

LOCATING VETERINARY EDUCATION IN EDINBURGH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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SEVERAL ACCOUNTS of the history of veterinary education in Edinburgh have been published during the last two centuries, most written specifically for the profession.¹ It is not generally well known that three veterinary colleges were founded in Edinburgh during the nineteenth century, by William Dick, John Gamgee and William Williams. Where and when these enterprises were

located in the city has been lost from memory. It has also been forgotten that discussion of the need for veterinary education began in Edinburgh during the enlightenment years of the eighteenth century.

New studies have shed light on these topics.² Evidence, scattered in the national, city and university archives and libraries of Edinburgh, has provided detailed information about each of the three

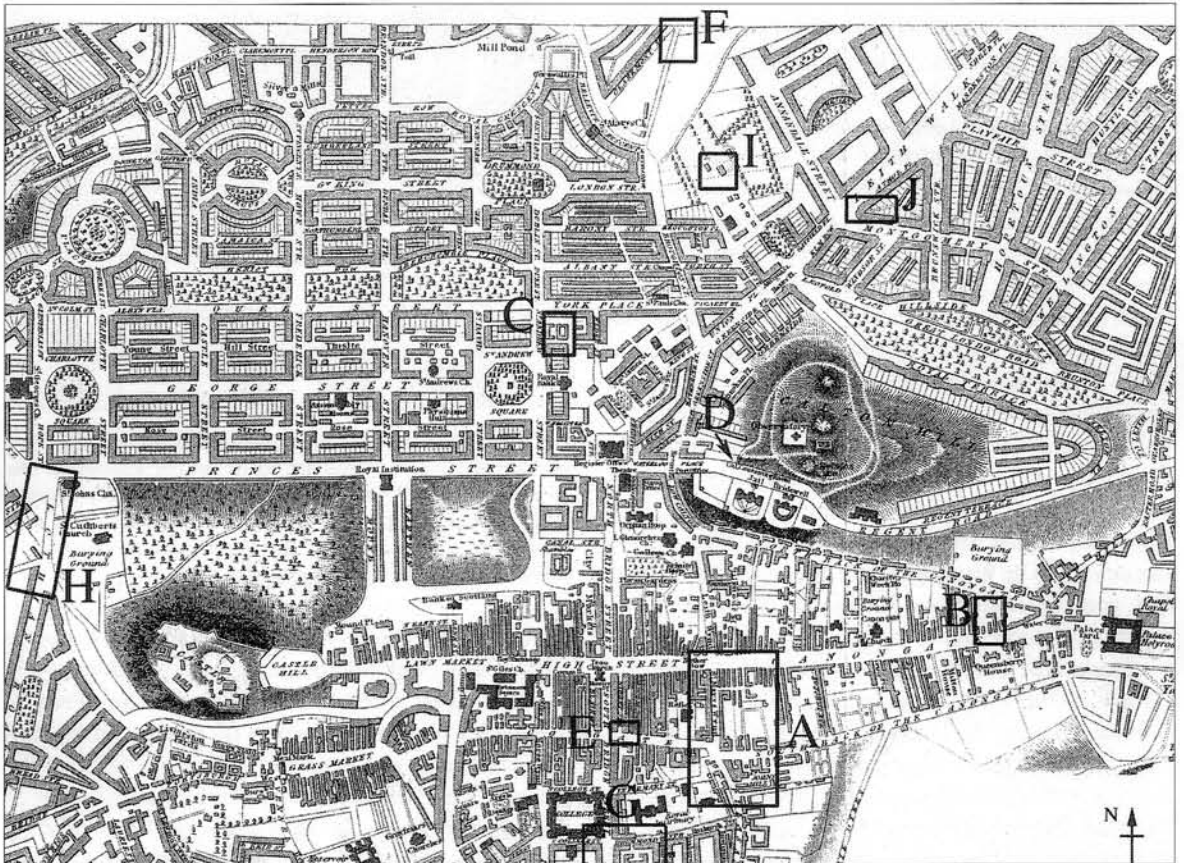


Fig. 1. Part of the *Post Office Directory* plan of Edinburgh by W. H. Lizars, 1832–33. Labelled boxes indicate the sites of: (A) James Clark's farriery and hotel properties; (B) White Horse Close, Canongate; (C) Edinburgh Veterinary College, 8 Clyde Street; (D) Calton Convening Rooms, Waterloo Place; (E) St Cecilia's Hall, Niddry Street; (F) Royal Zoological Gardens, Claremont Street; (G) Edinburgh New Veterinary College, 6 Drummond Street; (H) Edinburgh New Veterinary College, 8 Lothian Road; (I) New Veterinary College, Gayfield House; (J) New Veterinary College, 41 Elm Row. (*Edinburgh City Libraries.*)

colleges during the nineteenth century. Examination of this material has uncovered much that is new about the buildings used and their locations within the city. This in turn has answered old questions and enabled links to be made between the three colleges which were not apparent earlier. To help the reader, a map of Edinburgh has been labelled to indicate places discussed in this article and the areas covered by more detailed maps (fig. 1).

THE BEGINNINGS

The beginnings can be traced to James Clark (1732–1808), an enterprising and highly experienced farrier living in Edinburgh, which was at that time enjoying the intellectual activity of the Enlightenment.³ Clark's reputation grew after publication of his first book in 1770.⁴ Long regarded as the most significant British contributor to the veterinary literature of the period, he is further characterised as the father of veterinary hygiene.⁵

In 1772 he established a livery stables and repository for horses at the head of the South Back of Canongate. This was situated outside the Edinburgh city wall, just north-east of Surgeons Hall (fig 1A). Three years later, in 1775, he announced that, for the better accommodation of horses and carriages, he had taken the large area of ground adjoining his stable yard, measuring 212 by 70 feet. On this land, formerly a brewery, he fitted up a number of elegant stables and 'shades' (sheds) for carriages.⁶ 'Clark's Repository' is clearly labelled immediately south of Chessels Court in Kincaid's plan of 1784 (fig. 2).⁷ His professional reputation was such that on 31 January 1776 he was appointed, and on 25 September that year registered, as Farrier to His Majesty in Scotland (George III).⁸

Clark was clearly an entrepreneur. Across the gardens to the north of his livery stable lay Chessels Building, facing north into Chessels Court. It was there, in 1781, that he opened part of the premises as Clark's Hotel. This was the first up-market hotel in the Old Town and may have been a form of diversification linked to his primary stable and farriery business. Although the latter continued to function successfully, there was increasing competition with hotels in the New Town, and two years later he advertised the building for let.⁹

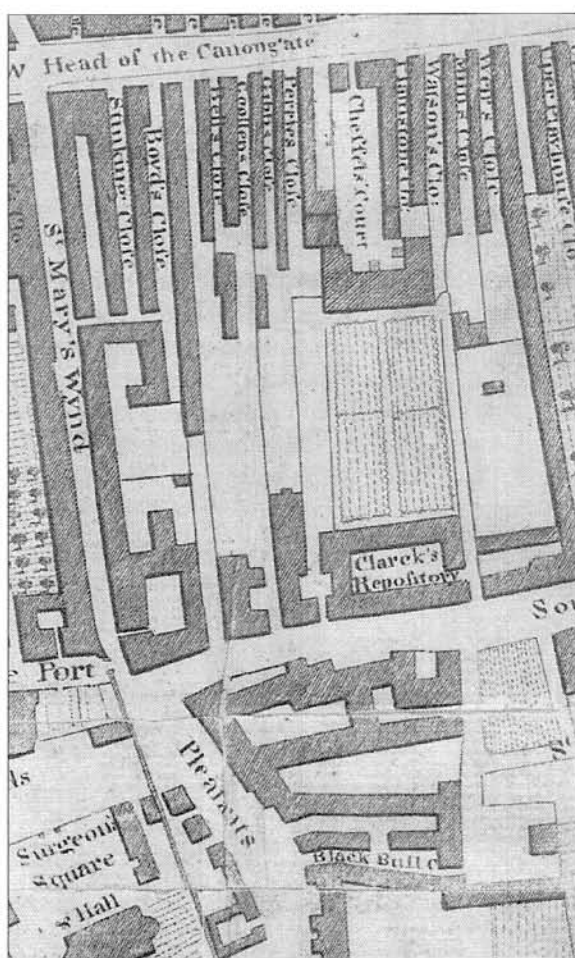


Fig. 2. Part of the plan of Edinburgh by Alexander Kincaid, 1784, showing the area between the Head of the Canongate, the Pleasance and the South Back of Canongate, including Chessels Court, Clark's Repository and Surgeons Square. (National Library of Scotland (NLS): <http://www.nls.uk/digitallibrary/map/early/towns.cfm?id=414>.)

In the preface to his second book, published in 1788, Clark regretted that no systematic education in farriery was available in Britain. In France, academies for the instruction of young farriers had been instituted in Lyons and Alfort. He felt that the attempt was 'laudable, and worthy of imitation'.¹⁰ Two years later, his son John petitioned to enrol at the Edinburgh School of Design (David Allan, 1744–1796, was then Master), with the proposal to institute a veterinary school in Scotland; John was accepted and remained in the school until the autumn of 1791.¹¹ In the autumn of 1790 his father James wrote

to the Odiham Agricultural Society, a pioneering group of gentlemen in Hampshire, proposing to establish a veterinary school in Edinburgh. Clark's correspondence was unsuccessful; instead, a veterinary college was established closer to Odiham, in London, in 1791.¹² Following the death of its first Principal, Benoit Charles Marie Vial (1750–1793), serious efforts were made to recruit James Clark as its next Principal. Clark's response was to suggest that his son, John, should be appointed instead.¹³

In 1793 James Clark was 61 years old, and his personal reluctance to accept the London post was due to his expectation that a veterinary school would shortly be established in Edinburgh. His third book largely comprised extracts from the lectures he composed in 1793 and 1794 in anticipation of this event.¹⁴ It was not to be. James Clark died, aged 76, on 29 July 1808 and was buried in the Canongate cemetery, Edinburgh.¹⁵

WILLIAM DICK

Around the time that there were discussions in Edinburgh about the possible creation of a school of veterinary medicine (1787), a young farrier, John Dick, moved south from Aberdeen to Edinburgh with his wife Jean. They took up lodgings at the foot of the Canongate, probably in Whitehorse Close, where they lived for over a decade (fig. 1B). Although it is not known where he worked initially, his proximity to Clark's premises is likely to have led to a sharing of views. The Dicks' first child, Mary, was born there in 1791, as was their son William, two years later. By 1815 the family had moved to the New Town and the ambitious John Dick had secured a forge in the stable courtyard behind numbers 8 and 10 Clyde Street, conveniently situated diagonally across the road from his home at number 15 (figs 1C and 3). In 1816 young William Dick (1793–1866), who had trained as a farrier, attended lectures at Dr John Barclay's extramural school of anatomy. Quickly spotted by the comparative anatomist as the brightest among his many students, William was befriended by Barclay, who became an important mentor over the next ten years.¹⁶

In the autumn of 1817, at the age of 24, Dick travelled to London to attend the lectures of Professor Edward Coleman at the Veterinary College in

Camden.¹⁷ Dick's farriery knowledge and experience from working with his father, combined with his own ability, made him a thorough, keen and inquisitive student, but with an independent mind. After a three month period of study he had the confidence to apply for his examination, which he passed, and he received his diploma on 27 January 1818.¹⁸ In the opinion of Charnock Bradley, his 'short sojourn in London had little if any effect on him professionally ... what he did gain ... was an insight into the working of an established veterinary college'.¹⁹

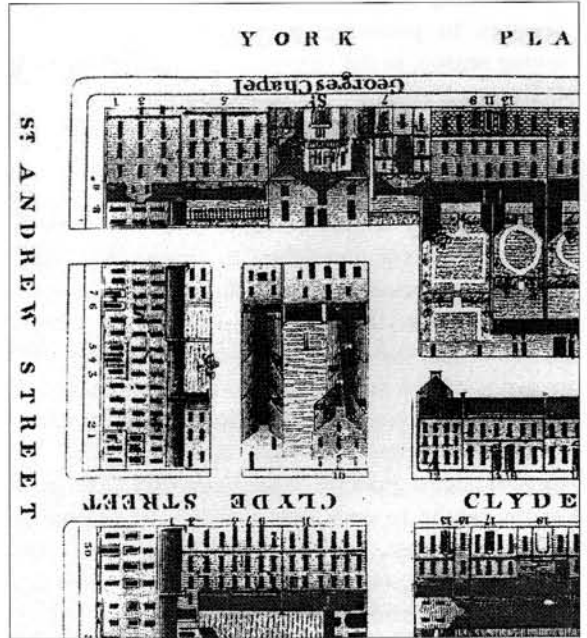


Fig. 3. Part of Kirkwood's 1819 Plan and Elevation, Edinburgh, showing the stable courtyard to the north of Nos 8 and 10 Clyde Street. John Dick and family lived at 15 Clyde Street from 1815 to 1833. (NLS: <http://www.nls.uk/digitallibrary/map/early/towns.cfm?id=418>.)

Later that same year, 1818, back in Edinburgh, he was recommended by Barclay to Mr John Corse Scott of Sinton, who was establishing an institution in Edinburgh in which, among other sciences, veterinary surgery was to be taught. Nobody enrolled that year, but the following year four students attended, although only one came regularly to hear Dick's daily lecture. In 1820 Dick had nine students at the one-month long series of free lectures which he gave in the largest side room of the Calton Convening Rooms, Waterloo Place (fig. 1D). In each

of the next two years, a large class attended his lectures at the School of Arts, Niddry Street, the building known today as St Cecilia's Hall (fig. 1E).²⁰

In the spring of 1823 Barclay again stepped in to assist Dick. On 21 May, at a meeting of the Directors of the Highland Society of Scotland (of which Barclay was one), the importance of having a professorship or public lecturer giving instruction in veterinary surgery was discussed. A committee, with Barclay as convener, considered the matter, and reported favourably on 30 June.²¹ A week later a sum not exceeding £50 was placed at the disposal of the Directors to promote 'public instruction in the ensuing season, in the veterinary art and the diseases of livestock'.²² Later that month the Directors received a report from Barclay's committee quoting extracts from a report by the Senatus of the University of Edinburgh to the City in 1816 stating that a veterinary school 'however desirable in itself, was not a suitable appendage to a university [and] might be connected more advantageously with some other Institution, such as the Highland Society'. Reassured that the Society was not interfering with the privileges of the University, and anxious not to incur costs beyond those agreed, the Directors and the committee identified in William Dick 'a practical man, a graduate of the Veterinary College of London, ready to undertake the duty of delivering suitable lectures, and to provide the necessary accommodation, on receiving the countenance and patronage of the Society'.²³

Dick, now 30 years old, was appointed for an experimental period of one year (fig. 4). Once again he rented the side room of the Calton Convening Rooms, and delivered the first lecture in the evening of 24 November 1823. Twenty five practical or professional students attended (farriers and smiths, new students paying two guineas, former students one), as well as various interested general or amateur students (medical men and members of the Highland Society). A series of 46 lectures was given on Monday and Thursday evenings over the following 23 weeks, covering the anatomy and diseases not only of horses, but also of cattle, sheep, pigs and dogs — a range far wider than that covered by the London School, and one which better fitted the requirements of the Scottish economy.²⁴ In addition he gave practical instruction at his father's forge in Clyde Street.

Barclay reported positively to the Directors of the Highland Society and the committee recommended that the lectures should be continued, with 30 guineas to Dick for 1824–25. The time of the classes was adjusted to enable students of agriculture at the University to attend, and in 1827 he gave a popular course of lectures in the morning which was attended by many country gentlemen, members of the Society and others. In addition, six farriers attended the regular course for the second time.²⁵ At the end of the fifth session, in April 1828, the first public examination took place, by six eminent medical practitioners.²⁶

In April 1829 the Directors decided that students should study for a minimum of two years before being examined for the Society's certificate. Later that month Dick went to the Continent where he inspected a number of veterinary colleges in France and the Low Countries.²⁷ In the autumn of that year Dick's lectures moved to Clyde Street, probably to the old building at number 8, which was purchased by William and his father from Professor Alexander Monro *tertius* on 12 November 1831.²⁸ The number of lectures that session was increased to 70.²⁹ An

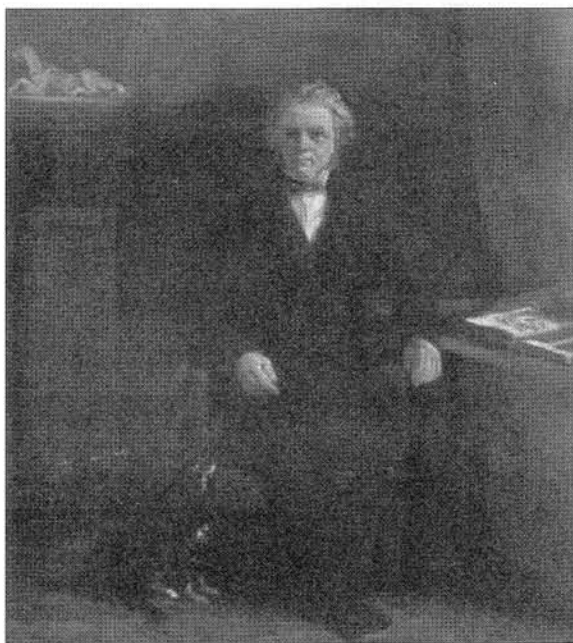


Fig. 4. Detail of a painting (artist unknown, c. 1833) of William Dick in his study in Clyde Street, with the model of a horse on the mantelpiece behind. (Royal Dick School of Veterinary Studies.)

important consequence of the Edinburgh teaching on all domesticated animals was that hardly a dairy or distillery (where many cattle were fattened) in Scotland was not being superintended by an adequately trained veterinary surgeon — which was not true south of the border at this time.³⁰

The number of students continued to rise, such that in June 1831 the veterinary committee complained that the lecture room at Clyde Street was not comfortable, the museum was small and there was no infirmary stable available for the students (fig. 5).³¹ Examinations were conducted in the cramped lecture room. There are two contemporary

lecturer has not only sufficient, but abundance for his purpose: his table is always covered with choice preparations. That portion of the house which is set apart for the audience ... is fitted up with rough deal planks, set upon as rough props; the seats rising tier above tier, until your head touches the top of a very dark coloured ceiling.

In the second account, John Stewart wrote:³³

Above the forge, there was, indeed, what had once been an old hay-loft, but which in my time, had been economically converted into a dissecting-room, and a receptacle for lumber ... The fees at Mr Dick's school are all comprised in ten guineas of entrance money, upon payment of which, the pupil has the privilege of attending the lectures as long as he pleases; of witnessing Mr Dick's practice, which is pretty extensive; of attending the lectures of several eminent medical men in town; and there is no additional expense incurred for the diploma.

The accommodation was now clearly less than befitted his growing reputation. Dick planned a new building, designed by architects R. and R. Dickson, and this was completed in 1833, his 40th year, at the then substantial cost of £2500 paid largely by himself (see fig. 6). The Highland Society contributed the

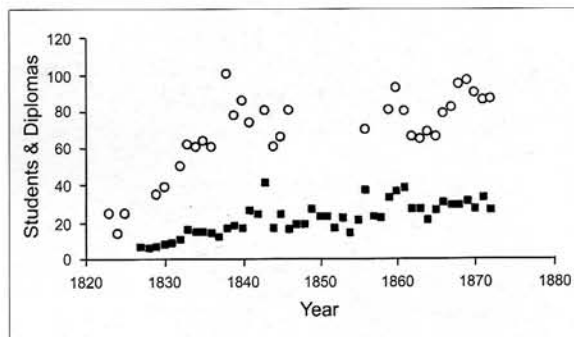


Fig. 5. Numbers of students (professional and amateur) attending the Edinburgh Veterinary College from session 1823–24 to 1872–73 (open circles); and numbers of diplomas awarded to students of the College (filled squares).

accounts of the facilities. The first, by James Castley, reports that:³²

One could wish to see Mr. Dick's lecture-room look somewhat less like the appendage of a forge; but then he never has to lecture to 'empty benches'. You may fancy to yourself a room of no very great dimensions in an old and apparently long untenanted house in Clyde Street. You enter it from the street door, and are immediately struck with the delightful confusion which seems to reign within. Skeletons of all descriptions, 'from a child's shoe to a jack boot' — from a horse to an ape, not ranged in 'regular order all of a row', 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. Over the professor's 'devoted head' is seen suspended a portion of inflated and injected intestine, with its mesenteric expansion dangling in the air, something like a lure for flies; whilst all around the room, and especially in the corners, are heaped together vast quantities of diseased bones, and other preparations, seemingly without order, and without arrangement. Here we see no numbered specimens — no classification of morbid anatomy — no description book — all of which would tend to give the collection a pretty effect. Yet the

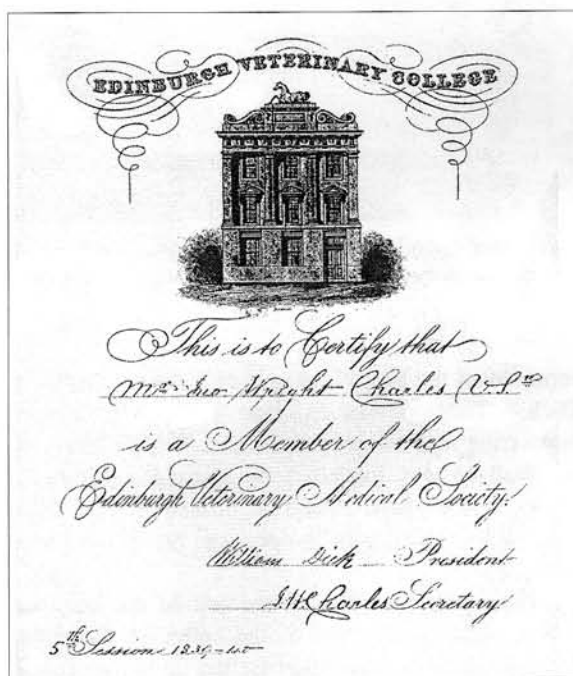


Fig. 6. Certificate awarded by the Edinburgh Veterinary Medical Society to John Wright Charles, 1839–40, signed by both William Dick and the student secretary to the Society, J. H. Charles. The vignette shows the façade of the Edinburgh Veterinary College building in Clyde Street. (Courtesy of Miss E. K. Charles.)

modest sum of £50 towards fitting out the lecture theatre and museum.³⁴ The classical façade had three storeys, each with three windows, those of the second storey with pediments. Two simple columns between two pilasters supported a frieze of four pairs of sculpted animal heads — horse, dog, bull and ram, with a stag in the centre (fig. 7). These powerfully

top floor providing an additional three bedrooms, a drawing room and a dining room, the living quarters for William and Mary Dick, their parents, and their domestic staff.³⁷

The Clyde Street courtyard buildings now contained a lecture theatre for up to 80 students, a small hospital for animals, stables, a forge, with a

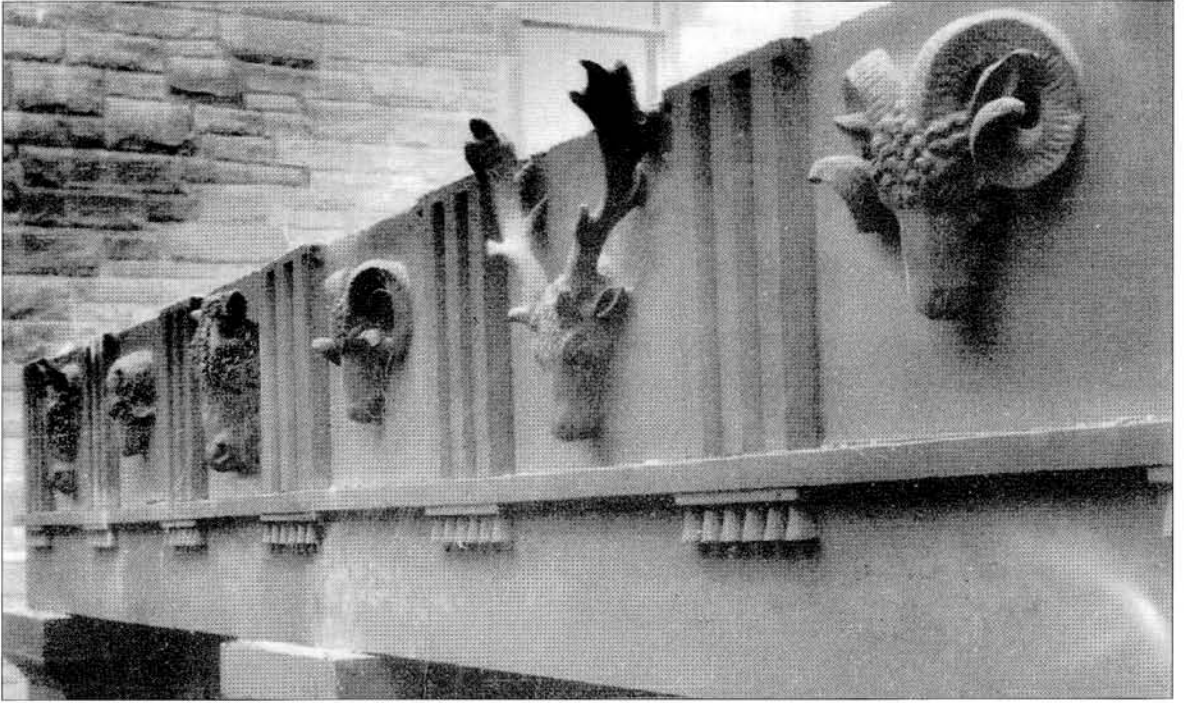


Fig. 7. Photograph by Colin McWilliam of part of the frieze of the Veterinary College in Clyde Street, c. 1952 (retouched). (*Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, No. ED 1447/27.*)

represented the breadth of animal material taught by Dick.³⁵ The top was crowned by sculpted scrolls bracketing a plinth on which sat a horse, carved by A. Wallace and modelled on a smaller sculpture belonging to (and possibly modelled by) Dick himself — the model is seen on the mantelpiece in fig. 4.³⁶

There was an office to the left of the entrance lobby, and a stair down to the cellar on the right. Straight ahead another staircase led up to the second level where the classroom (30 square metres) and museum (15 square metres) were situated above animal loose boxes and stables. A parlour, bedroom and kitchen took up the front of the building, with the

dissecting room above, and a museum (fig. 8). Dick had accumulated a comprehensive collection of anatomical specimens in the museum. Sir George Ballingall, Professor of Military Surgery, was asked by the Highland Society to compile a catalogue, and his inventory of 348 preparations included the complete skeletons of a thoroughbred mare, a horse with curvature of the spine, a cow, a ram, a greyhound, a pug dog and a Lapland reindeer, as well as those of a baboon and a human. There were numerous specimens of diseased and fractured bones as well as anatomical preparations with blood vessels injected, a large collection of horses' hoofs with a variety of different shoes, and examples of healthy

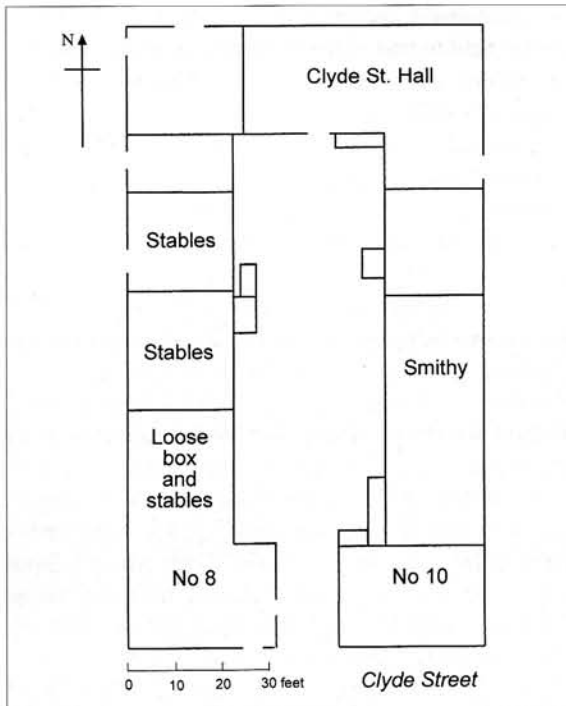


Fig. 8. Schematic ground floor plan of the complex of stables, houses and workshops in the Clyde Street courtyard, 1833. Note the Veterinary College building at No. 8 Clyde Street, the smithy, above which was the dissection room, and the Clyde Street Hall in the north-east corner of the yard (openings into buildings are shown where known). Reconstructed from old maps, building plans, photographs, and written materials, e.g. the Register of Sasines for the Shire of Edinburgh.

obtained their diplomas from the Board of Examiners, presented an essay to the Society, and defended the same (see fig. 6).³⁹

Among the 20 practical men who attended the 1835–36 session (the total student number was 64) was the first student from North America. In subsequent years students began to arrive from Australia (1839), Russia (1844), Norway (1845) and South Africa (1846).⁴⁰ An additional attraction was the success in April 1838 of Dick's appeal, forwarded by the Highland Society (after a new charter in 1834 the Society's name became the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland), to make graduates of the Edinburgh Veterinary College eligible for posts in the British Army and East India Company. In October 1839 the first of these, James Robertson, wrote to tell his former teacher that he had obtained a post as an army veterinary surgeon.⁴¹

Although anatomy had long been a core subject in the curriculum, clinical experience was not ignored; students saw practice with local veterinarians and in Dick's extensive practice both within and outside the town. There were numerous opportunities of seeing the diseases of domestic animals among the dairies he attended. Dick also had a large practice of poor patients, and students had the opportunity to acquire a practical knowledge of treatment which was estimated to amount to about £50 worth of dispensing per year.⁴² This included access to the animals in the Royal Edinburgh Zoological Gardens, located close by, to the north east of the veterinary college, which opened its gates to the public in 1839 (fig. 1F).⁴³ Dick was a director of the association that managed the zoo, and his veterinary opinion was sought when animals fell ill or died.⁴⁴

In 1839 William Dick joined a number of other 'extra-academical' lecturers in Edinburgh, a private group made up largely, though not exclusively, of Fellows of the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, in the formation of the 'Queen's College'. As stated in an advertisement on 23 April 1840, there had previously been no bond of union among the extramural lecturers and no common efforts for the benefit of their pupils.⁴⁵ Their intention in forming the new college was:

To combine and concentrate the exertions of individual Lecturers who have hitherto taught without any mutual co-operation; and to associate with them Teachers of some important branches of

and diseased animal organs, such as heart, spleen, reproductive tract, stomach and intestine.³⁸

In 1834 the students formed the Edinburgh Veterinary Medical Society, an association of veterinary surgeons and students who met for the advancement and diffusion of veterinary knowledge. They gathered weekly in the Clyde Street theatre at 7 pm, and after recording attendance and absentees, read the minutes of the last meeting, heard proposals of new members, and then the subject of the evening's discussion was read. The discussion stopped at 9 pm, but if some question had not received due consideration, the meeting resumed on the following Saturday at 11 am. Diplomas were issued as a matter of course to veterinary surgeons when they became members, as well as to students, but only after the latter had attended regularly for six months, conformed to the rules of the Society,

Literature and Science ... To regulate the discipline of the school, in regard to fees, duration of courses, examinations, competitions, and certificates: and to hold out inducements to study, by the granting of prizes and honorary certificates to the most deserving pupils ... To institute a Museum, Library, and Reading Room, for the benefit of the pupils of the College.

Medals were competed for 'at not less than two examinations of at least one hour's duration each, conducted by written answers, with mottoes attached, to written questions proposed to the whole class'. If there were more than 15 competitors, the Queen's College could award a second medal 'to answers of very decided merit'. In April 1840 the Highland Society examiners had great difficulty in deciding between three students at the Clyde Street School, and it was only after re-examination that two were awarded medals for general excellence. The local press reported that they were also given medals by the Queen's College.⁴⁶ The third student, John Wright Charles, was also awarded a Queen's College medal that day, although this does not appear to have been published at the time (see fig. 9). The Queen's College ceremony attracted a crowd of 500 people, including the Lord Provost and a number of the professors of the University.⁴⁷

The closeness of Dick's association with the Queen's College may be gauged from the numbers of

the extramural lecturers who attended the annual dinner held by the veterinary school for its students, examiners and friends at the London Hotel, St Andrew Square, on the evening of the prize-giving ceremonies.⁴⁸ However, the very success of the Queen's College stimulated anxiety in some of the University professors, and the resulting controversy led to the demise of this co-operative venture within a year or two.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, the significance of the short-lived Queen's College lay in the benefits derived from the codified aims and aspirations of this group of extramural lecturers. These provided a framework of support for efforts which Dick had already begun to put into practice over the previous decade. Two days after the Queen's College prize-giving, on 24 April, the directors of the Highland Society approved a petition from 45 students of the Clyde Street School requesting that the school should bear the name Veterinary College, and that their teacher, William Dick, should be given the title Professor — both were approved.⁵⁰ That same year the Edinburgh Veterinary Medical Society established a library of books and journals which grew to over 400 volumes within two decades.⁵¹ From the few surviving volumes, this library appears to have been well cared for, with a standard library stamp (fig. 10).



Fig. 9. Queen's College medal awarded to John Wright Charles by William Dick on 10 May 1840. The Greek motto is 'Our unity is our strength'. The Latin inscription translates as 'William Dick Principal in equine medicine, presented John W. Charles, that worthy man, with this medal because of his replies — the best of all from the whole college — to the questions put to him, 22 April 1840'. (Courtesy of Miss E. K. Charles.)

During this period a number of properties in the Clyde Street courtyard were purchased by Dick. The first two were the stable buildings on the west side, then the Clyde Street Hall, and subsequently another stable on the west side.⁵² These were modified and

a profession, and Dick was elected to the Council. Also in that year he took on teaching staff for the first time. Apart from William Worthington (1803–1875), his clinical assistant since 1840, Dick had been the sole teacher. George Wilson (1818–1859), one of the extramural lecturers in Edinburgh (and later Director of the Scottish Industrial Museum, forerunner of the Royal Museum of Scotland in Chambers Street), taught chemistry, and John Barlow (1815–1856) from Cheshire, who obtained his diploma from Clyde Street in April 1844, joined the staff to lecture on the anatomy and physiology of domestic animals and later to give a systematic course on diseases of cattle.⁵⁴

In this way the Veterinary College was able to expand and better accommodate the 80 or so students now enrolled each year. In June 1844, Sir John Graham Dalyell suggested to the Highland Society's Veterinary Committee that the Veterinary College should join the University. Various other suggestions were made, including one that an endowment of £50 from the Crown and a matching sum yearly for ten years from the Society should be attached to the professorship. However, the committee considered it premature to take any of these further.⁵⁵ New membership certificates of the Edinburgh Veterinary Medical Society, signed by William Dick and inscribed *Medica Societas Collegii Regii Veterinarii Civitatis Edinensis*, were awarded from April 1844 — one of the earliest uses of 'Royal' in the name of the college.⁵⁶

The RCVS in London took over the examination of students in 1845 and the Highland Society suspended its examinations for three years. However, following great dissatisfaction with the arrangements of the RCVS examinations, the Highland Society reinstated its own in 1848. They were scheduled to take place a few days before the RCVS examinations, so that students could attend both if they wished. This situation continued until 1881, the last time the Highland Society convened an examination board.⁵⁷

By 1844 nearly 800 men had attended the Edinburgh Veterinary College as students, of whom about half had obtained diplomas.⁵⁸ Many students, since as early as 1827, had been attending the session of lectures on more than one occasion, and had also been coming back for parts of the course.⁵⁹ In 1845 the Highland Society insisted that all students must



Fig. 10. Binder's label and library stamp found in the few books and journals belonging to the Edinburgh Veterinary Medical Society that survive in the libraries of the RDSVS and the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland.

adapted to the needs of the College over the following fifteen years, for example, the upper floors of the buildings on the west of the courtyard were linked together. In 1853 building work began on a new lecture theatre — the former classroom was added to the adjacent museum room to create a larger museum.⁵³

For William Dick, 1844 was something of a landmark year. His father died, aged about 75, his mother having died seven years earlier. The Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons (RCVS) was granted its Royal Charter and established offices in London — veterinary practice was now recognised by law as

attend two years of instruction and that the six month winter course (November to April) should comprise 100 lectures, thereby increasing the amount of instruction in anatomy, physiology, pathology and the medical treatment of cattle and sheep. Barlow worked hard to introduce the modern methods of disease investigation being used in medical schools, such as the use of the microscope and the study of pathology. The range of clinical teaching material to which Edinburgh students were exposed is shown in monthly reports in *The Veterinarian* in 1845–46; these list 3543 animals treated in the school, with the senior students having the opportunity to present details of individual cases.⁶⁰ Practical students also continued to have free access to classes given by the University's professors of anatomy and agriculture.

The tragic death of John Barlow in 1856 at the age of 40 set in train a series of unforeseen changes. John Gamgee (1831–1894), a London graduate who in 1855 had given extramural lectures on veterinary medicine and surgery at the Camden Hall, Camden Town, was appointed by Dick to lecture on anatomy and physiology in Edinburgh. He was a brilliant 26 year old, with three years of additional experience gained in continental veterinary schools and a strong interest in science. Dick recognised his writing talents and promoted his offer to edit veterinary contributions to the Highland Society's *Transactions*, which resulted in their inviting Gamgee to write articles and review books. He also travelled around Scotland, taking up Barlow's suggestions about studying the sites of infections of cattle and sheep, and investigating the course of diseases.⁶¹

Gamgee strongly believed in the then minority view that germs were responsible for certain diseases. Dick, now aged 63, was a highly experienced clinician but somewhat set in his ways; he took the majority view that disease was produced by atmospheric causes (miasma) which appear at the same time each year. Their opinions on such things as the causes of disease and their spread, veterinary education and whether the RCVS should monopolise student examination, were irreconcilable. As a consequence, Gamgee's appointment was not extended after his first session in Edinburgh.⁶²

EDINBURGH NEW VETERINARY COLLEGE,
1857–1865

John Gamgee remained in Edinburgh and put into immediate effect his plans to create a new veterinary school of his own (fig. 11). This he opened on

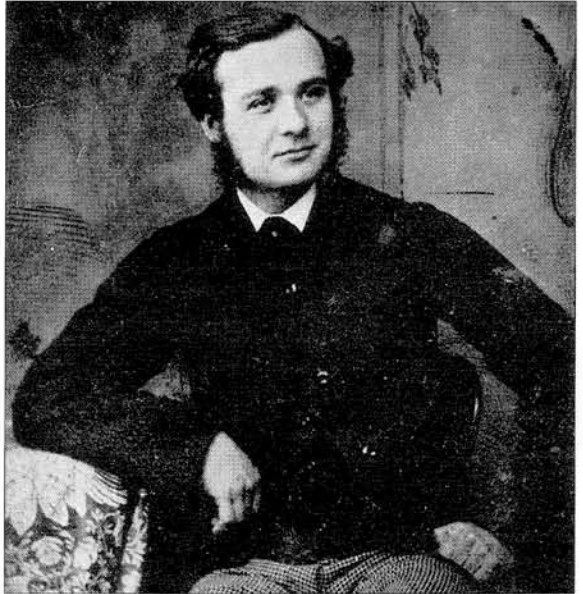


Fig. 11. Photograph of John Gamgee, who established the Edinburgh New Veterinary College at 6 Drummond Street in 1857. (Courtesy of the late Ruth D'Arcy Thompson and the Ramsay Head Press.)



Fig. 12. Part of Kirkwood's plan of Edinburgh, 1821, showing the relationship of the stable courtyard at 6 Drummond Street to the Riding School to the south (replaced by Playfair's Surgeons Hall in 1829) and the University of Edinburgh to the north west. (NLS: [http://www.nls.uk/digitalibrary/map/early/towns.cfm?id=820.](http://www.nls.uk/digitalibrary/map/early/towns.cfm?id=820))

4 November 1857, very near the University, in stable courtyard accommodation at 6 Drummond Street rented from Alex Stuart (figs 1G and 12). In 1788 the ground in that area, then known as Dr Munro's Park, had been offered for sale for tenement housing, the 'south part to be a large stable yard with coach houses and stables, to which there will be an entry by an arch in the middle of the houses fronting the north' on Drummond Street.⁶³

It is not clear how many of the reputed 20 students in session 1857–58 were respectively 'practical' or 'amateur'. A dissecting room, museum and library were available, and although two winter sessions were compulsory, Gamgee recommended that students attend for three. An additional complete set of courses with opportunities for the practical study of disease would be made available from May until the end of July.⁶⁴

The first two years of the new College was a period of intense discussion and sometimes fierce argument inside and beyond the city, both in favour of, and against, the establishment of this second veterinary school north of the border. Some of this is recorded in the *Edinburgh Veterinary Review* that John Gamgee and his father Joseph, a London Veterinary College graduate, established. Considerable effort had to be expended in first seeking influential sponsors and then formal recognition, by Royal Sign Manual, in order that his students could eventually be examined by the RCVS. It was not until the end of March 1859 that this was granted.⁶⁵

It is hard to gauge what impact this debate and uncertainty had on student recruitment to the New Veterinary College. There is no record of any students from this college taking the RCVS exams in the April of either 1858 or 1859. However, two who passed in 1860, David Mackay and George Reilly, were not from the Clyde Street College, and are likely to have been the first New Veterinary College graduates; 39 students studied there that session.⁶⁶ Seven men passed the RCVS examinations in 1861, 22 the following year, 16 in 1864 and 14 in 1865.⁶⁷

Students attended annually for approximately 23 weeks, from November to April, for two years. They worked on average ten hours each weekday, and four hours on Saturdays. Lectures and weekly examinations were estimated to take a total of 968

hours during the two sessions. Physiology and descriptive anatomy were taught separately, and veterinary therapeutics was taught by a veterinary surgeon rather than a chemist. New Veterinary College courses on the principles and practice of shoeing, botany, the principles of veterinary medicine and surgery, and the clinical lectures were all presented by Gamgee as improvements on the way veterinary students had been taught up until then. In addition, two hours daily over the two sessions were spent on animal dissection, and one hour per weekday for three months was devoted to practical chemistry. In 1857 a horse infirmary was established in 206 West Rose Street under Joseph Gamgee, and clinical reports of a proportion of the cases seen by the students were published.⁶⁸ Detailed synopses of the courses of lectures on veterinary medicine, surgery and obstetrics were soon published, to indicate the breadth and depth of material covered at the New Veterinary College. Together with James Law, his staff member and former student at Clyde Street, John Gamgee published the first volume of a student textbook on veterinary anatomy.⁶⁹

In addition to teaching, Gamgee researched productively, exposing the traffic in diseased meat, bad husbandry conditions in city cowsheds and poor sanitary conditions generally. He campaigned energetically on the methods by which animal disease spread, and employed the recent gathering of national statistics, national and international correspondence with veterinary colleagues, and the columns of the national and international press to bring attention to the need for government regulation of animal movement and veterinary inspection of animal markets and meat.⁷⁰

Gamgee recognised that the location of his college in Drummond Street was not ideal, and made efforts to secure a new building elsewhere. In 1859 he and his wife Adeline moved house from 4 Scotland Street to 2 St Cuthbert's Glebe, on the east side of Lothian Road, south of the Castle Terrace intersection.⁷¹ He rented an office nearby at 8 St Cuthbert's Glebe. This brought them diagonally opposite the Scottish Naval and Military Academy (figs 1H and 13). By 1862 Gamgee had transferred his Veterinary College to the west side of Lothian Road, renting from John Croall the buildings previously used by the Naval and Military Academy,

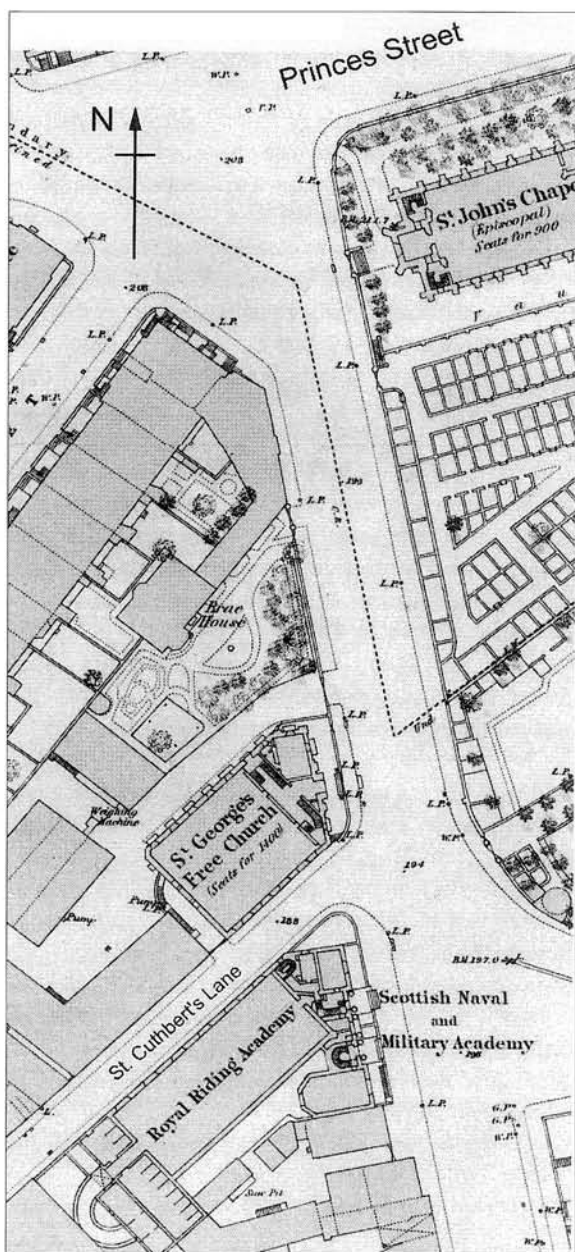


Fig. 13. Part of the 1852 Ordnance Survey map showing the north end of Lothian Road, with the Royal Riding Academy and Scottish Naval and Military Academy buildings. Gamgee's Edinburgh New Veterinary College was here from 1862 to 1865. (NLS: http://www.nls.uk/digitalibrary/map/townplans/edinburgh1056_1.html)

and from its trustees the former Royal Riding Academy to the west (fig. 14). These buildings offered increased status and much improved



Fig. 14. Façade of Gamgee's New Edinburgh Veterinary College at 8 Lothian Road. (Courtesy of the late Ruth D'Arcy Thompson and the Ramsay Head Press.)

teaching facilities including large halls and excellent stables, close to the more fashionable West End of Edinburgh.⁷²

However, the Caledonian Railway Company had been actively purchasing property in this area of Edinburgh for some time, with the intention of extending their line and replacing their temporary wooden Edinburgh terminus with something more substantial, and closer to Princes Street. It is very likely that Gamgee, as a resident in the area, and as a tenant of the former Riding Academy's buildings, was well aware of how temporary his occupancy was likely to be. There are also indications that the New Veterinary College income was nowhere near matching Gamgee's expenditure. Perhaps not surprisingly, then, when a company of influential men from London made an offer to take over his college, including 'his whole staff of professors, teachers, and students, museum, library, diagrams, apparatus etc' and transfer it to London, he accepted. In May 1864 Gamgee sold his house at 12 Castle Terrace but continued to occupy it as a tenant. The last part of volume 6 of the *Edinburgh Veterinary Review* came out in December 1864, and its publication stopped. The last session of the New Edinburgh Veterinary College ended with the RCVS examinations in April 1865.⁷³

Ironically, the following month, rinderpest, the cattle plague that Gamgee had long predicted would come from the Baltic, arrived in Hull with a shipload

of cattle from the Baltic ports of Revel and St Petersburg. It travelled rapidly to London where it was eventually identified. Meanwhile, staff and students from the New Veterinary College were also moving to London to re-establish the college under its new name, the Albert Veterinary College. Despite having many titled backers and friends, Gamgee's deep involvement in the spreading devastation of the cattle plague led to neglect of the establishment of veterinary education in the Albert College. It ran into difficulties, and finally closed in 1868 with great financial loss.⁷⁴

THE CLYDE STREET COLLEGE, 1857-1874

The presence of a second veterinary college in Edinburgh was not without impact on William Dick's college, or indeed on Dick himself. The heated controversy over the establishment of the New Veterinary College, Gamgee's choice of the RCVS for examining its students, and his infusion of ideas from colleagues on the continent, all acted as stimuli to the way veterinary medicine was taught in Edinburgh. In addition, throughout this period, Dick and the graduates of his college were subjected to a continuous flow of barbed comment in the veterinary press.⁷⁵

The numbers of students at Clyde Street do not seem to have been much affected, however, fluctuating between about 60 and 100 as before (see fig. 5). Similarly, the numbers obtaining their certificates from the Highland Society seemed to maintain an upward trend. In 1857 James McCall (1834-1915) and Thomas Strangeways (1824-1869) graduated from Clyde Street, the latter with a Highland Society medal. Strangeways was immediately appointed Demonstrator of Anatomy for a year, and after his departure McCall became Dick's assistant. After McCall left to go into practice in the west of Scotland, Strangeways returned to Clyde Street as Professor of Anatomy in November 1859. By 1862 McCall had established the Glasgow Veterinary College, the third in Scotland, and the fourth in Britain.⁷⁶

In April 1863 Dick was 70 years old. At the end-of-session dinner he indicated that he would continue to teach for as long as he could. He noted however

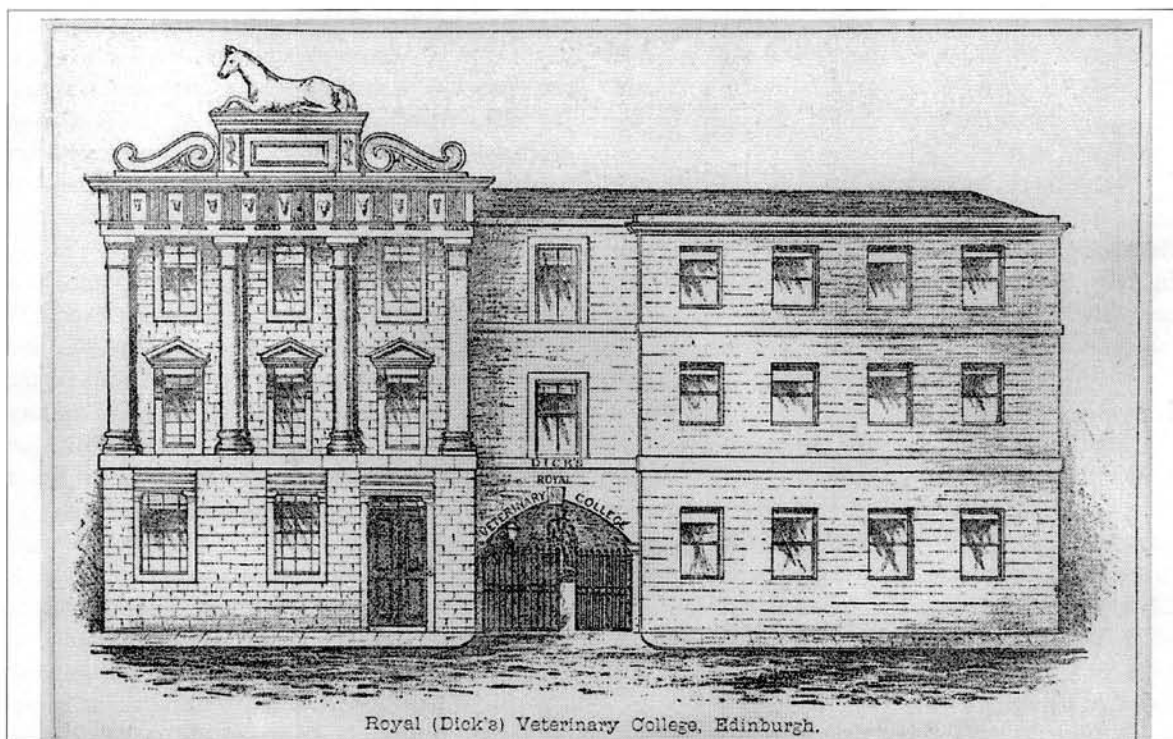
that 'it was no easy task to carry through a whole session with a class of some 80 or 90 young men — wild, sometimes, and riotous — careless, and sometimes stupid — sometimes high-spirited, and at other times taking up notions of their own'.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, during that session he began to publish in the *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland* a second series of the cases seen by his students at Clyde Street — some 2483 in 1862 and 2385 in 1863, the majority being horses, with the total for cattle, sheep, dogs and cats between 300 and 400. Clinical notes were taken by the more advanced students, who were also given more or less personal management of the cases.⁷⁸ These accounts, Dick pointed out, proved that his range of teaching in Edinburgh was far more comprehensive than that of his London critics.

Dick's teaching continued to be firmly based on personal clinical experience and a good memory, on the practice of the art of veterinary medicine. The application of science to veterinary medicine was still in its infancy. He had taken on practical farriers and farriers' apprentices, the so called 'professional' pupils, people like himself, and trained large numbers of them to be veterinary surgeons. He had kept his class fees low to match these students' ability to pay. He also attracted students of agriculture, and arranged classes at more convenient times for 'amateur' pupils, gentlemen interested in expanding their knowledge but not on taking up practice. Dick was a proud man, and happy to point out to his students that his material success was the result of his own labour.⁷⁹ He had been appointed Veterinary Surgeon in Scotland to Queen Victoria in 1842, and displayed the royal crest on the north wall of the college courtyard (fig. 15). At the Highland Society meeting on 24 June 1863, Peter McLagan (1823-1900) of Pumpherstoun reported that no fewer than 1700 men had been educated at the Edinburgh College, and 740 had received Highland Society diplomas.⁸⁰ Nevertheless an atmosphere of unease at the way students were being taught and examined was beginning to gain currency in the country.⁸¹

On 16 February 1864, just as Dick was about to start his 4 pm lecture, a fire broke out under the classroom seating. It destroyed the lecture theatre and the roof above it, as well as somewhat damaging the contents of the museum in 8 Clyde Street.



Fig. 15. Photograph taken in the Clyde Street courtyard around 1863 of Professor Dick (seated, with top hat and cane), surrounded by staff and students. Note the Royal Coat of Arms on the wall behind. (RDSVS.)



Royal (Dick's) Veterinary College, Edinburgh.

Fig. 16. Façade of the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College, Clyde Street, c. 1883. The statue of William Dick can just be glimpsed inside the courtyard. (RDSVS.)

Fortunately, the students' book collection was not harmed. Repairs were speedily made, but life in the college was disrupted by the accident.⁸² Dick took the opportunity to knock down the old tenement next door at number 10 and to build new three-storey housing on the site in 1865, designed by John Chalmers (fig. 16).⁸³

The 1865–66 session was the last taught by William Dick. As indicated above, that summer the epidemic of cattle plague had been introduced into England and soon swept north. Dick was sent to London by the Highland Society to investigate the course of the disease, and was subsequently appointed official Inspector of Foreign Cattle for Midlothian. However, despite his extensive clinical experience, his lack of understanding of the nature of infectious disease no longer fitted him for this task. The strain and a heart problem were too much for him. He died on 4 April 1866, and was buried in the family plot in New Calton Cemetery, about one hundred metres from his birthplace.⁸⁴

As well as establishing, largely with his own funds, the first veterinary college in Scotland, lecturing and running an extensive practice, Dick was editor of *The Veterinarian* for 12 years and wrote many papers on clinical subjects. He was also public-spirited. For 15 years he was honorary treasurer of the Royal Physical Society. He was also Justice of the Peace, Moderator of the High Constables, Dean of Guild, Deacon of the Hammermen Guild, and Deacon Convenor of the Trades, which entitled him to sit on the Town Council. In his will he left his estate in trust, the interest to be used to maintain his college. The Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council of the City of Edinburgh were appointed Trustees.

He was survived by his elder sister Mary Dick (1791–1883), who continued to take a lively interest in the welfare of the college (fig. 17). She never married, but looked after her parents and her brother. It was said by Thomas Dollar, a former student and old friend, that she concerned herself with everything that went on within the college walls, took the greatest interest in the welfare of every student, made herself acquainted with all the outgoings and incomings, was not slow to note peccadilloes, and to reprimand the idle, the noisy or the dissipated. But her anxiety for the real good of her protégés made her kindly and helpful when they were in sickness or trouble.⁸⁵



Fig. 17. *Carte de visite* of Mary Dick, sister of William Dick. Photograph taken c. 1860 by John Moffat, Edinburgh. (RDSVS.)

Following transfer of the college to the Trustees, James Herbert Brockencote Hallen (1829–1901), formerly Principal Veterinary Surgeon to Her Majesty's Bombay Army, was appointed Principal for session 1866–67. Hallen brought a fine military and administrative mind to the college. He introduced innovation at the diploma examinations: students were required to examine four horses not previously seen, write a diagnostic report, and identify their ailments — the first time that practical skills in clinical examination were tested in a British veterinary college.⁸⁶

It was with regret that Hallen was recalled to India, but his short time in Clyde Street did enable

him to list a number of recommendations for the Trustees and the Highland Society.⁸⁷ These included:

1. Examine students prior to matriculation.
2. Students should attend an additional 3 months of lectures on chemistry.
3. Veterinary students should have knowledge of the sciences of botany and agriculture, lectures on which to be timed during a summer session.
4. Lectures on pathological anatomy, not hitherto considered in the curriculum of study in any British veterinary college, should be introduced.
5. A chair of Cattle Pathology should be endowed.
6. Students should attend at least three winter sessions and one or two summer sessions.
7. The hospital accommodation for sick and lame animals is currently very insufficient in the college. The available stabling is not well adapted for sick horses — and as a consequence they are seldom seen in them. There is currently no hospital accommodation for sick cattle and dogs. These are required so that students can see disease in its various phases.
8. The absence of an operating theatre means that operations are carried out in the open yard and only those students close to the patients operated on can learn or see how an operation is performed.
9. The dissection room is now too small for the number of students. It should be at least twice as large as at present and be better lighted.

In 1867 Lord Provost William Chambers published a detailed description of the veterinary college property which had been entrusted to the City:⁸⁸

The buildings are disposed in the form of a quadrangle, with an open court in the centre, and having a dwelling house in front which formed the residence of Mr Dick ... The buildings around the courtyard appear to have been erected or acquired at different times, and pieced together with interior connections in the best way possible ... The buildings are on a slope, and accordingly at various levels. Some parts are reached from the court-yard by outside stairs. The northern or lower range of building contains the old and well-known Clyde Street Hall, which is now employed for the annual examinations, the interior being decorated with a good portrait of Mr Dick ...

The Museum is so small as to be insufficient for the proper exhibition of anatomical and pathological specimens, a matter greatly to be regretted; for a number of the specimens, illustrative

of the diseases of horses and other animals, are in excellent condition, and full of interest. The Class or Lecture Room is also, I should imagine, inconveniently small. The infirmary for horses, which ought to be a leading feature in the establishment, consists of some dingy and ill-ventilated loose-boxes, entered by different doorways; whereas the loose-boxes should be well-lighted, airy, and cheerful, with all suitable accommodation as regards water etc. I believe there is no Infirmary for Dogs, or other small animals, needing temporary treatment. The premises do not allow of the proper arrangements for a thorough examination of horses. Ordinary investigation and operations seem to go on in the open court-yard, within view of the street, which is generally complained of. The Dissecting Room is over the Forge, so that the heat of the fires, and the effluvia from singeing, aggravate the unpleasant odour from the dissecting operations; this Dissecting Room should be improved in ventilation as soon as possible. A larger and more comfortable Reading and Lounging Room is required for the Students. The central quadrangle (which is approached by an arched gateway in front) is on a slope, and open; whereas it should be level, and covered with a spacious glass roof, to allow of horses being walked about and exercised in all weathers ... One small portion of the quadrangular block, consisting of a workshop, at the north-west exterior angle, and facing a lane from St Andrew's Street, does not belong to Mr Dick's property.

Chambers suggested a possible transfer of the College from Clyde Street to a new site beside the University, between College Wynd and Horse Wynd, fronting on to North College Street (soon to be renamed Chambers Street).⁸⁹

In June 1867 William Williams (1832–1900), who had been one of Dick's star students, was appointed as Principal (fig. 18). He had enrolled at the Clyde Street College in 1855 and after two years' study obtained both a diploma and the first Highland and Agricultural Society's Gold Medal for proficiency in Veterinary Science.⁹⁰ Williams concurred with the Lord Provost's views that improvements needed to be made, not only to the college buildings, but also in the pre-college education of the students. An increase in the time spent studying veterinary medicine was also required. These opinions were further discussed at the National Veterinary Congress held in London in May 1867; George Armatage, from the Glasgow Veterinary College, had proposed that there should be preliminary examinations, a longer course to permit both practical and theoretical instruction and an examination that included written as well as verbal components. This stimulated considerable debate within the profession.⁹¹ It also coincided with discussions within the Senatus of the University of

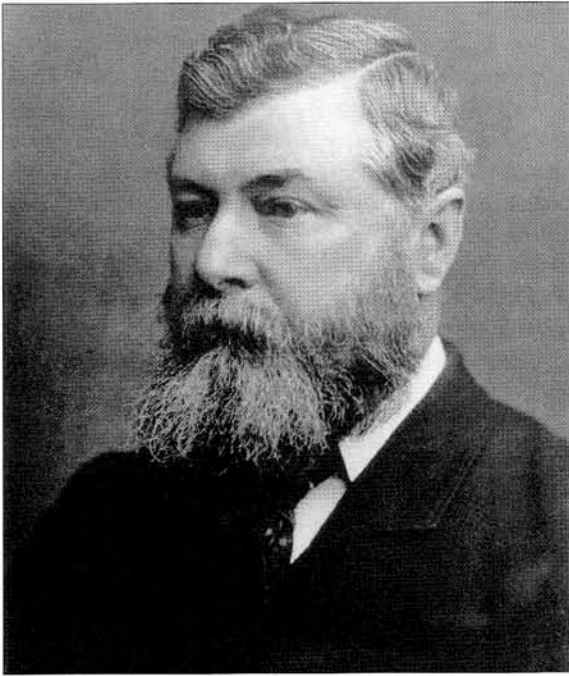


Fig. 18. Professor William Williams, who was Principal of the Clyde Street Veterinary College from 1868–1873, and established the New Veterinary College at Gayfield House in 1873. (From O. Charnock Bradley, *Edinburgh Veterinary College*, 1923.)

Trustees blaming Williams for failure to control his staff effectively.⁹⁵ However, there were also signs that Williams was discontented at not being able to run the college exactly as he wanted.

On 16 July 1873 Williams was finally asked by the Trustees to resign for 'want of harmony between the Principal and professors'.⁹⁶ Staff and students were taken by surprise at the decision. William Fearnley (1843–1927) from Leeds was appointed Principal. However, the lack of students, books, teaching material and equipment that he found when he arrived at Clyde Street made his job very difficult. This state, coupled with interference and a lack of support from the Trustees, resulted in Fearnley's resignation at the end of the summer session in 1874, after less than a year in office. He was unable to cope with the material, financial, political and administrative chaos left behind by Williams's departure. Thomas Walley (1842–1894) who had been Professor of Cattle Pathology at Clyde Street in 1871–72 was now offered the job of Principal, and accepted.⁹⁷ Walley began by re-establishing a teaching team of staff who worked well together; he reintroduced practical work on the microscope, and gave detailed instruction on animal diseases and meat inspection.⁹⁸

Edinburgh, which was considering a scheme for granting degrees in veterinary science which could have brought the Veterinary College into 'direct educational communion with the University'.⁹² However the failure in 1868 of an attempt to obtain a veterinary charter for Scotland, co-promoted by the Town Council of Edinburgh and the Highland Society, contributed to the demise of this initiative.⁹³

Moreover, a number of staffing problems had occurred at the college during the six years since Williams was appointed. The outcome was a series of disagreements among the remaining members of the college staff, between them and the students, between the Clerk to the Trustees and Mary Dick (William Dick, in his will, left his formidable sister with a large say in the college's finances) and between Williams and some of the Trustees; some of the disagreements even reached court.⁹⁴ This lengthy episode, which also included the cultural changes resulting from the new management (from a family-run private business to one managed by Trustees representing the City) resulted in the majority of

TWO VETERINARY COLLEGES IN EDINBURGH, 1873–1895

Williams, meantime, followed the example set when his former anatomy teacher in Clyde Street, John Gamgee, left in 1857 to open the first New Veterinary College. In the autumn of 1873 Williams founded the second New Veterinary College, and took with him from Clyde Street most of the clinical material and more than 40 of the students — only nine were left behind. As the students who departed were in the majority in the Edinburgh Veterinary Medical Society, they took with them the Society's library.⁹⁹ Williams's New Veterinary College opened in Gayfield House, now on East London Street, but at that time an isolated villa. Built between 1761 and 1765 by Charles and William Butter, the property comprised a five-room basement, two storeys of four rooms, an attic, a separate single-storey building in the garden with six rooms, a coach house, stables and a hay loft.¹⁰⁰ Gayfield House had been designed for

family life and must have been rather restricted when converted into a college, especially for the dissection of animals and study of clinical material, but there it remained for the next ten years.¹⁰¹ In April 1874, some 46 of the 61 Gayfield House students took the examinations of the Highland and Agricultural Society.¹⁰²

The two veterinary colleges, situated less than two hundred metres from one another, settled down to attract and train veterinary students in an atmosphere of constructive and friendly rivalry. At the opening of the 1875 session Williams listed the men trained by William Dick or himself in Edinburgh who were now professors in the veterinary colleges of Canada and the United States, or who held high positions in India and Australia, and also noted that all but one of the veterinary textbooks published in the last 20 years had been written by Edinburgh graduates.¹⁰³ Both Principals were aware of the changes needed to improve the educational levels of the students they enrolled and their subsequent training. A summer term of two months had been instituted in session 1873–74, and in 1876 the period

of study was further increased nationally to three years. Students were examined by the RCVS at the end of each year. Both Walley and Williams knew that the facilities that they had were not fit for the purpose. In addition, it was clear that their personalities offered opportunities to resolve the long-standing antagonism between the London and Edinburgh Colleges. The discord within the young profession would not be resolved until it was agreed that RCVS accreditation was the only way to become a veterinary surgeon in Britain.¹⁰⁴

The timing was propitious. Major General Sir Frederick W. J. Fitzwygram, 4th bart (1823–1904), a graduate from Dick's College in 1854 who then passed the RCVS examinations in 1871, was elected President of the RCVS in 1875. He was well qualified, by military training, veterinary qualifications, common sense and social standing to draw the profession together. After careful discussion, and assisted by George Fleming (1833–1901) on the RCVS Council, agreement was reached with the Highland Society that no new applicants for the Highland Society's veterinary



Fig. 19. Photograph taken about 1883 of Gayfield House with Williams, his staff and students. (Courtesy of Mrs Daisy Hawryluk.)

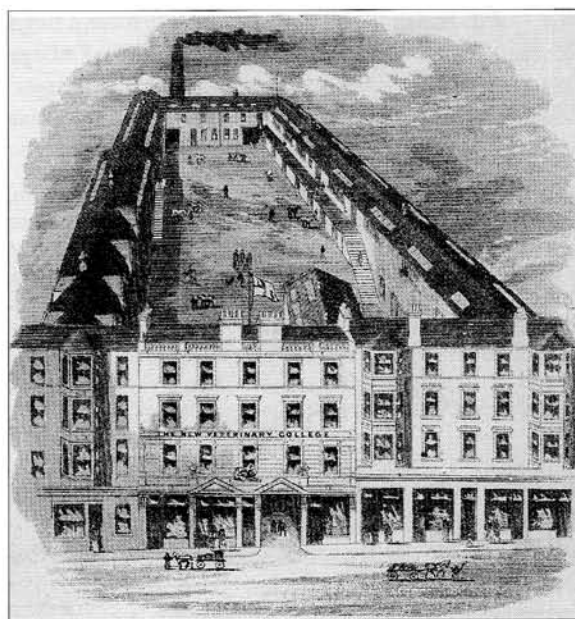


Fig. 20. Bird's eye view of the New Veterinary College, Edinburgh, built in 1882–83 at 41 Elm Row, Leith Walk, Edinburgh. (RDSVS).

examinations would be accepted after 1 January 1879. The last of their examinations were held in April 1881. A few months later, on 27 August 1881, the Veterinary Surgeons Bill received Royal Assent. This established the rules governing the registration of veterinary surgeons in Britain, and had as its main purpose the public differentiation between qualified and unqualified practitioners. There would now be only one portal through which students could enter the profession.¹⁰⁵

Student numbers in both Edinburgh's veterinary colleges increased progressively. By 1882 it was clear to Williams that bigger premises were urgently needed to house adequately the 145 students in 1881–82 and the 154 in 1882–83 (fig. 19).¹⁰⁶ On 24 October 1883 a custom-built Veterinary College, designed by William Hamilton Beattie, was opened at 41 Elm Row, Leith Walk, 300 metres from Gayfield House (fig. 20).¹⁰⁷ The local press described the new buildings (fig. 21):¹⁰⁸

[The buildings] extend about 80 yards backwards from Leith Walk, and, speaking roughly, cover four sides of a square, to the

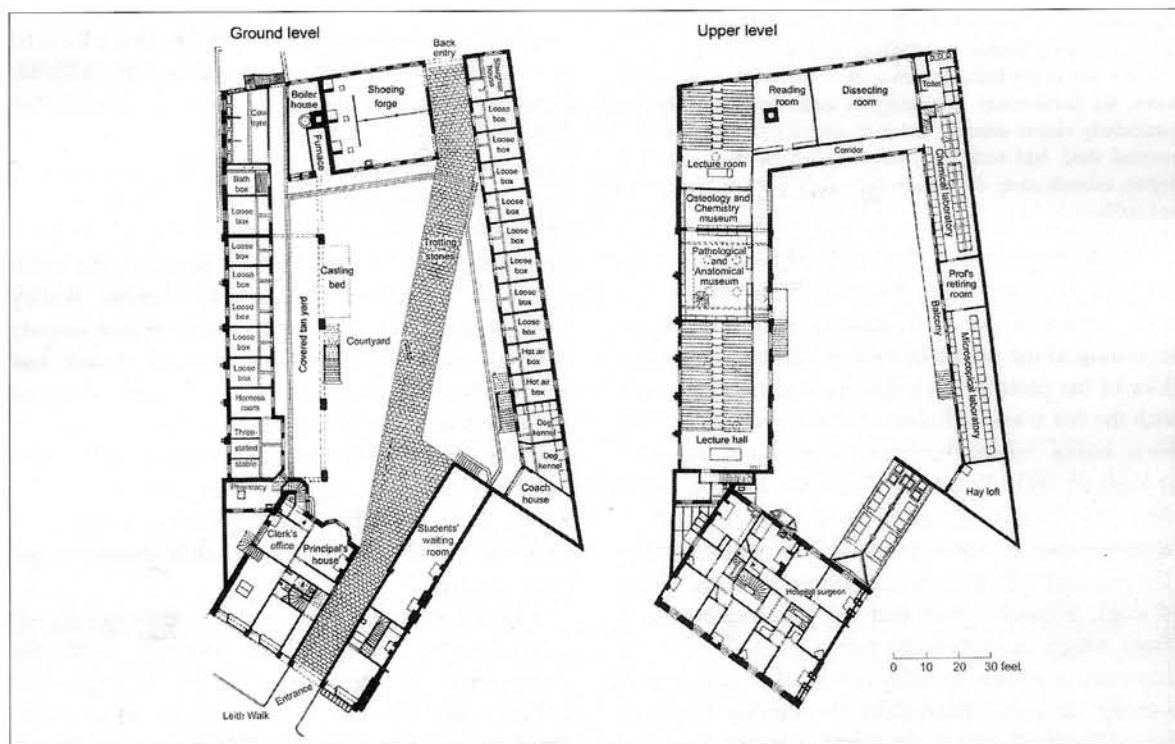


Fig. 21. Plans of the ground and upper floors of the New Veterinary College, Leith Walk, Edinburgh, in 1903. (*New Veterinary College Prospectus*, RDSVS.)

height of two storeys, leaving a large open space in the centre. This ... yard is covered with [lithite] concrete cement, with the exception of the central portion of its entire length, which has been causewayed, so as to give a length of fifty yards of 'trotting stone' as it is called — a stone course upon which horses are trotted to test their soundness. The elevation of the building towards Leith Walk presents a bold and massive yet ornamental appearance — a frontage in which boldly-pedimented windows are a feature, being surmounted by a handsome stone balustrade.

Along Leith Walk, the six pier heads were decorated with carved animals, though the subjects are not known. Another group of animals, sculpted by John Rhind — horse, bull, and dog — were positioned on a ledge above the Elm Row entrance.¹⁰⁹ It seems that these were removed after the College closed. In 2003 the statue of the recumbent dog was traced to a private garden in the Scottish Borders — the horse and bull have not yet been found. The upper storeys of this block were to be flats for professors and student boarding houses, and there was a student restaurant opening on to Leith Walk, with a saloon behind it.

Entering by [the] principal doorway (there is another doorway at the opposite end of the yard, opening on Windsor Street) we have immediately to the left on the ground floor the Principal's office and consulting room, with the College offices adjoining, and the pharmacy next, farther on. Making up the remainder of the northern line of the buildings are a six-stalled stable with saddle-room, six horse-boxes (including an extra large one for any particularly violent animal), and a six-stalled cow house; while a covered shed, laid with bark, and intended for the exercise of horses, extends along the greater part of the front of these boxes and stalls.

On the north side of the courtyard there was also a concrete bath room for animals, with shower and spray apparatus; horses could have a hot or cold bath according to the nature of their ailments. The ground floor of the eastern block contained the boiler house, with the hot water radiators extending to some of the horse boxes, where the temperature could be raised as high as 70°F. Beside this was the shoeing forge, with three modern forges and large enough to accommodate ten horses at a time. The southern range contained ten horse boxes, accommodation for a score of dogs, a coach house and the post-mortem room (from which animals were raised by a hoist to the dissecting room above, or by means of small carriages running on rails attached to the ceiling could be moved from one part of the room to another).

The upper storey was reached by steps on either side, leading to an open balcony running round three

sides of the courtyard. On the north side were a large lecture hall, with tiered seats for 192, the College Museum, with a gallery, a bone room for the students, and a smaller lecture hall seated for 125. In the glass cases round the walls of the museum were:¹¹⁰

Specimens of animals both in the diseased and healthy conditions, there being a large and varied collection preserved in spirits. There are specimens of dissected parts of animals, wax and papier maché models, monstrosities, anatomical collections and specimens illustrating various diseases of the bones, a collection of teeth, etc. On the ground floor in the centre, are numerous complete skeletons of animals, and in one of the glass cases are skeletons of a man and of a monkey. Other cases contain grasses and feeding stuffs, drugs, English and foreign horse-shoes, etc.

The students' reading room and dissecting room were at the eastern end of the courtyard, above the boiler room and forge.¹¹¹ In the southern block were a chemistry laboratory, pathological and histological laboratories and the professors' retiring room. There was also an open-air laboratory on the roof, 'where chemical experiments giving forth bad odours may be conducted'.

The Clyde Street College initially responded to the impressive improvement in its neighbour's facilities by converting several houses along the east side of the courtyard to classroom use in 1883–84. Plans for complete rebuilding were discussed, but Principal Walley suggested the purchase of the remaining small property in the north-west corner of the courtyard and reconstruction on the existing site. The south façade was retained as built by William Dick (see fig. 16). Construction began at the north end in the spring of 1886 and in October Walley reported that about half of the additions had already been completed.¹¹² A well-lit anatomy theatre had been built on the north-east corner of the courtyard on the second floor, above the post-mortem room. In addition, a room had been built for rabbits and guinea pigs, as well as a cage for dogs that might have rabies. There were three further rooms for dogs, one each for those with distemper, skin diseases, and other diseases.

The Edinburgh Town Council, although by its nature poorly equipped to struggle with the management of the Clyde Street College, had managed to fund the new buildings, which were completed in time for the 1887 student intake. A detailed description was given in the *Prospectus* for 1888–89 (see fig. 22):¹¹³

The ground floor of the buildings is devoted almost entirely to Hospital accommodation. The stalls, loose-boxes, kennels, &c., are of the most approved sanitary construction, and in common with the other parts of the premises they are capable of being warmed by a system of hot-water pipes. This floor includes also, besides the Janitor's house and the College office, the Pharmacy and the Operating Theatre. In the latter room the majority of the operations on animals are performed before the Students, and the room is provided with appliances for fixing and casting the larger animals.

On the east side of the building the second storey is occupied entirely by the Anatomical Department, which in respect of extent and completeness is superior to anything that can be found in other Veterinary Institutions in Great Britain. The Dissecting Room is very extensive, and perfectly ventilated and lighted. With a view to cleanliness it is provided with an asphalted floor and ... its walls are finished with silicate or glass paint. From the ground floor the dissection subjects are brought into the Dissecting Room by the aid of a patent hoist, and by means of mechanical appliances the heaviest subjects can with ease be transported to any part of the room. The room is also provided with apparatus for suspending horses in the natural posture while being dissected. This apparatus was invented and first employed in the Dick Veterinary College. Extending along one side of the Dissecting Room there is a gallery, to which access is obtained by a spiral iron staircase. This gallery is fitted up as a Students' Museum, and will contain dried and preserved specimens of the principal organs of the domesticated animals.

The Anatomical Class Room, or Theatre, opens off the south end of the Dissecting Room. Into this Theatre dissected subjects are wheeled from the Dissecting Room, and transferred to a circular revolving table, so that the parts being lectured upon can be turned in succession to different parts of the room. Opening off this Class Room there is a Students' Bone Room, containing complete skeletons and disarticulated bones of the different domesticated animals.

The second storey on the north side is occupied mainly by the Library and Gymnasium ... one of the recent additions to the College premises. It has been fitted up under the supervision of an instructor of gymnastics with a complete set of appliances, and, under rules approved by the College Council, the room is open to the Students at certain hours daily for gymnastic practice. The second storey on the west side is occupied mainly by the large general Lecture Hall, seated for two hundred Students. The New Museum forms the entire second storey on the south side. It is divided into an Anatomical and a Pathological section, and will, when it is completed, be the most spacious and complete apartment of its kind in this country.

Over the Museum are placed the rooms for the carrying on of the Microscopic Classes, which were first introduced into the Veterinary curriculum at the Dick College; and the Practical Chemistry Class Room, where the Students are taught the elements of Chemical Analysis and Manipulation. On the north side, over the Library and Gymnasium, and forming the third and fourth storeys, there is the Chemical Department, comprising an upper and a lower Laboratory, besides other and smaller rooms devoted to chemical work.

The statue of William Dick, which had originally been erected in the courtyard of the College on 24 October 1883, was placed on a plinth at the north end of the new courtyard in 1887 (fig. 23). This well-lit indoor location formed the backdrop to a number of group photographs of staff and students. A view of the courtyard from the balcony above the statue is shown in figure 24.¹¹⁴

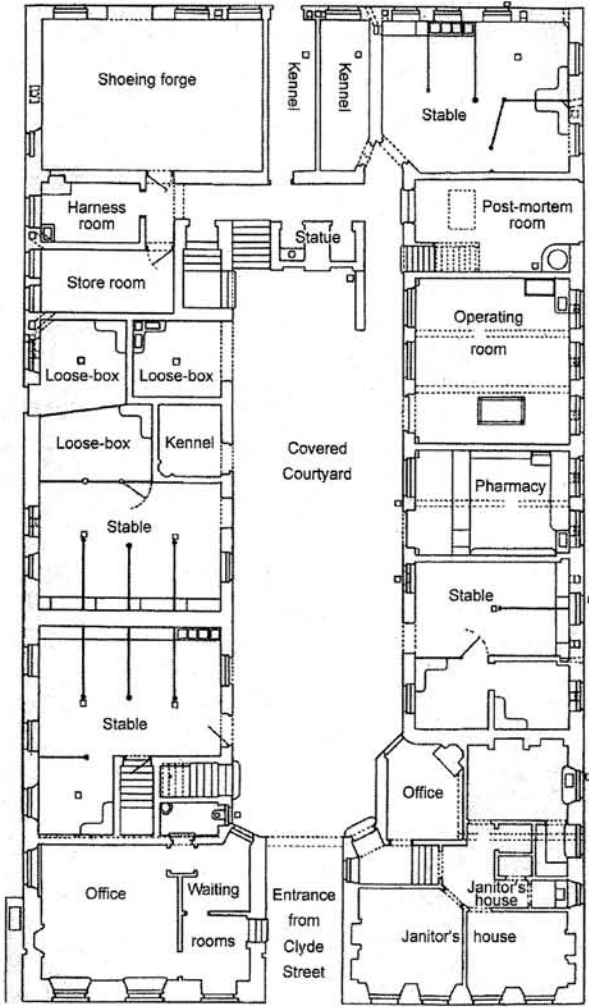
TOWARDS UNIVERSITY STATUS

Both veterinary colleges in Edinburgh now had splendid new facilities specifically designed for their active staff and increasing numbers of students. A more detailed understanding of medical and veterinary science was rapidly being developed. As a consequence there was increasing pressure, firstly on the educational background of the students being enrolled, and secondly on the number of years required by the RCVS for their studies. Only a very small proportion of students (15% or less) succeeded in going through the curriculum in the specified time of three sessions.¹¹⁵ Finally, in July 1892, a conference of veterinary teachers, examiners and members of the RCVS Council met to agree the content of a lengthened, four-year course. The first group of students enrolled in 1893.¹¹⁶ In addition, however, it was also agreed that from 1893 students of veterinary medicine should pass the tougher preliminary general educational examination required of its students by the General Medical Council.

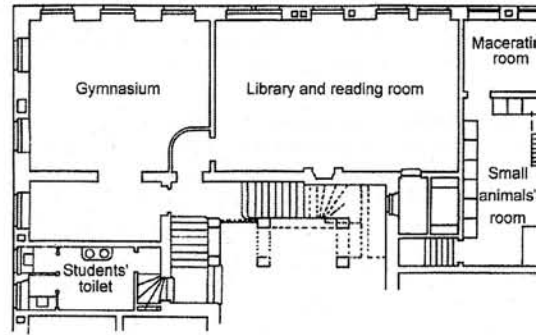
The increased severity of these examinations seems to have led to a rush for places in the years before 1893, and to fewer applicants thereafter.¹¹⁷ There was certainly a drop in the numbers of students presenting for RCVS examinations in Edinburgh and elsewhere from 1894 (fig. 25). Williams blamed the 1893 innovations for the reduction in students at the New Veterinary College; the numbers graduating dropped progressively, from 32 in 1894 to 18 in 1896 and to 11 in 1898.¹¹⁸ The impact of the decreased graduate output on the profession was dramatic. Whereas during the six years prior to the 1893 changes, the number of veterinary surgeons on the register had increased by 385, in the four years thereafter the net increase was only seven.¹¹⁹

Nevertheless, it was also during that period, in 1895, that the UK's first woman veterinary student,

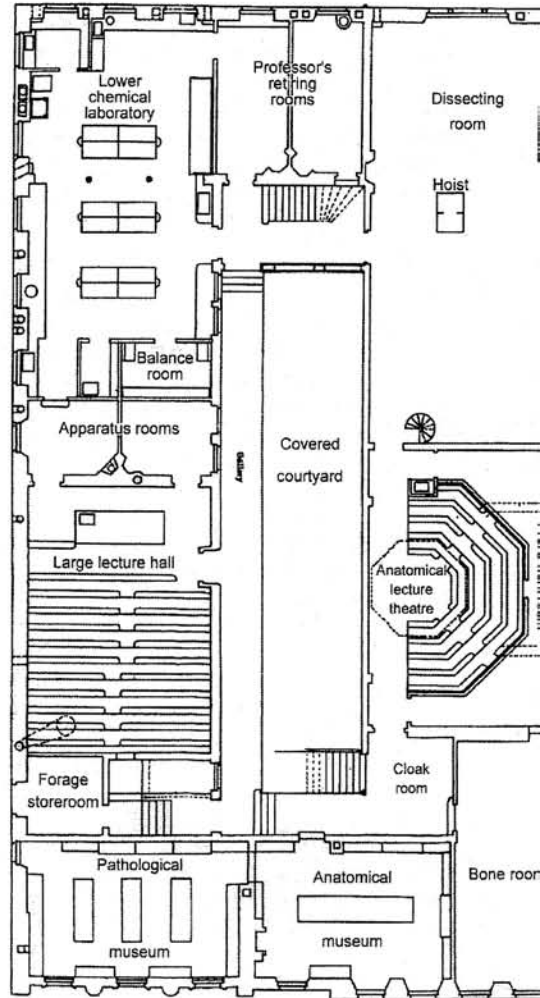
Ground level



Mezzanine



First level



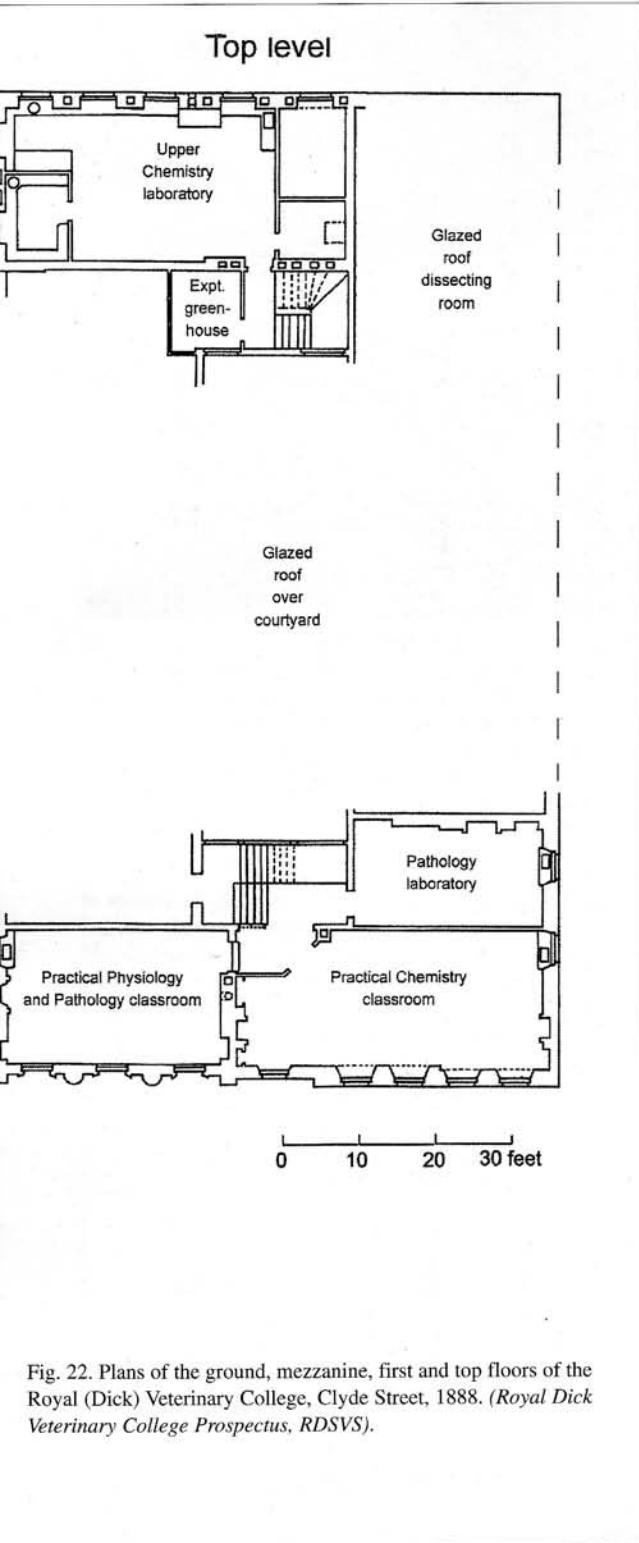


Fig. 22. Plans of the ground, mezzanine, first and top floors of the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College, Clyde Street, 1888. (*Royal Dick Veterinary College Prospectus, RDSVS*).

Aleen Cust, attended the New Veterinary College. She was a bright student and won medals in her examinations. Despite her obvious determination and competence, the veterinary establishment in London was not ready to admit women. By legal sleight of hand she was denied access to the RCVS examinations at the end of her first year, which was deprecated in editorials in the veterinary press. Despite the set-back, she continued her studies in Edinburgh, and completed in 1900. Principal Williams gave her a personal testimonial which enabled her to go into veterinary practice in Ireland. Women were not accepted as members of the RCVS until 1922.

Following the death in November 1900 of William Williams, his son, W. Owen Williams (1860–1911), took over as Principal of the New Veterinary College.¹²⁰ Meanwhile, on 10 December 1894, Principal Walley had died from tuberculosis, probably self-inoculated during his experimental studies. His death coincided with the marked decline in student intake and the resulting financial difficulties. A small but vociferous group in Edinburgh began to campaign publicly for amalgamation of the two Edinburgh colleges, favouring the New Veterinary College site on Leith Walk, and the appointment of a new Principal was delayed. The subject was discussed in committee, and by the Town Council, but both rejected the idea. John R. U. Dewar (1850–1919) was appointed on 7 May 1895 and held the post for 16 years.¹²¹

As both veterinary colleges in Edinburgh struggled to minimise the drop in student numbers, individuals continued to air the case for amalgamation. The income from student fees was clearly insufficient to cover the running costs. Income from the private or public veterinary practices of the college professors, which had until then sustained the Scottish colleges financially and provided the material for clinical tuition, was no longer sufficient.¹²² Although the financial status of the Clyde Street College was not as bad as published figures implied, the controversy stimulated a search for alternative means of support. Exploring government funding during the Anglo-Boer war (1899–1902) was not successful.¹²³ The question of finding benefactors who might financially assist the Clyde Street College was raised. Under the will of



Fig. 23. Photograph, c. 1900, of the north end of the courtyard of the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College, Clyde Street, showing Dick's statue, the doors to the operating room and pharmacy on the right and to the loose boxes and stables on the left. The sloping ramp on the far right leads past the post-mortem room to lower stables and kennels. The balcony on the left leads from the large lecture theatre, via the corridor behind the clock to the dissecting room on the right. (RDSVS.)



Fig. 24. Computer-generated virtual reality view of the south end of the Clyde Street College courtyard in 1887 showing the balcony to the large lecture theatre on the right, the stairs up to the practical chemistry, physiology and pathology classrooms, and on the ground floor the entrance from Clyde Street past the janitor's house and office. (Computer model created by Ketan Lad and Val Hunzinger.)

Mary Dick the residue of her estate was to be retained until it amounted to £20,000, when it was to be divided into two equal portions, one for the furtherance of veterinary science in the Clyde Street College, and the other to found a professorship, either of comparative anatomy or of surgical anatomy, in the University of Edinburgh, in memory of the late Dr John Barclay and the late Professor John Goodsir.¹²⁴ Publicity was given to the fact that the Principals of all five veterinary colleges in the United Kingdom had been educated at the Clyde Street College.

Earlier suggestions were recalled, asking whether it might not be possible for universities to confer degrees in veterinary medicine in the way that the four Scottish universities already did for human medicine. On 21 November 1900 the following letter from Principal Dewar at the Clyde Street College was put before the Senatus of the University of Edinburgh:¹²⁵

We look on Universities as the seats of learning, the sources of education and enlightenment to the communities around them, and in this progressive age, the centres of scientific investigation, and as the University of Edinburgh now grants degrees in Science and Engineering, in Agriculture etc it has occurred to me that it might also grant a degree in Veterinary Science.

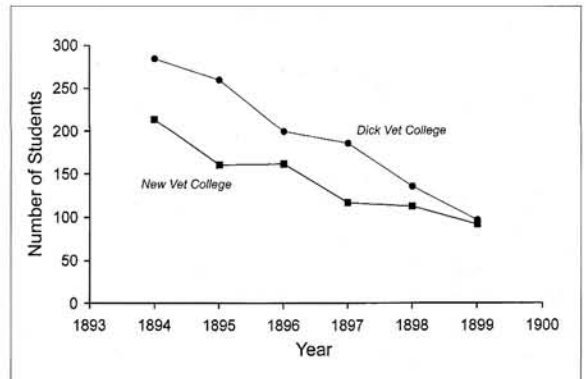


Fig. 25. The decline in the numbers of students at veterinary colleges in Edinburgh presenting for the end of year examinations organised by the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons.

As those studying for our profession have now, for several years, been required to pass a preliminary examination equal to that required from students studying for Medical and Science degrees, and as our students have to study for four years before they can graduate as members of the profession, — during that time studying Botany, Natural History, Chemistry, Anatomy, Physiology, Pathology, *Materia Medica*, Meat Inspection, and subjects more purely veterinary, it seems to me that the University of Edinburgh might well consider the propriety of recognising our profession by granting a degree to those fully qualified to receive it.

Whatever time this may take place I feel confident that the day is not far distant when our profession will obtain university recognition, and taking the deep interest in it I do I would naturally prefer that Edinburgh should take the lead rather than have to follow in the wake of others.

A joint committee of the Faculties of Science and Medicine made the following recommendation, which was accepted on 22 February 1902:¹²⁶

The Senatus to request the Court to take into favourable consideration the propriety of applying for an ordinance, under Section XXI of the Universities (Scotland) Act 1889, to enable the University of Edinburgh to grant Degrees in Veterinary Science ... [The committee] took for granted that every candidate would be required (1) to pass the Preliminary Examination prescribed for degrees in Pure Science: (2) to attend at least half of the required courses of instruction during a period of not less than three academical years in the University: and (3) that every candidate, before appearing for the Final B.Sc. Examination in Veterinary Science, would be required to have obtained a qualification to practice from the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons. In other words, it was assumed the Degree in Veterinary Science, if instituted, would be of the nature of an Honours Degree.

It was soon clear to the Principal and staff of the New Veterinary College that the continuing fall in student numbers and the lack of comparable benefaction and institutional support was going to lead to ruin. In 1903 W. Owen Williams indicated that within 12 months various universities would open their doors to veterinary students, and in addition to a licence to practice as a veterinary surgeon, they would have university degrees. He himself was negotiating with Liverpool University for the transfer of himself and his students to establish a veterinary school in that University. The final prize-giving of the New Veterinary College in Edinburgh was on 16 May 1904, at which 6 students obtained their diplomas and a total of 16 passed the exams at the end of years 1–3. Some 11 students followed Williams to Liverpool while the others went to the remaining Edinburgh, Glasgow and London colleges.¹²⁷

A proposed reconstruction of the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College was announced on 16 June 1903. A new Administrative Board would take over the College from the trusteeship of Edinburgh Town Council and the College would become an extra-mural school of Edinburgh University. Veterinary students would take classes either in the University, or at Clyde Street, or both, towards a degree in veterinary science. The General Council meeting of the University in October that year approved the draft ordinance of the University Court for the institution of the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Veterinary Medicine and Surgery.¹²⁸

On 24 July 1905 the first meeting of the Representative Board for the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College met in preparation for taking over the administration of the College from the Town Council. The 83rd Session of the Clyde Street College opened on 3 October of that year with Sir William Turner, Principal of Edinburgh University (and one of the original trustees appointed by Mary Dick), in the chair, and the new management of the College was inaugurated. The new board was incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1906. Student numbers had by then been increasing for some years. Veterinary education in Edinburgh had entered a new phase of growth and development.¹²⁹

POSTSCRIPT

Opposition from the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons and the Universities in Scotland repeatedly delayed until 16 December 1911 the passing of the Ordinance enabling the University of Edinburgh to grant Bachelor and Doctorate degrees in veterinary science.¹³⁰ The Clyde Street College buildings closed in 1916 after staff and students moved to their new Dick Vet College site at Summerhall, at the east end of the Meadows. It was not until the Veterinary Surgeons Bill of 1948 that the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College could be incorporated into the University of Edinburgh, and not until the University of Edinburgh (Royal (Dick) Veterinary College) Order Confirmation Act, 1951, that this was achieved.¹³¹ On 2 October 2003 a plaque commemorating the location of William Dick's Veterinary College in Clyde Street was unveiled by the Princess Royal on the north wall of the city bus station which now occupies the site.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

We greatly appreciate the help of librarians and archivists throughout Edinburgh and beyond: Fiona Brown, Eileen Burdekin and Doreen Graham of the Library of the Royal (Dick) School of Veterinary Studies (RDSVS), University of Edinburgh; Pam McNicol, Stefanie Davidson and Joe Peattie of the City of Edinburgh Archives; Andrew Bethune, Jimmy Hogg, Ian Nelson, Darren Black, Eileen Maher, Susan Orlowski, Anne Morrison and Nancy Balfour in the Edinburgh Central Public Library (Edinburgh Room); Dr Alastair Massie of the National Army Museum, London; the staff of the National Library of Scotland, the National Archives of Scotland and the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS). We also greatly valued information and assistance provided by Miss E. K. Charles and Mrs Daisy Hawryluk; Jacqueline Williams, Adrian Allan and the staff of the special collections and archives of the University of Liverpool Library; and Alison Hunt of Queen Margaret University College, Edinburgh. We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Development Trust of the University of Edinburgh and the RDSVS for two architecture students, Ketan Lad and Val Hunzinger, who created virtual reality computer images of the interior of the Clyde Street Veterinary College from plans in the RCAHMS and in the City of Edinburgh Archives.

A number of references are made to the records of the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, held at their premises at Ingliston, near Edinburgh. The earlier references are to the Sederunt Books of the Highland Society of Scotland (cited as HSS), and, after a new charter in 1834, to the records of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland (cited as HASS).

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- 70 John Gamgee, *Diseased Meat sold in Edinburgh, and Meat Inspection, in Connection with the Public Health and with the Interests of Agriculture: A Letter to the Right Hon. the Lord Provost of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1857), pp. 3–13; 'The Diseases of Animals in Relation to Public Health and Prosperity: being a Lecture delivered before the Metropolitan Association of Medical Officers of Health, 18 April 1863', *Edinburgh Veterinary Review*, 5 (1863), pp. 254–268; 'Health of Stock', pp. 269–297, 334–350; 'Health of Stock in the United Kingdom during the Year 1862,' pp. 401–418; 'The System of Inspection in Relation to the Traffic in Diseased Animals or their Produce', pp. 663–670.
- 71 The houses of St Cuthbert's Glebe were re-addressed as (odd numbers) 71–87 Lothian Road in 1868: *Post Office Directory* (1868).
- 72 In 1860 the Gamgees moved to 12 Castle Terrace: NAS, Register of Sasines, 'Disposition in Favour of Standard Property Investment and Land and Building Society with Consent of John Gamgee, 16 May 1860', R.S. 2229, p. 140; Prospectus, *Edinburgh New Veterinary College, Authorised under Royal Sign-manual, Session 1863–4* (Edinburgh 1863). It is ironic that Gamgee began his school in premises beside those formerly occupied by the Royal Ménage on Nicolson Street (now Surgeons Hall) and subsequently moved to the buildings in St Cuthbert's Lane to which the Royal Ménage had transferred in 1829: W. Forbes Gray, 'An eighteenth-

- century Riding School', *BOEC*, 20 (1935), pp. 111–159.
- 73 NAS, Valuation Roll, Edinburgh, 1861–62, VR 100/38, f. 212; 'Disposition in Favour of Richard Hunter from Standard Property Investment and Land and Building Society with Consent of John Gamgee, of Dwelling, Main Door and Area Flats at 12 Castle Terrace, May 1864', R.S. 2452, p. 158; 'Money-market & City Intelligence', *Times*, 17 June 1865; 'Albert Veterinary College', *Ibid.*, 3 October 1865; *Post Office Directories*, 1858–65; Ordnance Survey, Plan of Edinburgh, 1876–77: http://www.nls.uk/digitalibrary/map/townplans/edinburgh1056_2.html; Ian Pattison, *The British Veterinary Profession, 1791–1948* (London 1984), p. 60.
- 74 [John Gamgee], *Rules and Regulations of the Albert Veterinary College, Limited, Queen's Road, Bayswater* (London 1865); *The Cattle Plague, with Official Reports of the International Veterinary Congresses, held in Hamburg, 1863, and in Vienna, 1865* (London 1866); D'Arcy Thompson, *Remarkable Gamgees* (note 1), pp. 107–113.
- 75 For example: [John Gamgee], 'Monopoly incompatible with Progress', *Edinburgh Veterinary Review*, 1 (1858), pp. 188–190; 'Rival Examining Boards', *Ibid.*, 2 (1860), pp. 164–166.
- 76 Obituary, *Veterinarian*, 41 (1869), pp. 251–252; William L. Weipers, 'The Development of Veterinary Education in the West of Scotland', *Veterinary History*, 7 (1976), pp. 9–19.
- 77 'Historical Account' (note 1), p. 160.
- 78 William Dick, 'Proceedings in the Edinburgh Veterinary College', in *Occasional Papers* (note 16), pp. 442–501.
- 79 William Dick, 'Inaugural Address, 1863', in [William Chambers], *Some Observations on the Edinburgh Veterinary College by the Lord Provost* (Edinburgh 1867).
- 80 HASS, Peter McLagan, Report to the General Meeting, 24 June 1863, vol. 24, p. 53.
- 81 [John Gamgee], 'Preliminary Examinations', *Edinburgh Veterinary Review*, 6 (1864), pp. 731–732.
- 82 'Alarming Fire at Edinburgh Veterinary College', *North British Agriculturist*, 16 (1864), p. 104; 'Fire at the Edinburgh Veterinary College', *Veterinarian*, 37 (1864), pp. 195–196.
- 83 Edinburgh City Archives (ECA), Plan Room, Location C47, Clyde Street, William Dick, 3 June 1865.
- 84 'Death of Professor Dick', *North British Agriculturist*, 18 (1866), p. 228; Obituary, *Veterinarian*, 39 (1866), pp. 439–440.
- 85 Thomas A. Dollar, 'Presentation to the Trustees of Miss Dick's Portrait', in *Inaugural Address delivered by Thomas A. Dollar at the Opening of the 72nd Session of the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College, Edinburgh, 3 October 1894* (Edinburgh 1894), pp. 24–25.
- 86 HASS, Meeting of Directors, 9 January 1867, vol. 24, pp. 393–394; 'Historical Account' (note 1), pp. 164–168.
- 87 HASS, Meeting of Directors, 9 January 1867, vol. 24, pp. 480–481; ECA, Sederunt Books, Professor Dick's Trust, 3 vols, 1866–1877 (Handlist of Historical Records, p. 96), Letter from J. H. B. Hallen, Minutes of Meeting of the Subcommittee of the Lord Provost's Committee in Charge of the Management of Professor Dick's Trust, 13 November 1867, vol. 1, pp. 248–252.
- 88 [Chambers], *Observations* (note 79), pp. 4, 11–12.
- 89 The ground, 250 by 150 feet, lay between the north part of the present Guthrie Street and the steps of Guthrie Street lane leading south up to Chambers Street. It is currently occupied in part by 9–16 Chambers Street, belonging to the University of Edinburgh.
- 90 'The late Principal Williams of the New College', *Scotsman*, 13 November 1900.
- 91 George Armatage, 'The Education of the Veterinary Surgeon; the Importance of the Apprenticeship Clause; the Preliminary Examination, and a lengthened Period of Matriculation at College', *Veterinarian*, 40 (1867), pp. 505–514; [Chambers], *Observations* (note 79), p. 10.
- 92 ECA, Sederunt Books, Professor Dick's Trust (note 87), John Wilson, Letter to Mr M. MacGregor, Item No. 16, Report for the Information of the Trustees, vol. 1, pp. 311–312.
- 93 An attempt had been made in 1866 by the Highland Society to obtain a Veterinary Charter for Scotland which would authorise a board of examiners and grant diplomas in veterinary medicine. A second application was made in 1867, and a third and final request in 1876: 'Proceedings Relative to a Veterinary Charter for Scotland', Appendix 3 in 'Historical Account' (note 1), pp. 182–189.
- 94 Warwick and Macdonald, 'New Veterinary College' (note 2), p. 380b.
- 95 ECA, Minute Book of the Veterinary College Council, November 1870 to July 1873 (Handlist of Historical Records, p. 72).
- 96 ECA, Sederunt Books, Professor Dick's Trust, Meeting of the Committee of Management, 15 July 1873, vol. 2, pp. 634.
- 97 'Edinburgh Veterinary College — Resignation of Principal Fearnley', *Veterinarian*, 47 (1874), p. 557; William Fearnley, *Lectures on the Examination of Horses as to Soundness (delivered at the Edinburgh Veterinary College) with an Appendix on the Law of Horses and Warranty* (London 1878), p. iii; William Fearnley, *A Course of elementary practical Histology* (London 1887), p. viii; 'Professor Walley', *Veterinary Record*, 7 (1894), p. 345; Bradley, *Edinburgh Veterinary College* (note 1), pp. 68–70. Fearnley enrolled to study medicine at Edinburgh and after graduating in 1875 as licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh became a general medical practitioner in London.
- 98 Thomas Walley, 'Royal Dick Veterinary College', *Veterinary Record*, 4 (1891), pp. 211–214; Thomas Walley, *The four Bovine Scourges: Pleuro-pneumonia, Foot-and-mouth Disease, Cattle Plague, Tubercle (Scrofula); with an Appendix on the Inspection of live Animals and Meat* (Edinburgh 1879), pp. vii–viii; John G. McKendrick, *Introductory Lecture at the Opening of the Session 1875–76 of the Edinburgh Royal Veterinary College, 27 October 1875* (Edinburgh 1875).
- 99 Warwick and Macdonald, 'New Veterinary College' (note 2), p. 380b; 'Court of Session, Outer House, 11 April 1874: The Edinburgh Veterinary College Dispute', *Scotsman*, 13 April 1874. The New Veterinary College was formally opened on 22 October 1873.
- 100 NAS, RHP 11114, Hippolyte J. Blanc, Gayfield House: Plans

- of Dwelling House and Offices, also Stables and Coach House (1870); Kitty Cruft, 'Villas in Edinburgh: The Case of Gayfield House', chapter 10 in Deborah Mays (ed), *The Architecture of Scottish Cities* (East Linton 1997).
- 101 'The New Veterinary College, Edinburgh', *Scotsman*, 25 September 1873.
- 102 William Williams, 'New Veterinary College', *Edinburgh Courant*, 29 October 1874; T. H. Lewis, 'Edinburgh New Veterinary College: Opening of Session', *Veterinarian*, 55 (1882), pp. 844–846. The New Veterinary College in Edinburgh was recognised by the RCVS by the start of the new session in October 1874.
- 103 William Williams, 'The Veterinary Profession — the Scotch Colleges', *North British Agriculturist*, 26 (1875), p. 701a–c. Among others, Williams listed Duncan McNab McEachran, Principal of the Montreal Veterinary College; Andrew Smith, Principal of the Upper Canada Veterinary School, Toronto; and James Law, the first Professor of Veterinary Medicine in the United States, at Cornell: Pattison, *British Veterinary Profession* (note 73), pp. 97–100. In addition George Fleming was editor of a new journal, *The Veterinary Journal and Annals of Comparative Pathology*. Furthermore, in 1888 William Hunting and John McFadyean, respectively graduates from Gamgee's and Dick's colleges, would establish and edit additional journals, *The Veterinary Record* and *The Journal of Comparative Pathology and Therapeutics*.
- 104 'Report of the Education Committee to the Special Meeting of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, 30 June 1876', *Veterinarian*, 49 (1876), pp. 572–574; 'Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, Report of Special Meeting of Council, 14 August 1876; New Education Scheme', *Ibid.*, pp. 648–652; 'Report of second Special Meeting, 20 September 1876', *Ibid.*, pp. 798–799; 'Report of Special Meeting, 4 October 1876', *Ibid.*, p. 806; HASS, Meeting of Directors, 6 December 1876, vol. 27, p. 44.
- 105 HASS, Meetings of Directors, 17 July 1878, vol. 27, p. 209; 6 November 1878, p. 216; 15 January 1879, p. 239; Pattison, *British Veterinary Profession* (note 73), pp. 78–86; Betty Marshall, *Sir Frederick Fitzwygram of Leigh Park House* (Havant 1999).
- 106 William Williams, 'New Veterinary College, Edinburgh: Prize List', *Veterinary Journal*, 14 (1882), pp. 455–456; 'New Veterinary College, Edinburgh', *Veterinarian*, 56 (1883), pp. 370–371.
- 107 'New Veterinary College, Edinburgh', *Veterinarian*, 56 (1883), pp. 822–832. The façade and most of the buildings still exist, later used as the Gateway Theatre, and now occupied by Queen Margaret University College, Edinburgh.
- 108 'New Veterinary College, Leith Walk', *Edinburgh Courant*, 27 September 1883; 'Building Operations in Leith Walk', *Scotsman*, 22 October 1883.
- 109 Warwick and Macdonald, 'New Veterinary College' (note 2), pp. 382–383.
- 110 'The New Veterinary College, Leith Walk, affiliated by Her Majesty's Royal Sign-Manual with the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons', in *A Descriptive Account of Edinburgh — Illustrated* (Brighton and London [1893]), p. 111.
- 111 During a fierce storm on 26 January 1884 a fire broke out in the library area, and the book collection of the Edinburgh Veterinary Medical Society was completely destroyed. Appeals were launched, and in 1885 the library of John Greaves of Flixton was donated to form the core of a new library: 'Fire at the New Veterinary College', *Scotsman*, 28 January 1884; 'Disastrous Storm', *Edinburgh Evening News*, 28 January 1884; 'Fire at the New Veterinary College, Edinburgh', *Veterinarian*, 57 (1884), p. 141; J. T. Robinson, 'Edinburgh Veterinary Medical Society', *Veterinarian*, 58 (1885), p. 376.
- 112 RCAHMS, Edinburgh, Clyde Street, Royal Dick Veterinary College, proposed alterations, 1883, DC/7758–DC/7761, unsigned; Thomas Walley, 'Royal (Dick) Veterinary College: Opening of the Winter Session — Introductory Address', *Veterinarian*, 59 (1886), pp. 853–872; 'The Royal (Dick) Veterinary College', *Veterinary Journal*, 23 (1886), pp. 264–265. In December 1885 the Trustees reported that they had acquired the north-west corner property for £600: Bradley, *Edinburgh Veterinary College* (note 1), pp. 78–79.
- 113 *Royal (Dick's) Veterinary College, Clyde Street, Edinburgh, Prospectus 1888–89*, pp. 5–6.
- 114 'Unveiling of a Statue of the late Professor Dick', *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 25 October 1883; 'The Royal (Dick's) Veterinary College; Unveiling of Professor Dick's Statue', *Veterinary Journal*, 17 (1883), pp. 440–443. The original position of the statue, sculpted by John Rhind, was opposite the entrance — it can just be seen through the front gates of the College in fig. 16. The statue was later in the courtyard of the Summerhall building, and was transferred to the Easter Bush Veterinary Centre in 2003.
- 115 Thomas Walley, *Inaugural Address delivered on the Occasion of the Opening of the 70th Session of the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College Edinburgh* [Edinburgh 1892], p. 16.
- 116 'Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons: Special Meeting', *Veterinary Record*, 5 (1892), pp. 55b–58a; 'Conference of Teachers and Examiners with the Council', *Ibid.*, pp. 91a–107b.
- 117 John R. U. Dewar, 'Royal (Dick) Veterinary College; Opening Address', *Veterinary Record*, 15 (1902), p. 215a.
- 118 William Williams, 'New Veterinary College, Edinburgh', *Veterinarian*, 66 (1893), p. 503; William Williams, 'Medal Day at the New Veterinary College', *North British Agriculturist*, 50 (1898), pp. 312d–313a; Albert E. Mettam, 'Students at the Scottish Veterinary Colleges', *Veterinary Record*, 12 (1899), p. 322a; William Williams, 'The New Veterinary College', *North British Agriculturist*, 51 (1899), pp. 656c–e; 'Veterinary Colleges', *Veterinary Journal*, NS 1 (1900), pp. 348–349; T. Shennan, 'The New Veterinary College, Edinburgh', *Veterinary Journal*, NS 2, (1900), pp. 272–278. The opening of the Royal Veterinary College in Dublin in 1900 was perceived to have further reduced the student intake to the Edinburgh colleges.
- 119 John McFadyean, 'The General Education of the Veterinary Student', *Veterinary Journal*, NS 3 (1901), pp. 13–20.
- 120 Warwick and Macdonald, 'New Veterinary College' (note 2), p. 384b.

- 121 'Proposed Amalgamation of the Edinburgh Veterinary Colleges', *Veterinarian*, 68 (1895), p. 318; [William Williams], 'An Unseemly Display', *Veterinary Journal*, 40 (1895), pp. 396-401; Bradley, *Edinburgh Veterinary College* (note 1), p. 73.
- 122 'The Veterinary Colleges', *North British Agriculturist*, 51 (1899), pp. 653b-c, 717c-d; [W. Owen Williams], 'The Economics of Veterinary Teaching', *Veterinary Journal*, NS 3 (1901), pp. 183-186.
- 123 Andrew Macdonald, 'Royal (Dick) Veterinary College: Address by Sir John Gilmour, Bart.', *Veterinary Record*, 13 (1900), p. 200b; Albert E. Mettam, 'Royal (Dick) Veterinary College', *Ibid.*, 12 (1899), p. 296a-b.
- 124 'Bequest to the Dick Veterinary College and the University of Edinburgh by the late Miss Dick', *Veterinarian*, 56 (1883), pp. 663-664.
- 125 EUL, Special Collections, Senate Minutes, 21 November 1900. A comparable letter was also received from A. Inglis MacCallum, from the Veterinary Hospital and Laboratory, 30 King's Stables Road, offering a substantial endowment of £30,000 to £40,000 for the teaching of veterinary medicine.
- 126 EUL, Special Collections, Senate Minutes, 22 February 1902.
- 127 Warwick and Macdonald, 'New Veterinary College' (note 2), p. 384b.
- 128 'Royal (Dick) Veterinary College: Proposed Scheme of Reconstruction', *Edinburgh Evening Dispatch*, 17 June 1903; 'The Dick Veterinary College', *Veterinary Record*, 15 (1903), p. 797a; 'Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons; Proposed Scheme of Reconstruction of the Royal Dick Veterinary College, Edinburgh', *Veterinary Journal*, NS 8 (1903), pp. 59-67; EUL, Special Collections, *General Council of the University of Edinburgh*, 30 October 1903, pp. 8-11, David D. Buchan, 'Report Committee upon Draft Ordinance No. 4 by the University Court — Institution of Degrees in Veterinary Medicine and Surgery'; *Ibid.*, pp. 14-20, John A. Trail and David D. Buchan, 'Ordinance No. 4 ... By the University Court of the University of Edinburgh under the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889, section 21'.
- 129 'Royal (Dick) Veterinary College', Edinburgh, *Veterinary Record*, 18 (1905), p. 107b; 'Royal (Dick) Veterinary College', *Ibid.*, 18 (1905), pp. 267b-268b; *Edinburgh Corporation Act*, 1906, Edw. VII c. 163.
- 130 'Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons; Quarterly Meeting of Council, Parliamentary Committee', *Veterinary Record*, 19 (1907), pp. 448b-455b; 'Glasgow University Court; to the King's most excellent Majesty in Council', *Ibid.*, 19 (1907), pp. 502b-503b; EUL, Special Collections, *General Council of the University of Edinburgh*, 3 May 1911, pp. 27-30, 42-47, J. B. Clark, 'Draft Ordinance by the University Court — Institution of Degrees in Veterinary Science'; *Ibid.*, 1 May 1912, p. 18, J. B. Clark, 'Degrees in Veterinary Sciences'; *University of Edinburgh Court Ordinances*, pp. 509-513, 'University Court Ordinance No. XXXVIII (Edinburgh No. 13). Institution of Degrees in Veterinary Science'; 'The Royal (Dick) Veterinary College; Edinburgh University New Ordinance', *Veterinary Record*, 24 (1912), pp. 778b-779a.
- 131 *University of Edinburgh (Royal (Dick) Veterinary College) Order Confirmation Act, 1951*, 14 & 15 Geo. 6. Ch. xiv.