

Historical sketch of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh : being an address delivered on 19th January 1860 at a conversazione in the Hall of the the College with notes and documents / by John Gairdner.

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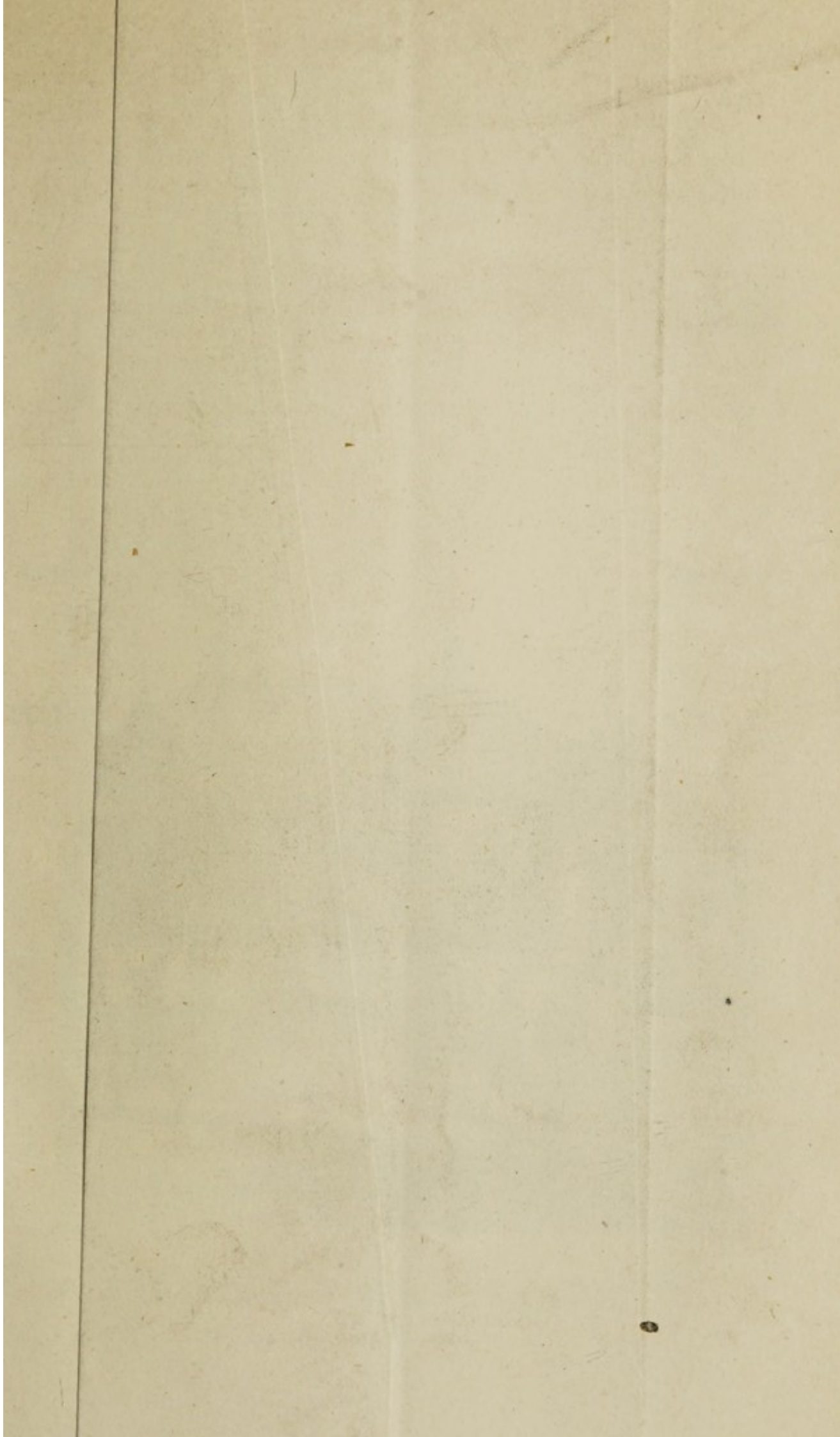
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OLD SURGEONS HALL, OF 1697.

as seen from the North

Engr. by W. & A. S. Johnson, Edin.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF

THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS
OF EDINBURGH;

BEING

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED ON 19TH JANUARY 1860, AT A CONVERSAZIONE
IN THE HALL OF THE COLLEGE;

WITH NOTES AND DOCUMENTS.

BY

JOHN GAIRDNER, M.D.,

FELLOW, AND FORMERLY PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE.

EDINBURGH: SUTHERLAND AND KNOX.

LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, AND CO.

MDCCCLX.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS

OF EDINBURGH

AND THE HISTORY OF THE
COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS

WITH NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

BY

WILLIAM WILSON

OF THE COLLEGE OF SURGEONS

MURRAY AND GIBB, PRINTERS, EDINBURGH.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

“ There is a history in all men’s lives,
Figuring the nature of the times deceas’d ;
The which observ’d, a man may prophesy,
With a near aim, of the main chance of things
As yet not come to life ; which, in their seeds
And weak beginnings, lie intreasur’d.”

King Henry IV., Part II., Act III., Scene 2d.

MR PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, in its commencement, was, like the University, simply a civic institution, and, like it also, was subordinate to the local authorities of our Scottish metropolis, from which it derived its original powers, and in the municipal council of which it was represented by its president, or, as he was termed, its deacon, till a period quite recent. By a series of changes, which I will endeavour to explain to you, it has become an institution of national significance,—its powers and its usefulness now extending to the wide area of the British dominions.

The word *Incorporation* is in the worst odour with many, suggesting at once the celebrated lines of Cowper in regard to chartered boroughs. But neither Cowper nor any one would include in one category of indiscriminate condemnation all incorporations in law, physic, divinity, commerce, education, and everything else. Our chartered Colleges, Faculties, Universities, and Associations, must stand or fall, each on its own merits. It is *exclusiveness* in trade, or in teaching or practising the arts and professions which has caused all the odium, and which, in our times at least, alone deserves the condemnation of all of us.

But let us place ourselves in imagination at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and endeavour to realize the state of things which then existed. Scotland was in a state of anarchy. Its barons,

more powerful than its kings, ruled despotically, each in his own circle, entrenched within his stronghold. The people, subject to cruel oppression, were unprotected by the law. The possession of the sovereign's person was often the subject of bloody strife between bodies of armed ruffians. The castles of Craig and Merchiston, situate within less than two miles of the spot from which I have the honour to address you, have, besides walls of extraordinary thickness, secret apartments entering from chimneys,—hiding-places to be resorted to when the owners were beset by a superior force. Such a fact, patent to our own senses, bears eloquent testimony to the reality of a state of things, which, happily for us, we know only through the records of the past.

Such were the circumstances in which chartered boroughs and their dependent incorporations sprang up in Scotland. Walls, ditches, and vigilant watching and warding, were things not of choice, but of indispensable requirement for the protection of peaceful industry in its rude commencement. Those who withheld their contributions of money, of labour, and of personal peril, for a purpose vitally essential to all, could not be permitted to claim protection at the hands of those who contributed. Exclusive monopoly, now so justly deprecated, was then the necessary means of emerging from barbarism.

Our first charter¹ is dated the 1st July 1505, eight years prior to the calamity which befell James IV. and his army at Flodden. It is termed a seal of cause by the Town Council, and was confirmed in the following year by the royal authority. From the terms in which it is expressed, it would appear that the "surregeanis and barbouris" had, prior to its reception, procured some recognised status in the place. Before giving you some specimens of this document, in which the interests of science, religion, and astrology are strangely blended, it may be well to remind you that Vesalius and Fallopius, those early fathers of anatomy, had not then earned their imperishable fame. Vesalius, indeed, was not born till 1514. The Emperor Charles V. was little more than five years old; that same emperor, who, many years after, called a consultation of divines at Salamanca to determine if it were consistent with conscience to dissect a human body for the purposes of science.² Bearing these circumstances in mind, let us look into this very curious document.

¹ "Royal Grants, etc., relative to the Constitution and Privileges of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh," p. 1.

² Hutchinson's "Biographia Medica," vol. ii., p. 472.

“Thatt quhair we beleve itt is weill knawin till all your wisdomes quhow thatt we uphold ane altar situat within your college kirk of Sanct Geill in the honour of God and Sanct Mongow our patrone and hes na importance to uphold the samyn but oure sober ouklike penny and upsettis quhilk ar small in effect till sustene and uphold oure said altar in all necessar thingis convenient thairto And because we ar and ever was of gude mynde till do this gude toune all the steid plesour and seruice that we can or may baith in walking and wairding stenting and bering of all uther portabill chairges within this burgh at all tymes as uther nichtbouris and craftis dois within the samyn We desyre at your Lordshipis and wisdomes till geve and grant to ws and oure successouris thir reulis statutis and privilegis vnder writtin”—“ITEM thatt na maner of persoun occupie nor use any poyntis of oure saidis craftis of Surregerie or barbour craft within this burgh bott gif he be first frieman and burges of the samyn and thatt he be worthy and expert in all the poyntis belangand the saidis craftis deligentlie and avysitlie examinit and admittit be the maisteris of the said craft for the honorabill seruyng of oure Soverane Lord his liegis and nyctbouris of this burgh And als That everie man that is to be maid frieman and maister amangis ws be examit and previt in thir poyntis following **THATT IS TO SAY** That he knaw anatomea nature and complexioun of every member In manis bodie And in lykewayes he knaw all the vaynis of the samyn thatt he may mak flewbothomea in dew tyme And als thatt he knaw in quhilk member the signe hes domination for the tyme for every man aucht to knaw the nature and substance of every thing thatt he wirkis or ellis he is negligent And that we may have anis in the yeir ane condampnit man efter he be deid to mak antomea of quhairthrow we may haif experience Ilk ane to instruct uthers And we sall do suffrage for the soule.”

It appears from this that the difficulty which perplexed Charles V. and his divines long after, had been solved well and wisely by us and our municipal authorities in the middle of the year 1505. Perhaps you may like to be told what amount of preliminary instruction was then esteemed necessary for entering on the study of the profession. It is as follows :—

“ITEM That na maisteris of the said craft sall tak ane prenteis or feit man in tyme cuming to use the surregeane craft without he can baith wryte and reid And the said maister of ony of the saidis craftis that takis anie prenteis sall pay at his entres to the reparatioun of the said alter twenty schillingis.”

But the most important provision yet remains to be explained. Only listen to the following words of wisdom :—“ And that na persoun man nor woman within this burgh mak nor sell ony aquavite within the samyn Except the saidis maisteris brether and friemen of the saidis craftis under the paine of escheit of the samyn but favouris.”

I fear that we have lost for ever this invaluable privilege. But in this I may be wrong. There are enlightened men who hold that *aqua vitæ* is physic, and ought to be under the regulation of the profession to which we belong. Our chemistry would ensure a superior article, and our medical knowledge would qualify us to superintend its application. Let me solicit your concurrence in an application to Parliament to restore our ancient privilege.

But to be serious. We must recollect that these ancestors of ours had no pioneers to prepare the way before them, and we should therefore look on this very early movement, not with a proud sense of superiority, but with a respect akin to that with which we trace the risings of our own Forth, as it bursts, in apparent insignificance, from the rugged and remote solitudes of Rob Roy's country. Their exclusiveness I have shown to be the necessary result of the great law of self-defence ; and, as to their ignorance, we shall do well to look that our own is not greater when compared with the great advantages we have over them.

I am no antiquary, and it has therefore been of no small consequence to me, in those investigations in which I have been engaged, that I have had the advantage of intercourse with those who have solid claims to that character. My thanks are particularly due to Mr W. Fraser, of the Register House, for deciphering some of our own earliest records, to me nearly illegible ; and to Mr David Laing, of the Signet Library, for some very valuable suggestions. I must also express my thanks to Mr James Laurie, conjunct City-Clerk, for the liberality with which he made the city records accessible to me.

If there was little science among us, in the primitive period of our corporate existence, there was also but little of that pride of science which is generally found to be its bane. As in other departments of knowledge, so also in ours, those who affected to be learned were the worshippers of *authority*, not of science, for more than a hundred and fifty years after we were constituted. In our own more immediate department, surgery, we had the advantage of being brought into close contact, whether we chose or not, with the immutable

laws of Nature; and, in her presence, were taught the virtue of humility. In every age wounds required to be stitched and dressed, bleeding to be arrested, fractures and dislocations to be adjusted, teeth to be extracted, blood to be drawn, injured members to be severed. Those who could do these and the like things expertly, might justly claim to be one of the most useful of the *crafts*, as they were then termed, in a walled city; and we claimed to be nothing more or better. In corners of Scotland some of these things have been done in our own time by blacksmiths and gardeners, as they then were also by barbers. Hence arose an alliance, which, however unsuitable it may appear to us in the nineteenth century, was universal among the great cities of Europe little more than two centuries ago. That it should have continued so long as it did is the more surprising, because, here at least, some of the surgeons held high offices about the court, and some belonged to families of high consideration in the ancient kingdom of Scotland.¹ Other professions, however, present, in former times, not less striking incongruities. Prior to the Reformation, divines were often notaries public, as John Knox was before he became a Protestant; the words clergyman and clerk are identical *historically* as well as etymologically; the Court of Session, at its first institution in 1532, contained a moiety of ecclesiastical judges, who performed their peculiar operations less scientifically and less honestly than the barber-surgeons did their tooth-pullings. In Protestant times, David Chalmers, a judge of our supreme civil court, solicited and obtained, in 1566, the office of town-clerk of Edinburgh, with its emoluments.² Robert Pont, parish minister of St Cuthbert's, received from the Regent Morton, in 1572, the office of a judge of the Court of Session, and retained both offices, with the consent of the General Assembly, till 1584.³ Many more instances might be easily produced, but these must suffice to show you how differently such combinations of functions were then regarded.

There are no minutes of our proceedings in existence for the first seventy-six years; and, for the space of a century more, the handwriting is far from being easily legible. But by the able assistance of my friend Mr Fraser, I have been enabled to glean a few facts which occurred during this period.⁴ I find that by 1589, a practice had begun of admitting barbers, at a lower rate of entry, not to the

¹ See Note 4, p. 11, and Appendix A.

² Records of Town Council, 5th April 1566.

³ "Historical Account of the Senators of the College of Justice," 1832, p. 151.

⁴ See Appendix B.

full freedom of the incorporation, but simply to the right of practising as barbers within the burgh; and that those so admitted were specially interdicted from the practice of any "point of chirurgie under pain of tinsell of their fredome;" they were to "do their dewtie when the brethren pleisses to require them thereto," and were to have "na signe of chirurgie in their bughts or houses, oppenlie or privatlie, sic as pigs [crockery], buistis, or chirurgane caiss, or box pertaning to the chirurganis." The mere barber had no deliberative voice. He was free of his own trade, but not a freeman of the incorporation; and it was only necessary for those who *were* full freemen to give up the inferior occupation, in order to accomplish what was accomplished about seventy years after,—the practical, though not then legal, separation of two pursuits, which, even towards the end of the sixteenth century, had begun to be regarded as incompatible.¹

In the first century and half of our existence, there were no important changes in our corporate rights. We were the sole teachers and almost the sole practitioners in this city, of what was then known of the healing art. The visit of Jerome Cardan, in 1552, for the cure of the brother of Arran, the Regent, was an exceptional thing; and there were probably other exceptions, now forgotten. But during this period our profession, like every other, was benefited by the gradual progress of literature and science. The discovery by Harvey, in the reign of Charles I., of the true course of the circulation of the blood, gave, for the first time, a scientific basis both to medicine and to surgery. The laws were better administered, especially when enforced by the iron will and stern impartiality of the Protector; and men of peaceful pursuits, more secure against violence, were less tolerant of exclusive privileges, which were plainly less necessary, and therefore less defensible. Ours were invaded by two descriptions of practitioners, unincorporated physicians and unincorporated apothecaries. The physicians sought to erect themselves into a college, not merely for Edinburgh, but for all Scotland, by means of a patent to which Cromwell was supposed to be favourable, and which contained the following clause:—"Forasmuch as the science of physick doth comprehend, include, and containe in it

¹ A painful occurrence took place in 1600. Robert Auchmowtie, one of the Incorporation of Surgeons, was capitally convicted on the 10th June, and beheaded at "the mercat croce" that year for killing James Vauchope in single combat at St Leonard's Craigs on the 20th April preceding. King James interfered in the trial against the prisoner, avowedly at the instigation of the friends of Vauchope. "Pitcairn's Criminal Trials." Vol. II. p. 112.

the knowledge of chirurgery, being a special part of the same and member thereof.”¹ They were also to have had the power of examining and licensing apothecaries, of visiting the drug-shops, and of enforcing their authority by penal clauses. The projectors of all this held for the most part only foreign degrees; for there were then few Scotch and no Edinburgh degrees in medicine.

We were in great alarm. The patent lay at Cromwell’s council board, ready for his signature. But we remembered our Scotch Thistle and its time-honoured motto. The apothecaries, who had been so naughty as to meddle with our scalpels,² immediately threw them down; and, under our patronage, received in 1657 a civic status in alliance with us, which blended their interests with ours as far as the Town Council had it in its power to do so,³ and which was sanctioned by the Scotch Parliament thirteen years after.⁴ The Lord Provost (Sir Andrew Ramsay, Knight), as in duty bound, went to London to enlighten the Council of State.⁵ Old Noll was a shrewd old fellow, and had not committed himself. He had read his Bible, and knew what the wise king of Israel had said of him “who is first in his own cause,”—that he “*seemeth* just,” but that “his neighbour cometh and searcheth him.” The plot was given to the winds, as many similar plots have since been, and as more may yet be, if more should in future arise.⁶

The restored dynasty might possibly have proved more favour-

¹ “Statutes, etc., of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh,” 1852. Preface, p. 6.

² “Royal Grants, etc.,” p. 27-31.

³ “Royal Grants, etc.” p. 32, 39, and 48. The Town Council had no power to admit mere apothecaries to be members of the incorporation of surgeons, but they constituted what was termed a “Brotherhood of apothecaries and chirurgeon-apothecaries,” and admitted to that body freemen who had passed an examination. See Town Council Records, 1st April 1659 and 18th March 1660. The Act by which the “brotherhood” was constituted [25th February 1657] was confirmed by Parliament [22d August 1670], and the surgeons were by another Act (1695) constituted “chirurgions and chirurgion apothecaries.”

⁴ In 1670. “Royal Grants,” etc. p. 39.

⁵ Records of Town Council, 1st and 19th June 1657. See Appendix C.

⁶ That this attempt to supersede the Surgeons was not soon forgotten by them is evident from the minutes of their meeting of 22d August 1672. The Chairman produced to the meeting a proposed Act of Parliament “for erecting the Colledge of Edinburgh into ane Universitie.” He stated that this Act had been “given to him by ane confident person, to consider if the calling might be concerned y^rin or not.” There was a division of opinion; but a report framed by James Borthwick was adopted, supporting the Act under certain conditions, as one calculated to be useful, and to be a “caveat against all hazards by a Colledge of Phisitians.”

able to the plotters than Cromwell had been; but we then had a different kind of security. No patent could now issue *from Westminster*. Edinburgh had two representatives in the Scotch Parliament. The Town Council in those days, and indeed for very long after, kindly saved the inhabitants the trouble of selecting them. It is not three weeks since, in the course of my diggings, I discovered a proof, to me as new as I am sure it must be to all of you, of the wisdom with which that body exercised its power. Be it known to you that the Council frequently chose our deacons to represent this metropolis in the Parliament. I find no less than three instances of this in the rolls of the Scottish Parliament between the Restoration and the Union.¹ I am sure you will agree with me that this was a far better choice of Parliamentary representatives than what was often made by their successors prior to the Reform Bill.

The period at which we have now arrived may be termed, in geological language, the *eocene* period of our Edinburgh Æsculapian formations; certainly not the *pleiocene*, judging from its fossils. But that we really had made a great advance by the time of Charles II. is plain from the fact, that rather before his time we lose sight of that megatherium, the barber-surgeon. Thirty years before he was in full force; and the curious may find a very perfect specimen of him embalmed in the statutes of Jingling Geordie's² Great Institution. Metaphor apart, after our union with the apothecaries, our incorporation gave up the barber craft;³ not by any formal act or statute, but simply by ceasing to practise it, as we ceased to practise pharmacy in the early part of the present century. We even neglected to confer on the simple barbers that civic status which we alone could confer, and which was necessary to the legal exercise of their trade within the city, and were reluctantly compelled by the Town Council to perform this duty and keep a register of them as dependents.⁴ The barbers were often refractory; and, in the beginning of last century, brought us into the Court of Session to adjust some rights, real or imagined.⁵ But a compro-

¹ James Borthwick in 1661, Arthur Temple in 1669, and George Stirling in 1689. See Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, published under the superintendence of the late Thomas Thomson, Esq., advocate. Folio. V.Y.

² The well-known sobriquet of George Heriot, applied to him familiarly by James VI.

³ Surgeons' Records, 20th July 1743, where a report may be found on the history of the Incorporation, prepared by them at the request of Maitland, the historian of Edinburgh.

⁴ Records of the Town Council, 26th July 1682.

⁵ Records of the Surgeons, 6th July and 5th August 1708; 20th May 1718;

mise, on conditions satisfactory to both parties, received the sanction of a decision of the Court of Session on the 23d February 1722 ; and since then they have managed all their own interests, and given us no further trouble. The gain to them was even greater than to us; for, to avoid the most remote suspicion of being shedders of blood is the beau-ideal of their art ; yet, if we may trust to Maitland, the Town Council, unlike its modern representative, had the marvellous folly to compensate them for their imaginary loss, by allowing them to make *aqua vitæ*,¹ thus enabling them to act on the inner man instead of the outer, and by an agent compared with which the knives of the barber-surgeons were infinitely less perilous.

On the gable of the Old Grey Friars church may be seen a remarkable monument. A skeleton is sculptured in the centre, and is festooned around with various surgical implements.² It marks the resting-place of James Borthwick, whose picture is by much the oldest we possess.³ He entered the incorporation in 1645. He was an active member, and took a large share in controlling the irregularities of the barbers. He was also among the most active in counteracting the plot of 1657. He was a cadet of the Crookston Borthwicks, and nearly related to the Borthwick peerage ;⁴ and his mother, one of the Browns of Colston, belonged to a family much distinguished in Scottish history. He acquired the estate of Stow, which he planted, improved, and left to his family. James Borthwick represented Edinburgh in the Scotch Parliament of 1661. His family is now extinct.⁵

20th May 1719 ; 27th January, 11th November, and 23d November 1720 ; and 23d February 1722 ; also the minute already quoted, 20th July 1743.

¹ History of Edinburgh, p. 296.

² The inscription is much injured, probably during the fire of the church, which occurred about sixteen years ago ; but it may be found in Maitland, p. 193, and it bears that the monument was erected by the eldest son of James Borthwick.

³ See Appendix B. He must have died early in 1676, for his name is found in a quarterly list, 10th Feb. 1676, and not in a list of 15th June following. [Records of the Surgeons.]

⁴ The following names are recorded as witnesses to the baptism of twin children of James Borthwick, in 1654.—viz., John Lord Borthwick ; William Borthwick of Crookston, elder and younger ; George Borthwick, son to said William ; and John and George Borthwick, brothers-german to said William of Crookston.

⁵ James Borthwick inhabited a house at Stow which had once been a palace of the Archbishop of St Andrews, and of which some part exists, or lately existed, near to the manse.

In 1681, the Royal College of Physicians was established, under the judicious management of Sir Robert Sibbald, the naturalist. There was no surgery clause, and it was simply an *Edinburgh* college, not a college for Scotland. With our sister college we are now happily united in wedlock; after a reasonable amount of those jealousies by which true lovers, ever since the flood, have been accustomed to tease and torment each other, and to manifest the unutterable depth and strength of their mutual attachment. Contrary to analogy, our jealousies were at a higher point at the time of the birth of the fair lady than they have ever been since. For this there were obvious reasons. The conduct of her parents in Cromwell's day was still fresh in our memory; they *might* possibly have educated her in pragmatical notions of an aristocracy in medicine, imbibed during their education abroad, which would not have gone down with us. Since the abortive attempt of 1657, we had heartily shaken our sides, with Molière and with all Europe, at the physicians of the court of Louis XIV., who imitated the foppery and pretentiousness of his noblesse. The French might do as they listed. They might have their "Doctissimi Doctores, medicinæ professores," deep in Galen; and might choose that *their* "chirurgiani et apothecari" should be only "sententiarum Facultatis fideles executores,"¹—the humble servants, in short, of *their* physicians; but *we* were determined that it should not be so here; and our friends, the Physicians, to do them justice, had too much respect for our social position to offer us any such indignity.

In 1694 we received from William and Mary a patent, which was ratified by Parliament in the following year.² In this document I find a definition of the limits of medicine and surgery about as good, and about as useless for exclusive purposes, as such definitions are usually found to be. It was, however, satisfactory to both parties, and I find a proof of this in a document issued by the Physicians on 22d July 1695, five days after the passing of the Act just mentioned, in which they say "that quhairas we have now rid marches with the chirurgions in Edinburgh, we will not in any maner of way oppose the re-uniting of Chirurgerie and Pharmacy."³

Till the Act of 1695,⁴ our powers were bounded by the city walls. We were by that Act constituted Chirurgions and Chirurgion-Apothecaries of Edinburgh, and empowered to examine all who practised anatomy, surgery, and pharmacy within the three Lothians, and the

¹ Molière, "Malade Imaginaire."

³ "Royal Grants," p. 64.

² "Royal Grants," etc., p. 48.

⁴ "Royal Grants," etc., p. 48.

counties of Peebles, Selkirk, Roxburgh, Berwick, and Fife. This was an important step, indicative of the desire which then existed for having educated and qualified surgeons in the rural districts. I have not a doubt that, along with other causes, it contributed, and that in no small degree, to the establishment of the medical school of this city.

Before giving you an account of our connection with this most important event, I propose to introduce you to one or two of those who were then prominent among our predecessors, and who took a large share in the deliberations of the period.

John Monro¹ was an army surgeon under King William the Third, and settled as a surgeon here in 1700. He became one of us in 1703, and was elected President in 1712 and 1713. He was a younger son of Sir Alexander Monro, of Bearcrofts, in Stirlingshire, and was related to the family of the celebrated Duncan Forbes of Culloden.² Like his distinguished relative, he was a staunch friend to the Revolution Settlement, and like him, too, was a good and amiable man. He is said to have had engaging manners, and to have enjoyed a large share of professional success. He had the merit of discovering the peculiar abilities of his son, and of educating him to be a great anatomical teacher. I need scarcely add that this son was the celebrated Dr Alexander Monro, the first of the three successive Professors of Anatomy who bore his name, one of our members at a later period, and, I may add, librarian to the Incorporation for many years.

The celebrated Dr Archibald Pitcairn³ was the leading physician here in the end of the 17th and early part of the 18th century. He was the first to discover the advantage of being connected with both Colleges, having been an original Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1681, and having joined us on the 16th October 1701. His admission was unanimous, and without the customary pecuniary payment. The minute states his eminent services to his profession as the ground of this unusual compliment, and further states that it was his own expressed desire to be admitted to our fellowship. He was made Professor of Physic in the University in 1685, though there is reason to suppose that the professorship was merely an honorary distinction. In 1692 he became Professor of

¹ Portrait shown ; by Aikman.

² I state this on the authority of his great-great-grandson, Alexander Binning Monro, Esq. of Auchenbowie. I have been informed that John Monro was the guardian of Duncan Forbes.

³ Portrait shown ; by Medina.

Physic at Leyden, where he had among his pupils Hermann Boerhaave and Richard Mead. In the year following he returned to Edinburgh to practise his profession. At that time the study of physical science had undermined the old authoritative and scholastic medicine, and the chemical and mathematical physicians were contending with each other which should best explain the complex phenomena of animal life. Pitcairn, a very able and enthusiastic mathematician, was, in his day, the Coryphæus of the mathematical physicians. Though he was beyond all question an accomplished scholar and a man of rare ability, yet his works are now seldom read. In matters purely practical, he shows good sense and observation. In his theoretical speculations he pushes his favourite mathematics to almost incredible paradoxes. He concludes a volume of essays, published in 1713, in the following very characteristic words:—"Quapropter non dubito me solvisse nobile problema, quod est, DATO MORBO, INVENIRE REMEDIUM.

"Jamque opus exegi,—
FINIS."¹

The last four words may imply that he was conscious of the failure of Nature; for he died almost immediately after this, his last publication, had been produced.

His wit was not always under the guidance of the most fastidious propriety,—a fact of which I *could* easily produce more instances than I *shall*. You will perhaps excuse a single sample.

By a process of very unconvincing mathematical demonstration contained in a treatise on Digestion, he so enormously exaggerated the force of the circular muscles of the alimentary canal in relation to that function, as to draw forth from Astruc, a contemporary French physician, an equally absurd attempt to prove, and *that* mathematically, that the circular muscles have no power of compression at all. Two Scotch professors, friends of Pitcairn, one of whom was Gregory the mathematical professor at Edinburgh, replied to Astruc's mathematics very effectively. After noticing their labours, and quoting Gregory's words, Pitcairn expresses himself thus — "Hæc meus Gregorius.

"Ego libellum Astrucii non vocem—cacatam chartam, quia mihi videtur Astrucius nunquam cacasse: alioquin sensisset musculos abdominis et se contrahere, et alia exprimere posse."²

¹ "Dissertationes Medicæ, Edinburgh, 1713." P. 196.

² "Dissertationes Medicæ"—(Preface).

It appears from our minutes of the 15th September 1711 that he paid a fine of six shillings Scots money (6d. sterling) "for swearing." If it did him good, which I hope was the case, he had a remarkably cheap bargain. The very contemptible trash published in this city, nine years after his death, for which some of his biographers have sought to make him responsible, appears to me to bear internal evidence of being none of his work. I allude to a drama under the title of "The Assembly." It is despicable alike in morals and in ability. Another piece of ribaldry attributed to him, and bearing the title "Babel," printed for the first time by the Maitland Club, is somewhat less reprehensible and somewhat more able; but it is a great injustice to the memory of an eminent man to make such imputations on the strength of mere hearsay. Among the disappointed Jacobites and Episcopalians of those days, there were doubtless many who were capable of effusions equally bitter, and far more able than either of those worthless productions.

His Latin poems¹ are chiefly valuable now as records of his opinions and prejudices in church and state, and also of the names of his friends and associates, of whom many belonged to this body.² One of those poems may be noticed as connected with one of our pictures, that of the Duke of Hamilton,³ whose tragical death it commemorates. After killing his adversary in a duel, he was treacherously murdered by the second of that adversary in Hyde Park in 1712. He was one of our honorary members.

Pitcairn left instructions that certain bottles of wine should not be uncorked "till the king had his own again." They were, however, uncorked, with the consent of Lady Ann Erskine, his granddaughter, on the 25th December 1800, the anniversary of the doctor's birth. They proved to be Malmesey, in excellent preservation.⁴

¹ *Selecta Poemata*, Edinburgh, 1727.

² Particularly Alexander Montearth and Thomas Kincaid; the latter, like himself, a writer of Latin verses.

³ *Selecta Poemata*, Edinburgh, p. 79. Portrait shown; by Medina.

⁴ I state this partly on the authority of a deceased Fellow of the College, Dr W. Farquharson, to whom the wine was given by the lady, and partly on the authority of a curious advertisement, pasted into the copy of Dr Webster's Life of Pitcairn in the library of the College of Physicians. Each of the contributors for the restoration of the tomb was to receive a *Jeroboam* [a large glass] of the Doctor's wine. See also an account of the restoration of Pitcairn's tombstone by the medical gentlemen of Edinburgh, *Annals of Medicine*, vol. v., p. 503, and *Carm. Rar. Macaronicorum delectus*, Edinburgh, 1813, page 130. A rectangular slab on four pillars, with inscription by his friend Ruddiman, marks Pitcairn's grave. It is a little way west of the north entry of the Greyfriars' churchyard.

Robert Clerk¹ was the son of John Clerk, the first of his name who possessed the barony of Pennycuick. He was an intimate friend of Pitcairn, and was eminent in his profession. Like John Monro, he educated to that profession a son who was destined to much higher celebrity than the father. This son was the celebrated Dr John Clerk, the favourite pupil of Pitcairn, and his successor as the leading physician here; the early patron, too, and intimate friend of Cullen, to whom we are indebted for his very interesting biography.

Of the origin of the medical school of Edinburgh, a good deal has already been written, especially by Bower in his History of the University. But all the published accounts of this important event are more or less inaccurate. Having consulted the original sources of information, I shall be enabled to correct some errors, to fill up some gaps, and to supply you with an account, which, so far as it goes, will be at least one on the faithfulness of which you may rely.

As a knowledge of the structure of the human frame is the foundation of all medical science, I propose to discuss the history of anatomical instruction separately, and afterwards to give some account of the other departments.

The remarkable provision for instruction in anatomy contained in our first charter is the only one, so far as I can discover, which existed here till 1694. On the 24th October of that year, an active member of ours, by name Alexander Monteath, obtained from the Town Council a gift, for thirteen years, "of those bodies that dye in the correction-house," and of "the bodies of fundlings that dye upon the breast;" also of a room for dissections, and the use of the College churchyard for the burials. There were various conditions; one of which was, that he was to attend the poor gratis, but to be paid for his "dregs" at prime cost.²

His brethren of the incorporation were immediately in the field [2d Nov.] with a similar application. They obtained "the bodies of fundlings who dye betwixt the tyme that they are weaned and thir being put to schools or trades; also the dead bodies of such as are stiflet in the birth, which are exposed, and have none to owne them; as also the dead bodies of such as are *felo de se*, and have none to owne them; likewayes the bodies of such as are put to death by sentence of the magistrat, and have none to owne them,—which includes what former pretensions of that kind the petitioners have."

¹ Portrait shown; by Medina.

² Records of Town Council.

The grant to take effect in the winter between the two equinoxes, "allenary." And there is another important condition, "that the petitioners shall, befor the terme of Michallmes 1697 years, build, repaire, and have in readiness, ane anatomicall theatre, where they shall once a year (a subject offering) have ane public anatomicall dissection, as much as can be shoven upon one body, and if the failzie thir presents to be void and null."¹

On the 2d June 1696, we resolved to build² our new house, assigning as a reason, that the Town Council's gift would otherwise lapse. The contract was signed on the 7th July.

On the 17th December 1697, our anatomical theatre being then completed, the Town Council confirmed its gift, but, at same time, restricted its advantages to the regular apprentices and pupils of freemen. This excited great opposition among us, but was ultimately conceded by us. The same day we chose "a committee to appoint the methods of the public dissections and the operators."²

From a minute of 1st Feb. 1705, I learn that a stranger then in Edinburgh wished to get possession of the theatre, and the use of the bodies, and was willing, in that case, to have instructed our apprentices gratis. We preferred, however, to comply with a request made by one of our own number, Robert Elliot, that we should constitute him, during pleasure, our Professor of Anatomy.³

On the 29th August 1705, Elliot petitioned the Town Council for encouragement in his undertaking. The Council, in consideration that he had been unanimously chosen by us, voted him an allowance of L.15 a year, to be paid by the College treasurer, stipulating that he is to take a charge of "the rarities in the Colledge," and to "make ane exact inventar" of them.⁴

On the 28th July 1708, the Town Council elected Adam Drummond,⁵ on a representation made in his favour by John Mirrie,⁶ then President of the Surgeons, to be conjoined with Elliot in the professorship, and to enjoy half of the salary.

On the 5th August following, Drummond was admitted by the Surgeons, on a motion by Elliot, to be conjoined with him in the use of the theatre, both for public and private courses. He was promised, as Elliot had been, all possible aid and countenance in instructing apprentices and others.

¹ Records of Town Council.

² Records of the Surgeons.

³ See Appendix D.

⁴ See Appendix D.

⁵ Portrait shown; by Medina. See Appendix E.

⁶ Portrait shown; by Medina.

On the 24th October 1716, John M'Gill,¹ then Deacon of the Surgeons, was chosen by the Town Council Joint-Professor of Anatomy along with Drummond, in the room of Elliot, deceased,² under all the former conditions.

On the 28th March 1717, M'Gill was appointed by the Incorporation of Surgeons also.

On the 21st January 1720, Drummond and M'Gill stated to a meeting of the Surgeons their inability duly to attend to their professorship. "They and the haill calling being persuaded of the sufficiency of Alexander Monro, one of their number, did therefore unanimously recommend him to the Provost and Town of Edinburgh to be Professor of Anatomy within the said city."

On the 29th January 1720, the demissions of M'Gill and of Drummond, subscribed with their own hands on the 26th and 28th, were reported to the Town Council by Mr John Lauder,³ then Deacon, who recommended Alexander Monro, and tabled the recommendation of him by the Surgeons; upon which he was elected, at the same salary as formerly, during pleasure.

On the 14th March 1722, Alexander Monro, on a petition to the Town Council as patrons of the University,⁴ was made professor therein *ad vitam aut culpam*, with the same salary as before; but continued to hold our appointment also, and to teach in our theatre.

On the 20th October 1725, he petitioned the Town Council again, "as patrons of the Universitie, to allow him, as Professor of Anatomy therein, a theatre for public dissections." The Council appointed a committee "to appropriate ane fitt place in the said University, to be adapted for the said theatre."⁵

The different steps, then, in this history may be summed up thus:—Dissections were occasionally conducted by us during nearly two centuries, for the instruction of our own pupils. In 1697 we completed a theatre, constructed within our own Hall, for the express purpose of giving more efficient anatomical instruction. We were

¹ Portrait shown. See Appendix E. The painter is doubtful, the style of art being somewhat different from Medina's. The date of M'Gill's entry is December 1710; and as Medina died in 1711, it is chronologically possible that he may be the painter.

² There is no portrait of Elliot in our Hall. His name appears in the quarterly accounts of 3d February 1715, and is not found in those of 20th May following. He must, therefore, have died between these dates. Bower is in error in stating that he died early in 1714.

³ Portrait shown; by Medina.

⁴ Records of Town Council.

⁵ Records of Town Council.

aided with additional anatomical subjects by the Town Council, under a special Act of theirs, *as administrators of the public charities*. In 1705 we constituted a Professorship of Anatomy, in the person of one of our number. More than six months thereafter, the Town Council, *as patrons of the University*, connected our professor with that institution by a small salary. He thus came in the end to hold a double, or rather triple chair: from us, from the Town Council in its civic capacity, and from the same body as University patrons. Sometimes, as in the cases of Drummond and M'Gill, the Council, at the suggestion of our representative at its board, took the lead in appointing; at other times, as in the cases of Elliot and Monro, we appointed first, and the Council followed; in *all* cases there was perfect harmony between the different classes of patrons. In 1722 the professorship was made permanent by the University patrons, the professor still teaching, however, in our theatre. And, finally, his teaching was transferred, in 1725, from our theatre to one within the University.

On the history of the other departments of medical instruction I must now say a few words. Botany, the earliest of these, owes its origin as a University professorship in 1776, chiefly to Sir Robert Sibbald and Dr Andrew Balfour. It appears that our jealousy was at first aroused, lest it should be a cover for such a project as that of Cromwell's time; but that, being satisfied on this point, we heartily co-operated, for the sake of our pupils, with the projectors, and thus ensured the success of their project.¹

On the 11th June 1695, Sutherland, the professor, requested us to assess our apprentices and pupils "one guinea, or twenty-three shillings"² each, for instruction in Botany. The conditions of his request are curious. He was to acknowledge us "as his patrons," to "attend upon" us "in the garden, and demonstrate the plants whensoever" we "should have inclination," and to "wait upon" us "at a solemn public herbarizing in the feilds four severall times in every year." These and other similar conditions were renewed, almost in the same terms, on the applications of his successors Charles and George Preston for the same advantage, which all of them enjoyed in succession. The Botanical professorship does not appear to have been a life appointment. On the 29th August 1705, Henry Hamilton,³ Deacon of the Surgeons, complained to the Town Council that "Master James Sutherland, keeper of the Colledge and

¹ See Sir R. Sibbald in "Bower's History of the University," vol. i., p. 362.

² This seems to imply that a guinea was then worth twenty-three shillings in silver.

³ Portrait shown.

Physick Gardens, was very much defective in his duty as to teaching Chirurgeon-apprentices the science of Botany, *which was a considerable part of his employment.*" The principal and the treasurer of the College also complained "that the yeard of the said Colledge was altogether neglected." The Council applied an instant remedy. They restricted Sutherland's provision of L.20 from the "Colledge" funds to L.5 yearly, and threatened that, unless the evil were remedied, they would deprive him of the L.5 likewise. This brought matters to a crisis. Sutherland resigned. It is remarkable that the successful application of Charles Preston to us for an Act similar to that which Sutherland had obtained in 1695, bears date 8th November 1705, six months prior to his appointment by the patrons of the University, which was on the 8th May 1706. Of such importance was our support and that of our pupils deemed to be.

The Professorship of Physic, established in the University in 1685, was merely titular; so far, at least, as I have been able to discover.

Our enterprising friend Monteath became tired of teaching anatomy, and in 1697 took a lease of a chemical laboratory within our Hall for the purpose of teaching chemistry. I have here an old Edinburgh Gazette, containing an advertisement of his course of lectures in 1699. It is termed a course of "Chimie;" was to begin "on Munday the fifth day of June," and was to last six weeks. "All the usual operations" were "to be performed."¹

I much regret that I cannot show you the lineaments of this active and able member of our body from the glowing canvass of Medina. He was intimate with Pitcairn, from whom we know that he was an excellent surgeon and chemist.² I have a strong suspicion that he was also, like his friend, a staunch Jacobite; for, after having been duly elected to fill our chair, and represent us in the Civic Council, in 1699, he was deposed from both offices by the Lords of the Secret Council, at the instance of the magistrates. A dispute with them about one of the steps of the municipal election, is the only ostensible cause to be found either in the minutes of the Secret Council or of the Town Council, or in our own. But it is obvious that there must have been something deeper under it; and when you recollect that King William's throne, and even his life, had been

¹ It is found in Nos. 25 and 26 of that paper—the former bearing date from Thursday, May 18th, to Monday, May 22d, 1699; and the latter, from thence to Thursday, May 25th. The originals, which were produced at the conversazione, are the property of Dr James Keith. An accurate copy of the advertisement will be seen in Bower, vol. ii., p. 150.

² *Dissertationes Medicæ*, p. 234. Edinburgh, 1713.

exposed to serious plots from the time he lost his wife in 1695, and that the execution of Sir John Fenwick was then a very recent fact, the explanation I have given will perhaps appear to you to be the probable one.

After 1720, various other departments of medicine were added to the school at our theatre. Theory of Physic was taught by St Clair, Practice of Physic by Drs Rutherford and Innes, Chemistry by Dr Plummer. On the 9th February 1726, these gentlemen applied to the Town Council to have their departments "taught in the Colledge," and were, at that date, constituted Professors of Medicine by the patrons of the University, under a variety of conditions which I will not take up your time by explaining. In short, the medical school in the University was then constituted. Midwifery was added on the same day; Mr Joseph Gibson, one of us, being the first professor. The appointment was made on the strength of an act of ours recommending him to the patrons as a fit person. The University was then first authorized by the patrons to confer degrees in medicine.¹

The mere recital of the series of facts which I have laid before you, shows better than any feeble eulogy of mine how very important was the part enacted by the first Alexander Monro in the inauguration of the medical school of this place. Without disparagement to the memory and the services of the many really great, but less known contributors to that object, I venture to say—and it is the highest praise—that even among *them* he stands forth pre-eminent. His work on Osteology will be allowed by all competent judges (and there are many such present) to be a worthy and enduring monument of his great reputation. By his talent as an anatomist, and not less by his very superior education, he gave an impulse to his own special department of instruction which stimulated the ambition of enterprising men in all the other departments. To him and to them we owe, in a very great degree, the reputation which this city has since enjoyed as a medical metropolis. Their views, for the time in which they lived, were honourably distinguished by their breadth and liberality. Living, as we now do, in an age in which nothing approaching to selfish narrow-mindedness will be tolerated, let us preserve the rich legacy which they have bequeathed to us by emulating their example.

I am indebted to Captain Monro of Craiglockhart for permission

¹ The Act is omitted at its proper place in the Town Council Records, but inserted long after, on 26th August 1747.

to show you an admirable portrait of his great-grandfather, by Allan Ramsay, son of the poet. The bust of him on the table was presented by Dr Alex. Monro, tertius, the father of Capt. Monro.

I beg also to express my thanks to Mr Rhind for the excellent drawings by which he has enabled me to show you the appearance of that ancient edifice which was the theatre of such memorable doings. Its bones yet exist in the substructions of the fever hospital. I have not been able to discover in what part of it the anatomical and other professors taught; but Monteath's chemical rooms were three in number, and were in the west wing and ground floor.¹ The two windows immediately to the west of the centre one lighted the great hall, which had also windows from the back.²

The ground formerly belonged to the Blackfriars, and was bounded on the south and the east by the second city wall; and on the west by the grounds of the High School. It was conveyed by charter of the Town Council to the Incorporation of Surgeons, 3d July 1656.³

Before quitting the period of the origin of the medical school, I may say that there are to be found in it various other indications of the healthy activity of our predecessors. Books were presented⁴ on a very large scale, specimens of anatomy, too,⁵ and of natural history;⁶ we had a fight in the law courts with the magistrates of Dundee about the carcase of "ane elephant;"⁷ and there is one other indication of activity which I must not call *healthy*, that there are frequent complaints against us or our pupils for the violation of the church-yards.⁸ There must also have been some progress in material wealth; for the old Hall was built without pecuniary aid, and not only so, but we were able to survive an unfortunate subscription of L.600 sterling, on which we paid up 25 per cent., to the

¹ Records of the Surgeons, 26th February and 16th March 1697.

² It was 35 feet long and about 20 in breadth. See Appendix F.

³ See Appendix G.

⁴ Particularly 23d March 1699 and 3d February 1709. See also 27th May 1709, 13th December 1720, and 1st March 1722. The library was incorporated with that of the University on 8th April 1763.

⁵ In 1702, Dr Pitcairn presented a skeleton, the oldest specimen in our museum; Dr Monro presented another skeleton, 13th September 1718. Both bear inscriptions on the cases inclosing them. Pitcairn designates himself "Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and one of the Chyrurgeon Apothecaries of Edinburgh."

⁶ "Ane egyle" was presented by Monteath, 15th September 1709.

⁷ 6th August 1706.

⁸ 17th May 1711; 24th January 1721; 17th January 1722. On the 2d March 1725, the professor was placed under special regulations on the subject of procuring bodies for dissection.

celebrated South Sea scheme, at the very time when we were about to build.¹ During this period, too, we subscribed a guinea each for a green-house in the "Physick Garden,"² and it was during the same time that most of our pictures were painted.³ By much the larger number of them were by Sir John De Medina. The only original picture of Sir John, painted and presented by himself, is among the number.⁴

The important part which the Corporation of Surgeons acted in relation to the institution of the Royal Infirmary I intend to pass over. It has been largely set forth by others, and it would take up too much of the time allotted to me.

Our erection into a Royal College in 1778 was an important change. By the charter a Widows' Fund was constituted, which, though well intended at the time, was found to be most injurious afterwards, and is now no longer an impediment to the acquisition of our Fellowship. The charter gave us a national position without depriving us of our connection with the civic incorporation. By degrees that connection became less valued, because it was coupled with a control over the choice of our president, which, though rarely exercised by the Town Council, might be so at any time, and was in fact brought once into operation in my time,⁵ to our utmost possible disgust. We made various efforts, both in this and in the last century, to shake off this miserable thralldom, but always ineffectually, till the burgh reform of 1833, to our great satisfaction, made it no longer necessary that our president should be a member of the Town Council, and left us uncontrolled in our choice. We were still, however, one of the incorporations of Edinburgh till the Act and charter of 1851 dissolved what remained of our civic character, and placed beyond all dispute our rights as a national College. These rights *had* been disputed eight years before by the English poor law authorities; and it was only by an opinion of counsel, sought by Sir James Graham, the Secretary for the Home Department, and by the late Lord Macaulay, who was then the

¹ 29th February 1696.

² 5th August 1712.

³ Some curious matter will be found on the subject of pictures, 17th May 1711, and 27th January 1720.

⁴ Portrait shown.

⁵ In the autumn of 1816, the late Dr Gillespie was chosen to be our president, and was excluded from the chair by the Town Council, to whom his politics were not acceptable. He was again chosen two years after, and forced on the Council by a leet [list] consisting of those most unacceptable to that body as then constituted. My friend Dr Maclagan, senior, and I were among the number. The leet consisted of six, of whom the Town Council could exclude any three.

member for Edinburgh, that we were enabled to protect the rights of our numerous licentiates from destruction.¹

I cannot omit here a passing notice of two important events of my own time. The first is the acquisition, in 1826, of two museums, that of the late Dr John Barclay, by bequest, and that of the late Sir Charles Bell, by purchase,—the two constituting, together with our own accumulations, an anatomical collection not inferior to any other in the kingdom, except that of the Royal College of Surgeons of London. The other event is the building of the Hall in which we are now assembled. As the occupant of that chair to which you, Sir, have been so recently and so deservedly called, I had the honour, in 1832, to preside at its inauguration.

The institution of a Professorship of Surgery to this College in 1804, in the person of Dr John Thomson (afterwards Professor of Pathology in the University),² and the subsequent abolition of our professorship some years after the institution of a Chair of Surgery in the University, are also events which I am bound to chronicle, but on which I cannot find time to dilate.

It remains that I should notice with the greatest brevity, a question recently settled, after having weighed heavily, not merely on this College, but on the interests of the whole medical profession, for more than forty years.

Our chartered rights over the practitioners of certain counties were exercised with such liberality to other boards, that I believe no instance can be produced, since the time at least of our becoming a College, of the prosecution of a licensed medical man for settling within our bounds. Even the unqualified have been totally unmolested by us during the memory of the oldest men among us. Our diploma has been by us treated, not as an exclusive license, but as a certificate of professional qualification. A different view of duty was taken by the Apothecaries' Company of London. By their Act of 1815, they acquired a right to prosecute all practitioners, English medical graduates alone excepted, who dispensed medicines to their patients in any part of this island to the south of the Tweed. Their act was an English monopoly against the holders of qualifications derived from Scotland and from Ireland, many of which inferred a higher amount of education than their own. The powers of their act were not left dormant. Holders of the best qualifications were prosecuted, and all who did not hold the license of the Company,

¹ See an account of this transaction, *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, vol ix., p. 452.

² Portrait shown.

even if not prosecuted, were legally disqualified from holding offices essential to success in life. By a long series of remonstrances, the Legislature was at length awakened to the evil; and, after many abortive efforts, has at length established the principle that men legally qualified to practise the healing art in one part of the kingdom shall in future be legally qualified to do so in all parts of it. Our humane profession, which, *in its objects*, knows no local boundaries, is no longer, like the law and the pulpit, local in its rights; "a river here, there an ideal line," no longer circumscribe its beneficent operations; our medical boards are no longer debarred by vicious laws from co-operating for the good of the public and the improvement of the profession; in short, we have now got a real and *bona fide* medical reform. It would be unjust to the modern representatives of the Apothecaries' Company not to add, that, in this memorable struggle, their conduct evinced a becoming sense of what was due from them to the spirit of the age.

The most distinguished apostle of this movement was the late William Wood, by principle a reformer of all wrong things which he had the power to rectify; a man whom it was a happiness to know, and a high privilege to know as an intimate friend. Singularly fitted for his peculiar mission; swift to detect both the good and the bad effects of any given movement; ready alike in statement and in reply; of remarkable liberality and courtesy; of indomitable perseverance; and of the most perfect intrepidity and disinterestedness in the discharge of duty, he made his influence felt by medical reformers in every part of the kingdom, conciliating those whom he opposed, and infusing his own genial spirit into the hearts of many. He lived to see the dawn of the new era which his exertions had so largely contributed to bring about.¹

I must now draw to a conclusion. In reviewing the long list of those who have preceded us, one cannot help being painfully impressed with the conviction that the memory of many excellent characters, and of their deeds, must necessarily have perished.

"Illacrymabiles

Urgentur, ignotique longâ

Nocte, carent quia vate sacro."²

"The evil that men do lives after them,

The good is oft interred with their bones."

It would be more just to say, what in fact was our great dramatist's

¹ It will be satisfactory to the friends of Mr Wood who were not present to know that this short notice called forth a response which was cordial and unanimous.

² Horace, Lib. iv., Od. ix., 26.

meaning, that the *memory* of the evil lives, and that the *memory* of the good often perishes. The great and striking achievements of our Harveys and our Jenners are indeed commemorated. But most of our improvements make less noise, and their sources are too apt to be forgotten. Yet there is reason in this apparent ingratitude; for that which is wrong is remembered in order to be in future avoided, and thus, instead of living after us, is gradually extinguished; whilst that which is right and good is absorbed into our habits, becomes, as it were, a part of ourselves, and far from being buried, perpetually accumulates for the benefit of millions who are necessarily ignorant of the names of their innumerable benefactors. Thus it is that, with us, as with men of other pursuits than ours, science, civilization, and religion are perpetually adding to their beneficent triumphs, acquiring new claims to our gratitude, and impressing us more deeply with the solemnity of our own responsibilities.

I hope that in endeavouring, however imperfectly, to recall to memory some of our past worthies, and of our own unspeakable obligations to them, I may not be considered to have employed altogether without profit the short period that we have been together.

APPENDIX.

(A. p. 7.)—FORM OF AN INDENTURE IN 1653. *Extracted from the Minutes of Evidence in the Borthwick Claim of Peerage. Printed 1812. P. 63.*¹

“THEIR Indentourie maid at Ed^r y^e twentie twa day of Feb^r. I^m VI^c and fyftie three years properlie and bearing leill and suthfast wittnessing in tham selfis, y^t it is apoynt, agreed and finallie ended betwixt y^e parteis following: To wit, betwixt James Borthwick, Chyrurgeon burges of Ed^r, on y^e ane p^t, and W^m Borthwick sone lau^{ll} to Alex^r Borthwick in Johnstoun-bourne, with y^e special advyse and assent of y^e said Alex^r his father takand burding in and upoune him for y^e s^d William his sone as cautioner for him for fulfilling of his p^t of ye indentore under written, and als ye s^d W^m for him sel in manner forme and effect as after followis: That is to say, ye s^d W^m Borthwick, with advyse and assent aforsaid, is become, be ye tenour heirof becomis bound prenteis and servant to y^e said James Borthwick, Chyrurgeon, to his art and callinge of Churgerie and Barbars craft and Pharmacie for all the days, space, years and

¹ These Minutes are obviously printed very inaccurately; and in the present reprint some liberties have been taken for the purpose of obviating errors.

termes of fyve years next, and immediatlie following his entrie y^rto quhilk sall be, God willing, begun y^e day and date heirof, and y^e santh (saxth ?) yeir for meal and fie as he and his s^d mastr can agrie during y^e qlk space y^e s^d W^m Borthwick faithfullie bindies and obleissis him be y^e faith and treuth of his body to serve y^e s^d James Borthwick his mastr, leillie and trewlie, night and day, holy day and week day, in all thinges godlie and honest and sall not know nor heir of his said master's skeath during y^e space afores^d, and sall reveill the same to him and remeid y^e samyne to his power, and sall not absent him self fra his said master's service at na tyme during y^e space and terme in y^e indentor, without the special licence of his s^d master had and obteinet to yat effect, and if he doeth in y^e contrair he obleissies him to serve y^e s^d James Borthwick his mast^r twa dayes for ilk dayes absence efter y^e expyring of y^e indentor, and sall re-found convert and pay to his said Master twa pennies for ilk penny of losse yat y^e s^d James Borthwick his Mastr sall be damnefeit in his default, during y^e space fors^d, and sall not drink extraordinarlie nor play at Cards nor dyce, nor no other unlauffull game, nor have nor frequent na debeist or idle Company quhairby he sall be in any sort drawne fra his Master service, and if it sall happen y^e s^d W^m Borthwick (as God forbid) commit y^e filthie crymes of fornication and adulterie, at anie tyme during y^e space contenit in yir indentor, in that cause he faithfullie binds and obleisses him to serve y^e s^d James Borthwick his Mastr three years efter the expyring of yir indentor in y^e samen estate as if he wer bound prenteis as s^d is, And for y^e s^d W^m Borthwick his lawfullye remayning and fulfilling of y^e premisses, y^e s^d Alex^r Borthwick his father, be the tennor heirof becomes bound and obleist as Cau^r and sourtie and y^e s^d W^m Borthwick binds and obleisses him for his fathers relieff, Lykeas y^e said James Borthwick for the causes abovewritten and for the soume of ane thousand merks money payable be y^e s^d Alex^r Borthwick with y^e s^d W^m Borthwick his sone to y^e s^d James Borthwick in name of prenteis fie, and that at the feast and terme of Witsunday next come precisely I^m VI^c and fyftie three years, but longer delay fraud or guyll, togeder with y^e soume of ane hundred pundis money of liquidate expenses, incase of failzie, by and attour y^e payment of y^e s^d principal soume with y^e ordinar annual-rent y^r of sua long as ye same remayns unpyed efter y^e s^d terme, the said James Borthwick binds and obleisses him to ken, learne, teach and instruct y^e s^d W^m Borthwick his s^d prenteis, in all the poyntes, practiques and wayes of his s^d art and calling of Surgerie, and barbor croft, and pharmacie, and sall not hyd nor conceall na poynt nor pratique hair-of fra him, but

sall do his utter and exact diligence to cause him conceave, learne and understand y^e same, so far as he is able or can do himself, and sall furneis and sustene y^e s^d W^m Borthwick his prenteis sufficientlie at bed and burd during y^e space contenit in thir indentir The said Alex^r Borthwick his father furnishing him in y^e apparel of his body of lynning and wollen, decentlie, as becometh, and according to y^e estate of sic lik ane prenties; Likeas he and his father bindis and obleisses him to content and pay and per'sslye observe of yis present indented by and attour y^e fulfilling of y^e same the soume of ane hundred pundis money of penaltie in case of contravention; And for the mair securitie all the s^{ds} parties ar content and consentis thir presentis be insert and registrat in y^e buikes of y^e hie Court of Justice or any other Judicatories buikes within yis nation to have y^e Strength of ane act and decret of ony of the Judges y^rof and yⁿ auctoritie interpone y^rto, with execution of horning, poynding and warding y^e one but prejudice of y^e other, and y^e horning to be upone ane semple charge of six days allendarlie, and for registrating heirof, makes and constitutes their lawfull prōrs, &c. In witness quhairof thir presentis written be Mr Alex^r Henrysone, proir fiscal to the town of Ed^r and clerk to the chirurgions of the same, ar sub^t be all the saids parteis day year and place fors^d before yir witnesses Mr John Borthwick, Advocate, Walter Borthwick, merchant burges of Ed^r, Mr Richard Cairnes of Pilmore and y^e s^d Mr Alex^r Henrysone.

(Signed)

JA. BORTHWICK.

" J. BORTHWICK, *Witness*.WILLIAM BORTHWICK.¹" WALTER BORTHWICK, *Witness*.

ALEX. BORTHWICK."

" A. HENRYSON, *Witness*." R. CAIRNES, *Witness*.

(B. p. 7, 11.)—EXCERPTS FROM THE OLDER RECORDS OF THE
COLLEGE OF SURGEONS.

Penult day of Martii 1585. The quhilk day, in presence of Henrie Blyth, deakin of the chirurgiaurie, with the maist part of the brethring, comperit personalie Alexander Rattray, barbour, and gaif in his supplicatioun, declarand thairin that he had offendit the said deakin and brethir as his supplicatioun bure: For the quhilk offence he submittit himself to the deakins will and brethir. The said deakin and brethir having red the said supplicatioun, and

¹ The apprentice was a relative of the master. He became a member of the Incorporation of Surgeons on 15th Nov. 1665, and married Marionn, eldest daughter of James Borthwick, 13th Jan. 1666.

therwith being reply [ripely] aduisit, decernis and ordanis the said Alexander to humell him self to the deakin and brethring, and ask thame forgevnes on his kneis, and of his awin consent bindis and oblissis him, that gif evir he fall in the lyk offence, to tyne his fredome of the craft; and therupon the said deakin tuik instrumentis befor the brethring above written.

5 March 1589. Mark Libertoun admitted a barber "*to wit to cow, clip, schaipe and wesche.*" He was to use "na poynt of chirurgie vnder the pane of tynsell of his fredome." He obliged himself to make his "bancat [banquet] and do his dewitie when the brether pleisses"—"and ordanis the said Mark not to haif na signe of chirurgie in his bught nor hous, oppynlie or privatlie, sic as pigis, buistis or chirurgane caiss or box pertening to the chirurganis."

At Edinburcht the sextene day of Julii 1591; anent the admissioun of simpill barbouris: The quhilk day the dekin and maisteris of the chirurgianis within the burght of Edinburcht, having speciall respect to the weelfare of our souerane lordis leiges, and decoratioun of thair craft, conforme to thair seill of caus, statutis and ordanis and be the tenour heirof has statutit and ordanit of thair vniversall consentis and assentis, for thame selffis and thair successouris, that all and quhatsumevir persone that salhappin to be maid maister and freman amang thame in tyme cuming that is nocht abill and expert to abyde and geif ane sufficient tryall and examinatioun of his qualificatioun, science and eruditioun of the art of chirurgie, sall haif na ferdar libertie and privilege bot to clip, cow, schaipe and wesche, allanerlie, without ony ferder libertie or licence to vse and exerce or vther poyntis of the airt of chirurgie; and ordanis all personis to be ressaut heirefter to subscriue this foirsaid ordinance at thair admissioun in maister and freman of the barbour craft, and to geif thair bodilie aith to obserue and keip the samyn vnder the panis of periurie defamatioun and tynsell of thair fredome for euir.

30 March 1603. The quhilk day Williame Lawsoun is admittit to the fredome and libertie of ane barbour, viz. to kow, schave, wasche and to mak aquavitie allanerlie: Lykeas the said Williame binds and oblissis him that he sall nawayis vse the arte of chirurgie within the libertie of this burght vnder the pane of tuentie pundis to be payit be him toties quoties incais he contraveine, and sall act him in the tounes bukis heirto vnder the pane foirsaid: For the quhilk admissioun, the said Williame hes payit twenty merkis in respect of his payment maid of befor.

20 March 1645. The quhilk day in presens of the deakin and masteris of the chyrurgianes, to wott, Alexander Penycuik, David

Douglas, Johne Scott, Andro Walker, David Kennedy, James Ker, Johne Murray, James Borthwick, burges of this burgh, haueing presentit himselff to be admittit ane master and frie chyrurgiane conforme to his supplicatioun gevin in thairanent of befoir, and thair-efter dew tryell and examinatioun takin of his qualificatioun, they have found the said James sufficientlie qualefeit and therfor vpone favour and in respect he hes exercsed the operatiouns of chirurgerie, both at home and abroad, in service with some of the present maisteris, and, namelie, with the said Alexander Penycuik the deakin himselff, he is admittit to be ane frie chyrurgiane and barbour in and amang thame, nochtwithstanding of any actes maid heirtofoir in the contrar, quha hes gevin his aith of fidelite, and that he sall observe, keep and fullfill all the poyntes of thair seall of cause (except Idolatrie contenit thairin, and speciallie that poynt thairof anent desceting of anatomie for the farder instructioun of prentissis and servandis, and that he sall meantayne and defend the liberteis and previledges of thair calling alreadie quhich they have, or that they sal-happin to obteane or purches heirefter: And doth accept in and vpone him to be officer till ane new intrant, and hes payit the soume of tua hundreth pundis for his vpset to the box, togidder with the clerk and officeris fieis: Wherupone this present act is maid and subscriuit be the clerk.

J. HENRYSOUN.

15 July 1647. David Kennedy and James Borthwick reported that they had taken as a house of meeting for the craft "thre rowmes of ane tenement of land in Diksone Close, for payment of fourtie poundis zeirlye."

17 July 1671. William Wood barber in Portsburgh transgressed his act of admission in working barber-craft within Heriot's Hospital, without the bounds of Portsburgh, and "als had proven disobedient to the deacon for quhich he was incarcerat within the tolbuith of Edinburgh, and that since his incarceration he persests maletiouslie in his disobedience without making applection unto the calling: Therefore the saidis deacon, masters and brethren suspends the said William Wood from the exercise of his calling, and ordains his signe to be taken down during the callings pleasure."

17 July 1671. The quhilk day the deacon, masters and brethren of the Incorporation of Chirurgions of Edinburgh being convened, and taking to their consideration that David Pringle chirurgeon, one of their number, hes transgressed the acts of the calling in his employing infriemen to work in Heriot's Hospital quhich is within their liberties, and in pleading for William Wood barber who is

disobedient to the calling and who is incarcerat therefore, and in pleading and acting against the liberties and freedoms of the calling, and in being disobedient and refractory to the deacon and calling, and persists contumaciously therein: Therefore the said deacon, masters and brethren of the said Incorporatione, ordains the said David Pringle to be incarcerat within the Tolbuith of Edinburgh for the caussis forsaid, therein to remaine ay and while he give the calling satisfaction."

June 1678. John Rainald fined L.20 for bloodletting etc. before his admission as a surgeon.

(C. p. 9.)—THE CRISIS OF 1657. *Extracts from Records of the Town Council.*

1st June 1657. Appoints Thesr of the Counsell formerly nominat to continue of new again with the apothecars and Chirurgeons for assisting of them in their just right before the Councill of state against the passing of the patent for the erection of the Colledge of Medicines (qu. Medicinars?)

19th June 1657. Compeared Patrick Hepburne, Samuel Hunter, Thomas Kincaid, David Kennedie and with others of the apothecars and Chirurgeon apothecars, and gave in the supplication underwritten desyring the samen to be insert in the Counsell books and to have the Counsell's approbation thereof and some of the Counsell appoynted for concurrence conforme to the bill which the Counsell thought reasonable and ordained the samen to be insert, whereof the tennor follows Unto the Rt Hon^l the Provost Baillies and Counsell of the Burgh of Edinburgh the petitioun of the apothecars and Chirurgeon apothecars there humbly sheweth That where it has pleased your ws [worships] to imploy the Lord Provost your ws commissioner at London in defence of our just right and priviledge graunted and established be your ws for our favors whereby we have found the reall effects of his Lops paines for all which we acknowledge ourselfis bound in dewty to give you and his Lop heartie thanks and in conscience to maintain the said right in every poynt to the outmost of our power, and seeing we have to do with a strong pairtie who will labour to subvert our right so that it will be requisite to have the countenance of your ws assistance both in word and work as formerlie without whose advyce and counsell we can not move our humble desyre to your ws is to appoynt some of your ws number to concurre and assist us for the maintenance of our right befor his Highness Counsell where it now lyes seeing your Lops is so much concerned therein and our priviledges aforesaid aimed to be sub-

verted which we are so strictlie tyed and obleidged to maintein and your ws &c swa subscriyves John Hamiltoun (J ?) Hepburne, Thos. Kincaid Ja. Borthwick J. Foulis David Kennedy, Neil Murdo Jas. Calander John Kennedy, Robt. Kennedy D. Scott Walter Turnbull Hew Neilson William Hendry.¹ The Counsell having considered this supplication approves of the samen on all poynts and ordains the samen to remain in retentis for the warrand of the act and ap-poyntes Robert Murray baillie George Cleghorne and William Thomsons clerk to concurre with the comittee of the burrows and assist the petitioners before the Counsell of state and whatsumever other judicatrice in defence of the rights and priviledges of the Burgh and the apothecars and Chirurgeon apothecars their rights and priviledges against the patent of the doctors of medicine where- anent thir p'nts shall be their warrand.

(D. p. 17.)—ROBERT ELLIOT'S APPOINTMENT TO BE THE FIRST PROFESSOR OF ANATOMY.

Extract from the Surgeons' Records.

1st Feby 1705. The Deacon etc being conveened and taking into their consideration certain proposalls given in unto them be Robert Elliot one of their own number bearing that sundry of the Society were informed of a person now in this city that designed to apply to this society for their allowance and encouragement in the publick and privat teaching of anatomie, and for that end was to offer to them the giving of their apprentices and servants the benefit of public dissections and demonstrations yearly gratis, he having access to the bodies they have a right to, the use of their theatre and benefit of teaching their apprentices and servants in his private colledge—So after considering the designe of the forsaid gentleman the said Robert Elliot did humbly judge it would no less tend to the credit of this honourable boord to allow and appoint such of their own number as make the same offer especially seeing they have already begun it in their own persons, and for that end did offer his service this way, hoping the table would favourable construe of this his forward offer, and at the same time rather imputt it to a desire of preventing extraneous hands in meddling in their matters than any prospect that he can have in view this way—And if the calling shall be pleased to allow to the said Robert Elliot upon the foresaid conditions the benefitt of these bodies spolk of and their theatre for

¹ Kincaid, Borthwick, D. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, and W. Turnbull, were Surgeons; the rest Apothecaries.

what is publick and the encouragement he may reasonable expect from their apprentices and servants in what he does in a private colledge he shall not fail (through Divine assistance) to give all possible care etc."

This offer was accepted on the terms expressed.

Extract from the Town Council Records.

29 Augt 1705. The same day anent the petition given in be Robert Elliot Chyrurgeon apothecary, burgess of Edinburgh SHEWING that whereas it being the practice of the best regulate cities to give encouragement to the professing and teaching of liberal arts and sciences for the education of youth to the great benefite and advantage of the place, and the petitioner by ane act of the incorporation of the Chirurgeon-apothecaries of this city unanimously elected their public dissector of anatomie, the petitioner was of intencion to make ane public profession and teaching thereof for instructing of youth to serve her majesty's lieges both at home and abroad in her armies and fleets which he hoped by the blessing of God would be ane mean in saving much money to the natione expended in teaching anatomie in forraigne places, beside the preventing of many dangers and inconveniencies to which youth are exposed in their travells to other countries; and the Petitioner finding this undertaking will prove expensive, and cannot be done without suitable encouragement, hes therefore laid the matter before the Council who have been always ready to give encouragement to such undertakings, and therefore craved the Council to consider the premisses and to remitt to ane committee of their number to hear and receive what proposals the petitioner had to make for setting up the said professione and to report as the petition bears; which being considered be the Council they remitted the consideratione of the samme to ane committee of their own number, who accordingly reported that they having considered the above petitione were of opinion that the professione of anatomie was very necessar and usefull to the natione and might be very helpfull to the youth that follow that art, and might prevent much needless expenses spent by them abroad; and in regard the petitioner was by the Incorporation of Chirurgeons unanimously chosen for that effect, therefore the Committee were of opinion that the petitioner should have ane yearly allowance of what soume the Council should think fit towards the encouragement and defraying his charges and expenses theranent with the express provisione and conditione that the petitioner take exact notice and inspectione of the rarities in the Colledge, and that ane exact inventar be made of the same and given in to

the Councill—And also to keep the said rarities in good order and conditione during the said allowance as the report under the hands of the Committee bears : WHICH being considered be the Councill they with the extraordinary deacons approved therof and for the petitioner's encouragement to goe on in the same professione they allow the petitioner fifteen pound sterline money of yearly sallarie, and appoints the present and succeeding colledge Theasurers to pay the same to him termly, beginning the first term's payment thereof at Candlemas next to come, and thence furth termly thereafter dureing the Councill's pleasure upon the provisione and conditione always mentioned in the said report.

(E. pp. 17, 18.)—DRUMMOND AND M'GILL.

While correcting the proofs, I have received some interesting information regarding Drummond. He was one of the Drummonds of Megginch, an old and well-known Perthshire family. His father was Adam Drummond of Megginch, a privy councillor of Scotland, and (1695) one of the commissioners to inquire into the massacre of Glencoe. His mother was Alison, daughter of John Hay of Hays-toun, and he is himself designated¹ Adam Drummond of Binend. His wife's name was Margaret Spittal. Their daughter Elizabeth married James Stuart of Dunearn, great-grandson of the third Earl of Moray, and chief magistrate of Edinburgh in 1764 and 1768. Dr Charles Stuart of Dunearn, who lived in George Square about 35 years ago, was a son of that marriage, and the father of several sons and daughters. His eldest son, James Stuart of Dunearn, W.S., a well-known citizen of Edinburgh, died childless in 1849. There are numerous living descendants of the Doctor, from some of whom, and especially from Dr Charles Stuart of Chirnside, and George Burnett, Esq., Advocate, my information regarding the family of Adam Drummond is chiefly derived. George Drummond, the Lord Provost, whose bust by Nollekins adorns the Hall of the Royal Infirmary, is asserted by Bower² to have been nearly related to Adam Drummond, but I have reason to think this statement to be inaccurate. There are no living descendants of Adam Drummond who bear his name.

Drummond was the Chairman of the Surgeons in the two years succeeding to Michaelmas 1748. He was alive on 21st February 1759, but his name is not found in a list on the 16th May following.³ He therefore probably died between those dates.

¹ On the authority of George Home Drummond, Esq., younger of Blair Drummond.

² Vol. II., p. 185.

³ Records of the Surgeons.

I have not been able to trace the family of M'Gill. But I refer my readers to the old Edinburgh Medical Essays [Vol. II., and V., Part 2] for unequivocal evidence of his enterprise as a practical surgeon and operator.

(F. p. 22.)—The lithograph from Mr Rhind's drawing represents the Hall as it was a century ago. About 100 feet in front of it is seen a gate in a screen-wall, which is terminated by two edifices often mentioned in the minutes as the "pavilions." The west pavilion was sold, 19th January 1778, for the uses of the High School. Neither pavilion existed in my time. The area inclosed by the screen received the name of Surgeons' Square when buildings had been erected on its east and west sides. On the west stood the Hall of the Medical Society, and, immediately to the south of it, the Anatomical Theatre of Dr Barclay. The east side was chiefly occupied by private dwellings, only one of which remains. To the south-west of the west end of the Hall, stood, in a recess, Dr John Thomson's class-room. To the south-east of the east end of it, there yet stands a house which was for some time the class-room of Mr John Bell, the eminent surgeon. The whole area of Surgeons' Square, once the property of the College, is now that of the Royal Infirmary. Part of the second or Flodden city wall is seen in the background. The sides of the Hall for the meetings of the College, in the building of 1697, were finished with oak, which, cut into smaller pannels, now adorns the Committee-rooms of the Hall in Nicolson Street. The sculptured stones, seen under the two round windows in the lithograph, are now to be seen in the front of the Medical Lecture Rooms belonging to the College, immediately behind their Hall. The lower tier of windows and doorway are unchanged. Everything above them has been altered. The silver badge worn by the officer is 162 years old, having been ordered on 18th March 1698.

(G. p. 22.)—PLACES OF MEETING OF THE SURGEONS PRIOR TO 1697.

In very ancient times the incorporation was in the habit of assembling in the house of the Deacon.¹ On the 15th July 1647, they hired premises "in Diksone close, for L.40 yearly."² On the 18th May 1669 they came to the resolution to build a "conveening-house;" and it is probable that, when the Hall of 1697 was constructed, some part of that older Hall was incorporated with it; for in the resolution to build already quoted, the word "*rebuild*" is

¹ See Records of Surgeons, 26th September 1591.

² See *ante*, page 30.

employed; and the words "build, *repaire*, and have in readiness," quoted from the Town Council resolution of 1694,¹ point to the same conclusion. It is also certain that "the old convening house," wherever situate, was in existence at a later date.² In some of the remaining windows of the east end there is a difference in the style of the finishing, which makes it probable that these belonged to the old convening house.

*Excerpts from Records of College of Surgeons in regard to the
Erection of the First "Convening House."*

18th May 1669. The quhilk day, in presence of Thomas Carter, Deaken, Alexander Penycuik, James Borthuik, Thomas Kincaid, James Clelland, Walter Trumble, David Pringle, Adam Darling, George Scot, Johne Forest, Samuel Cheslie, Johne Joyssie, Hew Broun, William Borthuik, James Ogelbie, being convened in their meating house, and it being proposed by the deaken quhat they wold do anent the building of their convening house, they do voluntarlie offer each of thame vnanimouslie to giff and lend ane hundreth pundis to be imployd thairvpon, and withall ordanes the deaken to convene the remanent members of the calling that ar absent at this meating, with thess that ar heir mentionat, and to require and desyre of thame to do the lyk, and that the deaken go speidlie about this bussines, to the effect the house may be put up this yeir now efter so long delay, and thess that gevis sall haue their names put vp, and thess that onlye sall lend sall not have their names set vp but their money restoired when the calling may convenientlie do so without entres.

25 May 1669. The sederunt of this day meating with thess that wer formerlie meat of the aughtene of Maii of that sederunt, doeth all vnamouslie agrie, except William Temple, to giff or lend each of thame ane hundreth pundis vpone the conditiones and provisiones contened in the act of the aughtene of maii, provyding alewayes everie one of the members of the calling ather giff or lend, and therfor the calling now ordanes the deaken with MRS to convene thess that ar absent both in this sederunt and the former one to sei iff they will assent or dissent to geving or lending, as wes formerlie proponit, and to that effect to wryt to Andro Broun to know his mynd theranent, and the deaken and members to report to the calling at the nixt meating quho ar disasenteris and impederis of this work, and their names to be set doune in the buik to the effect they may be knowen.

¹ See page 17 *ante*.