

EARLY TEACHING OF THE 'VETERINARY ART AND SCIENCE' IN EDINBURGH

Alastair A. Macdonald and Colin M. Warwick

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this article is to present in more detail some of the factors which supported the establishment of veterinary education in Edinburgh. These events largely, though not exclusively took place in the years between 1805 and 1825. Wherever possible we have used the voices of those involved to tell the tale. The locations, in 1823 Edinburgh, of the places mentioned in the text are shown in Fig. 1 (page 228). Firstly, though, it may be helpful to mention the background context.

Awareness of the need to train specialists to look after the illnesses and accidents among domestic livestock in the United Kingdom grew during the second half of the eighteenth century. For example: requests were made to George III (by Henry Herbert, the 10th Earl of Pembroke¹); Edward Snape established a school² at his 'Hippiatric Infirmary' in Knightsbridge in 1778; books were written (e.g. Clark, 1770, 1775, 1788)³; proposals were published^{4,5} in 1784 by Mr de Verseilles, offering to transfer the French style of veterinary education to London; agricultural societies had begun to discuss the topic of veterinary education (e.g. Odiham⁶); and travellers to and from France reported their positive impressions of the Veterinary Schools established there.⁷ In Scotland several attempts were made during the late eighteenth century to raise sufficient awareness, interest and funding to generate support for the regular training of young men in veterinary medicine and surgery.⁸ Indeed, two short series of veterinary lectures were delivered in Scotland, by a French Royalist refugee called John Feron, one to the public in Edinburgh in July 1796 and the other to the local cavalry later that summer.^{8,9} The Government support, 'promised' to James Clark for the establishment of a veterinary school in Edinburgh in the early 1790s, seems to have just dissolved away.¹⁰ Perhaps not unrelatedly this was at about the same time that additional financial assistance was being given to the London Veterinary College, specifically to produce veterinary surgeons for the army and the war effort in Europe.¹¹ Ironically, it might be argued that the accumulated stimuli needed to eventually create veterinary education in Scotland arrived, at least in part, as a consequence of the maelstrom caused by the wars in Europe.

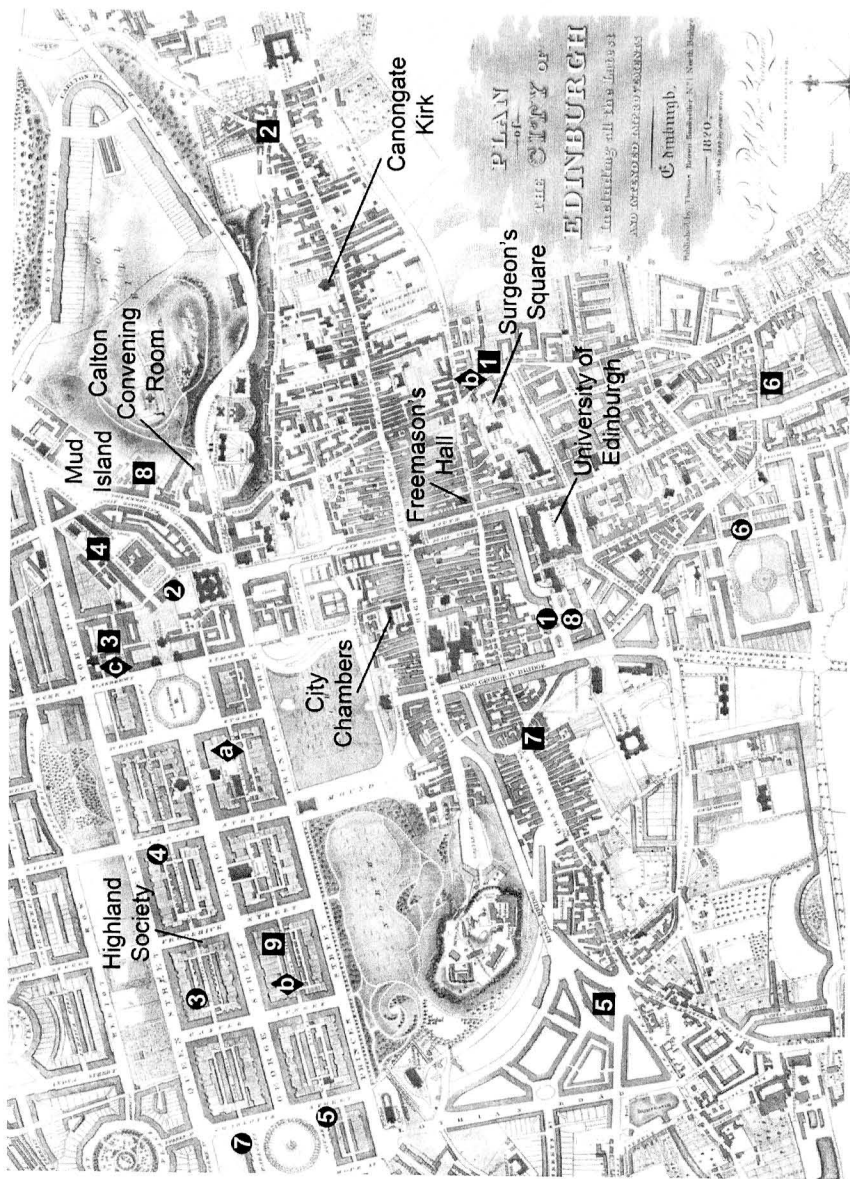


Fig. 1 (Opposite) Part of the 1823 Map of Edinburgh by John Wood Showing the Locations in that Year of the Personalities and Places Mentioned in the Text.

With permission of the National Library of Scotland

Letters in diamonds – Practice addresses of Veterinary Surgeons

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| a | James Burt & William Henderson | 40 Rose St |
| b | Alexander Gray | 27 Pleasance & 113 Rose St |
| c | William Dick | 15 Clyde Street |

Numbers in circles – Home addresses of the Highland Society Veterinary Committee and Mr Johnston

- | | | | |
|---|------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 1 | Dr John Barclay | Anatomist | 6 Argyll Sq. |
| 2 | Robert Johnston | Grocer | 27 James Sq. |
| 3 | Adam Ferguson | Advocate | 19 Hill St. |
| 4 | Mr John G. Dalyell Esq. | Advocate | 54 Hanover St. |
| 5 | P.S. Keir Esq. | Advocate | 32 Charlotte Sq. |
| 6 | J. Corse Scott Esq of Sinton | Mill owner | 55 George Sq. |
| 7 | Wm Macdonald of St Martins | Advocate | 4 Charlotte Sq. |
| 8 | Dr Andrew Coventry | Prof. of Agriculture | 11 Argyll Sq. |

Numbers in squares – Work addresses of Farriers, labled in numerical order of appearance in the Edinburgh Directories

- | | | |
|---|----------------|--------------------|
| 1 | Thomas Aitken | 24 Pleasance |
| 2 | David Chalmers | Watergate |
| 3 | John Dick | 15 Clyde Street |
| 4 | James Watt | 6 James Place |
| 5 | William Lawrie | Hay's Court |
| 6 | Thomas Kinnell | 26 Crosscauseway |
| 7 | John Reid | 149 Grassmarket |
| 8 | John Mather | 6 Nottingham Place |
| 9 | Peter Pollock | 83 Rose Street |

Until the last decades of the eighteenth century, very little thought was being given to the care of horse casualties on the battlefield.¹² At most, a few army farriers were held responsible for keeping the horses on their legs by ensuring that they were shod. The army horse was often regarded as no more than a mobile weapons platform. The heavy and on-going losses of sick and wounded Cavalry horses due to the 'total ignorance of those who have at present the medical care of them' prompted the army, in 1796, to request trained veterinary surgeons be supplied from the recently established veterinary college in London.¹³ From Army records¹⁴ it is clear that 16 students took up these studies and qualified to become Cavalry Veterinary Surgeons in 1797 (Appendix 1).

EDINBURGH 1800-1810: VETERINARY-RELATED EVENTS

James Burt,¹⁵ who listed his address as 'Ordinance, Woolwich', was one of the Scotsmen among this first group of students who responded to the advertised attractions of 8 shillings per day and a Commission in the army 'when duly qualified at the College'.¹⁶ Edward Coleman's course of lectures, on the anatomy, physiology and pathology of the horse, began on the 31st October 1796. Burt obtained his veterinary qualification on the 25th November 1797,¹⁷ and was appointed veterinary surgeon to the 17th Regiment (Light) Dragoons on the same day.^{18,19} He served in the army until 1800, the year in which he returned to Scotland. He was the first 'veterinarian-surgeon' (sic) to be listed in the Directories for Edinburgh; his name appeared that year.²⁰ He also placed several notices in the local newspapers, advertising that he had come from the Light Dragoons to set up a forge in New Street, Canongate, shoe horses and dispense Horse Medicines.²¹ His presence must have sent a ripple of professional concern through the farriers and young smiths in the town.²² John Dick, the father of William Dick (1793-1866), was one of these smiths, living modestly with his wife and young family at 'Tumble Dust' (specifically 'Gilchrist Land, Mud Island'),²³ one of a group of five isolated houses on Calton Hill, to the north-east of the New town of Edinburgh (Figs. 1 & 2). The ex-soldier, James Burt, will have brought north to Edinburgh his recollections of relatively recent personal experience as a student in the London Veterinary College. No doubt a number of these tales will have been told in the town. However, there is no evidence that this veterinary surgeon ever made any effort to establish a veterinary school in Edinburgh.

The gathering and publication of sound veterinary knowledge became a feature of the new century. A request for 'information concerning the different disorders of domestic animals' was published²⁴ together with the statement 'if more was known respecting the anatomy of animals, and if the history of diseases and the modes of cure used in different places were more correctly

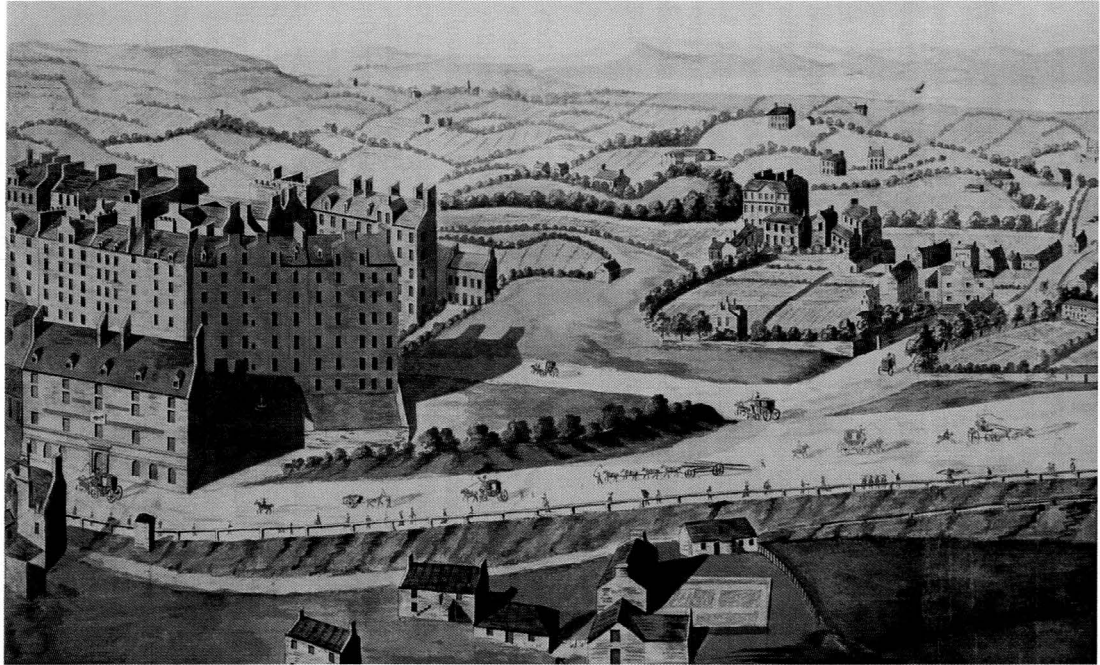


Fig. 2. Detail from 'Edinburgh from Calton Hill' by Robert Baker (1739-1806) who Invented the Word 'Panorama' Painted in 1792 from the Roof of the Old Observatory (see Fig. 6). Mud Island in the Foreground is where John Dick and his Family lived before Clyde St. Leith St. is Behind (left to right). The Cluster of Houses to the right of centre was Broughton and is now Called Broughton St. With Permission of the University of Edinburgh

ascertained, we might then attain to something like certainty, as to the best and most effectual way to manage live stock, when attacked by internal disorders, or when they suffered from the effects of external injuries.' In 1803 the success of two essays on the diseases of black cattle,²⁵ published by the Highland Society of Edinburgh, prompted that Society to give notice that it was going to support a prize for the best essay or communication 'on the accidents and disorders to which sheep are liable ...'. Thirteen essays were attracted, and these were passed to Andrew Duncan to prepare for publication as a treatise on sheep diseases.²⁶ In 1805, another of the 1797-trained Cavalry Veterinary Surgeons, Edward Causer,²⁷ came to Scotland and established his practice as a veterinary surgeon in Market Lane, John Street, Glasgow.²⁸ The following year, on Monday, 17 November 1806, James Clark announced that volume 1 of his *Treatise on Veterinary Physiology and Pathology* would be published that week (for 8 shillings and 6 pence).²⁹ He styled himself as 'Farrier to his Majesty for Scotland [George III], and Veterinary Professor, Edinburgh'. His book was the first of a proposed two-volume work summarizing the lectures he had begun to prepare over ten years earlier in anticipation of Government funding to support the creation of a Veterinary School in Edinburgh. The manuscript of the second volume, although described as 'in great forwardness', sadly never saw publication¹⁰.

James Clark died shortly thereafter, on 29 July 1808, aged 76. It is very likely that James Burt and John Dick would both have attended the funeral in Canongate Kirk on the 2nd August (Fig. 1). There is also the distinct possibility that the 15 year old William Dick, by now a trainee farrier and smith, would have gone with his father to the funeral.³⁰ Whatever the fact, there is bound to have been discussion within the Dick family of the life and character, aspirations and disappointments of the former Farrier to His Majesty for Scotland.³¹ The extent to which those conversations included references to Clark's recent books,^{10,32} and in particular, Clark's published reference to another manuscript in an advanced state of preparation, must remain matters for speculation, as no record of this has yet been found. However, John Dick will have been aware that his son, William, was bright and knowledge-acquisitive. He may have kept in mind that Clark had felt that he had very nearly managed to establish a Veterinary School in Edinburgh. In the preface to the fourth edition of his treatise on the prevention of diseases,³² Clark had written:

'I am but too sensible of the many disadvantages, in the present mode of a Farrier's education, the young practitioner labours under, and the difficulties he has to surmount, before he can attain, even in theory, a tolerable knowledge of the leading principles of this art. For that of Anatomy, Physiology, the *Materia Medica*, and

the Practice of Physic, so far as may be necessary for horses, ought to be laid open to young Farriers, in a regular and scientific manner, by Professors in different parts of the kingdom. ... But, whilst this necessary piece of education is neglected, and totally overlooked, the Farrier's art must forever remain in darkness and obscurity.'

The other contemporary nineteenth century 'nudge' in the general direction of veterinary education seems to have come earlier in 1808, from Dr Andrew Coventry, the University of Edinburgh's Professor of Agriculture. He had published a small (188 page) book describing the course of animal disease lectures he had been delivering for several years to students of Agriculture.³³ The last third of his book was taken up with 'The management of live stock', with attention being paid 'to the various breeds or races ... which possess properties rendering them ... more or less preferable', and with an investigation of 'the circumstances which deserve chief attention ... food and treatment which ... stock, of different kinds and ages, may require.' Of particular interest is the following description of his lecture material:

'Some notice might likewise be taken of the disorders to which they [farm animals] are most liable, and of the means of preventing and removing these, so far at least as husbandmen, of ordinary information, have a right, or can be supposed, with advantage, to interfere in this business. So far as relates to this subject, it need only be hinted at present, that the main sort lies in warding off disease, or in obviating their remote causes; for most of those which affect our domestic animals, when once induced, are very difficultly cured, partly from their obscure nature and partly from the difficulty of exhibiting remedies to the large numbers which are frequently seized at the same period, or in the same situation. In particular districts many herds and flocks are prodigiously thinned, almost every year, by inflammatory and other disorders, which a little care and good treatment, timeously employed, might have easily prevented – as has been proved of late, in the success with which the attacks of the "Blackspall" or "Quarter Ill" among cattle, and the "Sickness" or "Braxie" and the "Rot" in sheep, have been resisted by the provident skill and attention of some individuals [almost two pages of text define these and associated disorders]. Were the losses from Distempers and Accidents to be diminished, which, to a certain length, it is presumed, might undoubtedly be effected, the supply of meat and animal production

to the public would be rendered more ample and cheap, and the profits of the husbandman more steady and certain.'

There then followed a species-specific section of lecture material in which Horses were described with regard to breed qualities for speed and traction, pregnancy timing and care, training, exercise and the effect of overwork, diet and its impact on digestion. The Ass and the Mule were dealt with in regard to feed, water and condiments. Cattle [oxen, sheep, pigs] were described anatomically, from a weather-hardiness standpoint as well as from a disease perspective.

Interestingly, Dr Coventry reported that he had earlier requested that the Highland Society give consideration to the appointment of a lecturer in animal husbandry, who would also deal with animal diseases, to whom he could transfer this aspect of his Agricultural teaching. However, his plea was not successful. The time was not yet right.

EDINBURGH 1811-1816: THE PATH TO DR JOHN BARCLAY AS MENTOR

In 1811, Alexander Gray,³⁴ the 24 year old son of one of the senior farriers in Edinburgh, (also Alexander³⁵), travelled south to enrol at the London Veterinary College. He obtained his London qualification on the 28th March 1812, but it was not until the following year that he was listed as the second Veterinary Surgeon in the Edinburgh Directories.³⁶ At about this time there is evidence that Dr Coventry's lectures were bearing fruit, and that an increased awareness of the need for veterinary training had been spreading through the Agricultural Societies of Scotland; for example, in 1814 '... the [Forfarshire] members ... resolved to give good encouragement to a skilful veterinary surgeon, to settle within their bounds; or to assist in promoting the education of any young man of ability, who should betake himself to that branch of the medical art'.³⁷

In 1815 John Dick and his family moved into Edinburgh's New Town to live at 15 Clyde Street (Fig. 1). Their forge was conveniently situated across the road in the stable courtyard behind 8 and 10 Clyde Street. The timing of the move was propitious. A letter³⁸ written on the 14 April 1815 was published in the May issue of the *Farmer's Magazine* (and subsequently republished in the June issue of the *Scots Magazine* and *Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*, pp. 417-418.) drawing the attention, specifically of farriers, to the recent publication of a prospectus entitled 'Comparative Anatomy'. The conductor [editor] of the *Farmer's Magazine* published the prospectus in full:³⁹

‘Dr [John] Barclay will begin a course of Comparative Anatomy on Tuesday the 9th of May, at eleven o’clock forenoon; in which he will dissect and demonstrate the Structures of Quadrupeds, Birds, and Fishes.⁴⁰

As such a course is of more various application than that which merely relates to the Human structure, the student of Medicine will have an opportunity, not only of extending his knowledge of Dissection, but of drawing conclusions in Physiology, from what he observes, as well as from what he receives on report.

The Naturalist may at the same time learn to trace the relations that subsist between the external and internal characters that distinguish species; while those who are concerned in the preservation of domestic animals, will readily perceive how a knowledge of their structure may be applied in improving the treatment of the diseases to which they are liable.

The course will terminate about the end of July.’

The Farmer’s Magazine editor then stated:

‘The general ignorance of country farriers, of the internal structure and diseases of live-stock, has been long a subject of complaint in every part of Scotland. Even in many of our larger towns, there is not a single Veterinary practitioner of education or repute; though there are few country gentlemen or farmers who have not sustained greater losses from the want of such a person, than would have paid for medical attendance on a large family for half a generation. One great cause of this ignorance, at least among gentlemen and the higher classes of farmers, probably is the little opportunity they enjoy of becoming acquainted with the anatomy of the domestic animals, on a knowledge of which the treatment of their diseases must materially depend. It is impossible, therefore, not to look forward, with our intelligent correspondent, to very happy consequences from the dissection and demonstrations of so celebrated an anatomist as Dr Barclay; and a good foundation being thus laid, we may hope that the treatment of diseased animals will soon attract the attention of professional men in a much higher degree than it has hitherto done.’

The timing suggests the possibility that William Dick, three days after his 22nd birthday, responded to these reports by going to this inaugural course of Comparative Anatomy lectures. The timing also implies that it was William Dick who took his young friend and neighbour, William Dumbreck to these

lectures, rather than vice-versa;⁴¹ Dumbreck was soon to enrol as a medical student at Edinburgh University (from session 1817-1818 to 1821-1822, when he graduated Doctor of Medicine).⁴² What is clear is that Barclay rapidly recognised, and was greatly impressed by, the intellectual capability of William Dick, and 'lavished his commendations' on him. For example,⁴³ when told by one of the medical students in his class that William Dick was a common working blacksmith, Barclay, who knew nothing of him at that time, retorted, 'Well, well. All I can say is, that whether he be blacksmith or whitesmith, he's the cleverest chap among you.' Once identified, Barclay probably encouraged Dick to attend the lectures (said to have been given by Dr [Thomas Charles] Hope,⁴⁴ Dr [James] Gregory⁴⁵ and Dr [John] Murray⁴⁶) in Edinburgh University during the session(s) of 1815-1816 and/or 1816-1817.

Barclay carried out his anatomy classes⁴⁷ upstairs in the three-story house on Surgeon Square, which was clearly identified as the one with arches and pillars situated between the old Surgeon's Hall and the old hall of the Medical Society (Figs. 1 & 3). His Comparative Anatomy course consisted of daily lectures, and was mainly occupied with osteology, illustrated by the skeletons he had collected. It was philosophical as well as practical and demonstrated that all animals are constructed on the same general outline, and only varied as to class, order, genus, and species. One of Barclay's telling illustrations of the necessity of anatomical knowledge used to be his mention of 'a veterinary surgeon having written on the diseases of the gall-bladder of the horse, unaware that the horse does not possess that organ.' Dissections were apparently carried out in a room 'badly lit from the side'.⁴⁷

Many years later, Dick recounted the following anecdote about the course⁴⁸:

'... and it so happened that, one day, during Dr Barclay's course of lectures upon comparative anatomy, and, when he was going on about dogs and cats, it occurred to him [William Dick] that it might be a grand thing to get a horse. He mentioned it to the Professor, who was delighted with the offer. Now, it so happened that he, shortly before, had met with a Shetland pony that had happened to have dislocated both his hind fetlocks in attempting to cover a big mare. These had been reduced; but in a fortnight afterwards the same thing had happened again. The consequence was, that there soon became compound dislocations, with sloughing. The beast was soon brought in, its throat cut, and the Doctor proceeded to lecture upon it; and thus he [William Dick] got his first lecture upon the comparative anatomy of the horse.'



Fig. 3. Engraving of Surgeon's Square by Thos. H. Shepherd from *Modern Athens* 1829. The Central Building is where John Barclay Lectured on Comparative Anatomy. Permission of Peter Stubbs, edinphoto.org.uk

The pony⁴⁹ was listed among Barclay's 'skeletons of the larger animals – the elephant, boar, camel, ox, deer, horse (including the Arabian, the great cart horse, the pony, and the ass), bear, walrus, seal, dolphin, narwhal and the ostrich.' Perhaps we may presume it likely that, in addition to supplying Dr Barclay with the pony, William Dick was well positioned to provide one or more of the other equids for Dr Barclay's collection.

In 1816 *The Farmer's Magazine* continued to press for the establishment of Veterinary education⁵⁰:

'It remains for this country [Scotland], in which the spirit for improvement in stock of every kind is so visibly increasing, and the value of which is enhanced by the high price, and the growing demand for some of them, to follow those examples [of veterinary teaching in France, Austria, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, England and Ireland]; and, by advancing the art to a height as yet unattained, to make it amends for the neglect we have hitherto shown it.'

Earlier that year⁵¹ it had been noted that the Dublin Society maintained among its Professors, lecturers and masters, 'a Professor in the Veterinary Art – with an assistant'.

The various private salon discussions in the town then had the following result. On the 28 August 1816 the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Sir William Arbuthnot, moved in the Town Council (Fig. 1): 'that in order to maintain the high reputation and consequence of the University of Edinburgh, a committee be appointed to consider the propriety and necessity of the Patrons instituting a Chair for Comparative Anatomy and Veterinary Physic and Surgery on a scale similar to that of the celebrated Cuvier at Paris'. The Magistrates and Council approved, and a report was prepared the following day.⁵²

One of the caricatures among John Kay's *Edinburgh Portraits*⁵³ sheds some light on the various factors which contributed to the discussions, among which was the importance of Dr Barclay in Edinburgh as a very highly regarded teacher of anatomy.⁵⁴ The description by John Kay's wife of the etching entitled 'The Craft in Danger' reads: 'Dr Barclay [is shown] at the Old College gate on the skeleton of an elephant; Drs [Alexander] M[onro, tertius], [Robert] J[amieson] and [Thomas Charles] H[ope] are striving to keep him out, while Dr [John] Gregory is pushing him in; Bailie [Robert] Johnston, who is behind Professor J[amieson] is insisting on his being admitted. This print was done at

the time that there was a numerous party very keen to get Dr Barclay as lecturer into the College’.

The University of Edinburgh Senatus (Fig. 1), declined to accept the proposal from Edinburgh Town Council⁵⁵ and were of the opinion that the ‘institution of the proposed Professorship was inexpedient’ for the following reasons:

‘Comparative Anatomy is a Science of the most comprehensive nature embracing the investigation of the structure of all organized beings and of the functions of their various organs with a constant and necessary reference to those of man as the standard of comparison. Veterinary Physic and Surgery are purely practical arts having for their object the prevention and cure of the diseases of our domestic animals.

It will not be possible to render Lectures upon both subjects interesting to the same description of students. Instruction in the Veterinary Art must be adapted to Farriers, Farmers, Veterinary Surgeons and Country Practitioners in Surgery and it is evident that very few of the first three classes especially would be prepared to understand, or would feel any interest in the extensive views and scientific researches of Comparative Anatomy, while on the other hand, the speculative student of Comparative Anatomy would not condescend to study the details and practices of Farriery. It is also evident that Comparative Anatomy requires its Professor to be a man of extensive Science and liberal views, while veterinary medicine and surgery can be taught with advantage only by a person practically and intimately acquainted with the diseases of our domestic animals’.

The University report also put forward the following assertion:

‘Veterinary Physic and Surgery are already taught in the University, perhaps as effectively as is consistent with mere academical lectures, and there is no person who could, if necessary, give a fuller course of lectures upon this subject so easily and advantageously to the public as the present Professor of Agriculture’.^{55,56}

Professor Andrew Duncan⁵⁷ requested that his dissent be recorded in the Senatus papers:⁵⁸

'I dissent from the opinion given by the Senatus Academicus to the Patrons of the University because I am convinced that a Professorship of Veterinary Anatomy, Surgery and Medicine, in the hands of an able and honourable man would be no prejudice whatsoever to any Professorship already established in the University, while it would be highly advantageous to the public and creditable to the University'.

It also seems that Andrew Coventry, the professor of Agriculture, and a close neighbour of Barclay (Fig. 1), was absent from town during this period and appears not to have contributed to the discussions within Senate.

The University chair was not established. John Barclay was denied the opportunity to become the first Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Veterinary Physic and Surgery in the University of Edinburgh. The founding of the teaching of veterinary medicine in Edinburgh was postponed a little longer.

A third veterinary surgeon, Andrew Johnston,⁵⁹ was listed in the *Edinburgh Post Office Directory* for 1816.⁶⁰

EDINBURGH 1817-1822: WILLIAM DICK BEGINS TEACHING VETERINARY ART AND SCIENCE

In the autumn of 1817, encouraged by Dr Barclay, William Dick, now aged 24 years, took the coach to London, to the Veterinary College, where, like other students over the previous 15 or more years, he received three months of veterinary instruction.^{61,62} Dick's notes record 90 lectures of varying length, the early ones dealing with the blood and blood vessels, the last being on the external conformation of the horse.⁶³ At the end of January 1818 William Dick applied for his examination and obtained his diploma (Fig. 4). The editor of the journal *Farrier and Naturalist* [Bracy Clark] did not have a high opinion of either this document or of the examination process by means of which it was obtained.⁶⁴ None the less, the time spent in London introduced William Dick to some of the procedures necessary for running a veterinary school, and gave him the qualification and confidence to start teaching veterinary surgery when he returned home to Edinburgh.⁶⁵

On another matter, the available evidence indicates that a Mr [James?] Burt held the post of Farrier to his Majesty in Scotland until 1818, and that Alexander Grey applied for the post on 29 June 1818 to replace him.⁶⁶

'I dissent from the opinion given by the Senatus Academicus to the Patrons of the University because I am convinced that a Professorship of Veterinary Anatomy, Surgery and Medicine, in the hands of an able and honourable man would be no prejudice whatsoever to any Professorship already established in the University, while it would be highly advantageous to the public and creditable to the University'.

It also seems that Andrew Coventry, the professor of Agriculture, and a close neighbour of Barclay (Fig. 1), was absent from town during this period and appears not to have contributed to the discussions within Senate.

The University chair was not established. John Barclay was denied the opportunity to become the first Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Veterinary Physic and Surgery in the University of Edinburgh. The founding of the teaching of veterinary medicine in Edinburgh was postponed a little longer.

A third veterinary surgeon, Andrew Johnston,⁵⁹ was listed in the *Edinburgh Post Office Directory* for 1816.⁶⁰

EDINBURGH 1817-1822: WILLIAM DICK BEGINS TEACHING VETERINARY ART AND SCIENCE

In the autumn of 1817, encouraged by Dr Barclay, William Dick, now aged 24 years, took the coach to London, to the Veterinary College, where, like other students over the previous 15 or more years, he received three months of veterinary instruction.^{61,62} Dick's notes record 90 lectures of varying length, the early ones dealing with the blood and blood vessels, the last being on the external conformation of the horse.⁶³ At the end of January 1818 William Dick applied for his examination and obtained his diploma (Fig. 4). The editor of the journal *Farrier and Naturalist* [Bracy Clark] did not have a high opinion of either this document or of the examination process by means of which it was obtained.⁶⁴ None the less, the time spent in London introduced William Dick to some of the procedures necessary for running a veterinary school, and gave him the qualification and confidence to start teaching veterinary surgery when he returned home to Edinburgh.⁶⁵

On another matter, the available evidence indicates that a Mr [James?] Burt held the post of Farrier to his Majesty in Scotland until 1818, and that Alexander Grey applied for the post on 29 June 1818 to replace him.⁶⁶

Later in the year, on 11 November 1818, an Academical Institution was opened in Edinburgh by Mr William Scott of Parton.⁶⁷ ‘The chief object of it [was] to improve students in classical knowledge, and to afford them an opportunity of studying and associating together as in the Colleges at Oxford’.⁶⁸ By good fortune we have an eye-witness account of one of William Dick’s lectures there:

‘A plan having been formed by W[illiam] Scott, Esq. of Parton, for establishing an Academical Institution in Edinburgh, at which lectures should be given on the Arts and Sciences, and, among others, on the Veterinary Art; I was induced to attend the Veterinary Lectures, which commenced in Freemason’s Hall, Niddry Street [Figs. 1 & 5], on the 12th November [1818]. They were delivered by Mr [William] Dick, a veterinary surgeon of this city. In one of them, Mr Dick demonstrated from a skeleton, those points which are advantageous or disadvantageous in horses, for the different purpose for which they are employed. I think some of his remarks may be interesting to many of your readers, and useful both in the purchase and breeding of horses; and I therefore send you the following Notes,⁶⁹ which, I believe, contain the substance of that lecture, for insertion in your Magazine. [signed] W.’ (Appendix 2).

In subsequent years Dick (and later his obituarists⁷⁰) counted the establishment of his veterinary school from that year, 1818.⁷¹

An additional consequence of Dr Barclay’s intervention occurred on Thursday 19 November, after an inaugural dinner. William Dick was the third invited speaker that evening and gave a lecture to the audience of about 100 gentlemen gathered in the Freemason’s Hall;^{72,73} he spoke ‘on the Anatomy and Diseases of the Lower Animals’. An anonymous, if slightly inaccurate, report of his lecture was also favourable:

‘The original mind of William Scott has discovered, that too little attention is paid in this University [Edinburgh] to the Veterinary Art; and accordingly an accomplished horse-doctor from London, with a regular diploma in his pocket from the Veterinary College there, is to be brought down to the assistance of the gentleman who, from eight to nine o’clock on Tuesday and Thursday evenings, is to lecture on the study of Chemistry [sic]. Our friend the horse-doctor is described pithily as “an experienced man, who has attended the classes of Dr Gregory, Dr Murray, and Dr Barclay.” This gentleman’s lectures we shall ourselves attend’.⁷⁴



Fig. 5. Freemason's Hall in the Cowgate Viewed from under the South Bridge. This was the Location of Mr Scott of Parton's Academical Institution where William Dick gave his Lectures in 1818. It is now part of St Cecilia's Hall, University of Edinburgh. Photo, Colin M. Warwick

However, Mr Scott's Institution was not a success that year, although William Dick reported that he had delivered his lectures to the end of the session.⁷⁵ A further attempt to start the Academical Institution was made in 1819, and once again it did not succeed and the project terminated. Nevertheless, William Dick again delivered his series of lectures successfully, although he reported that only five students attended.^{75,76} Undaunted, the following year, 1820, William Dick decided to repeat his course of lectures, this time independently, on two nights a week in the largest side-room of the Calton convening rooms (Figs 1 & 6). He offered to pay the Incorporated Trades of Calton £1 as rental for this, but his offer was turned down on 30 November.⁷⁷ However, by 25 January 1821 he had paid a rental of £1-5s. and gained access to the room, for one month.⁷⁷ Nine students reportedly came to the set of veterinary lectures he presented there.⁷⁸ William Dick's teaching experience was gradually increasing.

Sadly, tragedy struck the Family Dick that summer with the death, on 8 July 1821, of John Dick, William's younger brother, aged 19 years. The remaining family now comprised John Dick, the father, his wife Jean, their 30-year old daughter Mary and William their 28-year old son.⁷⁹

However, better fortune was in the wind, with the publication that May of a prospectus to establish in Edinburgh a School of Arts for the instruction of mechanics.⁸⁰ Dr Barclay supported William Dick's proposal that he become involved in this project by delivering a course of lectures to farriers. As a result:

'Twenty [tickets were made available by the newly established SCHOOL OF ARTS for the better education of the mechanics of Edinburgh], to be sold to *farriers only*, on account of Mr Dick's Lectures on the Veterinary Art having been so lately announced. ... On Thursday, the first of November, Mr Dick will commence a COURSE of LECTURES on the VETERINARY ART, at half past eight o'clock in the evening [at Freemason's Hall, Niddry Street (Figs. 1 & 5)]. The object of these Lectures will be to teach the Anatomy of the Horse, as far as is necessary to understand the diseases to which the animal is liable, to point out the most judicious mode of treatment of those diseases, the different and most approved plans of shoeing, and, in general, whatever is necessary to instruct a farrier in the principles of his trade'.⁸¹

Seventeen farriers attended and 24 lectures were given that session.⁸² The following year the Aberdeenshire Agricultural Association awarded to:

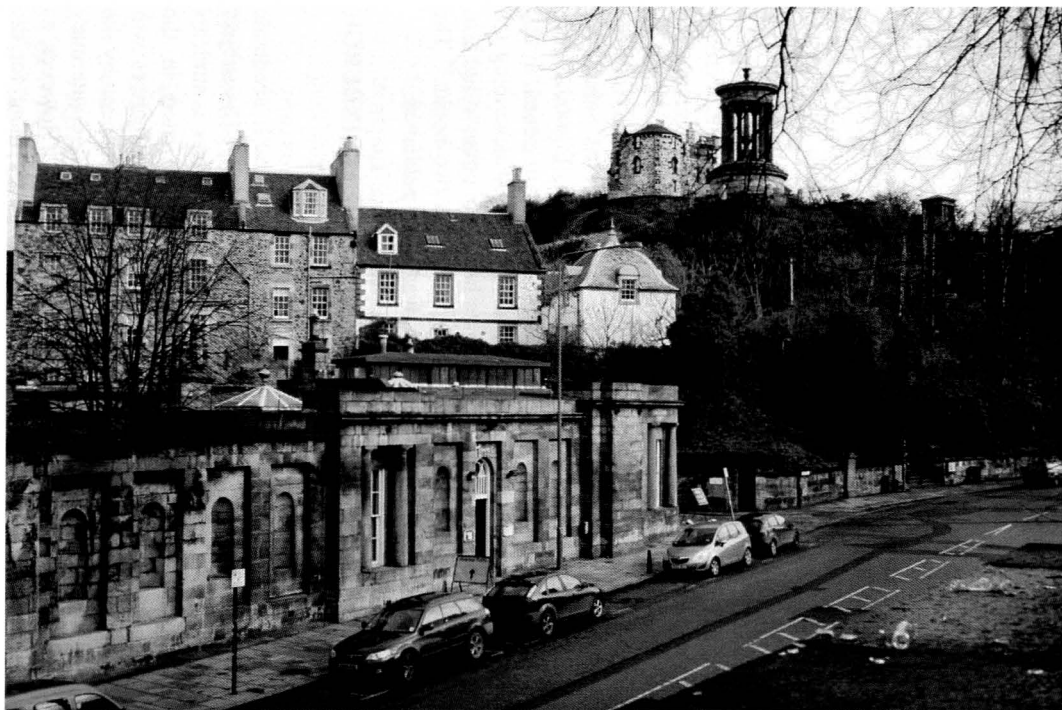


Fig. 6. In the Centre Foreground is the Calton Convening Rooms where Dick Lectured in 1820. Behind, on the Top of Calton Hill is the Columned Monument to the Philosopher Dugald Stewart, on the Left of which is Craig's Old Observatory. It is from the Observatory Roof that the Panorama 'Edinburgh from the Calton Hill' was Painted by Robert Barker (see Fig. 2). Photo, Colin M. Warwick

‘... each of the Districts in the County the sum of £20 sterling, for the purpose of procuring the residence of eight veterinary surgeons of skill and experience ... or for the purpose of assisting in the education of young Men who may be inclined to follow the profession, and afterwards to reside within the Districts’.⁸³

The Association had recently experienced the professional skill of Mr Smith,⁸⁴ the veterinary surgeon in Alford, Aberdeenshire, and awarded him ten guineas for the ‘disinterested manner in which he had promulgated [by the publication of his experiences⁸⁵] the cures of some of the most virulent diseases to which the cattle in this county had of late been particularly subject’.

In 1822 the School of Arts again hosted William Dick’s lectures on Farriery, commencing on Saturday 12 October.⁸⁶ These were presented every Saturday for the following seven or eight months. The lectures lasted for one hour and were held in the evening, from half-past eight to half-past nine. Perhaps influenced by the events taking place in Edinburgh, two courses of lectures on the Management and Diseases of Domestic Animals⁸⁷ were advertised in Glasgow, by Edward Causer, the graduate of the London veterinary college mentioned earlier (see Appendix 1). These were to commence on Saturday 4 January 1823, in the School Room of Hutcheson’s Hospital, Ingram Street, Glasgow; one course was to start at noon and the second at seven in the evening, the fee for each course being one guinea. Information describing the success (or otherwise) of the two courses of lectures has yet to come to light. In 1822 Causer had published the first of what was planned as two books.⁸⁸ The second was due to focus on abdominal disease, but was never published.

EDINBURGH 1823-1825: ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EDINBURGH VETERINARY SCHOOL

At first glance it seemed that William Dick had now found a stable academic framework, within the School of Arts, for his veterinary teaching. His subject matter and growing teaching experience were both attracting farriers as students in respectable numbers. The business locations of farriers listed in the Edinburgh Directory for 1823, and from which some of the apprentices will have been drawn, are shown in Fig. 1. His efforts were also appreciated by the Directors of the School.⁸⁹ Advertisements seeking properly qualified veterinary surgeons continued to appear in the Scottish press at this time.⁹⁰ However, as much as the Directors valued his generosity in not taking payment for the course of farriery lectures he presented, they felt that the School of Arts could not adopt this subject as a permanent branch of study in the School of Arts.⁹¹

Probably not entirely by coincidence, and shortly after William Dick's 30th birthday, the next component in the accelerating cascade of events that would lead to the stable foundation of veterinary education in Scotland fell into place. The minutes of a meeting of the Directors of the Highland Society of Scotland (Fig. 1) reported:⁹²

'Read a letter from Mr Robert Johnston⁹³ Merchant Edinburgh [Fig. 1], to the Depute Secretary, *enclosing a paper given in to him*⁹⁴ treating of the importance of having a professorship or Public Lecturer established in Edinburgh for giving instructions on Veterinary Surgery, – as is the case in London and Dublin and generally on the Continent. The Directors considering the subject as one of considerable importance, resolve to remit the same to a Committee for consideration, the Committee in their deliberations having in view that the remit to them embraces the consideration of the expediency of Lectures on the diseases of Livestock generally, as well as Veterinary Surgery strictly so called, and farther advertising that Lectures on Veterinary Surgery are already given in the School of Arts in this City. The Committee to consist of – Mr [Adam] Ferguson,⁹⁵ Mr [John Graham] Dalyell,⁹⁶ Dr [John] Barclay, Mr [Patrick Small] Kier,⁹⁷ Mr Corse Scott⁹⁸ – Three a quorum. Dr Barclay, Convener.' [Fig. 1]

And two weeks later:

'On motion,⁹⁹ Dr Coventry was added to the Committee appointed to report in regard to encouraging the establishment of public lectures on the diseases of Livestock. – Dr Barclay mentioned that the Committee would be prepared to submit what had occurred to them, in a report to [the] next meeting.'

That meeting took place seven days later,¹⁰⁰ at which:

'Doctor Barclay Convener gave in the following Report from the

Present: Dr Barclay Convener; Mr Ferguson of Woodhill; Mr Graham Dalyell, Advocate; Mr Small Keir of Kinmonth; Mr [William] Macdonald of St Martins;¹⁰¹ Mr Scott of Sinton; Mr C. Gordon, D[eputy] Sec[retary]. Dr Barclay, Convener, – in the Chair. An apology was sustained for Dr Coventry, who is in the country.

Your Committee appointed to Report upon the proposed establishment of a course of Veterinary Lectures, beg leave to state to the Directors their views on this interesting subject.

Upon the general expediency of such an establishment, they feel no hesitation in offering a very decided recommendation, having always in view that it shall be founded on scientific principles including those calculated for practical ends. With regard to the means by which such recommendation may be carried into effect two objects appear to merit especial attention.

I. The benefits likely to accrue.

II. The probable expense of forming and maintaining the establishment, with the extent to which it may be advisable for the Highland Society to interfere.

With respect to the first of these points, your committee deem it quite superfluous to enter upon any eulogy of the Veterinary Art, for beyond doubt, beneficial results must ever attend its advancement. The present state of ignorance and prejudice in treating the diseases of every description of live stock is truly considerable. It is well known to all engaged in Agricultural Concerns, that many valuable animals are yearly sacrificed by ignorant Farriers or Low Doctors, while the unfortunate owner of the cattle, although sufficiently convinced of the quackery employed, feel themselves equally incompetent to interfere.

A respectable course of Lectures on the Veterinary Art in its various departments, with appropriate anatomical demonstrations, would undoubtedly go far to correct these evils. Individuals likely to prove useful would most probably be sent from almost every district of Scotland to profit by the instruction thus afforded, while Gentlemen resident in the town, would from such a course of Lectures, be readily enabled to distinguish the ordinary distempers, and regulate the ordinary practice, in cases occurring within their respective establishments.

Another benefit of no trifling importance, both to the Country at large and to the credit of the Highland Society, would follow the establishment proposed, particularly if circumstances should fortunately conduce to its permanency; – The Committee alluded

to the establishment of a Museum, to be gradually furnished with skeletons of the different species of domestic animals, with preparations of their ligaments, blood vessels, &c and with varieties of morbid preparations, accompanied each with a history of the case. – The morbid preparations may be obtained during the course of the Lecturer's practice, while a greater number may be sent gratuitously by members of the Society, or by the Lecturer's correspondents residing in various parts of the Country. Those preparations which require anatomical skill and manual dexterity, will be expected from the Lecturer himself, – and should it appear either for their beauty or their utility to a place in the Museum, the Society should retain the right of them under such conditions as may be thought expedient. The Committee to be appointed will have this in view in regulating the appropriation of the sum which may be placed at their disposal.

The second point for consideration is the pecuniary aid which such an establishment would probably require, and in regard to this it has occurred to your Committee that the future success of such an establishment will depend much more on the skill, the zeal, and the active energy of the Lecturer, than upon showy & expensive buildings¹⁰² or pecuniary emoluments from the Society. The Committee therefore do not anticipate any serious difficulty upon this point, there being fair grounds to presume that a well regulated establishment in the hands of a practical man, as it will probably be, must yield ample emoluments, and require in fact little more than the countenance and patronage of the Society. Your Committee feel extremely anxious that an Institute of this nature, (which it is impossible to contemplate without anticipating results highly reputable and useful) should emanate from a Society to which the Country already owes so much. With these views the Committee recommend that the Society should be particular in the choice of a Lecturer, – and being supposed to understand their own views as well at least as any other person, - the Committee should be authorised to suggest the person who shall appear qualified, and likely to do credit to the patronage afforded, – without applying to the public by advertisements implying a diffidence in their own judgement, a want of energy to make the necessary enquiry, or a want of information to decide for themselves. The Lecturer to be named should be obliged to provide the necessary accommodation in Stables, Lecture and Dissecting rooms; – and as it appears desirable that the first course of Lectures should be given in the ensuing winter, the Committee may be empowered under such

directions as the Society may think fit to give, – to regulate the necessary details. Under this result it may also be expedient that they should be instructed to draw-up a Table of Fees, Regulations, &c.

It must be gratifying to the Directors to be informed, that one of your Committee,¹⁰³ (who is unavoidably detained from attending this meeting) eminently qualified to enlighten every department of Agriculture, not only warmly approves of the plan under consideration, but has in the most handsome manner offered for the accommodation of the Lecturer, a set of Lectures prepared for his own use, upon the diseases of Livestock. This must prove of great importance & it is confidently anticipated that similar liberality will be met with in other quarters,¹⁰⁴ connected with the object in view.

Sanguine, however, as your committee may feel of success, they are not insensitive of the risk attending every new establishment, and viewing the present entirely in an experimental light, they would not recommend that any pledge of support should be required from the Society beyond a vote for the establishment in its first year; but having it understood that the Society's countenance and patronage will be continued in such a manner and degree as may appear expedient and necessary.

Nothing farther occurs to your Committee as at this time necessary to be brought under view. A great national *desideratum*, intimately connected with the objects of the Society, is submitted for consideration, and one which the rapidly increasing value of Livestock powerfully recommends to immediate notice and regard. On the whole therefore, and with these views, the Committee submit the following resolutions for the consideration of the Directors and of the Society.

- I That the appointment under the patronage of the Society, of a Lecturer on Veterinary Surgery and the diseases of Livestock, is highly expedient.
- II That on the understanding that the measure, as regards the Society, is entirely experimental, a sum not exceeding Fifty pounds shall be placed at the disposal of the Directors towards promoting the object the first year of its establishment. The sum to be applied in such manner as the Committee may think most conducive to forwarding the views of the Society for the public benefit.
- III That the person to be appointed Lecturer shall be bound to deliver a suitable course of Lectures, under certain regulations to be approved by the Directors.

- IV That all the illustrative preparations presented to the Lecturer or acquired by the Directors, shall remain the property of the Society.
- V That a Committee be named to carry these suggestions into effect.”

The Report having been read, several Members delivered their sentiments, some of whom expressed their opinion that they were not prepared, without farther consideration, to adopt the suggestions in the Report, particularly as it was contemplated to appoint a public Instructor, – with which, although on a subject intimately connected with the Society’s object, it was doubtful how far the Society should interfere, – and moreover that such an appointment might seem an interference in some sort with the duties of Government and the Magistrates of Edinburgh, as the Patrons of Institutions for public instruction in this City.¹⁰⁵ But as there was no difference of opinion in regard to the advantage of such a course of Lectures, – and as the suggestion for the Society’s patronage, if ultimately approved, could not be acted on during the ensuing season without a vote of credit from the ensuing General Meeting, it was unanimously Resolved,

“to recommend to the Society to place a sum not exceeding Fifty pounds at the disposal of the Directors to be applied, if required, in whole or in part, under such regulations as may be approved by them, – for promoting public instruction in Edinburgh on the Veterinary art, embracing the knowledge of the diseases, the cures and the treatment of horses and other domestic Livestock”

Dr Hope was added to the Committee previously named.’

In 1823 four veterinary surgeons¹⁰⁶ were listed as living and working in Edinburgh (Fig. 1): James Burt¹⁰⁷ and William Henderson were working in practice together at 40 Rose Street; Alexander Gray had two practices, one at 27 Pleasance and the other at 113 Rose Street; William Dick resided at 15 Clyde Street. Of these, only the latter had demonstrated a passionate interest in the formal teaching of the veterinary art and science to groups of students. The others appeared to have been more interested in commercial veterinary practice and farriery.

On the 7th July, at the General meeting of The Highland Society of Scotland¹⁰⁸:

‘The Secretary reported the proceedings of the Directors in regard to promoting the establishment of a course of Lectures on Veterinary Surgery and the diseases of livestock. The Report of the Committee and Minutes of the Directors thereupon were then read

at [the] desire of the Meeting, when in pursuance of the suggestion in that Report, as modified by the Directors, the Meeting placed a sum not exceeding Fifty pounds at their disposal for promoting public instruction in the ensuing season, in the veterinary art and the diseases of Livestock, under such Regulations as may be approved of, and on the understanding that the subjects, as regards the Society, is entirely experimental.'

Clearly further discussion then took place in the town of Edinburgh, because eight days later the following was reported to a meeting of the Highland Society's Directors:¹⁰⁹

'Minute of the Committee on the Communications regarding Lectures on Veterinary Surgery &c. – 11 July 1823.

Present: Dr Barclay, Convener; Dr Hope; George Cranstoun Esq.;¹¹⁰ R. Macdonald Esq, Secretary; Mr C Gordon, D[eputy] Sec[retary]. Apologies were made and sustained for the absence of Mr Scott of Sinton, – Mr Keir of Kinmouth, Mr Macdonald of St Martins, and Mr Ferguson of Woodhill, who are in the Country: the opinions of these Gentlemen on the subject are however known to the Committee.

Having resumed consideration of the Former report, with what passed on submitting the same to the Directors, and heard Minutes of the General Meeting, placing the sum of £50 at the disposal of the Directors for promoting the object, – Doctor Barclay laid on the table Extracts from a Report by a Committee of the Senatus Academicus in the year 1816, upon a Communication⁵⁶ from the Lord Provost of Edinburgh in regard to the appointment in the College of a Chair for comparative anatomy, embracing Veterinary Physic and Surgery. From this Report it appears that it was the opinion of the Senatus Academicus that the institution of a Veterinary School in this City, would reflect much honour on its founders, and be of permanent advantage to the Community; but that such an institution however desirable in itself, was not a suitable appendage to an University, in respect that it must necessarily lead to lucrative employments connected with this branch of study, which might not be consistent in public estimation, with the dignity of the University, and that in point of fact, the most celebrated Veterinary Schools are not connected with Universities. That therefore such an establishment might be connected more advantageously with some other Institution, such as the Highland Society, – and in fine, the committee of the

Senatus Academicus were of the opinion that the establishment of a Veterinary School, with its appendages of Stables, Hospital and Forge, within the City or its precincts, would be desirable.

Your Committee with this document before them, could have had little difficulty in regard to any interference with the privileges of the University in the Institution of Lectures and appointment of a Lecturer by the Society in the Veterinary arts: But having regard to the views of the Society, and with an anxious desire to give full weight to the caution with which the Society has been in use to proceed in organising any new measure, as well as to the doubts suggested in regard to the obstacles which might eventually attend the institution of a Veterinary establishment directly by the Society, and particularly having especial regard to the limited sum which could be applied by the Society without public assistance to such a purpose, and finally, that any establishment of the kind unless in every respect on a proper footing, and conducted with energy, would not be consistent with the responsibility of the Society, – the Committee on the whole are of the opinion, that in the meantime at least, it may be necessary to act on the suggestion in the former Report, to the extent therein recommended.

With the view therefore of giving effect to the unanimous sentiments of the Society, the Directors and the Committee, in regard to the expediency of promoting public instruction in the Veterinary art, the Committee have applied themselves to consider how this may be best effected without committing the Society with the success of the establishment or otherwise. The Committee with this view have learned with much satisfaction that a practical man, a Graduate of the Veterinary College of London, – is ready to undertake the duty of delivering suitable Lectures, and to provide the necessary accommodation, on receiving the Countenance and patronage of the Society. – The Committee allude to Mr William Dick, who has already read lectures on the subject, and to whose zeal in the prosecution of Veterinary Science, knowledge of Anatomy, and general qualifications, very ample and distinguished testimonies are borne; and these favourable opinions are confirmed by the opportunities which two members of your Committee now present (Doctor Barclay and Mr Cranstoun) have had of personal observation.

The Committee are therefore of the opinion that if Mr Dick shall undertake to deliver a suitable course of Lectures on Veterinary Physic and Surgery, embracing the knowledge of the prevention and cure of the diseases of Black Cattle and Sheep, the

countenance and patronage of the Society should be afforded to those Lectures, that he should be authorised to announce this to the public in manner to be approved by the Committee to be named in pursuance of the recommendation in the former Report, and that the business generally should be remitted to that Committee with authority to suggest the extent to which pecuniary assistance should be given in the ensuing season, after the course of Lectures shall have been delivered and on consideration of all circumstances: The Committee to report from time to time what occurs to them, for the information of the Directors and the Society.'

The Directors approved of the Minute, and Resolved that the patronage of the Society shall be afforded to Mr Dick in the ensuing season to such an extent, – not exceeding Fifty pounds [worth about £2100 in 2011] on such Conditions and under such Regulations as the Sub-Committee to be named may recommend. That the following Members be appointed a Sub-Committee to carry the suggestions in the Minute into effect, to attend to the proper advertisements,¹¹¹ and such other details as may be necessary, viz. Dr Barclay, Convener; Sir John Hope;¹¹² Mr Dalryell; Dr Coventry; Dr Hope. – Two a quorum.'

The first advert¹¹³ for William Dick's Lectures on Veterinary Surgery, &c. sponsored by the Highland Society is shown in Fig. 7.

Reports of William Dick's inaugural 'Highland Society' lecture were published in the press.¹¹⁴ Interestingly, as part of his lecture, he 'illustrated, by reference to the skeletons of the horse, the ox, sheep, dog, goat &c. the striking analogies which existed in their structures'. Dick went on to point out the more important differences 'in the conformation of these several descriptions of animals' ... and then 'concluded by giving an outline of his course. The course is to comprehend not merely scientific instruction in the anatomy, physiology, and pathology of domestic animals, with occasional demonstrations, but due attention is also to be paid to the forge, and the various departments of practice necessary for country farriers.'

Later that session:

'Mr Ferguson of Woodhill¹¹⁵ ... mentioned that the Committee had, without delay, applied themselves to the duty entrusted to them; and having made the necessary arrangements with Mr Dick, Veterinary Surgeon, of whose zeal & practical skill, they had

LECTURES ON VETERINARY SURGERY, &c.

THE COMMITTEE of the **HIGHLAND SOCIETY** of **SCOTLAND**, to whom it was remitted to make arrangements for promoting Public Instruction in the Veterinary Art, hereby intimate, that a **COURSE** of **LECTURES** on **VETERINARY PHYSIC** and **SURGERY** will be delivered in Edinburgh, in the ensuing season, by **Mr WILLIAM DICK**, a Graduate of the Veterinary College of London, who has been already known as a Lecturer on that Science.

The Committee, in pursuance of the Society's recommendation, have required, that the Lecturer shall give instruction with reference to the Diseases of Black Cattle and Sheep, as well as of Horses; that the Course shall be illustrated by proper Anatomical demonstrations, and that the Lecturer shall be provided with a Forge, and other Appendages, proper for the practical instruction of Country Farriers. The commencement of the Course and hour of Lecture will be accommodated to the convenience of Students attending the Agricultural Class in the University.

By Order of the Committee,

CHARLES GORDON, Dep. Sec.

Highland Society Chambers,
Edinburgh, 14th August, 1823.

Fig. 7. The First Advert for William Dick's Lectures on Veterinary Surgery, etc., with the Highland Society as his Patron.

With Permission of *The Scotsman*, Saturday 23 August 1823

received very satisfactory testimonials, Mr Dick had commenced his course in November last: That from all that he (Mr Ferguson) had been able to learn of the opinion of others, and the opinion he had himself formed from having attended Mr Dick's Lectures pretty regularly, he could bear testimony to the satisfaction which had derived from them, so far as they were yet delivered; and he had no doubt, if the course of Veterinary Lectures was continued under the patronage of the Society, the result could not fail to prove of great advantage to the Country.'

The Clyde Street courtyard, where the practical farriery and dissection work was carried out, is shown in Figs. 1 & 8. At the end of the session Dr Barclay presented to the Highland Society Directors the following report from the Veterinary Sub-Committee:¹¹⁶

'Report of the Sub-Committee on the Veterinary Lectures. 16 June 1824.

Sederunt: Doctor Barclay, Convener; Doctor Hope; Doctor Coventry; J.G. Dalryell Esq.; Gilbert Innes Esq. Treasurer; Mr C Gordon, D[eputy] Sec[retary]. Dr Barclay - In the Chair.

The Sub-Committee met on this occasion to dispose of that part of the duty devolved on them which relates to fixing the allowance to be made to the Lecturer on veterinary surgery from the sum voted by the Society.

They find that Mr Dick has delivered during last season a course extending to 46 Lectures on Veterinary Surgery and the diseases of Cattle and domestic live stock generally; and in so far as the Committee are enabled to form an opinion from what some Members who have occasionally attended have reported, and from what has come to their knowledge of the sentiments of others, they are enabled to state with tolerable confidence that the course has given perfect satisfaction to the students; and as a first experiment the sub Committee can therefore have no difficulty in expressing their opinion that the course must have conducted essentially to those advantages which the Society contemplated in affording its patronage.

Twenty five students attended; - one of them came regularly twice a week a distance of 9 miles from the Country:

Mr Dick sold 13 Tickets for the first session at £2.2/- each. £27.6.-
4 more to students who had formerly been with him --@21/- each
£4.4.-

Together £31.10.-

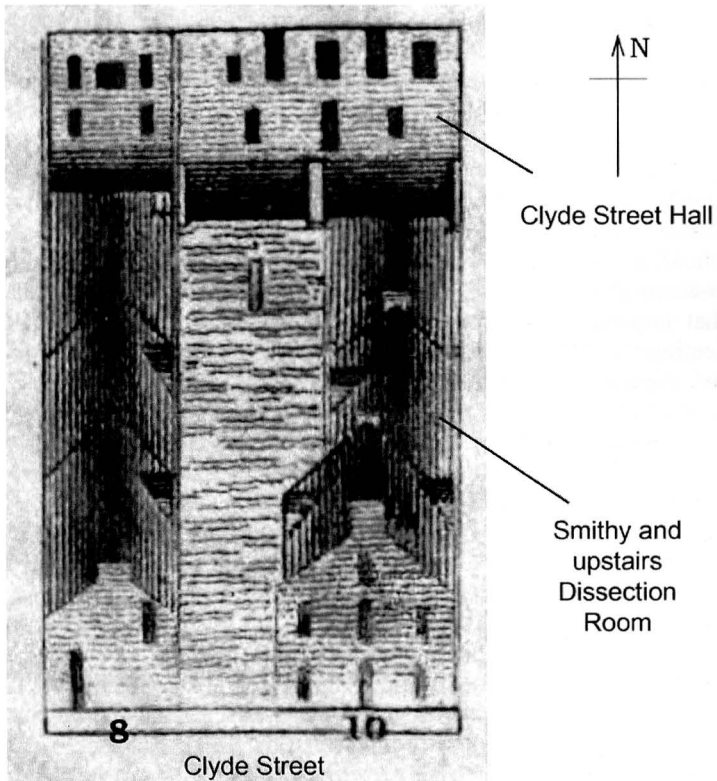


Fig. 8. The Clyde Street Courtyard, from Kirkwood's 1819 City Plan of Edinburgh, which Shows the Front Elevations of Buildings. The Locations of the Forge and Upstairs Dissection Room Occupied by John and William Dick are Indicated.

With Permission of the National Library of Scotland

The subsequent advertisement¹¹⁹ noted that the 'hour will be accommodated to the convenience of Students attending the Agricultural Class in the University'.

In 1825 the Highland Society took up the example shown by the Aberdeenshire and other several other Agriculture Societies and accepted Mr Ferguson's draft of a letter which could be used to contact the Scottish regions requesting them to sponsor young men to come to Edinburgh to attend the lectures given by William Dick.¹²⁰ As a consequence, in 1826 for example, the Hawick Farmer's club paid £8 towards defraying the expense of a young man attending Mr Dick's Veterinary Lectures in Edinburgh, on condition of his settling as a farrier in Hawick;¹²¹ the Banffshire Farmers Club 'gave funds for many years to provide a liberal salary to a veterinary surgeon to serve the lower district of the county and thereby encourage a resident practitioner of this important department of the healing art'.¹²² Early in 1826 it was reported by Mr Ferguson that twenty practical farriers were attending the course, together with five gentlemen for their private information.¹²³

'In the arrangement of the course, the lecturer adopted the same plan as in former years, commencing with an outline of anatomy, then proceeding to the Bones, shewing their situation and connection with various diseases. The Muscles and other soft parts came next under consideration, and were followed by an investigation of the foot with its various diseases, and the different modes of shoeing. The cavity of the Chest was next examined, with the Viscera it contains, the distribution of the blood vessels and the circulation of the blood, with the interesting Symptoms and treatment of inflammation. The organs of digestion, the urinary organs, the Brain, the Eye and the nervous system were all successively considered, and the course concluded by investigating the diseases of the skin, the nature and treatment of External injuries, and the specific diseases to which the different domestic animals are subject. In examining the Anatomy of the different parts, the diseases to which these parts are liable, were kept always in view, and the appearances and effects of these diseases brought under the Eye of the Student, when the Limb or other portion of the Animal was actually on the Table for dissection'.¹²³

William Dick reported that he regularly examined the students and was pleased with their attention and progress. Dr Barclay had made the suggestion that the students be formally examined at the end of the course, and had begun to design appropriate questions and 'Heads of Examination'. However, his death, on the

21 August 1826, aged 66,⁵⁴ delayed the implementation of that development for two years.¹²⁴

CONCLUSION

Thus, we have laid out the pattern of events which led to the establishment of Veterinary Education in Edinburgh. The Highland Society played a crucial role, as Patron, in the formal creation of the Veterinary School, in 1823. The lectures given by William Dick in each of the five sessions prior to that date were central to the establishment and subsequent success of his teaching. Similarly, the selfless mentoring support provided by Dr William Barclay (and his friends) was fundamental to the creation of the environment necessary to ensure a reasonable chance of success of this venture. It is without doubt, that the youth, personal determination, native intelligence, farriery experience and family background of William Dick also contributed significantly to his success in founding Veterinary Education in Edinburgh.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We greatly appreciate the assistance provided to us by librarians and archivists throughout Edinburgh, in particular Fiona Brown and Doreen Graham of the Royal (Dick) School of Veterinary Studies; Andrew Grout, Joe Marshall, Tricia Boyd, Sally Pagan, Denise Anderson, Hazel Robertson, Ann Henderson and Grant Buttar of the Centre for Research Collections in Edinburgh University Library; Helen Chisholm of EDINA, The University of Edinburgh; James Murray of the Royal Highland and Agriculture Society Edinburgh; Frances Houston of the Royal Veterinary College, London; Ines Mayfarth and the librarians of the National Library of Scotland and the Royal Commission on the Ancient & Historical Monuments of Scotland; and by W.T. Johnston. We gratefully acknowledge the kind permissions granted to use copyright material in Figs. 1-8.

REFERENCES AND COMMENTS

1. HERBERT, H. Earl of Pembroke, (1761), *A method of Breaking Horses and teaching soldiers to ride, designed for the use of the army*. London: [s.n.].
2. SNAPE, E. (1805), *A practical treatise on farriery: including remarks on all diseases incident to horses ... / from the manuscripts of the late Edward Snape*. London: [s.n.].
3. CLARK, J. (1770), *Observations upon the Shoeing of Horses: with an anatomical description of the bones in the foot of the horse*. Edinburgh: A. Donaldson; CLARK, J. (1775), *Observations upon the Shoeing of Horses: together with a new inquiry into the causes of diseases in the feet of horses, in two parts. Part I upon the shoeing of horses. Part*

II upon the diseases of the feet. Edinburgh: J. Balfour and London: T. Cadell; CLARK, J. (1788), *A treatise on the prevention of diseases incidental to horses from bad management in regard to stables, food, water, air, and exercise. To which are subjoined observations on some of the surgical and medical branches of farriery.* Edinburgh: printed for the author by W. Smellie.

4. 'Mr De Verseilles, Director of the Veterinary School, No. 7, Dover Street, Picadilly.' *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, Tuesday, 14 September, 1784, p.1, c.3.
5. 'Proposals for Introducing in England, by Subscription, that great Desideratum, A Veterinary School.' *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, Tuesday, 14 September, 1784, p.1, c.3; 'Proposals for Introducing in England, by Subscription, that great Desideratum, A Veterinary School.' *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, Saturday, 18 September, 1784, p.1, c.2; 'Veterinary School.' *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, Tuesday, 21 September, 1784, p.1, c.2; 'Veterinary School.' *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, Saturday, 25 September, 1784, p.1, c.3.
6. <http://www.rcvs.org.uk/Templates/Internal.asp?NodeID=7535279> Accessed 25 November 2010.
7. *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 2 June, 1769 - 5 June, 1769, p.7, c.1.; *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, Monday, 20 October, 1783, p.2, c.4.; YOUNG, A. (1794), *Travels during the years 1787, 1788 & 1789.* 2nd edition, London: [s.n.], p.81; 'Philippos', Letter, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 60, 1790, 1002-1005.
8. MACDONALD, A.A., WARWICK, C.M. & JOHNSTON, W.T. (2011), 'Early contributions to the development of veterinary education in Scotland.' *Veterinary History*, Vol. 16 No. 1 pp. 10-40.
9. MACDONALD, A.A., WARWICK, C.M. & JOHNSTON, W.T. (2011), 'John Feron and his 'Address' on a Veterinary Institution in Edinburgh.' *Veterinary History*, Vol. 16 No. 1 pp. 41-64.
10. CLARK, J. (1806), *First lines of veterinary physiology and pathology.* Volume 1. (Edinburgh, [s.n.].
11. 'The Secretary at War moved, That a sum not exceeding 1500l. be granted to the Veterinary College.' *Morning Chronicle*, Tuesday, 10 May, 1796, p.2, c.1.
12. BRERETON, J.M. (1976), *The horse at war.* Newton Abbot: David & Charles.
13. 'It is intended by Government to attach a Veterinary Surgeon to each Regiment of Cavalry; and as an inducement for Medical Gentlemen to pursue the Veterinary Art, it is liberally proposed to make them commissioned Officers, and to give them 7s. per Diem. And in order to prevent any but properly qualified Veterinary Surgeons from receiving these Appointments, no Pupil from the Veterinary College can be engaged for the Army without obtaining a Diploma signed by the Medical Committee and the Professor.' *Daily Advertiser (London)*, Friday, 26 August, 1796, p.1, c.2.
14. ANONYMOUS, (1798), *A List of the Officers of the Army and Marines; with an Index: A Succession of Colonels; and a List of the Officers of the Army and Marines on Half-pay; also with an Index.* London, [s.n.]; ANONYMOUS, (1800), *A List of the Officers of the Army and*

Marines; with an Index: A Succession of Colonels; and a List of the Officers of the Army and Marines on Half-pay; also with an Index. London, [s.n.]; ANONYMOUS, (1803), *A List of the Officers of the Army and Marines; with an Index: A Succession of Colonels; and a List of the Officers of the Army and Marines on Half-pay; also with an Index.* London, [s.n.].

15. James Burt was born in 1778 in Scotland. He married Clarissa Gurney (born 1782/3) on 14 November 1799 in Thanington, Kent, where their daughter Sarah Anne Burt was baptised on 14 August 1800 [UK Census 1861, Bexley, Kent, England, household 26; International Genealogical Index: Indexing Project (Batch) Number: 105021-6, System Origin: England-EASy, Source Film Number: 1737095, Reference Number: Item 2]. Another daughter, Sophia Burt, was born in Edinburgh on 28 May 1803, and a third daughter Isabella Burt was born there on 22 May 1805 [International Genealogical Index: Indexing Project (Batch) Number: C11981-9 System Origin: Scotland-VR Source Film Number: 1066687 Reference Number: 2].

16. 'Veterinary College'. *Morning Chronicle (London)*, Saturday, 10 September, 1796, p.1, c.1.

17. [YOUATT, W.] (1837), *A list of the veterinary surgeons who have graduated at the Royal Veterinary College, St. Pancras, London, or the Veterinary School, in Clyde Street, Edinburgh, to the end of October, 1837. Together with the names of those who obtained distinctions in the veterinary class, University College, London.* London, [s.n.], p.3.

18. ANONYMOUS, (1800), *A List of the Officers of the Army and Marines; with an Index: A Succession of Colonels; and a List of the Officers of the Army and Marines on Half-pay; also with an Index.* London: [s.n.], p. 82.

19. Between 1796 and 1801 the London veterinary school supplied 44 veterinary surgeons to the army. At about this time the army had 40,000 Cavalry in England, a newly formed Corps of Artillery Drivers who looked after the horses of the Royal Artillery, a separate Horse Artillery, and the horses of the baggage trains. Smith, F. (1927), *A history of the Royal Army Veterinary Corps. 1796-1919.* London: Baillière, Tindall and Cox.

20. AITCHISON, T. (1801), *The Edinburgh and Leith Directory to July 1801 ...* Edinburgh: Thomas Aitchison.

21. [Advertisements]. *Caledonian Mercury*, Saturday July 19, 1800, p. 1, c. 2; *Caledonian Mercury*, Thursday, 24 July, 1800, p. 1, c. 2; *Caledonian Mercury*, Saturday, 26 July, 1800, p. 1, c. 4; *Caledonian Mercury*, Saturday, 11 October, 1800, p.1, c.5.

22. The farriers listed in Edinburgh were Robert Darg, Alexander Donaldson, James Gardner, Alexander Gray, John Lawrie, John Roch/Rouch/Rough, J. Smith and Francis Storrie, and the farrier listed in Leith was John Brown. AITCHISON, T. (1801), *The Edinburgh and Leith Directory to July 1801 ...* Edinburgh: Thomas Aitchison.

23. A rented house and garden at the Head of Leith Walk, with about 100 foot frontage on the road, built by James Gilchrist, mason, on a heap of the material excavated to form the foundations of the Register House. It subsequently became part of Nottingham Place.

24. 'M.S.G.' (1803), 'Information requested concerning the diseases of domestic animals.' *The Farmer's Magazine*, 4, 177-178.

25. MACNAB, A. (1803), 'Observations on the economy of black cattle farms, under a breeding stock.' *Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland Society of Scotland*, 2, 204-211; STEWART, D. (1803), 'Observations on the economy of black cattle farms, under a breeding stock.' *Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland Society of Scotland*, 2, pp. 212-219.
26. DUNCAN, A. (ed.) (1807), 'A treatise on the diseases of sheep; drawn up from [13] original communications presented to the Highland Society of Scotland.' *Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland Society of Scotland*, 3, pp. 339-535.
27. Causer was one of the Veterinary Surgeons enlisted (into the 4th Regiment of (Light) Dragoons) in 1797. He had come to Glasgow and was listed in the Directories as a Veterinary Surgeon from 1805-1819. From 1820 he was still present in the directories, but without a named profession, and was staying at a new address.
28. MCFEAT, W. (1819), *The Glasgow Directory: containing a list of Merchants, Manufacturers, Traders, &c. &c. in the City and Suburbs ... corrected till July 1819*. Glasgow: W. McFeat.
29. CLARK, J. (1806), *First lines of veterinary physiology and pathology*. Volume 1. Edinburgh: [s.n.].
30. COSH, M. (2003), *Edinburgh: The Golden Age*. Edinburgh: John Donald, p.242.
31. 'Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre, M.P.; succession to late Mr. Clerk, King's Farrier in Scotland.' Mr. Young 7 Aug 1808. National Archives of Scotland GD51/6/1646/1-2.
32. CLARK, J. (1802), *A treatise on the prevention of diseases incidental to horses from bad management in regard to stables, food, water, air, and exercise. To which are subjoined observations on some of the surgical and medical branches of farriery*. 4th edition. Edinburgh: Printed by Alex. Smellie for the author.
33. COVENTRY, A. (1808), *Discourse explanatory of the object and plan of the course of lectures on agriculture and rural economy*. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., London: John Murray; Advert: 'This day were published Introductory Discourses explanatory of the object and plan of the course of lectures on agriculture and rural economy.' *Caledonian Mercury*, Thursday, 10 March, 1808, p.1, c.4.
34. [GAMGEE, J.] (1861), *The Veterinary Directory; or, Annual Register of the Veterinary Practitioners throughout the United Kingdom, including the Army Veterinary Surgeons and Colonial Practitioners*. Edinburgh: Thomas C. Jack; London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.
35. Alexander Gray [senior] was one of ten farriers listed in the 1811 Post Office Directory of Edinburgh. Post Office, (1811), *The Post-Office Annual Directory, from Whitsunday 1811 to Whitsunday 1812*. Edinburgh: [s.n.]. His wife's maiden name was Agnes Buchan, and on the 1st October 1787 their son, also Alexander, was christened at St. Guthbert's Church

37. ANONYMOUS, (1814), 'Agricultural intelligence – Scotland – Forfarshire quarterly report.' *Farmer's Magazine*, 15, 501.
38. 'J'. (1815), 'On the advantages to be derived from the knowledge of Comparative Anatomy.' *Farmer's Magazine*, 16, 149-151.
39. [CONDUCTOR], (1815), 'Comparative Anatomy.' *Farmer's Magazine*, 16, 151-152.
40. Advertisements for the course appeared in the local papers, e.g. *Caledonian Mercury*, Monday, 1 May, 1815, p.1, c.1.
41. William Dick reported that he had been asked if he would like to hear a lecture by a 'medical student' acquaintance. DICK, W. (1844), 'reply to a toast in the evening, 12th April, following the reception of the Charter.' *The Veterinarian*, 17, 291-293; The likely identity of this student was William Dumbreck who was mentioned in an article by DICK, W. (1828), 'On bleeding, and inflamed veins.' *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, 1, 197-205; William Dumbreck, b. 9 Oct 1800, father William Dumbreck, mother Katharine Bowie (IGI Indexing Project Number C11981-9, Source Film Number 1066687 Reference number 2:18K9HQ); William Dumbreck senior was landlord to John Dick in 15 Clyde Street; William Dumbreck senior was also owner of the hotels and lodgings in St Andrews Square, (National Archives of Scotland GD160/399 & GD124/16/152)
42. Enrollment registers, The University of Edinburgh.
43. FERGUSSON, A. (1858), 'Veterinary School.' *The Canadian Agriculturist*, 10, 12-14.
44. Dr Hope was the professor of Chemistry at the University of Edinburgh. He was an excellent and very popular lecturer (attendance peaked at 559 students in 1823) and he was the first in Britain to use lecture demonstrations extensively.
45. James Gregory (1753-1821) was the Professor of Physic (Medicine) at the University of Edinburgh, and one of the managers of the Infirmary.
46. Dr Murray, an eminent physician, was a lecturer in natural philosophy, chemistry, materia medica and pharmacy at the University of Edinburgh.
47. STRUTHERS, J. (1867), 'Barclay'. In *Historical Sketch of the Edinburgh Anatomical School*. Edinburgh: Maclachlan and Stewart, pp. 56-70.
48. DICK, W. (1844), 'Reply to a toast in the evening, 12th April, following the reception of the Charter.' *The Veterinarian*, 17, 291-293.
49. STRUTHERS, J. (1867), 'Barclay'. In *Historical Sketch of the Edinburgh Anatomical School*. Edinburgh: Maclachlan and Stewart, p. 67.
50. ANONYMOUS [RE?] (1816), 'View of the advantages and progress of veterinary science.' *Farmer's Magazine*, 17, 291-296.
51. ANONYMOUS, (1816), 'Account of the Dublin Society.' *Farmer's Magazine*, 17, 169-179.
52. Edinburgh City Council Records, 28th August 1816. TCM, 172, 14.

53. KAY, J. (1836), *A descriptive catalogue of original portraits, &c drawn and etched by the late John Kay*. Edinburgh: John Paton; Kay, J. No. CLII. 'The Craft in Danger'. In: *A series of original portraits and caricature etchings, by the late John Kay, miniature painter, Edinburgh; with biographical sketches and anecdotes*. In 2 volumes. (Edinburgh, Hugh Paton, 1837-1838), Volume 2, Part 1, etching associated with pp. 448-450.
54. TANSEY, V. & MEKIE, D.E.C. (1982), *The museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh*, [Edinburgh]: The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh; Kaufman, M.H. (2003), *Medical teaching in Edinburgh during the 18th and 19th centuries*. Edinburgh: The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh; Kaufman, M.H. (2007), *Dr John Barclay (1758-1826): extra-mural teacher of human and comparative anatomy in Edinburgh*. Edinburgh: The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.
55. UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH (1816), 'Meeting, 4th November.' *University of Edinburgh Senatus Minutes*, III, p. 138.
56. This episode is dealt with in additional analytical detail by Gardiner, A. (2007), 'Elephants and exclusivity: an episode from the 'pre-Dick' history of veterinary education in Edinburgh.' *Veterinary History*, 13, 299-309.
57. Andrew Duncan Senior was the Professor of Institutions of Medicine, and a major figure within the Edinburgh medical establishment. He was Physician to the King and the Prince of Wales in Scotland, founder of the Edinburgh Royal Public Dispensary and the Royal Edinburgh Asylum, and at various times, President of the Royal Medical Society and the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh.
58. DUNCAN, A. (1816), In 'University of Edinburgh, Meeting, 26th October 1816.' *University of Edinburgh Senatus Minutes*, III, 137-138.
59. The place where Andrew Johnston received his veterinary training has not yet been traced.
60. Andrew Johnston recorded in Edinburgh Post Office Directory as a Veterinary Surgeon (from 1816-1823).
61. SMITH, F. (1930), *The early history of veterinary literature and its British development. Volume III – The nineteenth century, 1800-1823*. London: Baillière, Tindall and Cox.
62. PRINGLE, R.O. (1869), 'Memoir'. In DICK, W. *Occasional Papers on Veterinary Subjects*, Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons.
63. [DICK W.], *Lecture notes on the anatomy, physiology and pathology of the horse delivered by E. Coleman at the London Veterinary College, Camden Town, taken down by W.D. [1817-1818]*. 4 c.208 ff. Edinburgh University Library MS.2747.
64. 'After three or four months' attendance at the Royal Veterinary College, where there is no Demonstrator or teacher of anatomy who does his duty, the students hear a few old musty and obsolete opinions read over by Mr. Coleman, learn a certain number of set answers to well-known questions, which they repeat a few times to Mr. C. in his parlour; when, after three or four months' attendance, if they answer well and truly, and behave humbly and condescendingly, they are mostly promised, or are certain to obtain, the certificate ... the practice is widely different from that laid down by the founders of the Institution, when a

student was to undergo a PUBLIC examination after a three years' study, and receive an unassuming certificate, which, when so gained, would be really valuable, and a guarantee which the public might depend on.' [CLARK, B.] (1828), 'Veterinary Certificates.' *Farrier and Naturalist*, 1, 435-436.

65. BRADLEY, O.C. (1923), *History of the Edinburgh Veterinary College*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.

66. 'Alexander Grey, veterinary surgeon, Edinburgh; succession to Mr. Burt, H.M. Farrier for Scotland, for himself'. National Archives of Scotland. GD51/6/1972/3.

67. William Scott of Parton, Kirkcudbrightshire was a Barrister at Law; ANONYMOUS, (1818), 'Prospectus of a new academical institution at Edinburgh.' *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine*, 4, 217-220.

68. MILTON, J. (1819), *Milton's plan of education, in his letter to Hartlib (Now very Scarce) with the plan of the Edinburgh Academical Institution founded thereon [by SCOTT, WJ]*. Edinburgh: William Laing & Messrs Fairbairn and Anderson (Successors of Mr Creech); and London: for Longman & Co.

69. [DICK, W.] (1819), 'Notes of a lecture on the parts of the horse [collected and edited by 'W']'. *Farmer's Magazine*, 20, 57-60.

70. 'Death of Professor Dick.' *The Scotsman*, Thursday, 5 April, 1866, p.2, c.4; STEVENSON, [-], 'Death of Professor Dick.' *North British Agriculturist*, Wednesday, 11 April, 1866, p.228; [MANSON, J.B.], 'Obituary.' *The Veterinarian*, 39, 1866, 439-440.

71. Somewhat confusingly, twenty years later, at an end of academic session celebration, Dick's recollection was that he had had no students that year. DICK, W. *The Veterinarian*, 12, 1839, 403-404.

72. 'Academical Institution.' *The Scotsman*, Saturday, 21 November 1818, p.6, c.3; 'Academical Institution.' *Caledonian Mercury*, Monday, 23 November 1818, p.4, c.2.

73. The other lecturers were an un-named 'Member of the University of Oxford, and a graduate of Medicine of this University' who read and translated 'Gregory's Conspectus Medicinæ Theoreticæ', and Mr McCree who read in Greek and translated the Aphorisms of Hippocrates.

74. ANONYMOUS, 'Prospectus of a new academical institution at Edinburgh.' *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine*, 4, 1818, 217-220.

75. [DICK, W.], 'On the state of the the Veterinary Art in Scotland, and Veterinary School in Edinburgh,' *Farmer's Register and Monthly Magazine of Foreign and Domestic Events*, 5, 1827, 198-204.

76. The dating in the Pringle account⁶³ of these early years appears to be slightly muddled. However, he reported that following the collapse of the second attempt to start the Academical Institution, Dick took an 'unfurnished shop in Nicolson Street, and continued his course of lectures, giving one lecture daily; one pupil, an Englishman, we believe, being the only regular attendant'. The subsequent addition by Bradley⁶⁷ was that there were four students initially.

77. [JARVIS, J.], (1922), 'Excerpt from the Records of the Society of Incorporated Trades of Calton.' Manuscript annotated 'J.J., City Chambers, December 1922'. Royal (Dick) School of Veterinary Studies, Archives.
78. BRADLEY, O.C. (1923), *History of the Edinburgh Veterinary College*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.
79. The currently available details of all the children who were born to John Dick and Jean Anderson are as follows: Mary Dick was born in 1791 [UK Census 1871, 1881, etc] and died 17 July 1883 [The Scotsman, 19 July 1883]; William Dick was born 06 May 1793 [International Genealogical Index; Batch No.: C119818, Source Call No.: 1066687, Printout; Call No.: 6900814] and died 04 April 1866 [from the Dick Family gravestone inscription (New Calton Burial Ground)]; John Dick was born 03 May 1802 [Old Parish Records, Births - 685 01/0400 0087] and died 08 July 1821 [from the Dick Family gravestone inscription]. The other children died in infancy, and were; Georgina who died 04 April 1799 [O.P.R. Deaths 692/02 0310 0218]; James who died 03 June 1799 [O.P.R. Deaths - 692/02 0310 0226 Leith South, p223]; George who was born 10 May 1800 [I.G.I.; Batch No.: C119818, Source Call No.: 1066687, Printout; Call No.: 6900814] and died 21 June 1801 [O.P.R. Deaths - 692/02 0310 0307]; and Samuel who died 04 March 1808 [O.P.R. Deaths - 692/02 0310 0649].
80. 'School of Arts for the better education of the Mechanics of Edinburgh.' *The Scotsman*, Saturday, 5 May, 1821, p.143, cc.2-3; 'School of Arts.' *Caledonian Mercury*, Thursday, 27 September, 1821, p.3, c.2.
81. *The Scotsman*, Tuesday, 27 October, 1821 p.344, c.1.
82. ANONYMOUS, (1822), *First Report of the Directors of the School of Arts of Edinburgh for the Education of Mechanics*. Edinburgh: [s.n.].
83. 'Premiums 1822: Aberdeenshire Agricultural Association.' *The Aberdeen Journal*, Wednesday, 20 March, 1822, p.4, c.5.
84. The place where Mr Peter Smith received his training has not yet been found.
85. Some of Mr Smith's observations were published in *The Aberdeen Journal*, Wednesday 16 May 1821 p. 4, cc. 4-5.
86. HORNER, L. 'School of Arts for the Instruction of Mechanics.' *Caledonian Mercury*, Thursday, 26 September, 1822, p.1, c.1; HORNER, L. 'School of Arts for the Instruction of Mechanics.' *The Scotsman*, Saturday, 28 September, 1822, p.310, c.1.
87. 'Lectures on the Principles and Practice of Veterinary Medicine and Surgery.' *Glasgow Herald*, Friday, 27 December, 1822, p.2, c.4.
88. CAUSER, E. (1822), *A treatise on the morbid respiration of domestic animals: illustrative of the diseases of the organs of respiration in horses, cows, sheep and dogs, with the most approved methods of treatment; including a variety of cases and dissections*. Glasgow: John Smith & Co.
89. HORNER. L. 'School of Arts.' *Caledonian Mercury*, Thursday, 25 April, 1822, p.3, c.3.

90. THE BANFFSHIRE FARMER CLUB. 'To veterinary Surgeons.' *The Aberdeen Journal*, Wednesday, February 5, 1823, p.1, c.1; [repeated] Wednesday, 12 February, 1823, p.1, c.1.
91. ANONYMOUS, (1823), *Second Report of the Directors of the School of Arts of Edinburgh for the Instruction of Mechanics in such Branches of Physical Science as are of Practical Application in their several Trades, June 1823*. Edinburgh: Caledonian Mercury, p. 26.
92. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND, 'Meeting of Directors, 21 May 1823,' *Sederunt Book*, 7, pp. 236-237.
93. Robert Johnston is listed in the Post Office Annual Directory from Whitsunday 1822 to Whitsunday 1823 as a grocer with a shop at 42 North Bridge, and his house at 27 James Square.
94. Our italics. It was never explained who authored the paper mentioned. However given the interest generated by William Dick's lectures, the roles played by Dr Barclay as his Mentor, and by the editor of the Farmer's Magazine as a promotor of veterinary education, and by others, there are several likely candidates.
95. Adam Fergusson was a gentleman farmer, who, although trained as an advocate, never practiced. He was a devoted agriculturist and a Director of the Highland Society. In 1833 he immigrated to Canada.
96. John Graham Dalyell of the Binns, 6th Bt, was an Advocate and a historical and scientific author. He was knighted in 1836.
97. Patrick Small Keir lived at Kindrogan in Perthshire where he held the office of Deputy Lieutenant.
98. Mr John Corse Scott of Sinton was the proprietor of the Mill on the Ale Waters in Roxburghshire. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society
<http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~wemckenzie/bordermckenziez.htm>
Accessed 4 January 2011.
99. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND, 'Meeting of Directors, 13 June 1823,' *Sederunt Book*, 7, 262-263.
100. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND, 'Meeting of Directors, 4 July 1823,' *Sederunt Book*, 7, pp. 272-277.
101. William Macdonald was the advocate son of the first Secretary, and then Treasurer to the Highland Society.
102. The sums of money required for the construction and maintenance of the veterinary school buildings in Lyons, Alfort, London, etc.
103. The Professor of Agriculture, Dr Andrew Coventry.
104. It is likely that, among others, this statement referred to appropriate lecture material on comparative anatomy previously prepared by Dr Barclay.

105. The Royal Charter of 1582, granted by King James VI, enabled the Town Council of Edinburgh to found in 1583 its college – which was for many years known as the ‘Tounis College of Edinburgh’. The merchants and tradesmen who comprised the town council of Edinburgh elected the professors, and they continued to exercise a lot of direct control over the affairs of the University until the mid 19th century. HORN, D.B. (1967), *A Short History of the University of Edinburgh 1556-1889*. Edinburgh: The University Press.
106. POST OFFICE, (1823), *The Post-Office Annual Directory, from Whitsunday 1823 to Whitsunday 1824*. Edinburgh: [s.n.].
107. James Burt was in practice in Edinburgh from 1800 until 1830 [Edinburgh & Leith Directory 1800- July 1801, p.74 up until - Post Office Annual Directory, 1830/31, p.28] when on 14 December, 1830 he once more enlisted in the Army (Royal Regiment of Artillery). [ANONYMOUS, (1833), *A List of the Officers of the Army and Royal Marines on full, retired and half-pay with an Index*. London: [s.n.], p.326.] He was pensioned on half pay on 18 August, 1849 [ANONYMOUS, (1850), *A List of the Officers of the Army and of the Corps of Royal Marines on full, retired and half-pay*. London: W. Clowes and Sons, p.367.] During the 1850s and '60s he lived in Trinity Cottage, Bexley with Clarissa. [UK Census 1851 census Bexley, Kent, England, household 126 and UK Census 1861, Bexley, Kent, England, household 26.]
108. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND, ‘General Meeting 7 July 1823,’ *Sederunt Book*, 7, 1823, 285.
109. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND, ‘Meeting of Directors, 15 July 1823,’ *Sederunt Book*, 7, 1823, 294-297.
110. George Cranstoun was a practicing Advocate who held the office of Lord of Session in 1826, and was styled as Lord Corehouse.
111. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND, ‘Meeting of Directors, 14 Nov 1823 [committee on veterinary lectures]’. *Sederunt Book*, 7, 1823, p. 302.
112. Sir John Hope, Earl of Hopetoun was a celebrated military commander. An equestrian statue of him may be found in St Andrew’s Square, Edinburgh, with an inscription by Sir Walter Scott.
113. ‘Lectures on the Veterinary Art.’ *The Scotsman*, Saturday, 23 August, 1823, p.749, c.1.
114. ‘Veterinary Lectures.’ *Caledonian Mercury*, Thursday, November 27, 1823, p.4, c.4; ‘Scottish Intelligence: Veterinary Lectures.’ *The Scotsman*, Saturday, 29 November, 1823, p.763, c.1.
115. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND, ‘Anniversary General Meeting, 13 Jan 1824,’ *Sederunt Book*, 7, pp. 376-377.
116. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND, ‘Meeting of Directors, 2 July 1824,’ *Sederunt Book*, 7, pp. 531-534.
117. On 28 May, 1824, William Dick paid £4 for the side room of the Calton Convening Rooms for ¼ year. [JARVIS, J.], (1922), ‘Excerpt from the Records of the Society of

Incorporated Trades of Calton.' Manuscript annotated 'J.J., City Chambers, December 1922.' Royal (Dick) School of Veterinary Studies Archives.

118. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND. 'Meeting of Directors, 29 June 1825,' *Sederunt Book*, 8, pp. 271-274.

119. GORDON, C. 'Lectures on Veterinary Surgery.' *The Scotsman*, Saturday, 1 October, 1825, p. 628, c.3.

120. 'Highland Society.' *The Scotsman*, Saturday, 15 January, 1825, p.33, c.2; HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND. Circular letter to Local Agricultural Societies regarding the Veterinary Lectures. '... feel much satisfaction in recommending the School of Veterinary Surgery established in Edinburgh during the last two years, by Mr William Dick, under their patronage and support.' *Sederunt book* 8, 1825, p. 307.

121. The Statistical Account of Scotland 1834-45, vol.3 p.403: Hawick, County of Roxburgh. Accessed 4 January 2011.
<http://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/link/183445/Roxburgh/Hawick/3/403/>

122. The Statistical Account of Scotland 1834-45 vol. 13 p. 337: Cullen, County of Banff. Accessed 4 January 2011.
<http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Banff/Cullen/13/337/>

123. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND. 'Report of the Committee on the Veterinary Lectures, session 1825-6, 31st May 1826.' *Sederunt Book* 9, 1826, pp. 48-53.

124. HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND. 'Report of the Committee on the Veterinary Lectures, session 1826-27, 14th June 1827.' *Sederunt Book* 9, 1827, pp. 396-399.

APPENDIX 1

The names of the sixteen Veterinary Surgeons appointed to Cavalry Regiments of the British Army in 1797, with their dates of appointment. John Shipp was the first Veterinary Surgeon trained by the London Veterinary College to join the Army; he joined the 11th Regiment of (Light) Dragoons on 25 June 1796.

Name	Regiment	Date of appointment
Bloxham, Samuel	1 st & 2 nd Regiments of Life Guards	1 January
Seddall, James	Royal Regiment of Horse Guards	23 December
Richardson, Robert	1 st (or the King's) Dragoon Guards	3 January
Watts, George	3 rd (or the Prince of Wales) Dragoon Guards	22 May
Sheil, Charles	6 th Regiment of Dragoon Guards	1 October
White, James	1 st Regiment of Dragoon Guards	12 April

Parkinson, William	2 nd Regiment of Dragoon Guards	12 June
Boardman, Thomas	3 rd Regiment of Dragoon Guards	12 June
Causar, Edward	4 th Regiment of Dragoon Guards	1 June
Vincent, Richard	6 th Regiment of Dragoon Guards	25 November
Cumming, R. Stewart	7 th Regiment of (Light) Dragoons	22 April
Ferguson, Samuel	9 th Regiment of Dragoons	4 October
Denny, John	10 th Regiment of (Light) Dragoons	22 April
Trigge, John	15 th Regiment of (Light) Dragoons	23 December
Harrison, James	16 th Regiment of (Light) Dragoons	6 April
Burt, James	17 th Regiment of (Light) Dragoons	25 November

APPENDIX 2

One of the lectures delivered by William Dick in 1818 at the Academical Institution established by William Scott of Parton, collected and edited by 'W'.⁶⁹

'It is a common saying, that there are good horses of all shapes; and hence it has been affirmed, that there is no advantage in attending to the shape of the horse. We often see two horses of the same shape very different in goodness. Some gentlemen contend, that a large head is no disadvantage to a horse. It is true, many good horses have large heads; but, take it in the abstract, horses' bones cannot be too small; and this applies particularly to the head, which acts as a weight at the end of a lever. There are other parts of the head of importance, independent of its size. The nasal bones, or bones of the nose, should stand rather prominent, so as to allow a large nostril. Dishfaced horses, that is, when the bones are depressed, are defective, – as, from the size of the nostril, breathing will be more or less easy. The finer the skin, and the less flesh about the head, the better. The eye should be lively, and not sunk; the head well set on, fine at the throat lash; in which case there is more extensive motion; and, in bridling up, there is not so much obstruction to breathing. The neck should be light, – for a large neck renders a horse only fit for harness. A long neck is neither good for wind nor speed; as the air is longer in getting into, and from the lungs, the breathing will be more difficult; – except for speed, the neck cannot be too upright. A light upright neck is a most important point in hunters, chargers, and hacks; but, for draught, it is not so essentially necessary. In high necks and withers, the *ligamentum colli*, or fix fax of the neck, supports the

weight, and allows the muscles to act with the greatest power when the horse trips. Horses of this description may have low action, but they seldom come down; while horses with low necks, and high action, are very liable to stumble and fall. When a stranger mounts a horse, the groom generally tells him to keep his head well up, to prevent his stumbling. This not only relieves the weight of the head and neck, but Dr Barclay has demonstrated, that, by raising the head, you change the fix point of the muscle common to all quadrupeds, called the *levator humeri*, or common muscle, which raising or pulling the arm forward, extends the base on which the animal moves, upon the stability of which will be the security of the superstructure. The back, from the withers to the loins, can hardly be too short; the withers should be long, as they act as levers in supporting the neck and head, and also as levers to the shoulders. The loins should in all cases be broad, and where this is not the case, the haunch-bones appear high. This is frequently to be observed in Irish horses: but the fault is not in the haunch-bones; they can never project too much, as they are levers to muscles; – the defect in these horses is in their loins being too narrow. The make of the chest is very important. A large chest is an advantage to all animals, as it allows them to take in a greater quantity of air, and by that means the necessary change will take place in the blood with a less frequent, and of course less oppressed respiration. Nature has adapted the shape of the chest of animals to the purpose for which they seem to have been intended. In the cart-horse, and cattle, the ribs can hardly be too circular; as animals with chests of that description seem all disposed for weight and fat; but for speed, it is necessary for the chest and ribs to be of a different construction. The first four ribs of the race-horse are very little arched; but the chest should be deep, and the ribs well arched, behind the fore-leg; – this we find is the case with the hare, deer, greyhound, &c. The pelvis, or hind-quarters, cannot be too long, that is, from the haunch-bones to the point of the hips; as according to the length of the muscles and levers, will be the strength of the animal, and the extent of his action. Horses that fall down, or slope much in the hind quarters, are deficient in muscle, and are not only short but weak; as they want the mechanical advantage of long levers. In the high extremities, the projections of the thigh bone cannot be too great. As to the bulk and weight of the bone, there is always enough. Horse-dealers are sometimes good practical judges; but the reasons they give for a horse being good are erroneous, when they say he has great bone. If the bones support the weight of the animal (and you do not find that bones break or bend in the horse), all that is extra, is superfluous weight to the animal: – the bones of the human subject do bend, but this is not the case in the horse. Perfection consists in small bones, long levers, long processes, and great projecting points; for the smaller the bones, the stronger will the animal, in regard to action; and the best actioned horses have not a great deal of bone upon dissection. Where the bones are actually large, for instance, from the knee and

leg round, dealers would say they are weakly horses, – and yet it is all bone; in such legs you see no sinew, no suspensory ligament, no small metacarpal bone, as you will see in a well-formed leg, where the muscles are large, the sinews large, and the bones small; large bones and small muscles are a great imperfection. The length of the horse, from the hip-joint to the stifle, and from the stifle to the hock, cannot be too great, nor from the hock to the foot too little, as he will get his haunches well under him. There is no point in the horse of more importance than the hock, for on it depends the strength and progression of the animal: It must neither be too straight, nor too much curved, as either of the extremes is bad. When the animal is standing in the proper position, his toe should be placed in a line exactly under the stifle, or patella; and, in that position, grasping the hamstring with the hand, there should be nothing found between the fingers and thumb but skin. A straight hock is weak, from its joint, which is a lever to muscles, being too short; and these hocks are always round. The shoulder is a most important point in all horses. It should be large, broad and light, to allow extent of surface for the attachment of muscles, and cannot be situated too obliquely, as, in that position, it gives greater scope to the action of the muscles. The worst shoulder is a short upright one. People are apt to blend the withers with the shoulders; and, if the withers are long, it is said the horse has good shoulders. But this is not always the case; for he may be fine in his withers, and have a bad shoulder, – it may be upright. A horse should be deep, from the withers to the point of the shoulders; and from this to the elbow, he cannot be too long. When the elbow inclines too much into the chest, he has a bad action, as, in the case, the elbow is short. These horses turn their toes out, and are liable to cut. The arm from the elbow to the knee cannot be too long, nor the shank from the knee to the fetlock too short. The knee-joint must be wide, and should appear rather narrow in front. Round knee-joints are bad. The more the pisiform bone projects backwards, the better: it is a lever to the muscles of the arm. The pastern must have a proper degree of obliquity; and the length is of more importance before than behind. Should all points be good, and the pasterns long, and the toes turned out, the other good points almost go for nothing. Long pasterns are weak; but, if too short, they are liable to concussion. From the great attention that has already been paid to the breeding of horses for this country, our armies have been supplied with cavalry superior to that of all other nations; which was particularly conspicuous in the splendid victory at Waterloo.’

Authors’ address: Alastair A. Macdonald, BSc, PhD, Dr, MBA, FHEA, and Colin M. Warwick, MBE, Veterinary Biomedical Sciences, University of Edinburgh, Royal (Dick) School of Veterinary Studies, Easter Bush, Midlothian, EH25 9RG
