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## Peter David Handyside's Diploma as Senior President of the Royal Medical Society

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### Abstract

Over the last few years, the author of this article was fortunate to be offered and purchased two diplomas dating from the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Both were awarded to Peter David Handyside<sup>1</sup> (1808-81). He had graduated in medicine in 1831 with the Edinburgh M.D. degree. Shortly after he graduated, he pursued his anatomical studies, initially in Paris and then in Heidelberg under the distinguished physician Friedrich (or Frederick) Tiedemann (1781-1861). It is believed that his earlier apprenticeship under James Syme (1799-1870) had stimulated his interest in both Anatomy and Surgery. He was awarded the FRCS Edin. (Fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh) diploma in August of 1833, and was for most of the rest of his career a practising surgeon. The subject of his probationary essay was Osteo-aneurism, and this was dedicated to Tiedemann. He commenced the teaching of Anatomy in Edinburgh in the summer of 1834, and was, on and off, for over 45 years a teacher of this subject at the Edinburgh Extra-mural School. He taught this subject until a few weeks before his death. While a medical student, he was elected Senior President of the Royal Medical Society during the Society's 92<sup>nd</sup> Session (1828-29). He had also been awarded the Harveian Society medal in 1827, and was in 1837 appointed Secretary of the Harveian Society. During the same year, he was elected to a Fellowship of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, while in 1871 he was elected President of the Medico-Chirurgical Society of Edinburgh.

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## Introduction.

Over the last few years, the author of this article was fortunate to be offered and purchased two diplomas dating from the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Both were awarded to Peter David Handyside<sup>1</sup> (1808-81). He had graduated in medicine in 1831 with the Edinburgh M.D. degree. Shortly after he graduated, he pursued his anatomical studies, initially in Paris and then in Heidelberg under the distinguished physician Friedrich (or Frederick) Tiedemann (1781-1861). It is believed that his earlier apprenticeship under James Syme (1799-1870) had stimulated his interest in both Anatomy and Surgery. He was awarded the FRCS Edin. (Fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh) diploma in August of 1833, and was for most of the rest of his career a practising surgeon. The subject of his probationary essay was Osteo-aneurism, and this was dedicated to Tiedemann.<sup>2</sup> He commenced the teaching of Anatomy in Edinburgh in the summer of 1834, and was, on and off, for over 45 years a teacher of this subject at the Edinburgh Extra-mural School. He taught this subject until a few weeks before his death. While a medical student, he was elected Senior President of the Royal Medical Society during the Society's 92<sup>nd</sup> Session (1828-29). He had also been awarded the Harveian Society medal in 1827, and was in 1837 appointed Secretary of the Harveian Society. During the same year, he was elected to a Fellowship of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, while in 1871 he was elected President of the Medico-Chirurgical Society of Edinburgh (*Figures 1 and 2*).<sup>3</sup>

In this article, I propose taking the opportunity of briefly drawing attention to Handyside's clinical and teaching career. It is also appropriate to draw attention to some of those that were present at the Society's Annual Dinner, and signed his Senior President's diploma. Many of the latter also achieved importance in the medical profession in later years. As will be seen, the lives of a number of these individuals were also closely interwoven in the events that were occurring in Edinburgh at about that time. The three Junior Presidents who each signed his diploma were Arthur Todd Holroyd (First Junior President<sup>4</sup>), Thomas Stone (Second Junior President<sup>5</sup>) and George Henry Heathcote (Third Junior President<sup>6</sup>). Both Handyside and Stone were also members of the Brown Square Medical and Surgical Society<sup>7</sup> during its brief existence in 1826-27. The Royal Medical Society's Annual Dinner took place on 28 November 1828, although there is no indication of where it occurred.



Left Figure 1: Photograph of Mr. Handyside in early middle age. By courtesy of Royal Medical Society.



Figure 2: Photograph of Mr. Handyside in late middle age. By courtesy of Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh.

Handyside's career as a surgeon and teacher of Anatomy.

Initially, Handyside taught Anatomy at Number 4 Surgeons' Square, and emphasised its importance in Surgery. During the summer sessions, in addition to providing anatomical classes, he also gave a full course on Operative Surgery. In 1841, Handyside acquired the School of Anatomy at Number 1 Surgeons' Square, and lectured there for a few years on Systematic Surgery. He is said to have paid Mr John Lizars<sup>8</sup> in about 1839, £500 for his extensive surgical and pathological teaching collection. Handyside then set up in partnership with Henry Lonsdale<sup>9</sup> and James Spence (1812-82) there, and while he initially lectured exclusively on Surgery, for several years afterwards they shared the teaching of Anatomy. Handyside's move to Number 1 Surgeons' Square, in 1841, approximately coincided with his appointment to one of the Surgeoncies in the Infirmary. When Lonsdale succeeded Knox,<sup>10</sup> he purchased his anatomical collection for £900 on the understanding that Knox would not undertake any further anatomical teaching in Edinburgh. This tripartite alliance lasted until 1845, when Lonsdale returned to his native city of Carlisle. Knox's anatomical preparations were then transferred to Handyside.

When, in April 1842, James Miller (1812-64) succeeded Charles Bell (1774-1842) to the Systematic Surgery Chair in the University of Edinburgh, following the latter's sudden death, Handyside returned to the teaching of Anatomy, because he felt that the opportunities of his own advancement in Surgery in Edinburgh were likely to be limited. When Miller died in 1864, Mr. James Spence succeeded him. Handyside had been the unsuccessful candidate in his application for Bell's Chair in 1842, as well as for the Chair of General Pathology vacant after the resignation of John Thomson<sup>11</sup> (1765-1846) in 1842. He had also been the unsuccessful candidate for the Chair of Anatomy when John Goodsir<sup>12</sup> (1814-67) was appointed. The Appointment Committee indicated that it was felt that this post ought to be filled by someone who was prepared to devote *all of their time* to the duties of the Chair.

The appointment of Goodsir to succeed Alexander Monro *tertius* (1773-1859) as Professor of Anatomy in 1846, coincided with Handyside's move with John (later Sir John) Struthers (1823-99) as his Demonstrator to the Medical School at Number 11 Argyle Square.<sup>13</sup> Handyside taught Anatomy there during the winter of 1846-47, but then withdrew to devote all of his time to his clinical practice. From about 1848, Struthers took over all of the Anatomy teaching there, and to assist him in his teaching activities he purchased all of Handyside's anatomical and pathological preparations.

In 1849, the Government acquired all of the buildings around Argyle Square, and they were later demolished during the *third* phase of the building programme of the new Industrial Museum. The College of Surgeons was then forced, as a matter of urgency, to erect a new building, the *new* Surgeons' Hall, close to their Playfair Hall, and this then became the only building where an Extra-mural School could function. When Struthers was appointed to the Chair of Anatomy in Aberdeen in 1863, Handyside resumed the teaching of Anatomy at the new Surgeons' Hall, rather than at Argyle Square, and he was at that time the only extra-mural teacher of that discipline in Edinburgh. When Struthers moved to Aberdeen, he took with him both Handyside's and Knox's Museum Collections, and this required Handyside to establish yet another teaching collection for his own needs. In his surgical practice, he was recognised as an excellent operator. He had successfully amputated at the hip-joint in a patient with a malignant tumour of the femur, and had also performed the operation of ovariectomy, when this was not a popular procedure. He was also from its



*Left Figure 3:* Professor Robert Christison as a young man. By courtesy of Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh.

*Right Figure 4:* Professor Robert Christison in old age. By courtesy of Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh.

earliest days associated with the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, and was on its Committee or was one of its Board of Directors, in association with amongst others Mr. Benjamin Bell and Professor John Hutton Balfour, for over 40 years. Despite the opposition of the then Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, Professor Sir Robert Christison (1797-1882, see below), both Drs Handyside and Patrick (later Sir Patrick) Heron Watson<sup>14</sup> (1832-1908) consented to admit women to their ordinary classes of Anatomy and Surgery, respectively.

To complete the picture, it is appropriate to mention that his father, William Handyside, was a Writer to the Signet who practised in Edinburgh, while his brother was Lord Handyside, a Law Lord of the Edinburgh Bench. He was married, and left a widow and three daughters. Because of the many years that he was associated with the Extra-mural School and connected with the Royal Infirmary, large numbers of colleagues, students and grateful patients remembered him.

Guests at the Society's Annual Dinner.

One of the senior guests present at this Dinner was Robert Christison (*Figures 3 and 4*),<sup>15</sup> who from 1822 until 1832 was the Regius Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Edinburgh. From 1832 until 1877 he held the Chair of Materia Medica and Therapeutics in the University of Edinburgh.<sup>16</sup> The second senior guest present was James Syme (*Figure 5*). In 1833, he was to replace James Russell<sup>17</sup> (1754-1836) as Regius Professor of Clinical Surgery in the University of Edinburgh, and held this post until 1869, only one year before his death.<sup>18</sup> Both had signed the Society's Obligation of Membership in 1819. Syme on 8 January and Christison on 17 December of that year, and they were both elected Honorary Members of the Society in 1843. The other guest present was Dr. John Argyll Robertson (LRCS Edin. (i.e. Licentiate diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh) 1819, M.D. Edin. 1819 and FRCS Edin. 1822). He had devoted most of his clinical career to ophthalmic surgery, and was elected President of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh in 1848. He died in 1857, and his son, Douglas, continued his work in this field.

The arrest of Burke and Hare.

November 1828 was also of considerable interest in Edinburgh, because it was on 1<sup>st</sup> November that the police visited William Burke's house and arrested him and his common-law wife Helen McDougal. It was believed that they were both involved in murder, in order to supply "subjects" to Dr. Robert Knox's anatomical classroom in the Extra-mural School. At 7 am on the following morning the police interviewed David Paterson, Knox's doorkeeper.<sup>19</sup> He showed them the body of Mrs. Docherty, who was still compressed into a tea-chest in the cellar of Dr. Knox's<sup>20</sup> School, at Number 10 Surgeons' Square, and later that day Mr. and Mrs. Hare were also arrested. They were also charged with the same crimes as Burke and Helen McDougal. It was believed that Mary Docherty had been murdered on the 31<sup>st</sup> October. It should be recalled that the Hall of the Royal Medical Society was at that time located next door to Knox's School, at Number 11 Surgeons' Square. On the following day, all of the prisoners were subjected to judicial examination, while on the 10<sup>th</sup>, Burke and McDougal were further examined before the Sheriff. The case against



*Figure 5:* Painting of Professor James Syme. By Courtesy of Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.

Burke and Helen McDougal was entirely circumstantial until Hare turned King's evidence on 1<sup>st</sup> December.<sup>21</sup>

Dr. Alexander Black,<sup>22</sup> the police surgeon, had made a cursory examination of the body of Mrs. Docherty in the presence of Christison in the police office. Shortly afterwards, Robert Christison was called in by the police to conduct the formal post-mortem examination of Mrs. Docherty to try to establish the cause of her death. This was conducted in the police office in the presence of Mr. William Newbigging,<sup>23</sup> a well-respected surgeon in Edinburgh who from 1814-16 had been the President of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.<sup>24</sup> Three of his sons became Presidents of the Royal Medical Society.<sup>25</sup> Both Christison and Newbigging had been appointed by the Crown to undertake the post-mortem examination. While Christison<sup>26</sup> was relatively inexperienced as a forensic pathologist, he undertook a meticulous examination of the body, but his findings were nevertheless inconclusive, although he believed that death was probably due to violence. Because of his doubts as to the exact cause of death, Christison also sought advice from Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Charles Bell, of London. Insufficient evidence was, however, available to support the prosecution's case against Burke. The Lord Advocate also sought the advice of Dr. William Pulteney Alison (1790-1859), who from 1820-21 had been Professor of Medical Jurisprudence. From 1821-42 he was Professor of Institutes of Medicine, and then from 1842-55 he was Professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh.

Thomas Stone, then Second Junior President, took various measurements of the heads of 22 criminals in the Edinburgh Jail, and at Bridewell, and presented his findings at an Extraordinary Meeting of the Society in 1828, and these were then published as an article.<sup>27</sup> During the latter part of 1828, when Burke and Hare were incarcerated in the Tolbooth prison, or during the early part of the following year, he made similar measurements of *their* heads. He also measured the Casts of the skulls of other "atrocious murderers," the heads of a selection of "notorious thieves" and those of a similar number of law-abiding citizens. His findings were initially presented before the Society, then published in the form of a lengthy article.<sup>28</sup> His findings were extremely important, in that they were counter to the long-held views of the phrenologists. Both Gall<sup>29</sup> and Spurzheim<sup>30</sup> and their followers had believed that the craniological measurements of both Burke and Hare and other prisoners allowed them to confirm their criminal propensities. The phrenologists staunchly defended their views.<sup>31</sup> The anatomical arguments presented by Stone alone should have been enough to destroy most of the information published in the *Phrenological Journal* concerning the phrenological analyses of famous and infamous individuals, but they clearly failed to convince the vast majority of Phrenology's adherents. In desperation Stone published his final article on the topic later in 1829.<sup>32</sup> Curiously, his Dissertation read before the Society in 1830, was on a completely different topic than the craniological measurements that he had previously presented to the Society. It was also quite different from the material that he submitted in his M.D. thesis, unlike the situation in the case of Handyside and Holroyd where their M.D. theses were on essentially the same topics as their Royal Medical Society Dissertations.

Additional observations on Dr. Thomas Stone. Thomas Stone died in May 1854. According to his brief obituary notice,<sup>33</sup> while still a student he was a frequent contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine*. Within a few years of graduating, he was appointed Inspector of Hospitals to the British Auxiliary Legion of Spain, in the Carlist War, under the overall command of Sir George de Lacy Evans. Curiously, his name does not appear in the published list of the Staff of the Medical Department of the British Legion of Spain.<sup>34</sup> In later years, he published extensively in the *Psychological Journal* and in the *Polytechnic Review* of which he was both proprietor and editor. He was for some years Medical Superintendent of Wyke-house Asylum, Brentford, and then of Haydock-lodge, near Manchester.

It is also relevant to note that Dr. Holroyd was delegated by the Society, in 1830, to take a petition to Parliament relating to the sale to the anatomists of the bodies of many of the victims of Burke and Hare. According to Gray, it was believed that Holroyd would be able to use his influence with the Members of one or other House.<sup>35</sup> Lord Melville was approached, and he agreed to present this petition before the House of Lords. Warburton had formerly, in 1829, presented the first version of his Anatomy Bill before Parliament, but this was later withdrawn. His Bill was later amended in 1831, and became law in 1832.<sup>36</sup>

Other members of the Society who attended the Dinner. Another member who attended the Dinner and signed the President's diploma was John Hutton Balfour.<sup>37</sup> He was elected First Junior President in 1830-31, and Third Junior President during the following year. He had obtained the LRCS Edin. in 1829, the M.D. Edin. in 1831,<sup>38</sup> and the FRCS Edin. diploma in 1833. While Balfour commenced in medical practice in Edinburgh shortly after he graduated, his principal interest was in Botany. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1835 and later of London, and was for many years an active Secretary of the Edinburgh Society. He was instrumental in the establishment of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh, in 1836, and in 1838, the Edinburgh Botanical Club. He gave a very successful series of lectures on Botany at the Extra-mural School in 1840, but only for a single year. In 1841 he was appointed Professor of Botany in Glasgow, then in 1845, he was appointed to the Chair of Medicine and Botany in the University of Edinburgh. Shortly after he was appointed to the Edinburgh Chair, he gave up clinical practice. He was also nominated Regius Keeper of the Edinburgh Botanical Garden, and became Queen's Botanist for Scotland. He was also for thirty years Dean of the Edinburgh Faculty of Medicine, retiring from this post, and from his Chair, in 1879.<sup>39</sup>

Another future botanist who was present at the Dinner was Hugo Falconer (1808-65). He was to become an extremely distinguished paleontologist and botanist. After graduating with an M.A. degree from the University of Aberdeen, he entered the University of Edinburgh to study medicine.<sup>40</sup> Immediately after he graduated with the M.D. degree in 1829, the East India Company accepted him as an Assistant Surgeon. Because he was under the age of 22, he spent a year in London where he studied botany, geology and Indian fossils. In 1832, he took charge of the Botanical Garden in Sahāranpur. He was then able to explore the local hills, and discovered an enormous series of fossil mammals and reptiles there. This work was recognised by the Geological Society of London who awarded him their Wollaston Medal in 1837. He was also largely instrumental in introducing the growing of tea in India. He retired, due to ill health to England, and remained there from 1842-7. On his return to India he was appointed Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanical Garden as well as Professor of Botany in Calcutta Medical College. Much of his time, however, was spent in advising the Indian government on all aspects of its vegetation. He retired from the Indian Service in 1855, and returned to England, and resumed his palaeontological studies. He was elected F.R.S in 1845, and at the time of his death he was one of their Vice-Presidents, as well as Foreign Secretary of the Geological Society.<sup>41</sup>

One of the former Presidents of the Royal Medical Society who attended the Dinner was Daniel Ellis. He was Third Junior President when John Gordon<sup>42</sup> was Second Junior President in 1806-07, and on Gordon's (1786-1818) premature death in 1818 at the age of 32, Ellis wrote a posthumous biography of him.<sup>43</sup> Other members of the Society who subsequently became Presidents of the Society were Benjamin Bell (1802-

43),<sup>44</sup> Evanus Bowen,<sup>45</sup> William Alexander Francis Browne (1805-85),<sup>46</sup> David Boswell Reid<sup>47</sup> and Andreas Wood.<sup>48</sup>

The other members of the Society who signed their names on Handyside's diploma were, in alphabetical order, Thomas Alfredus Barker,<sup>49</sup> Joannes G.M. Burt,<sup>50</sup> Joannes S. Bushnan,<sup>51</sup> Georgius G. Chester,<sup>52</sup> Gul. Henricus Duncan,<sup>53</sup> Matthew Baillie Gairdner,<sup>54</sup> Jas. C. Gordon,<sup>55</sup> Johannes Cornelius Heyning,<sup>56</sup> Edvardus Holmes,<sup>57</sup> Henricus Hulme,<sup>58</sup> Carolus Ibbotson, Henricus James,<sup>59</sup> Henricus Johnson,<sup>60</sup> Joannes MacKintosh, Gulielmus McGowan,<sup>61</sup> John Macrobin,<sup>62</sup> Gul. Reynolds,<sup>63</sup> Patricius Robertson,<sup>64</sup> Joannes Scott<sup>65</sup> and Jacobus Gregorius Vos.<sup>66</sup>

Handyside's Senior President's diploma dating from 1828 appears to be the earliest of its type so far located, although the Society has in its possession similar diplomas from the early 1840s. Equally, his Fellowship diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh dating from 1833 is one of the earliest so far located.

#### Endnotes & References

<sup>1</sup> On his Royal Medical Society and FRCS Edin. diplomas, and for his M.D. Edin. thesis, he is referred to as *Petrus Davidus* Handyside. His M.D. thesis was entitled: "De Vasis Absorbentibus." The topic of his Royal Medical Society Dissertation was "On Absorbtion," and was read before the Society on 31 October 1828.

<sup>2</sup> Handyside, P.D. (1833). *A Probationary Essay on Osteo-Aneurism, or Aneurism of the Arterial Capillaries of Bone; ...* Edinburgh: Neill & Co. [29 pp., Dedicated to Frederick Tiedemann, Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the University of Heidelberg]. The President of the College, John Campbell, signed his Fellowship diploma, and it was dated 20 August 1833. Campbell was President of the College in 1832-33, and his sister had earlier married Dr. John Barclay, the most distinguished of the Extra-mural teachers of Anatomy in Edinburgh during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> For further information on P.D. Handyside, see: Anon (1881). The late Dr Handyside. *Edinburgh Medical Journal* 26, 949-56; Comrie, J. (1932). *History of Scottish Medicine*. 2 Volumes. Second Edition. London: Baillière, Tindall & Cox; Kaufman, M.H. (2003). *Medical education in Edinburgh during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*. Edinburgh: Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh. For his association with the Royal Medical Society over the years, see: Gray, J. (1952). *History of the Royal Medical Society 1737-1937*. Edinburgh: University Press.

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Todd Holroyd M.D. Edin. 1830. His M.D. thesis was entitled: "De Homeopathia." The topic of his Royal Medical Society Dissertation was "On the Homeopathic Doctrine," and was read before the Society on 5 February 1830.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Stone M.D. Edin. 1831. His M.D. thesis was entitled: "De Cranio Humano." The topic of his Royal Medical Society Dissertation was "On the Development, Structure and Functions of the Brain," and was read before the Society on 1 January 1830.

<sup>6</sup> George Henry Heathcote M.D. Edin. 1829. His M.D. thesis was entitled: "De Stethoscopio." The topic of his Royal Medical Society Dissertation was "Sleep, Dreams, and Apparitions," and was, according to the date associated with his Dissertation, read before the Society on 28 November 1828.

<sup>7</sup> This Society was originally called the Brown Square Emulation Society. Its first meeting was held on 18 August 1826, and it functioned until May 1827.

<sup>8</sup> In 1831, he was appointed Professor of Surgery to the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.

<sup>9</sup> He was First Junior President in 1841-42, and Third Junior President in 1842-43, although he resigned and was replaced by Alleyne Maynard.

<sup>10</sup> Lonsdale had previously been Knox's assistant, and then his partner.

<sup>11</sup> Thomson was Second Junior President in 1791-92. He obtained the FRCS Edin. in 1793, and the M.D. Aberdeen in 1808. In addition to being the first holder of the Chair of Surgery of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, from 1804-21, he was also the first holder of the Regius Chair of Military Surgery in the University of Edinburgh, from 1806-22. See: Kaufman, M.H. (2003). *The Regius Chair of Military Surgery in the University of Edinburgh, 1806-55*. Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V., 54-105.

<sup>12</sup> He was Senior President in 1841-42 and 1842-43, and elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1842.

<sup>13</sup> This is where Dr. Knox had taught Anatomy for a few years after his move from Old Surgeons' Hall.

<sup>14</sup> Patrick Heron Watson was Senior President in 1853-54. M.D. Edin. 1853, FRCS Edin. 1855.

<sup>15</sup> Robert Christison M.D. Edin. 1819. His M.D. thesis was entitled: "De Febre Continua, quae nuper in hac urbe Epidemica fuit, ex exemplis apud Nosocomium Regium tractatis, deducta."

<sup>16</sup> Christison, in addition to being appointed Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, was President of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh in 1839 and 1848. From 1868-73, he was President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. For additional information, see: Anon (1882). Obituary: Sir Robert Christison, Bart., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L. *The Edinburgh Medical Journal* 27, 852-63; Anon (1963-64). Christison, Sir Robert, M.D. (1797-1882). *Dictionary of National Biography* 4, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 290-1.

<sup>17</sup> James Russell had been elected Senior President of the Society in 1780-81. He was awarded the FRCS Edin. in 1777, and was President of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh from 1796-97. He was the first Professor of Clinical Surgery in the University of Edinburgh. He was appointed in 1806, and resigned from this post in 1833.

<sup>18</sup> For additional information, see: Anon (1871). Obituary: James Syme. *The Edinburgh Medical Journal* 16, 180-92.

<sup>19</sup> In court, he was referred to as the "Keeper of the Museum of Dr. Knox."

<sup>20</sup> Robert Knox's M.D. Edin. thesis of 1814 was entitled: "De Viribus Stimulantium."

<sup>21</sup> Anon (1829). The late horrible murders in Edinburgh, to obtain subjects for dissection. *Lancet* i, 424-31 [for a contemporary report of the trial, and sentence]; Roughton, W. (1921). *Burke and Hare*. Edinburgh: William Hodge & Co. Ltd.; Kaufman, M.H. (1997). Another look at Burke and Hare: the last day of Mary Paterson - a medical cover up? *Proceedings of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh* 27, 78-88.

<sup>22</sup> LRCS Edin. 1829, M.D. Edin. 1829.

<sup>23</sup> He had five sons, four of whom followed him into the medical profession. All five of his sons died young, only Patrick outliving him, and he was also elected President of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh from 1861-63. See: Kaufman, M.H. (2004). Sir William (1772-1852) and Patrick Newbigging (1813-1864) - father and son, who were both elected Presidents of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh. *Journal of Medical Biography* 12, 189-95.

<sup>24</sup> Queen Victoria knighted him on her accession in 1838.

<sup>25</sup> Of his sons that studied medicine, Robert, was Third Junior President of the Society, but died in office during their 1832-33 Session. Patrick Small Keir Newbigging was First Junior President during their 1834-35 Session, while George Stewart Newbigging was Second Junior President during their 1837-38 Session. Sir William joined the Society in November 1792, and his oldest son, also William, joined the Society in December 1824.

<sup>26</sup> In 1871, Christison accepted a baronetcy on the recommendation of Mr. Gladstone.

<sup>27</sup> Stone, T. (1828). *The Evidences Against the System of Phrenology, being the substance of a paper read at an Extraordinary Meeting of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh*. Edinburgh: Maclachlan & Stewart, and Charles Smith; London: T. & G. Underwood; Glasgow: Robertson & Atkinson [109 pp.].

<sup>28</sup> Stone, T. (1829). *Observations on the phrenological development of Burke, Hare, and other atrocious murderers; measurements of the Heads of the most notorious thieves confined in the Edinburgh Jail and Bridewell, and of various individuals, English, Scotch, and Irish, presenting an extensive series of facts subversive of Phrenology. Read before the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh*. Edinburgh: Robert Buchanan, William Hunter, John Stevenson; London: T. & G. Underwood; Glasgow: Robertson & Atkinson; Aberdeen: Alex. Brown & Co.; Dublin: J. Cumming [75 pp.].

<sup>29</sup> Dr. Franz Joseph Gall (1757-1828) was the founder of the "science" of Phrenology. His neuroanatomical research dated from the early 1790s.

<sup>30</sup> Dr. Johann Gaspar Spurzheim (1776-1832) was Gall's principal disciple, and acted as his secretary and assistant from 1804.

<sup>31</sup> Combe, G. (1829). *Answer to "Observations on the Phrenological Development of Burke, Hare, and other Atrocious Murderers, &c - By Thomas Stone, Esq., &c"*. Edinburgh: John Anderson, jun.; London: Simpkin & Marshall [16 pp.]. See also: Anon (1830). Article XIII. Mr

Stone's evidences against Phrenology, 1828, and the *London Medical and Surgical Journal. The Phrenological Journal and Miscellany* 6, issue 21, 140-3. See also: Combe, G. (1830). Article I. Answer to "Observations on the Phrenological Development of Burke, Hare, and other Atrocious Murderers, &c. By Thomas Stone, Esq.," By George Combe. *The Phrenological Journal and Miscellany* 6, issue 21, 1-14.

<sup>32</sup> Stone, T. (1829). *A Rejoinder to the Answer of George Combe, Esq. to "Observations on the Phrenological Development of Burke, Hare, and other Atrocious Murderers."* Edinburgh: Robert Buchanan, William Hunter, John Stevenson; London: T. & G. Underwood; Glasgow: Robertson & Atkinson; Aberdeen: Alexander Brown & Co. [18 pp.].

<sup>33</sup> This was originally published in the *Medical Times and Gazette*, (1854, Volume 29, pp. 610-11), but later published almost unaltered in the *London and Provincial Medical Directory of 1855* (see p. 669).

<sup>34</sup> Somerville, A. (1839). *History of the British Legion, and War in Spain, 1835-1837*. London: James Pattie, 663. However, this list is known to be incomplete; Kaufman, M.H. (2003). *Musket-ball and Sabre Injuries from the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*. Edinburgh: Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, 30-43, see particularly Table 3, p. 36.

<sup>35</sup> See: Gray, *op. cit.* ref. 2, 149-50.

<sup>36</sup> Anon (1832). *A Collection of the Public general Statutes, passed in the Second and Third Year of the Reign of His Majesty King William the Fourth: Being the Second Session of the Tenth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Cap. LXXV. An Act for Regulating Schools of Anatomy. 1st August 1832*. London: George Eyre & Andrew Spottiswoode, 713-18.

<sup>37</sup> Anon (1963-64). Balfour, John Hutton (1808-1884). *Dictionary of National Biography* 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 976.

<sup>38</sup> His M.D. thesis was entitled: "De Strychnia".

<sup>39</sup> Balfour was succeeded in his Chair, in 1879, by Alexander Dickson, but as Professor of Botany. He, in turn, was succeeded by Dr. (later Sir) Isaac Bayley Balfour, son of John Hutton Balfour, in 1888.

<sup>40</sup> He obtained the LRCS Edin. diploma in 1828, and graduated with the M.D. Edin. degree in 1829.

<sup>41</sup> For additional information, see: Anon (1963-64). Falconer, Hugh (1808-1865). *Dictionary of National Biography* 6. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1022-25.

<sup>42</sup> John Gordon M.D. Edin. 1805, FRCS Edin. 1808.

<sup>43</sup> Ellis, D. (1823). *Memoir of the Life and Writings of John Gordon, M.D., F.R.S.E., late Lecturer on Anatomy and Physiology in Edinburgh*. Edinburgh: A. Constable & Company; London: Hurst, Robinson & Co. Vice M.M. Moriarty, resigned. Benjamin Bell was Third Junior President 1821-22, FRCS Edin. 1823.

<sup>44</sup> Senior President, 1829-30, M.D. Edin. 1831.

<sup>45</sup> Vice E. Lubbock, who had resigned. Browne was appointed Third Junior President 1826-27 and Third Junior President in 1827-28, although he resigned and was replaced by Robert Arrowsmith. Browne obtained the LRCS Edin. in 1826. Browne was elected a Vice-President of the Edinburgh Phrenological Society in December 1830, and was Medical Superintendent of Montrose Lunatic Asylum from 1834-38, then from 1838-57, that of Crichton Royal Institution.

<sup>46</sup> He was Senior President in 1826-27, M.D. Edin. 1830.

<sup>47</sup> He was Second Junior President in 1830-31, M.D. Edin. 1831.

<sup>48</sup> LRCS Edin. 1828, M.D. Edin. 1829.

<sup>49</sup> M.D. Edin. 1827.

<sup>50</sup> LRCS Edin. 1830.

<sup>51</sup> LRCS Edin. 1827, M.D. Edin. 1829.

<sup>52</sup> LRCS Edin. 1828, M.D. Edin. 1829.

<sup>53</sup> LRCS Edin. 1828, M.D. Edin. 1830, FRCS Edin. 1858.

<sup>54</sup> LRCS Edin. 1829, M.D. Edin. 1830.

<sup>55</sup> LRCS Edin. 1829, M.D. Edin. 1829.

<sup>56</sup> M.D. Edin. 1829.

<sup>57</sup> M.D. Edin. 1825.

<sup>58</sup> M.D. Edin. 1831.

<sup>59</sup> M.D. Edin. 1829.

<sup>60</sup> M.D. Edin. 1829.

<sup>61</sup> LRCS Edin. 1826.

<sup>62</sup> M.D. Edin. 1829.

<sup>63</sup> LRCS Edin. 1828, M.D. Edin. 1829.

<sup>64</sup> LRCS Edin. 1817, M.D. Edin. 1820.

<sup>65</sup> LRCS Edin. 1830, M.D. Edin. 1830.