mainly about 19-25 years old (see below). However, we

know that Robert Olden junior was 15 years old when he arrived from Cork to study veterinary medicine, and that his father Robert Olden senior, who studied at Clyde Street with him, was 52 years old.<sup>49</sup>

## STUDENT ACCOMMODATION

As was the university tradition in Scotland, the students were free to find their own accommodation.<sup>50</sup> Most of those students for whom there is information lived as lodgers in flats and lodging houses in the New Town region of Edinburgh. This information was gathered from the census of 1841, which was carried out in the evening of Sunday 6 June; ages were rounded down to the nearest 5 years.<sup>46</sup> This date was almost six weeks after the veterinary diploma examinations on 19 and 20 April.<sup>33</sup> It is not a surprise, therefore, that only a few students could easily be traced in Edinburgh that Sunday night in June. The only student of the 1841 final year class that was found resident in Edinburgh was Alexander Murray Aitken; he was staying at home with his mother and two sisters in Mary's Place, off Raeburn Place, Stockbridge. Henry Seton, who had obtained his diploma in 1835, was resident at 3 Castle Street, and Alexander Watt, who passed in 1837, was staying with James Watt (55y) at 5 James Place West. However, not surprisingly, a number of the students who went on to obtain their diplomas in the following year (1842) were indeed found in Edinburgh. Thomas Pollock (20y) was at home with his farrier father Peter (50y), mother Christian and his two younger brothers and four younger sisters; that evening he was being visited by his veterinary student friend, Charles Pugh (20y). Unfortunately, their student colleague, Peter Newton (20y), was a patient in the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary that night. The two students, George Hogarth (20y) and Henry Hurst (20y) were staying in Agnes Murray's lodgings in James Square. Curiously, Henry Hurst was also recorded that evening in 12 Clyde Street together with two others also listed as 'medical students', George Diliman (25y) and James Mundall (20y). Neither George nor James was listed as having been awarded a veterinary diploma. James Square was a short walk away from Clyde Street (Fig. 1) and Henry may have been on a visit to one of these two addresses. Charles Herman (30y) was living at 15 Clyde St, in the building formerly occupied by the Dick family.<sup>8</sup> He too was not listed as having been awarded a veterinary diploma.

Of the 'first year' students not remaining in Edinburgh, five were traced and found to have gone home. Robert Dobson (30y) had returned to his wife Margaret and their three children at his smithy in Seton, in East Lothian. John Low (25y) went back to Auchenyoch by Fordoun, Kincardine to stay with his sister Helen. John Hepburn (20y) returned to his father William's (56y) blacksmith home and to his sister Elizabeth on Johnston St, Laurencekirk.

Alexander Smith (20y) was working as a wright at Leaderfoot, near Melrose on census day. William Roy (20y) was staying, as a blacksmith, with his parents William (45y) and Elizabeth (40y) and their five younger children at home in Comrie St, Crieff. These students reflected the practicalities of earning money during the May to October Summer/Autumn months to pay for their accommodation and course fees during the six-month Winter/Spring session and, in a number of cases, to adequately care for their families.

## STUDENT FOOD

Details of the meals eaten by veterinary students have not been passed down to us. However, in 1826 Edinburgh University's Principal, the Reverend John Lee, reported evidence of student frugality.<sup>51</sup> The students coming to Clyde Street were arriving from different parts of rural Scotland and bringing with them regional dietary traditions. Many were from blacksmith backgrounds, perhaps having been apprenticed smiths since the age of 15 years.<sup>46</sup> As indicated above, many had been sponsored by local agricultural associations. These men were accustomed to a regime of three meals per day, of breakfast, dinner and supper.<sup>52</sup> The standard Scottish breakfast in those times was oatmeal porridge, eaten warm with milk or skimmed milk.<sup>53</sup> This might have been replaced by a porridge made with whey, or pottage made of oatmeal or barley meal, with or without milk, or with a piece of butter.<sup>52</sup> Lodgers may have had breakfast prepared for them by their landladies. Those staying with family or friends will have had shared breakfasts. Those students living on their own will have made their own or may have obtained breakfast fare from commercial premises on the way to the veterinary school.

The ordinary allowance for a working man in Scotland was 17lb of meal or bread weekly together with milk and fish.<sup>54</sup> In university towns, such as Edinburgh, 'Meal Monday' was a holiday to enable the poor student to go home to collect a second supply of meal, ham and potatoes with which to support his plain living and hard work.<sup>55</sup> The foods of the great proportion of the rural population of Scotland consisted chiefly of potatoes and meal made of oats and barley, with herring (*Clupea harengus*) and milk in its natural or coagulated state, such as crowdie and soft cheeses. Sea fish, such as cod (*Gadus morhua*), coal fish (*Pollachius virens*) and ling (*Molva molva*) were caught locally. Lunch was not usually eaten as a meal. The winter's evening dinner was often consumed early, at 4pm, as darkness fell. Dinner was very often of broth, with some flesh that had been boiled in it. Other dinner constituents might be fish, or meats in the form of beef or mutton stews, kale and potatoes, or cheese, as well as oatcakes or bread made of peas or beans and bere (barley). Bread, buns, cakes, dumplings, apples, gooseberries, strawberries and other seasonal fruits

were available in Edinburgh.<sup>53</sup> For supper, cereal gruels and potatoes again played a large role. Eggs and fowl were luxuries.<sup>52</sup>

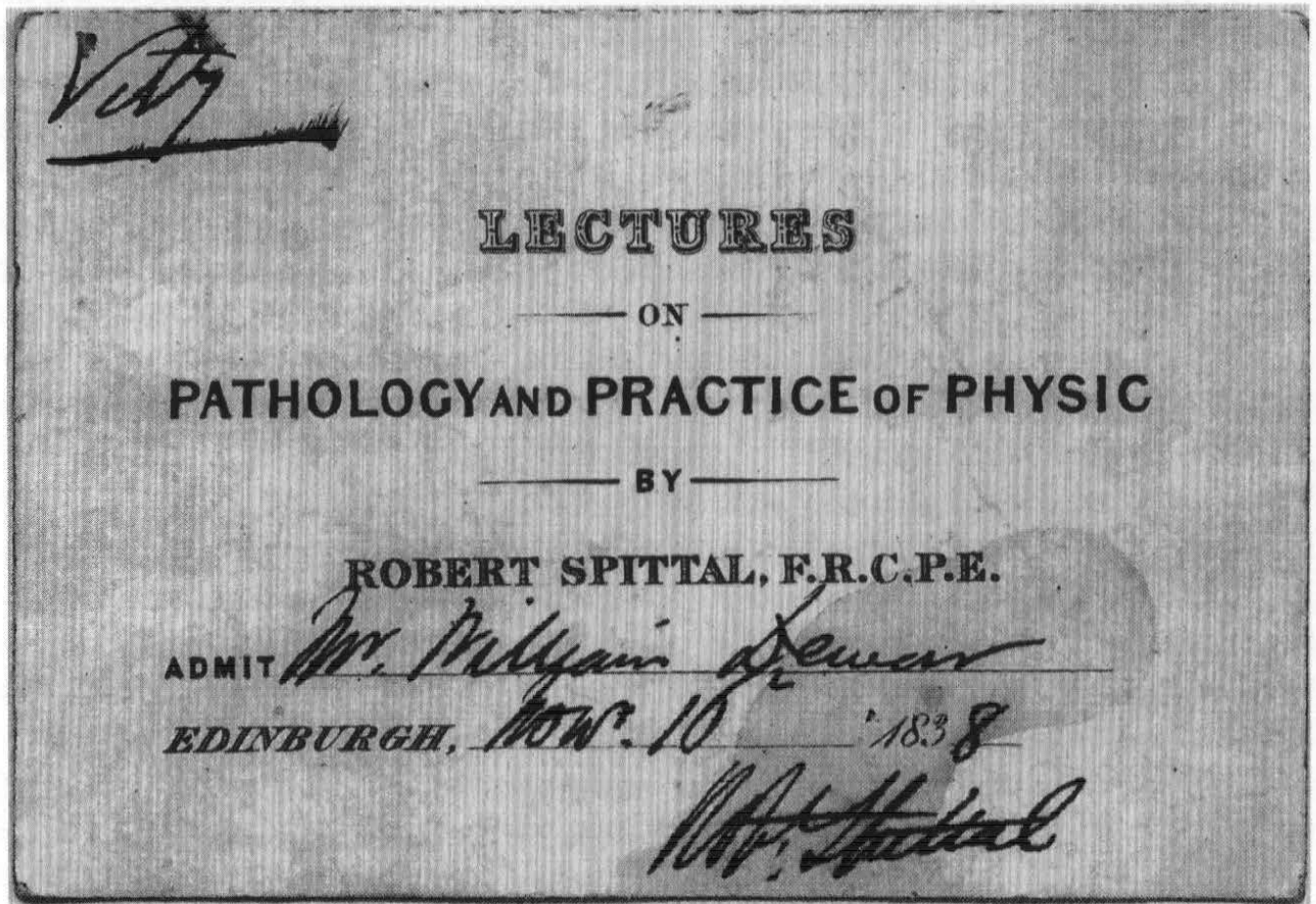
In 1833, the Directory<sup>3</sup> listed two bakers at 3 Clyde St, R. Gibbons and John Gray. Robert Gibbons had prospered and, as a consequence, advertised the move of his baker's premise to be closer to the St Andrews Square end of Clyde Street (1 North St Andrews Street). He had fitted out 'a room heated by steam-pipes, where parties may partake of SOUPS, PIES and CONFECTIONERY, in great variety'.<sup>56</sup> The 1841 census recorded that there were in addition to these two bakers, four younger staff bakers were living at 5 and 16 Clyde Street.<sup>46</sup> Bakers shops in the neighbourhood included Alex Aitchison at 4 East Register Street and Thomas Lauder at 9 East Register Street, and A. Paul at 13 South St Andrews Street.

## TEACHING STAFF RESOURCES

There were two veterinary surgeons on the Clyde Street teaching staff in 1833; William Dick assisted by his former student, Josiah Cheetham (Table 1). John Dick was the senior farrier. In addition to the farriery expertise within each class of students, there was probably additional blacksmith staff available each session; this is borne out by the 1841 census which suggested that Thomas Milke, Andrew Steel and William Vanderman were employed as blacksmiths. Mary Dick took care of the accounts and provided a significant measure of social care to the students.<sup>6,12,13,57</sup> There is no written account of any particular roles played by Jean Dick during her later years<sup>58</sup> (Jean Dick died in 1837) and it is presumed that as an elderly woman she may have undertaken light housekeeping and home management duties. She would have been supported in this by her daughter Mary and by the two housemaids. We know from the 1841 census records<sup>46</sup> that the housemaids in 1841 were Isabella Graham (30y) and Jane Dunn (15y).

In addition to this, and by way of personal agreement with William Dick, the classes of the whole medical curriculum in Edinburgh were open to the veterinary students.<sup>59,60</sup> The proximity of the University and the College of Surgeons (Fig. 1) enabled the students to take advantage of these opportunities. From 1833 they attended the lectures in the University given by Professors Low on Agriculture and Munro tertius on human anatomy, and in the College of Surgeons by Dr Knox on Anatomy (on Tuesday at 11am), Mr Robert Liston and Mr Fergusson on Surgery (on Tuesday at 2pm), Dr Thomas Johnstone Aitken on Materia Medica (on Wednesday at 9am) and on the Institutes of Medicine (on Wednesday at 6pm), and Dr Murray on Chemistry and Chemical Pharmacy (on Wednesday at 3pm)<sup>61</sup>. As the years progressed other medical lecturers gave

access to their classes.<sup>59,60</sup> Dr Murray joined Mr Combe in Clyde Street Hall to give courses of lectures on geology and chemistry through the winter months.<sup>62</sup> An example of a lecture attendance card, admitting William Dewar (diploma in 1839)<sup>63</sup> to the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh lectures by Robert Spittal, is shown in Fig. 9.



**Fig. 9. Card Admitting William Dewar (Diploma in 1839) to the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh Lectures by Robert Spittal**

## **VETERINARY SURGEONS IN EDINBURGH**

The students had very practical access to the other members of the veterinary community in Edinburgh and beyond. In 1832-33 there were five veterinary surgeons practicing in Edinburgh (Table 1). Four had been trained in London. The fifth, Josiah P. Cheetham had trained in Edinburgh and qualified in 1828. In 1830, he was appointed Professor of Veterinary Medicine and Surgery at the Andersonian University of Glasgow, and in 1832-33 was an assistant to William Dick in Clyde Street<sup>64</sup>. William Dick had good relationships with these men and his students were encouraged to learn from them. In 1836, Thomas Ritchie, a local vet, advertised a willingness to teach 'the functions of the horse's foot and the shoeing of the foot of the horse.'<sup>65</sup> Two years later he published 'Observations on the functions of the foot. Edinburgh'.<sup>66</sup> By 1840, there were

Veterinary Surgeons	SL	Address in Edinburgh 1839	1832-33	1833-34	1834-35	1835-36	1836-37	1837-38	1838-39	1839-40	1840-41
Aitken, John	V5	142 Causewayside						Y	Y	Y	Y
Cheetham, J.P. g1828	V2	8 Clyde Street	Y								
Dick, William	V2	8 Clyde Street	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Gray, Alex	V1	31 Pleasance & 119 Rose St	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Gray, Alexander g1836	V1	31 Pleasance							Y	Y	Y
Henderson, William		[100 Rose Street]	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			
Kennedy, John		[23 Rose Lane]				Y	Y				
Medd, George	V6	1 Windsor Street							Y	Y	
Ritchie, Thomas g1830	V3	35 Rose Street					Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Seton, Henry g1835	V7	129 Rose Street Lane								Y	Y
Watt, James	V4	[6 St James Place]	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			
Watt, Alexander g1837	V4	6 St James Place						Y	Y	Y	Y
Worthington, William g1840	V2	10 Clyde Street							Y	Y	Y
Farriers											
Aitkens, James	F1	14 Potterrow								Y	
Aitkens, T.	F2	45 Charlotte Street								Y	
Dick, John	F4	8 Clyde Street								Y	
Mather, T.	F3	6 Nottingham Place								Y	
Smilbert, James	F5	91 St Andrew Street								Y	
Number of students			50	62	>60	64	>60	?	101	78	86
Practical men			30			20				48	
Passed diploma examination			11	16	15	15	14	12	17	18	17

**TABLE 1. Veterinary Surgeons (g=Edinburgh Diploma Year) and Farriers, their Post Office Addresses in 1839 and Symbol Link (SL) to Fig. 1, Plus Veterinary Student Numbers in Edinburgh 1833-41**

nine veterinary surgeons, five of whom had been trained in the Clyde Street school (Table 1). This group of recent graduates are likely to have formed a supportive professional environment for the veterinary students studying in Edinburgh (see below).

## **FARRIERS IN EDINBURGH**

Another group of men who would have provided background practical and social support to the students were the farriers. A number of them were listed in the Post Office Directory for 1833-1834; James Aitken (14 Potterrow), William Aitken (56 Charlotte Street), Mark Archer (Glover Street), John Dick (8 Clyde Street), T. Mather (14 Greenside), James Smith (9 Charlotte Street), George Tait (Junction Street) and James Thomson (8 Duke Street). Those listed in the Post Office Directory for 1839-40 were James Aitken (14 Potterrow), Thomas Aitken (55 Charlotte Street), Mark Archer (Duke Street), John Dick (8 Clyde Street), Thomas Mather (7 Queen Street), and James Smilbert (91 St Andrews Street) (Fig. 1). Of these, Thomas Mather passed his veterinary diploma exams in 1840. Peter Pollock (address Frederick Street, Edinburgh) was not listed as a farrier in the 1839-40 Post Office Directories but was listed as such in the 1841 Census.<sup>46</sup> His son, Thomas, passed his veterinary diploma exams in 1842.<sup>18</sup>

## **THE CLYDE STREET LECTURE COURSE**

William Dick's lectures initially began in mid-November,<sup>44</sup> after the potato harvest in October. By 1840, they were started earlier, on Wednesday 4 November.<sup>67</sup> The lectures ran until the diploma examination time during the third week of April. The student-teaching session was therefore about six months long. William Dick began by giving evening lectures at 7pm, three times a week until mid-January.<sup>18,68,69</sup> From mid-January he lectured four times a week, and after the middle of February, increased his lectures to five times a week. On every Saturday, he carried out a one and a half to two hour long, careful examination lecture period with the students.<sup>27,68,69</sup>

In 1829-30, the course had been extended to 70 lectures.<sup>40</sup> The content of these lectures were, in summary:— after an outline of anatomy, and a comparative description of the bones of the different domestic animals, taking the horse as a standard, and discussing the diseases of these bones as they came successively under examination, Mr Dick proceeded to treat of the muscles, tendons and ligaments, with their various diseases, in the different animals. Next in order came the foot, with its diseases, and the various modes of shoeing, after which followed the organs of respiration, with the diseases affecting those parts, and

the specific ailments of the different animals connected therewith, as the murrain in cattle, distemper in dogs, tuberculous disease in swine, &c. the abdominal viscera of the horse, ox, sheep, and dog, and peculiarities of each, were next considered, with the diseases of the intestines, as 'hoven stomach' in cattle and sheep, colic, inflammation, &c, &c. Then followed the liver, rot in sheep, the urinary and generative organs, with the operations connected therewith, as castration, spaying, lithotomy, operation for hernia, &c. the skin, its functions and diseases, was next treated of; then the brain, nerves, and ear, with their disorders; and, lastly, the anatomy and diseases of the eye. From 1833, the diploma course was extended over two years.<sup>70</sup>

## COURSE FEES

In 1833, the session (one year) fee was £3 3s.<sup>71</sup> Students could pay an entrance fee of £10 which entitled them to attending lectures at the school for as long as they wanted.<sup>21</sup> All students could also freely attend lectures given by medical and surgical men in the town. In 1840 and 1841, as part of the affiliation to the new Queen's College structure,<sup>8</sup> the fees were raised to £3 5s for the first year and £2 4s for the second; perpetual students were charged £5 5s.<sup>67</sup> An additional Queen's College reading room, containing the principal medical, scientific, and literary journals and medical textbooks, was opened for the students for an annual fee of 10s 6d. It was free to the members of the Anatomical and Physiological Society.

A remit was given by the Highland and Agricultural Society to prepare a prospectus for the year 1841-42.<sup>72</sup> It would be much appreciated if a copy of this has survived the passage of time and perhaps could be offered to the editor of *Veterinary History* for publication.

## THE COLLECTION OF TEACHING PREPARATIONS

Reference had been made<sup>5</sup> to the collection of anatomical and other preparations to be found in the old house at 8 Clyde Street. The classroom of no very great dimensions presented 'the delightful confusion which seemed to reign within. Skeletons of all descriptions, from a horse to an ape, not ranged in regular order, but standing higglety pigglety, their ranks having been broken by the professor's table, and their heads looking in all directions, as if thrown together by chance. Suspended from the ceiling was a portion of inflated and injected intestine, with its mesenteric expansion dangling in the air, whilst all around the room, and especially in the corners, were heaped together vast quantities of diseased bones, and other preparations, seemingly without order, and without arrangement'. As a consequence of this description, the Directors of the

Highland Society asked Sir George Ballingall, the professor of Military Surgery at the University of Edinburgh, to compile a proper catalogue of these specimens. His inventory of the 348 specimens, 'Manuscript catalogue of the Veterinary Museum, 1834' is found in the Appendix. It included the following; skeletons of horse, cow, ram, greyhound, reindeer, human and baboon; the heads and teeth of horses and cattle of various ages; healthy, fractured and diseased bones; conditions affecting horses' feet; many examples of horse-shoe designs, and demonstrations of the effects of horse shoes on foot morphology. There were many anatomical specimens of injected arteries and veins, diseased thoracic and abdominal organs, invertebrate parasites, and 'dust balls'.

The students were also entitled to visit the large collection of comparative anatomy specimens that had been compiled by John Barclay,<sup>22</sup> subsequently added to by Robert Knox, that were held in the newly constructed museum<sup>73</sup> of the College of Surgeons (Fig. 1).

## **DISSECTION MATERIAL**

Material for student dissection and anatomical study probably came largely from the animals that had presented for clinical examination and treatment but had either died or had had to be destroyed. From the figures published in 1845 about 3% of the equine patients either died due to their condition or were euthanised for clinical reasons (Table 2). The dissection room had originally been constructed out of an old hayloft and was situated above the smithy.<sup>26</sup> Opportunities for comparative anatomy arose from the smaller numbers of cattle and dogs that either died or had to be euthanised each month (Table 2). Students were encouraged to prepare illustrative dissections, and in 1837 a silver medal was presented to James Moore by William Dick for the best anatomical preparation.<sup>74</sup> The benefits of this practice were discussed, and in 1839 it was decided that in future no student should be allowed to become a candidate for the Highland and Agricultural Society diploma unless he produced an anatomical preparation executed by his own hand.<sup>59</sup>

## **STUDENT MOTIVATION**

Encouragement of student study comes in many, varied, and often quite personal, guises. Most of the professional veterinary students were self-motivated and came to Clyde Street to achieve a specific and valued objective; their qualification as a veterinary surgeon. Symbolic of that was the certificate awarded in April at the end of the session. In January 1831, Lizars (printers) were awarded £15 to create an engraved diploma certificate to replace the manuscript version that had been awarded to successful veterinary students up

**TABLE 2 VETERINARY CLINICAL CASES 1845**

Pigs	Neat cattle	Horses	Total	Equine mortalities		Canine mortalities
2	18	269	311	10	3.7%	2
	7	229	254	7	3.1%	1
	24	270	327	9	3.3%	1
1	48	246	336	8	3.2%	1
1	22	272	326	8	2.9%	3
	13	268	316	5	1.9%	1
18	34	257	332	9	3.5%	2
	11	235	264	6	2.6%	0
	12	229	258	9	3.9%	1
19	27	228	287	10	4.4%	1
41	216	2503	3011	81	3.2%	13
	22	250	301	8		

until then.<sup>75</sup> Nine years later, in 1840, a new design of the diploma (again by Lizars), printed on vellum, was approved by the Directors.<sup>72</sup> The 'learning standards' were set high, but the means to achieve them were made available in the quality and variety of veterinary and medical teaching expertise and reference materials. The students joined a competitive group of like-minded young men who were tested weekly on Saturdays.<sup>68,69</sup> Courtyard animal husbandry and clinical care responsibilities were distributed among them. Student anxiety was managed by both William, and more particularly, by his sister Mary Dick.<sup>12,13,57,59</sup>

Feedback was provided weekly at the Saturday 'examination lecture'. In addition, it was reported<sup>69</sup> that when Dick returned in the evening, he was always ready to listen to the reports of his young deputies, suggest many a useful hint, and warn them from many a dangerous error. Unrecorded discussions held in the smithy, around surgical cases in the courtyard, while examining pathological specimens in the dissection room, would all have provided valued feedback. For the sake of his class Dick encouraged them to practice on the horses and cattle of the poor who were not charged.<sup>12,13,15</sup> If lessons of particular value to his students were likely to arise out of these cases, they were admitted to the veterinary school's infirmary. The most trustworthy and assiduous of his students always had some of these patients committed to them, subject to his direction and inspection. In this way, their knowledge of clinical practice began early. Every opportunity was given to students to perform operations, particularly students presenting for examination in April.<sup>76</sup>

Dick felt that it was more important for his student to see what was really useful, what occurred in normal, routine practice, than the more rare and extraordinary cases.

The range of normality and variability in the external conformation of domestic animals, horse, ox, sheep, pig was also appreciated by Dick, and he took his students to the cattle market in order to point out the 'external beauties and defects of the various animals'.<sup>77</sup> They also had access to his extensive practice and the large dairies that he visited to see clinical material;<sup>69</sup> the 1837-8 post office directory lists 176 dairies in the Edinburgh area.<sup>3,4</sup> Dick continued to provide feedback even after his students had qualified.<sup>78</sup>

In his book he commented on the treatment of horses, mules, asses, donkeys, dogs, sheep, cattle and pigs,<sup>79,80</sup> a reflection of the inter-species competence in veterinary medicine required of the Edinburgh Veterinary College by the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland.<sup>81</sup> Although detailed lists of clinical cases had been compiled since the early 1830s<sup>82</sup> no examples of these, from between 1833 and 1841, have yet been found. However, some indication may be gained from an examination of the summary list for 1845; this was compiled from the material seen at Clyde Street from January to October 1845 (Table 2). The more detailed descriptions of the ailments were listed in the *Veterinarian*.<sup>76</sup> Throughout that year 240 dogs, 2503 horses and 216 'neat cattle' were treated.<sup>83</sup> A tiger was examined in the zoo in the early 1840s.<sup>76,84,85</sup>

Competition for prizes had long been practiced by the Highland and Agricultural Society in a number of different aspects of its work (c.f. its journal, *Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland* from 1799). Evidence for the awarding of prizes to the veterinary students first appeared in 1834 at the diploma-awarding ceremony<sup>86</sup>. These were in the form of books or medals, the choice lying with the student recipient. More than one 'top' prize was awarded each year, following thorough examination. William Dick also encouraged careful anatomical dissection by awarding a silver medal for the best preparation.

Pride of being part of a respected organisation helped motivation. Royal recognition of the Head of the School as 'Veterinary Surgeon to the Queen in Scotland' in 1837 undoubtedly gave benefit and led to the erection on the north wall of the Clyde Street Courtyard of the Royal Coat of Arms in its Scottish form.<sup>87</sup> Positive Highland Society response to the 1840 student petition (45 signatures) requesting that the title 'Edinburgh Veterinary College' be conferred on the school, and the title 'Professor' on William Dick also contributed.<sup>72</sup> Participating with the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons in the

creation of the Queen's College in Edinburgh in 1839-1841 will similarly have had a noticeable impact.<sup>8</sup>

## **STUDENT ASSOCIATION AND LIBRARY**

Student and staff cohesion around the new veterinary school resulted in the 1834 establishment of the Edinburgh Veterinary Medical Society, an association of veterinary surgeons and students.<sup>8</sup> The Society met weekly in the classroom to hear the presentation of a topic by one of the students. The Society also began to accumulate a collection of books, and in January 1839, the students asked the Highland Society to consider providing them with books for their student library.<sup>88</sup> The decision was at first deferred, and then in February 1839 was passed to the publications committee for consideration<sup>89</sup>. On 29 May 1839, the students were told that the publisher, Blackwood, had been advised to send to them a set of both the Highland Society's Journal and its Transactions.<sup>90</sup> Later that year, at the end of his introductory lecture to the students, Dick said that they each must have a library of reference, indeed 'every practitioner who would do himself justice should have in his possession the sterling works on veterinary science'.<sup>91</sup> He suggested a list of books (Table 3). Dick knew that some of his students understood other European languages, and he encouraged them to purchase foreign veterinary books and periodicals. The Edinburgh Veterinary Medical Society library books were probably housed in cupboards in the Clyde Street classroom.

Some of the veterinary students had medical or surgical backgrounds, and all had the opportunity to study with students at Edinburgh University and the College of Surgeons. They also had access to these libraries (Fig. 1). It is conceivable that these links may have enabled them to have access to the extensive library of the Royal Medical Society, in Surgeon Square. They may also have shared discussions with students of the Medico-chirurgical Society, the Royal Physical Society and the Wernerian Natural History Society.<sup>92</sup>

## **STUDENT 'FREE TIME' ACTIVITIES**

Several detailed, lively and varied accounts of student life in Edinburgh in the mid nineteenth century have been published – see references.<sup>93,94,95</sup> So far, however, no information has yet appeared to indicate how the veterinary students of 1833-1841 spent their free time. Climate will have played a significant role. Edinburgh in November and December 1835 was described as 'airy, and perfectly free from damp'. Edinburgh's winters were described as 'not cold enough. It is desirable that they were more keen'.<sup>96</sup> The days were short, however.

### TABLE 3

#### Books that William Dick Suggested, in 1839, that each Student Should have in his Personal Library

**Blaine, D.P.** 1824. *Canine pathology; or, a description of the diseases of dogs, nosologically arranged, with their causes, symptoms, and curative treatment; preceded by a sketch of the natural history of the dog; with practical directions on the breeding, rearing, and salutary treatment of these animals.* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. London.

**Blaine, D.P.** 1832. *The outlines of the veterinary art, or, A treatise on the anatomy, physiology, and curative treatment of the horse: and subordinately, of those of neat cattle and sheep, illustrated by surgical and anatomical plates.* 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London.

**Blumenbach, J.F.** 1827. *A manual of comparative anatomy* / Translated from the German of J.F. Blumenbach, with additional notes, by William Lawrence. London.

**Grant, R.E.** *Outlines of comparative anatomy, presenting a sketch of the present state of knowledge of the progress of discovery, in that science. Designed to serve as an introduction to animal physiology, and to the principles of classification in zoology.* London.

**Morton, W.J.T.** 1837. *A manual of pharmacy, for the student of veterinary medicine; containing the substances employed at the Royal Veterinary College, with an attempt at their classification, and the pharmacopoeia of that institution.* London.

**Percivall, W.** 1832. *Anatomy of the horse, embracing the structure of the foot.* London.

**Percivall, W.** 1834. *Hippopathology, a systematic treatise on the disorders and lamenesses of the horse, with their most approved methods of cure.* London.

**Reid, D.B.** 1836. *Text-book for students of chemistry. Containing a condensed view of the facts and the principles of the science.* Edinburgh.

**Youatt, W.** 1831. *Horse; with a treatise on draught and a copious index.* Published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. London.

**Youatt, W.** 1834. *Cattle: their breeds, management, and diseases: with an index.* Published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. London.

**Youatt, W.** 1837. *Sheep: their breeds, management, and diseases; to which is added the mountain shepherd's manual.* Published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. London.

**The Veterinarian** [Journal]

Outdoor games tended to be physical, and competitive. Quoiting was a popular sport in Scotland in which a heavy metal rings, usually weighing 3.5 to 5.5kg, were thrown at a pin in the ground.<sup>97</sup> The distance was 20m, often on rough ground. Strength and stamina were required, attributes acquired daily by practicing farriers. Inter-student team sport, such as football, had yet to be organised in Edinburgh. Nevertheless, the first football team was begun in Edinburgh in 1828, and football matches had been held on St Patrick's day in Queen's Park, Edinburgh close to Holyrood in the 1830's.<sup>98,99</sup> Sadly, in those times, the kirk in Scotland forbade sport on Sundays.<sup>99</sup>

Golf was popular in Scotland, and the game flourished in Edinburgh, where it usually more resembled the 'pitch and putt' variety.<sup>99,100,101</sup> In the wintertime, curling was the more popular sport all over Scotland; it was highly likely that some of the lads studying in the veterinary school would have participated.<sup>99,101,102,103</sup> Duddingston Loch, to the south-east side of Arthur's Seat, was the local centre of attraction. In 1833, two to three thousand folk were reported on the 'thick-ribbed ice', skaters and curling teams playing.<sup>104</sup> Curling was and is a game of passion. Games in that period could be hoped for, but not planned, as it was cold-weather dependent; there were very cold periods in January 1833, 1835, 1838 and 1841.<sup>104,105</sup>

In 1841, outdoor exercise was being encouraged as recreation.<sup>106</sup> Edinburgh was fortunate to have within its boundaries to the south the large free open spaces at the Bruntsfield links, the avenue walks in the Meadows and the large Holyrood Park with Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat, in addition to Princes Street Gardens and Calton Hill (Fig. 1). All of these may have been used by individual students studying at Clyde Street. Other outdoor distractions to the north of the town included the recently re-sited Botanical Gardens,<sup>107</sup> to the east of Inverleith House and beside Inverleith Row (Fig. 1) and the Zoological Gardens at Broughton Park. In 1839, a collection of exotic and native birds, reptiles and mammals were temporarily collected on the Mound between the old town and Princes Street.<sup>108,109</sup> An original plan had been to site these permanently at the east end of the Princes Street gardens, then temporarily at the west end of Princes Street gardens. However, the Edinburgh residents objected.<sup>110</sup> A more suitable site was found opposite Claremont Street,<sup>111,112</sup> to the north of the nearly completed New Town (Fig. 1). The livestock were transferred from the mound in the Spring of 1840 and the zoo was officially opened in July 1840. William Dick was appointed as one of the 'Ordinary Directors'.<sup>113</sup> His students obtained veterinary clinical access in the same way that they had clinical access to the dairy and other domestic livestock in his extensive practice.<sup>69</sup> Indoors, billiards could be played. In 1833, there was a billiard room at 1 Clyde St, across the street and diagonally west of the Veterinary School;<sup>3,4</sup> its owner,

Duncan Moon was a billiard table maker. There were two theatres in Edinburgh during this period, the Adelphi theatre (1830-1853) was situated on the corner of Broughton Street and King Street at the top of Leith Walk, and the Theatre Royal (1830-1859) in Shakespeare Square on Prince's Street (Fig. 1). A wide range of productions were presented between 1833 and 1841 including operas, ballet, plays, musical events, and at the end of the year, pantomimes.<sup>114</sup> The Edinburgh Choral Society drew audiences of 1500 and more for their annual concerts in the large Assembly Room (Fig. 1) on George Street.<sup>115</sup> At a more local level, ceilidh music-making, ballad-singing and dancing will have occurred.<sup>116</sup> The reports of celebratory meals held at the end of the teaching session provide some insight into student singing, speech-making and other elements of their relaxing activities, a common-place at that time.<sup>60,117,118</sup>

## SUNDAY OBSERVANCE

The churches in Edinburgh in 1837 and the sizes of their congregations have been listed.<sup>119</sup> The Clyde Street Baptist church congregation of about 145 attending regularly met in the Clyde Street Hall. Religious Scottish families attended two church services on Sunday, in addition to holding family worship at home, and keeping their window blinds drawn to exclude daylight. The streets were silent. Families were expected to stay indoors. Often public parks, museums and art galleries were closed on Sunday.<sup>120</sup> However, it was also clear in 1832, from the reports from various presbyteries, that the Sabbath was far from being strictly observed.<sup>121</sup> On Sundays, people were said to be 'wandering in the fields, meeting together in public houses'. Large parties of young people were reportedly 'gathering for various amusements, such as bathing openly and offensively in fine weather, or for skating on the ice in winter, and meeting together in each other's house for gossip and tipling.' From about that time, attempts were made by the churches to 'inculcate a strict and proper observance of the Sabbath'.<sup>120,121</sup> No data on Sunday observance specific to the Clyde Street veterinary students has yet come to light.

## CONCLUSIONS

This overview has sought to provide a glimpse of student life in and around the Clyde Street veterinary school. It has drawn together threads of available information and woven them into a framework of interconnections into which the results of further study may be stitched. Unsurprisingly, relatively little personal information concerning the student lives of the veterinary diplomates has sprung to light. But it is almost certainly 'out there', patiently remaining carefully curated and un-noticed in a public library, institutional museum, private or family archive, awaiting discovery.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to gratefully acknowledge the contributions made to many details of this paper by Colin Warwick, Sandi Howie and the late Willie Johnston. The financial support of the University of Edinburgh and the Balloch Trust is also gratefully acknowledged.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. ANONYMOUS, (1834)a. 'Edinburgh and its dependencies in 1833'. *The Scotsman*, 1 January 1834, p. 5, c.6.
2. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Edinburgh-Scotland/The-modern-city>
3. Gray's annual directories, 1832-1833, 1833-1834, 1834-1835, 1835-1836, 1836-1837, 1837-1838. Edinburgh: John Gray.
4. The Post-Office Annual Directory and Calendar, 1837-1838, 1838-1839, 1839-1830, 1840-1841, 1841-1842. Edinburgh: Ballantyne and Co./ Ballantyne and Hughes.
5. CASTLEY, J. (1830), 'Of the Edinburgh veterinary school, etc.' *The Veterinarian*, 3, pp. 305-311.
6. BRADLEY, O.C. (1923), History of the Edinburgh Veterinary College. Edinburgh
7. WARWICK C.M and MACDONALD, A.A. (2003), 'The New Veterinary College', Edinburgh, 1873 to 1904. *The Veterinary Record*, 153, pp. 380-386.
8. MACDONALD, A.A., WARWICK, C.M. and JOHNSTON, W.T. (2005), 'Locating veterinary education in Edinburgh in the nineteenth century'. *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, New Series, 6, pp. 41-71.
9. SAWYER, R.K. (Ed.). (2014), *The Cambridge handbook of the learning sciences* (2nd ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.
10. DE CORTE, E. (2017), 'Constructive, self-regulated, situated, and collaborative learning: an approach for the acquisition of adaptive competence'. *Journal of Education*, 192 (2/3), pp. 33-47.
11. ANONYMOUS, (1879), 'Historical account of the veterinary department of the Highland and Agricultural Society'. *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland*, Series 4, 11, pp. 121-189.
12. MACDONALD, A.A. and WARWICK, C.M. (2018), 'A wee blether with Mary Dick'. *iScot*, March, pp. 20-29.
13. MACDONALD, A.A. and WARWICK, C.M. (2019), 'A wee blether with Mary Dick'. *Veterinary History*, 19, pp. 341-369.
14. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND, (1831)b, 'Report of the Veterinary Committee', 27 June 1831, *Sederunt Book* 11, p. 429.
15. DICK, W. (1836)a, 'To the President, Vice-Presidents, Directors, and Members of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland'. In: Dick, W. 1869. *Occasional papers on veterinary subjects*. Edinburgh; William Blackwood and Sons, xxix-xxxii.
16. £2500 in 1833 was equivalent to £295,111 in 2019; £50 in 1833 was equivalent to £5902 in 2019 according to the CPI inflation calculator:  
<http://www.in2013dollars.com/uk/inflation/1833?amount=2500>).
17. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND, 1833a. Sir J. Hope, Notice to the Anniversary General Meeting, 8 January 1833, *Sederunt Book* 12, p. 328. (CPI inflation calculator: <http://www.in2013dollars.com/uk/inflation/1833?amount=2500>).
18. PRINGLE, R.O. (1869), 'Memoir'. In: Dick, W. *Occasional papers on veterinary*

- subjects*. William Blackwood and Sons: Edinburgh and London, pp. i-cxi.
19. ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE ANCIENT AND HISTORICAL MONUMENTS OF SCOTLAND. Richard and Robert Dickson, Plans of buildings proposed to be erected in Clyde Street by Mr Dick, 1832, E1868-69, E21871, E21873, E21876-77.
  20. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND, (1833)b, Report by Veterinary Committee, 18 March 1833, Sederunt Book 12, pp. 397-398. The architect brothers Richard and Robert Dickson of 9 Blenheim Place, Edinburgh designed the building. The builders were Smith and Watson of 6 Glover Street, Edinburgh: Post Office Directory (1833).
  21. Wallace was a partner in the firm Wallace and White, Sculptors and Marble Cutters, 6 Shrub Place, Edinburgh. In: The Post Office Annual Directory for 1831-32. Edinburgh. The sculpture of the horse, represented as if alarmed and in the act of rising from the ground, was erected on 26 September 1833: *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 30 Sept 1833, p. 3, c.3.
  22. MACDONALD, A.A. and WARWICK, C.M. 2014. 'Dr John Barclay's teaching of comparative anatomy'. *Veterinary History*, 17, pp. 202-237.
  23. DOWELL, A. (1866), Inventory and Valuation of the effects which belonged to the late Professor Dick of the Veterinary College Edinburgh. Edinburgh City Archive, Sederunt Books, Professor Dick's Trust, 3 vols. 1866-1877 (Hand list of Historical Records, p. 96).
  24. COMBE, G. (1835), To sell or let [Hall or Lecture Room, with dwelling-houses below it, and also a small House, lying to the south of the Hall]. *The Scotsman*, 4 Feb 1835, p.1, c.5.
  25. NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF SCOTLAND, Register of Sasines, Dispositions in favour of John Dick and William Dick, 26 October 1839, R.S. 27/1581, pp. 237-241; 22 August 1840, R.S. 27/1605, pp. 247-252; 6 January 1841, R.S. 27/1615, pp. 113-118; 05 July 1841, R.S. 27/1630, pp. 85-89; Disposition in favour of William Dick, 1 December 1845, R.S. 27/1766, pp. 60-62.
  26. [STEWART, J.] (1834), *A concise account of veterinary surgery, its schools and practitioners, for the benefit of proprietors of domestic animals*, by a veterinary surgeon. Glasgow.
  27. WILSON, A. (1835), 'A few remarks on a pamphlet entitled 'a concise account of veterinary surgery' &c. &c. *The Veterinarian*, 3, pp. 552-560.
  28. Popular education, *The Scotsman*, 20 Apr 1833, p. 3, c.3; Edinburgh Ethical Society. *The Scotsman*, 9 Nov 1833, p.3, c.6; Edinburgh Ethical Society. *The Scotsman*, 3 May 1834, p. 2 c.5; Lectures on moral philosophy, *The Scotsman*, 6 May 1835, p.3, c.4; Phrenology, *The Scotsman*, 23 Sept 1835, p.1, c.3; Edinburgh Philosophical Society, *The Scotsman*, 20 Jan 1836, p.1, c.6.
  29. The annuity tax. *The Scotsman*, 2 Apr 1836, p. 3, c.5.
  30. No. 8 – 'Congregations of the established church'. *The Scotsman*, 29 Mar 1837, p. 2, cc.2-3.
  31. SCOTT, A.J. (1839), 'Lectures on the relation between religion and philosophy'. *The Scotsman*, 24 Apr 1839, p. 2, c 5; *The Scotsman*, 27 Apr 1839, p.1, c.1.
  32. Accountant (1); Baker (6); Bank messenger (3); Billiard Table Maker (1); Blacksmith (3); Book closer (1); Book binder (2); Boot closer & cutter (1); Brush maker (1); Cabinet Maker (3); Cellar man (1); Chairman (1); Char woman (1); City Chamberlain (1); Clerk (1); Clerk in royal bank (1); Coach builder apprentice (1); Coach maker (1); Commission agent (1); Confectioner (1); Copper plate printer (1); Cooper (1); Dress Maker (6); Druggist (1); Engraver (1); Female servant (18); Furniture polisher (1); Grocer shop (1); Grocer sp. meal (1); House wife (33); Jeweller (2); Joiner (1); Labourer (2); Landscape painter (1); Lithographic thin apprentice (1); Lodging house keeper (4); Male servant (9);

- Medical [veterinary] student (3); Musician (1); Painter (3); Plumber apprentice (1); Postmaster (1); Printer (1); Prostitute (2); Provision merchant (1); Saddler (1); Shoemaker (7); Shoemaker apprentice (1); Spirit Dealer (2); Stay Maker (1); Stepmother (1); [veterinary] Student (1); Tailor (2); Tailor apprentice (2); Teacher (1); Teacher of music (1); Teller national bank (1); Veterinary Surgeon (2); Writer (1). In addition, those of independent means (5) and those with no identified occupation (9).
33. 'Edinburgh Veterinary School'. *The Scotsman*, 27 Apr 1833, p. 3, c.2; 'Edinburgh Veterinary School'. *The Scotsman*, 23 Apr 1834, p. 3, c.3; 'Examination of the Edinburgh Veterinary School'. *The Scotsman*, 22 Apr 1835, p. 4, c.2; 'Edinburgh Veterinary School'. *The Scotsman*, 14 May 1836, p. 3, c.4; 'Edinburgh Veterinary School'. *The Scotsman*, 29 Apr 1837, p.3, c.3; 'Edinburgh Veterinary School'. *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 26 Apr 1838, p.2, c.7; 'Edinburgh Veterinary College', *Caledonian Mercury*, 2 May 1839, p.3, c.5; 'Edinburgh Veterinary School', *Caledonian Mercury*, 25 Apr 1840, p.4, c.3; 'Edinburgh Veterinary College', *The Veterinarian*, 14, pp. 297-298 (1841).
  34. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND (1826), Report of Com[mit]tee on the Lectures – Session 1825-6. Meeting of Directors, 23 June 1826. *Sederunt Book 9*, pp. 48-53.
  35. FERGUSSON, A. (1829), Highland Society of Scotland – short report. *The Scotsman*, 17 Jan 1829, p. 39, cc.2-3.
  36. GORDON, C. (1825), 'Highland Society's Circular on the Importance of Veterinary Surgery'. *Farmer's Magazine*, 24, 309. [republished in: Anonymous, 1879. Historical account of the Veterinary Department of the Highland and Agricultural Society, Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, Fourth Series, 11, pp. 124-125].
  37. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND (1828), Meeting of Directors, 17 April 1828. *Sederunt Book 10*, pp. 184-193.
  38. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND 1829. Meeting of Directors, 13 May 1829. *Sederunt Book 10*, pp. 447- 449.
  39. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND. (1830), Report of the committee in charge of the veterinary school. Report to General Meeting, 28 June 1830, *Sederunt Book 11*, pp. 182-183; Meeting of Directors, 15 Nov 1830, *Sederunt Book 11*, p. 199.
  40. FERGUSSON, A. (1830), Report of the committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, in charge of the Veterinary School. In Pringle, R.O. 1869. Memoir. pp. xvii-xx. In Dick, W. 1869. *Occasional papers on veterinary subjects*. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons.
  41. ANONYMOUS, The Veterinary School, *The Scotsman*, 27 Feb 1833, p. 4, c.5; ANONYMOUS, The Veterinary School, *The Scotsman* 26 Feb 1834, p. 4, c.5; ANONYMOUS, The Veterinary School, *The Scotsman* 22 Feb 1837, p. 4, c.3; ANONYMOUS, The Veterinary College, *The Scotsman*, 10 Mar 1841, p. 1, c.8.
  42. DICK, W. (1826), To the Gentlemen of the Highland Society Members of the Committee on the Veterinary Lectures. In: Pringle, R.O. 1869. Memoir. Edinburgh; William Blackwood and Sons, pp. xv-xvi.
  43. The Veterinary School, *The Scotsman* 26 Feb 1834, p.4, c.5.
  44. Edinburgh Veterinary School. *The Scotsman*, 21 Aug 1833, p.1, c.1; Edinburgh Veterinary School. *The Scotsman*, 26 Aug 1835, p.1, c.1; Edinburgh Veterinary School. *The Scotsman*, 5 Sep 1838, p.1, c.2; Edinburgh Veterinary School. *The Scotsman*, 14 Sep 1839, p.1, c.3.
  45. SCOTUS (1832), *The Veterinarian*, 5, pp. 414-415.
  46. <https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/guides/census-records/1841-census>
  47. <https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/guides/census-records/1851-census>.

48. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND (1840)b, General Meeting, 23 June 1840. Sederunt Book 17, p. 25.
49. BUSS, H.M. and BEATTIE, J.H. (Eds.) 2003. Undelivered Letters to Hudson's Bay Company Men on the Northwest Coast of America, 1830-57. Vancouver: UBC Press.
50. BELL, R.E. (2000), Scotland's universities. *Comparative Education*, 36, pp. 163-175.
51. LEE, J. (1826), 'I will mention the instance of a young man who is now (1827) attending the third year of his Philosophical Course, and who promises to be a very excellent scholar. This young man states to me that during the two preceding sessions his expense of living averaged about 6s. 9d. [six shillings and nine pence] a week; this includes room-rent and fire, for which two articles he paid 3s. a week; the amount for 24 weeks is £8: 2s., and as the lodging cost £3: 12s., the whole expense of maintenance was £4: 10s. He stated that he had occasionally supplies of butter and cheese from the country, but to a very small extent. He breakfasted on porridge and milk, and had for dinner, three days a week, broth and a little meat; on the other days bread and milk, sometimes potatoes and herrings; he had tea in the afternoon, but no supper; and this he stated to be a very general mode of living. He has known some who lived, as he expressed it, more meanly than this – dining merely on potatoes and a little butter.' In: GRANT, A. 1884. *The story of the University of Edinburgh during its first three hundred years*. Vol 2. London: Longman, Green, and Co.
52. FENTON, A. (2007), 'Scottish life and society: the food of the Scots'. *A compendium of Scottish ethology*, volume 5. Edinburgh: John Donald
53. COSH, M. (2002), *Edinburgh: the golden age*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
54. DEVINE, T.M. (2004), *The great Highland famine*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
55. ANONYMOUS, (1894), 'Scottish student-life' *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science, and Art*, 5th Series, 11, pp. 593-596.
56. *The Scotsman*, 20 Nov 1839, p.1, c.6.
57. DOLLAR, T.A. (1894), Inaugural address delivered by Thomas A. Dollar, M.R.C.V.S. at the opening of the 72nd session of Royal (Dick) Veterinary College Edinburgh, 3rd October 1894. Presentation to the trustees of Miss Dick's Portrait and report of the banquet given to the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council, and leading members of the medical and veterinary professions. Edinburgh: Turnbull and Spears.
58. Jean Dick died in September 1837 as a consequence of the virulent influenza epidemic which swept from the north through Edinburgh and much of Scotland – OPR Deaths 692/02 0350 0203 Leith South: 11 Sept 1837. Anderson, Mrs Jean, Spouse to John Dick Farrier, and Freeman of Calton from No 8 Clyde Street, is buried in the New Ground in the Northwest corner of Mr Dick's tomb. (age) 72 (disease) Influenza. [so, born 1765]. However, a Jean Anderson was born in New Deer in 1761. New Deer lies 6 miles west of Old Deer, the parish where John Dick, her husband, began his trade as a blacksmith. If she was the same woman, that would make Jean Dick 4 years older (76y) than her death record states. Influenza. *The Scotsman*, 7 Jan 1837, p.2, c.7; PATERSON K.D. (1985), Pandemic and epidemic influenza, 1830-1848. *Social Science & Medicine*, 21, 571-580.
59. Edinburgh Veterinary College. *The Veterinarian*, 12, pp. 398-409.
60. 'Dinner of the friends and students of the veterinary college', Edinburgh. *The Veterinarian*, 13, pp. 364-372.
61. *The Scotsman*, 21 Sept 1831, p.1, c.1; *The Scotsman*, 5 Oct 1833, p.1, c.1.
62. 'Popular Education'. *The Scotsman*, 20 Apr 1833, p.3, c.3.
63. William Dewar was the father of John R.U. Dewar, FRCVS (1850-1919), who became Professor of Veterinary Surgery (1892), Professor of Veterinary Medicine (1895) and Principal of the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College (1895-1911).

64. Josiah P. Cheetham moved to London in 1833 and took the London diploma in 1834. He practiced in London and died on 26th April 1840. He was interred 'at his own request' in the vault belonging to the Dick family in the Calton Burial Ground, Edinburgh (see 6).
65. RITCHIE, T. (1836), Discovery in horse-shoeing. *The Scotsman*, Sept. 14 1836, p. 1, col. 5.
66. SMITH, F. (1976), *The early history of veterinary literature and its British development*, 4, London: J.A. Allen & Co. p. 77.
67. ROBERTSON, J. (1840), 'Queen's College', Edinburgh Winter session 1840-41. *The Scotsman*, 23 Sept 1840, p.1, c.3; Robertson, J. 1841. Queen's College, Edinburgh, An association of Fellows of the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, &c. Winter session 1841-42. *The Scotsman*, 29 Sept 1841, p.1, col. 4.
68. YOUATT, W. (1835)a. Footnote. *The Veterinarian*, 8, p. 620.
69. YOUATT, W. (1835)b. The veterinary schools, &c. *The Veterinarian*, 8, pp. 643-650.
70. 'The veterinary school'. *The Scotsman*, 27 Feb 1833, p. 4, c.5.
71. 'Edinburgh Veterinary School'. *The Scotsman*, 6 Nov 1833, p.1, c.1.
72. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND (1840)a. Minutes of Committee 24 April 1840. Sederunt Book 16, pp. 514-517.
73. CRESWELL, C.H. (1926), *The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh: historical notes from 1505 to 1905*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. [A large collection of comparative anatomical and pathological specimens had been presented to the College of Surgeons by anatomist John Barclay. A site was acquired by the purchase of a riding school (The Royal Academy for Teaching Exercise) in Nicolson Street. William Henry Playfair, 1790-1857, the foremost Scottish architect of that era, was commissioned to design a building containing a Meeting Hall, Barclayan Hall, for the specimens (which included a full-size elephant and rider), Lecture Room and Library. The College of Surgeon's new home was formally opened in July 1832.]
74. The Edinburgh Veterinary School, *The Scotsman*, 29 Apr 1837, p. 3, c.3.
75. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND, 1831a. Anniversary General Meeting, 11 January 1831. £15 to W.M.A. Lizars for engraving Diploma for Veterinary Students. *Sederunt Book* 11, p. 343.
76. DICK, W. (1845), The Edinburgh veterinary college [cases of disease occurring among animals at the Edinburgh Veterinary College]. *The Veterinarian*, 18, 163-167, 208-211, 271-274, 333-337, 388-392, 441-446, 515-520, 625-630, 683-688.
77. SPARROW, (1839), External conformation of cattle, sheep, etc. *The Farmers Magazine*, 3, pp. 95-98; *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, 10, pp. 519-525.
78. Dick, W. (1833), 'On calculi, and the mode of removing them, in domestic animals'. *The Veterinarian*, 6, pp. 370-376; Dick, W. (1834), 'On a case of fistula in the withers of the horse; and on cases of disease in the heart of cattle arising from their swallowing needles and pins'. *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, 4, 221-226; Dick, W. (1835), 'On acute dysentery in sheep, and on inflammation of the abomasum or true stomach in cattle'. *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, 5, pp. 411-418; Dick, W. (1841), 'On the prevailing disease in cattle, sheep, and swine'; being a letter by Professor Dick, of the Veterinary College, Edinburgh, addressed to his former pupils now residing in the country. Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, 13, pp. 530-534.
79. DICK, W. (1841), *Manual of Veterinary science*: forming the article under that head in the seventh edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. Edinburgh.
80. DICK, W. (1842), *Veterinary science*. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 7th edition, pp. 612-637, Edinburgh.

81. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND. (1823), Minutes of the General Meeting, 7 July 1823, *Sederunt Book* 7, p. 285.
82. YOUATT, W. (1834), 'Annual report of disease in Mr Youatt's school'. *The Veterinarian*, 7 (New Series), pp. 58-60.
83. Neat cattle = an animal of the genus *Bos*.
84. MERCER, J. (1844)a, 'Contributions to zoological pathology, Part I, On the morbid appearance seen in the skeleton of a trained tiger, as explanatory of the mode of training these animals'. *The Veterinarian*, 17, pp. 25-29.
85. MERCER, J. (1844)b, 'Contributions to zoological pathology, Part II, On sudden death by suffocation, consequent on primitive oedema glottides'. *The Veterinarian*, 17, pp. 67-71.
86. From 33 (Exam Results) we learn that in 1834 prizes were awarded to three students: George Cross, William Leith and John Sinclair. The following year the prizes went to four students. In 1836, Walter Butler and Alexander Gray were awarded prizes. At the end of the session in 1837 a medal or a book was offered as a first prize to John Lawson, with credit given to five students: George William Hay, Thomas Learmouth, William Ormiston, Robert Potts and Cuthbert Simpson. James Moore was given a silver medal for the best anatomical preparation. In 1838, Edward Dycer won top prize and the top prize for his anatomical preparation. John Barker was judged equal of top by William Dick and given a prize by him. In 1839 the silver medal, given every year to the student of the most distinguished merit, was awarded to Mr Robert Olden, Jun. Cork; and that for the best anatomical preparation to Mr Edward Simpson Grey, of Edinburgh, the preparation displaying the nerves of the ass. Another preparation, exhibiting the blood vessels of the head of the horse, was declared deserving of a premium, and an extra was awarded to Mr Edward Haggard, Yorkshire. It was decided that in future no student should be allowed to become a candidate for a diploma unless he produced an anatomical preparation executed by his own hand (see 59). In 1840, Highland Society medals were awarded to J.W. Lockwood and J.B Tennant, and they were also awarded Queen's College medals. The latter medal was also awarded to John Wright Charles (see 8). In 1841, three students were awarded the top prize: Charles Fraser, John Couch Quick and Thomas Swarbeck. James Kirkham produced the best anatomical dissection and won his prize.
87. MACDONALD, A.A. (2013), The Royal (Dick) 'School of Veterinary Studies: what's in a name'? *Veterinary History*, 17, pp. 33-65.
88. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND (1839)a, 'Memorial from students soliciting books for library'. *Sederunt Book* 15, p. 552.
89. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND (1839)b, 'Meeting of Directors', 15 February 1839. *Sederunt Book* 16, p. 40.
90. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND (1839)c, 'Meeting of Directors', 29 May 1839. *Sederunt Book* 16, p. 112.
91. DICK, W. (1839), In: Youatt, W. (ed.). 'Professor Dick'. *The Veterinarian*, 12, 127-129.
92. BOWER, A. (1822), *The Edinburgh student's guide: or an account of the classes of the university*. Edinburgh: Waugh and Innes, Hunter Square: and Ogle, Duncan, and Co, London.
93. MANSFIELD, H. (ed.) 1854. Student life in Edinburgh. *Tait's Edinburgh magazine*, 21 (241), pp. 29-33.
94. FRASER, N. (1884), *Student life at Edinburgh University*. Paisley: J. & R. Parlane.
95. WORTHINGTON, E.D. (1897), *Reminiscences of student life and practice*. Sherbrooke: Printed for Sherbrooke Protestant Hospital by Walton.

96. CHAMBERS, W. and CHAMBERS, R. eds. (1835), Living in London and Edinburgh. Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, 14 Nov 1835, pp. 332-333.
97. TRANTER, N.L. (1992), 'Organised sport and the working classes in Central Scotland, 1820-1900: the neglected sport of quoiting'. In Holt, R. (ed.), *Sport and the working classes in modern Britain*. Manchester University Press: Manchester, pp. 45-66.
98. 'Riot in the king's park'. *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 20 Mar 1840, p.3, c.1.
99. BURNETT, J. (2000), *Riot, revelry and rout: sport in Lowland Scotland before 1860*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press
100. CHAMBERS, W. and CHAMBERS, R. eds. (1833)a, 'The game of golf'. *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, 7 Dec, p. 360.
101. CORMACK, W. (2016), Playing by the rules?: Early modern sport and control in the northern mainland Royal Burghs of Scotland. *Sport in History*, 36, pp. 305-327.
102. CAIRNIE, J. (1833), *Essay on curling and artificial pond-making*. Glasgow: W.R. M'Phun.
103. CHAMBERS, W. and CHAMBERS, R. eds. 1833b. 'Curling'. *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, 28 Dec, pp. 380-381.
104. Duddingston Loch. *The Scotsman*, 26 Jan 1833, p. 2, c.5.
105. 'The Weather'. *The Scotsman*, 24 Jan 1835, p. 2, c.4; 'The Weather'. *The Scotsman*, 20 Jan 1838, p.3, c.1; 'The Weather'. *The Scotsman*, 13 Jan 1841, p.3, c.8.
106. CORRESPONDENT, (1841), Places of recreation for the working classes. *The Scotsman*, 24 Mar 1841, p. 3, c.6.
107. Great Reform Act Plans and Reports, (1832), – Edinburgh and Leith. Town Plans / Views, 1580-1919. National Library of Scotland. 1832. Retrieved 3 December 2019. <https://maps.nls.uk/geo/explore/side-by-side/#zoom=15&lat=55.9666&lon=-3.2081&layers=130&right=BingHyb>
108. 'The exhibition of living animals' ... *The Scotsman*, 30 Mar (1839), p. 1, c.5.
109. 'Zoological depot'. *The Scotsman*, 01 May (1839), p.3, c.1.
110. ROBERTSON, J. (1839), 'Zoological gardens'. *The Scotsman*, 20 Jul 1839, p. 1, c.7.
111. 'Edinburgh Zoological Gardens'. *The Scotsman*, 18 Jan 1840, p. 3, c.7.
112. 'Edinburgh Zoological Gardens'. *The Scotsman*, 8 Jul 1840, p. 3, c.8.
113. 'Edinburgh Zoological Gardens, Broughton Park'. *The Scotsman*, 27 Jun 1840, p.1, c.2.
114. 'The Theatre'. *The Scotsman*, 28 Dec 1833, p. 3, c.4; 'The Theatre'. *The Scotsman*, 30 Dec 1835, p.3, c.1; 'The Theatre'. *The Scotsman*, 18 Jan 1837, p.2, c.5; 'Theatre Royal', *The Scotsman*, 21 Dec 1839, p.3, c.1; 'Theatre-Royal, Edinburgh'. *The Scotsman*, 13 Jan 1841, p.2, c.6.
115. 'Edinburgh Choral Society's annual concert'. *The Scotsman*, 20 Dec (1834), p. 3, c.2; 'Choral Society's Concert'. *The Scotsman*, 21 Dec (1836), p.2, c.7; 'Edinburgh Choral Society'. *The Scotsman*, 22 Dec 1838, p.2, c.7.
116. MAIDMENT, J. (1868), *Scottish ballads and songs: historical and traditionary*. vv. 1&2. Edinburgh: William Patterson.
117. 'Public dinner to Professor Dick'. *The Scotsman*, 9 Apr (1836), p.2, c.6; 'Dinner to Mr Dick'. *The Scotsman*, 01 May (1839), p. 3, c.1.
118. 'Entertainment to William Dick, Esq.' *The Scotsman*, 15 Dec (1838), p.3, c.3.
119. 'Congregations of the established church'. *The Scotsman*, 29 March 1837, p. 2, cc.2-3.
120. BROWN, S.J. (2011), 'Beliefs and religions'. In: T. Griffiths and G. Morton, *A history of everyday life in Scotland, 1800-1900*. pp. 116-146. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
121. BRACKENRIDGE, R.D. (1962), *Sunday observance in Scotland 1689-1900*. PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow. [<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/72477/1/10646364.pdf>]

## APPENDIX

An Appendix 'Transcript of an Inventory of Preparations in The Veterinary Museum, 1834' can be accessed at: <https://era.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/36672>

**Author's address:** Royal (Dick) School of Veterinary Studies, The University of Edinburgh, Easter Bush Campus, Midlothian EH25 9RG, Scotland

**Author's email:** Alastair.Macdonald@ed.ac.uk

\*\*\*\*\*

**FROM *A Great British Veterinarian Forgotten: James Beart Simonds 1810-1904* by Iain Pattison, London: J.A. Allen & Co. 1990**

'In September 1829 *The Veterinarian* published Simonds' first professional paper, a single-page clinical note entitled: "Fever in a heifer, with peculiar constipation". Read with hindsight of over 150 years, this literary fragment encapsulates country veterinary practice before Victoria became Queen. A two-year-old heifer was dull, with hard pulse, no rumination, fast respiration, and hot, dry nose and mouth (the clinical thermometer not yet invented). Diagnosis was uncertain. First action, therefore, was to remove eight pounds of blood from the jugular vein and give a pound of Epsom salts by mouth – following the accepted rule that when in doubt bleed massively and purge heroically. As there was no bowel movement by the following day, another pound of Epsom salts was given, the rectum was emptied by back-raking and frequent enemas, and in the afternoon two ponds of treacle and three-quarters of a pint castor oil; enemas continued every two hours. As constipation continued on the third day, yet another pound of Epsom salts preceded more enemas, and, following folklore, hellebore root was inserted under the skin of both flanks, and thick threads (setons) were drawn by needle through punctures in the dewlap to cause local suppuration. Mercifully there was bowel action that afternoon. Medication on the fourth day was limited to morning and evening doses of nitre and powdered foxglove. There was little general improvement on day five, so more nitre was given, and hellebore root was inserted under the skin of each ear; enemas followed a fourth pound of Epsom salts and two pounds of treacle. There was bowel movement twenty-four hours later, so only nitre and digitalis were given, morning and afternoon, on the sixth day. Recovery was now in sight, with the patient showing interest in cut grass, but to prevent any relapse nitre and gentian were continued for a few more days. This is a classical description of the veterinary confusion of the time. In this case the patient survived treatment, but many were killed by bleeding, purging, and inappropriate medication.'

\*\*\*\*\*