

THE BOOK  
OF THE  
OLD EDINBURGH  
CLUB

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The Journal for  
Edinburgh History



A. D. C. Simpson, 'James Hamilton's "Lying-In" Hospital at Park House and the Status of Midwifery Instruction in the Edinburgh Medical School', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, New Series 3 (1994), pp. 131–141.

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This article is extracted from **The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, The Journal for Edinburgh History** ISSN 2634-2618

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## *Reekiana*

### JAMES HAMILTON'S 'LYING-IN' HOSPITAL AT PARK HOUSE AND THE STATUS OF MIDWIFERY INSTRUCTION IN THE EDINBURGH MEDICAL SCHOOL

A D C SIMPSON

THE NATIONAL MUSEUMS OF SCOTLAND have recently acquired an engraved Edinburgh University diploma for attendance at the obstetrics course given by James Hamilton, professor of midwifery, in the session 1835–36.<sup>1</sup> An unexpected feature of the diploma was the incorporation of a previously unrecorded vignette view of Hamilton's maternity hospital at Park House, which had been converted to a 'lying-in' (or midwifery) hospital by his father and predecessor in the chair, Alexander Hamilton, in 1793. This view, which shows the north entrance front of the house (fig. 1), indicates how Alexander Hamilton had originally intended to add statuary to the pediment to represent the aims of the establishment and the support of his patrons, the Town Council.<sup>2</sup> An earlier and less sophisticated version of the view, engraved by Hector Gavin (fig. 2), has now been found in two states on Hamilton dip-lomas of 1798 and 1807.<sup>3</sup>

It was the link with James Hamilton's teaching in the University that prompted the acquisition of the diploma by the National Museums. One of the problems presented by the requirement to develop historical displays for the new Museum of Scotland, currently under construction in Edinburgh, is that of illustrating comparatively abstract concepts in terms of museum objects. An example of this is the significant and progressive reform process of the administrative and educational structure of the Scottish universities in the nineteenth century, eventually embodied in the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858.

An important consequence of the Act for

Edinburgh University, Scotland's first post-Reformation university, was that patronage ceased to be vested solely in the Town Council and authority was instead passed to a newly instituted University Court. The University (and particularly the medical school) had prospered under an enlightened appointments policy operated by the Town Council in the eighteenth century;<sup>4</sup> however, by the early nineteenth century the holders of financially secure chairs were increasingly complacent and the University as an institution had become more resistant to change. A protracted quarrel on several fronts developed between the University's Senate and the Town Council (broadly covering the rights to make and interpret regulations which were binding on students), and this led the Senate to appeal to George IV for his intervention, although the result was a more radical and wide-ranging investigation than the Senate had anticipated. It was this process, taken forward by subsequent commissions, that culminated eventually in the reforming Act of 1858.<sup>5</sup>

The specific impetus for the appointment of a Royal Commission of visitation to the Scottish universities in 1826 was a heated dispute over whether the midwifery course should be accepted as a compulsory subject for the MD degree at Edinburgh and whether James Hamilton, professor of midwifery, should be considered as a member of the Medical Faculty. In his case against his colleagues on the Senate, Hamilton enlisted the support of the Town Council, as the formal Patrons of the University, and the issue was eventually decided in favour of Hamilton and the Town Council in the Court of

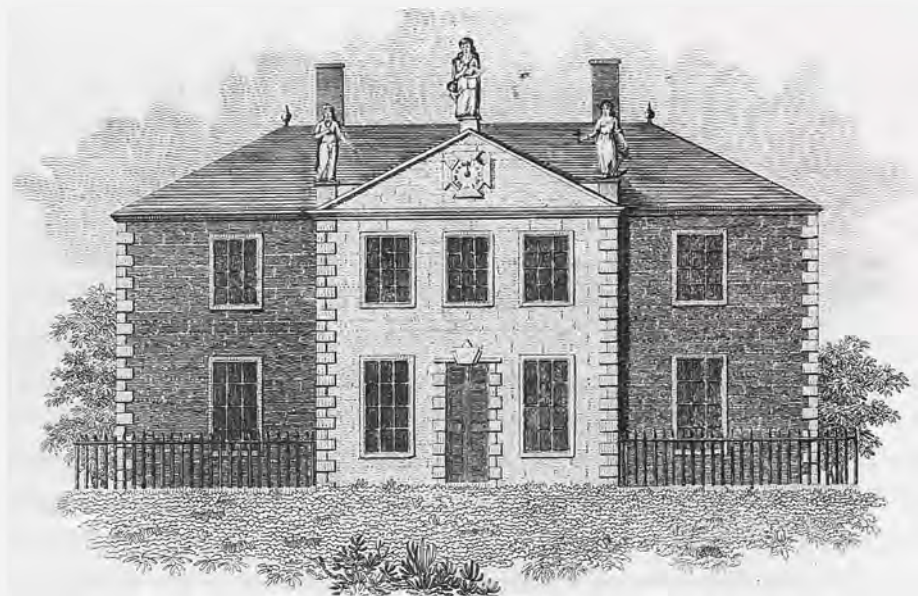


Fig. 1. Hamilton's Lying-in Hospital at Park House, from an obstetrics diploma of 1836. (Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland; T.1994.3.)

Session. Hamilton's success, and the circumstances that led to the appointment of the Royal Commission, can be illustrated in the display by the use of the Hamilton midwifery diploma, issued in 1836 after the Senate motions censuring Hamilton had been annulled. The student who was awarded this particular diploma, James Edwards, went on to graduate in 1837.<sup>6</sup>

Park House was a small but charming early eighteenth century mansion in the rural suburbs immediately to the south of the old city wall. It was demolished some time after the hospital moved to new premises in 1842, and its appearance has been known only from a single engraved illustration published by Storer in 1820 (fig. 3).<sup>7</sup> It has been given a number of names, but the earliest recorded is Ross House, and it is shown as Lord Ross's house on William Edgar's 1742 *Plan of the City and Castle of Edinburgh*. Perhaps the most obvious significance of this property to Edinburgh is that its park land, to the south of the house, was obtained by the entrepreneur James Brown in 1761 for the development of George (or rather George's) Square, the first major planned

extension of the City.<sup>8</sup> It was the association with the prominent building activities in the park of Ross House that led to the house subsequently being renamed as Park House.

Ross House was built by George, 13th Lord Ross of Hawkhead in Renfrewshire, as his Edinburgh residence.<sup>9</sup> His father, who died in 1738, had been a prominent figure in the Scottish establishment who was a representative peer for Scotland and had been Queen Anne's Lord High Commissioner for the Church and a Commissioner for the Union in 1707. The son was appointed Governor of Edinburgh Castle in 1738 and subsequently became a Commissioner for Customs and Salt. The land on which Ross House was built was negotiated in 1737-38;<sup>10</sup> and the house was shown in place on Edgar's 1742 plan.

The position of the house was certainly very convenient for access to the old town: the gateway to the grounds was at the angle of the city wall at the junction of the present-day Bristo Place and Teviot Place, just outside the Bristo Port. A 60-yard avenue through a plantation led to an opening centred on a

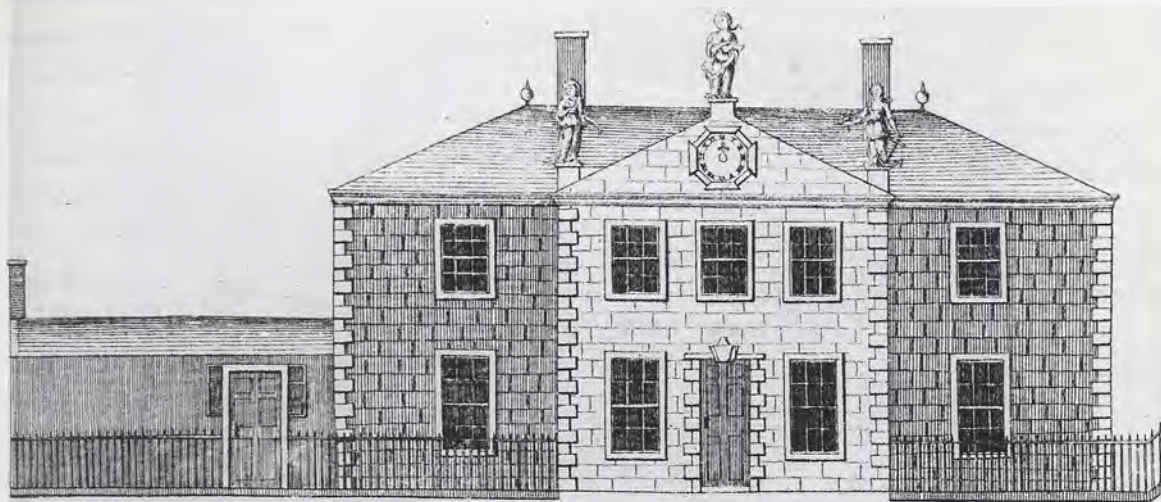


Fig. 2. Park House, engraved by Hector Gavin, from a midwife diploma of 1798. (Private collection, reproduced with permission.)

single massive tree in front of the house. The grounds totalled 24 (Scots) acres between Bristo Street and Chapel Street on the east and what became Middle Meadow Walk (the boundary with George Watson's Hospital) on the west, of which 17 acres were in the field on which George Square was built.

The house itself was a two-storey hipped-roof villa of droved ashlar with a sunken basement and a central projecting pedimented entrance front of three bays. Storer's view (fig. 3) and the Gavin elevation (fig. 2) show the addition of a single-storey wing to the east, which is also seen on John Ainslie's plan of c. 1780.<sup>11</sup> The architect of the original house has not been identified with certainty, although the novelist and commentator Henry Mackenzie attributed it to a member of the Adam family. In an anecdote about John Adam (the oldest of William Adam's three architect sons) and his habit of involving clients in increased payments on variations and improvements to costed schemes, Mackenzie stated that three of the best Edinburgh houses were all by John Adam, namely Minto House (within the town walls) and Ross House and Fyfe House (both to the south of the wall).<sup>12</sup> Of these, Minto House is now known to have

been the work of William Adam (although he had by this time been joined in business by John), and so it is possible that Ross House should also be attributed to William Adam – certainly it includes features reminiscent of William Adam's designs for grander projects.<sup>13</sup>

In the case of Ross House, Mackenzie's confusion about the architect's identity is perhaps understandable, because John Adam did at one time own the property. Lord Ross died at Ross House in 1754, and his unmarried heir died very soon afterwards. When the house was sold in 1756 John Adam bought it, probably as a speculative venture, and it was he who sold the estate ground to the south of the house to James Brown.<sup>14</sup> The property was first advertised in 1761,<sup>15</sup> when the house was described as comprising a large dining-room, drawing-room, dressing room, six bed chambers, several closets and garrets; in the ground storey, kitchen, larder, pantry, milk-house, laundry, cellars, and accommodation for servants ... a stable for ten horses, a large coach house, large hay lofts, and a wash-house.

It was re-advertised in 1765, together with a number of other properties, as John Adam tried to recoup his losses after the collapse of his Edinburgh bankers,



Fig. 3. The Lying-in Hospital, from Storer's *Views in Edinburgh and its Vicinity*, 1820. (David C. Simpson.)

but this was perhaps the only one of these properties to sell – the park went to James Brown, whereas the house and the land surrounding it was sold to George Lockhart of Carnwath.<sup>16</sup> Lockhart renamed it Bristo House, and its superior situation was emphasised in 1769 when Mrs Lockhart advertised it for let as 'the very best of the houses about Edinburgh, well furnished with every convenience to accommodate a large family'.<sup>17</sup>

The Edinburgh chair of midwifery had been established by the Town Council in 1726, at the same time as four new medical chairs whose holders constituted the University's Medical Faculty, or examining board for medical degrees. (A fifth member of the Faculty, from 1757, was the existing professor of anatomy, whose chair was now considered to be of 'medicine and anatomy'.) The teaching of the first two professors of midwifery was very largely restricted to the training of the town's midwives, but Thomas Young, who secured the chair in 1756, certainly taught medical students as well.<sup>18</sup> The spur to his appointment may have been the arrangement Young made in 1755 with the Managers

of the Royal Infirmary (to which he was an attendant surgeon) to fit up an eight-bed attic ward for maternity patients, who were technically outside the hospital's remit.<sup>19</sup> Here he provided clinical instruction in obstetrics to complement his formal lectures, with the running costs being shared with the Managers, and with the Infirmary's funds benefiting from the sale of student tickets issued to Young's pupils. After nearly twenty-five years as professor, Young persuaded the council to appoint Alexander Hamilton as co-holder of the chair in 1780, and Hamilton took over the full duties on Young's death in 1783.

Alexander Hamilton (1739–1802) was Deacon of the Edinburgh Incorporation of Surgeon-Apothecaries when in 1777 the case was forcefully pressed for the establishment of a separate chair of surgery at the University, and in the process Hamilton strongly criticised Alexander Monro *Secundus*, the professor of anatomy, for being able to teach only the rudiments of surgery.<sup>20</sup> This pressure was eventually to lead to the imposition of a regius chair of surgery in the University, but for some time

Monro successfully resisted erosion of his claimed monopoly over the official instruction in anatomy, surgery, and indeed midwifery, and he was able to obtain a new commission from the Town Council as Patrons of the University defining his medical chair as being in both anatomy and surgery.<sup>21</sup>

The Surgeons felt particularly aggrieved that Monro *Secundus*, unlike his father, did not initially train as a surgeon but had taken a medical degree and joined the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, yet attendance at his course of anatomy and surgery was required for graduation. Their view of Young was little better: although he had been Deacon of the Surgeons at the time of his appointment to the midwifery chair in 1756, he had subsequently taken an MD at Edinburgh, resigned from the Surgeons and been admitted a Fellow of the Physicians in 1762. Deacon Hamilton was concerned that this precedent should not be used by the Town Council to block a surgeon succeeding Young when he retired, and Hamilton's personal animosity can probably be detected here because Hamilton was already teaching midwifery and had published his first textbook, *Elements of the Practice of Midwifery*, in 1775.<sup>22</sup>

In spite of Young's academic credentials, his Fellowship in the Physicians did not bring with it the right to act as an examiner for the medical degree and therefore to become a member of the Medical Faculty: unlike Monro's course, his own remained optional for graduating students (restricting his potential earnings from class fees and denying him a share of graduation fees) and so he was accepted only as a member of the Senate.<sup>23</sup> The position of his successor, Alexander Hamilton, was very similar. Hamilton obtained an MD from St Andrews when he took over the responsibility for teaching midwifery from Young in 1783. Although he was initially unable to join the College of Physicians, which for a time considered practising in midwifery to be incompatible with membership, he did obtain his Licence

and subsequently his Fellowship before his son James became his assistant in 1788.<sup>24</sup> However, membership of the Medical Faculty eluded him and it was left to James Hamilton, his more confrontational successor, to fight for and eventually secure what he felt were his full professorial rights.

The lecture courses offered by Young and Hamilton were given twice, to separate classes of midwives and male students, and they proved very popular – so much so that the size of the student class greatly exceeded the seating capacity of their university classroom. The temporary expedient of using the logic classroom was inconvenient because of the necessity of removing the professors' apparatus and 'machines' (articulated delivery models) after each lecture, but in 1782 Young and Hamilton were granted the use of a much larger room recently vacated by the university chemistry class.<sup>25</sup>

However, lack of increased accommodation for clinical instruction was also a serious obstacle. Young had been able to persuade the Managers of the Infirmary to increase the number of maternity beds that they maintained from four to six (and two further were available at the professor's expense), and to extend the availability of the ward to an eight-month period. Hamilton did not consider that this was adequate for his teaching needs, but the Managers were finding that the lying-in ward was proving increasingly inconvenient to the smooth running of the hospital, particularly with the press of students requiring admission 'at all hours of the day and night'. Finally, in late 1791, the Managers lost patience and demanded that Hamilton establish an independent maternity hospital away from the Royal Infirmary.<sup>26</sup>

Hamilton's response was to launch an ambitious proposal in December 1791 for the establishment of a 'General Lying-in Hospital'.<sup>27</sup> Specifically, this was to be a charitable foundation for the poor, supported by public subscription and managed by a

board of directors under the chairmanship of the Lord Provost, and in addition it was to provide clinical instruction for medical students and midwives. In December 1792 the Town Council granted the subscribers incorporated status as 'The Society for Relieving Indigent Pregnant Women'.<sup>28</sup> By this time Hamilton had purchased a building, but in June 1792 the Infirmary Managers felt obliged to agree to a year's extension to his use of the attic lying-in ward when he assured them that<sup>29</sup>

he had purchased the house formerly belonging to Gen. McKay for the projected Lying-in Hospital but as said house was at present occupied by a Tenant for the current year and after his removal [would] require alterations to render it commodious for the purpose intended which would necessarily prevent it from being opened for the reception of patients till October 1793.

Lt-General Alexander Mackay, Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, who had purchased Ross House from the Lockharts, died in 1789; but the house, its grounds now reduced by the removal of further building plots, had remained unsold.<sup>30</sup> Hamilton apparently gained access in May 1793, the date given in the published *Regulations* of the hospital for the purchase of 'that house and area entered from Bristo-Street commonly called Ross House'.<sup>31</sup> Alterations were duly completed and the first patients were admitted at the beginning of November 1793.

From about this time Alexander's eldest son, James Hamilton (1767–1839), played a prominent part in his affairs.<sup>32</sup> At the age of 21 and newly qualified as a Fellow of the College of Surgeons, James assisted Alexander in his practice from 1788. He then took an MD at St Andrews in 1792 and joined the College of Physicians (after which he was always known as James Hamilton *Junior* to distinguish him from another prominent Edinburgh physician). It was as 'Assistant Physician' to the Lying-in Hospital – his father being the 'Ordinary Physician' – that he published his *Select Cases in Midwifery* in 1795, an extended account of patients treated in the hospital's

first fifteen months of operation.<sup>33</sup> A manuscript case-book of James Hamilton's in-patients for the period 1793–94 survives, and this shows that he, with the assistance of a number of 'annual students' (namely those paying for extended courses), had charge of a significant proportion of the cases.<sup>34</sup>

Hamilton's *Select Cases* of 1795 contains a description of the interior of Park House: <sup>35</sup>

It consists of two stories besides a sunk one. The first of these contains two large wards, a room for the meeting of the governors, a small laboratory, and a delivery room. One of the wards is appropriated to undelivered married women. When in labour the woman is carried into the delivery room, and after she is delivered, is conveyed in the bed on which she has lain during labour, into the ward allotted to lying-in women. In each ward there are seven beds. The second floor consists of six bed rooms, which according to the original plan were intended for unmarried women. But as the funds of the Hospital have hitherto been very scanty, while the applications of married women for admission have been more numerous than could be complied with, the Directors have been obliged to refuse admitting unmarried women, unless under very particular circumstances of distress. – And consequently, the principal use of these rooms is to lodge women whose situation is dangerous.

A high level of care was provided for in-patients, including a small maternity grant on discharge – so that the patient 'may not feel any immediate distress from her change of situation'.<sup>36</sup> Since the subscriptions had amounted to 'a mere trifle' in the first two years, and remained inadequate, the charitable work of the Hospital was funded largely from the Hamiltons' very successful private practice.<sup>37</sup> In 1801 a special appeal was launched by the Lord Provost as President of the Subscribers to raise contributions to £200 per annum (noting that the sale of student tickets already raised £60 a year) because the accumulated debt for the purchase of the house and running costs had reached £1900.<sup>38</sup> By 1832, over 4500 patients had been delivered in the Hospital and over 7500 attended at their homes, but the direct expense of more than £8500 (excluding any accommodation costs) had led to the build up of a

substantial debt to James Hamilton.<sup>39</sup> This was sufficient for Hamilton's daughters to need to realise his estate after his death and the house was sold in 1842, making it necessary for James Young Simpson, Hamilton's successor, to buy back the fittings and to rent other accommodation.<sup>40</sup>

James Hamilton progressively took over his father's university duties as well as his medical duties. In 1798 the Town Council permitted him to assist his father in lecturing, and in 1800 he was appointed Alexander's successor in the chair of midwifery.<sup>41</sup> It was not uncommon for suitably qualified sons to fall heir to their father's medical chairs at Edinburgh, but it is not always appreciated that there was often a sound financial reason for this, namely the provision of a pension for the father. Unusually, in this instance the private contract between Alexander and James Hamilton survives, and this reveals that James guaranteed to provide half of his gross income from class fees to his father – half his university salary with no liability for expenses.<sup>42</sup>

Another area of active collaboration was the preparation of medical textbooks on obstetrics and the diseases of women and children, which appeared in many editions over an extended period.<sup>43</sup> So effective was this collaboration that Andrew Duncan *Senior*, professor of the Institutes of Medicine, noted 'that in some of the volumes we hardly know what is the father's and what the son's'.<sup>44</sup>

James Hamilton was described by Robert Christison, professor of medical jurisprudence (which, like midwifery, was an optional medical course), as 'a man of great energy and alertness, and a powerful lecturer', but also as an 'unfeeling critic' whose 'language was apt to be unmeasured: whence quarrels arose'.<sup>45</sup> Hamilton was not the only controversialist at the University, and he was well matched by James Gregory, professor of the practice of medicine, in a fierce dispute about a pamphlet published in 1792 under the name of 'J. Johnson

Esq.' entitled *A Guide for Gentlemen studying Medicine at the University of Edinburgh*.<sup>46</sup> This survey of the range and content of medical teaching at Edinburgh was critical of several of the university professors (notably Daniel Rutherford, professor of medicine and botany, who had earlier opposed Alexander Hamilton's membership of the Physicians), whereas unstinting praise was heaped on the excellence of the midwifery course and the quality of the Hamiltons as teachers – so much so that James Hamilton was soon suspected of having written it as a form of advertisement.

James Gregory took up the cudgels against James Hamilton, both metaphorically and physically. The matter was discussed inconclusively in the Senate in December 1792, and so Gregory penned two sharply critical anti-Hamilton pamphlets. James Hamilton's lengthy reply to these charges infuriated Gregory, who took the opportunity of beating Hamilton with his walking stick when he next met him.<sup>47</sup> In the subsequent assault case Hamilton was awarded £100 damages by the courts, and Gregory was said to have claimed that he would gladly pay double if he could do the same again.<sup>48</sup>

Hamilton's next serious brush with his colleagues began in 1815 when he applied formally to the Senate to be made a member of the Medical Faculty and to have midwifery made a compulsory subject for graduation in medicine. This time the opposition was led by Thomas Charles Hope, professor of chemistry and medicine, and in 1816 the Medical Faculty blocked Hamilton's claim.<sup>49</sup>

However, an opportunity to raise the matter again occurred when changes to examination regulations were proposed in the Senate and the members of the Medical Faculty found themselves at odds with their non-medical colleagues. This time Hamilton appealed directly to the Town Council as Patrons of the University, stressing the essential part that his course played in the medical curriculum, particularly



in the light of his expanded teaching on the diseases of women and infants, and arguing that he required a new commission to acknowledge the status of his subject and his rights as a full medical professor.<sup>50</sup>

The Town Council again forwarded Hamilton's petition to the Senate, indicating an intention to agree to his request; but again the Medical Faculty rejected it, recognising perhaps that there were now chairs in other non-compulsory medical subjects whose holders would make similar claims. However, the Senate overreached itself in replying to the Town Council that the right to set the course of study for the medical degree was amongst the powers and privileges which it reserved exclusively to itself. (This stance was surprising, considering that the Senate had found itself obliged to bow to the Town Council only a few years earlier over a similar issue concerned with the setting of graduation fees.) The Town Council responded by issuing Hamilton with a new commission in July 1824 as 'Professor of Medicine and Midwifery and of the diseases of women and children', explicitly appointing him an examiner and a member of the Medical Faculty.<sup>51</sup>

Andrew Duncan *Senior* was prominent in arguing the Faculty's objections to Hamilton, who he claimed was motivated 'chiefly with the view of promoting his own pecuniary interest', and he urged the Senate to support him in an accusation of libel resulting from a tactless comment by Hamilton in his petition to the Town Council, an action which Duncan subsequently pressed in the courts.<sup>52</sup> A similar libel case that was brought by Hamilton against Hope caused great diversion because Hamilton was initially awarded £500 damages, but this was restricted to one farthing on appeal.<sup>53</sup>

In spite of the Medical Faculty's objection, the Senate accepted the need to recognise Hamilton's course as necessary for graduation although it proposed to postpone the change for three years, and the fateful appeal was made to the King, requesting him

to appoint a Royal Commission to resolve the deadlock with the Town Council and to free the University from what it saw as municipal interference.

For its part the Town Council, aware that the University was 'the Town's College', was determined to enforce its historical authority over the Senate. In November 1825 the Lord Provost, magistrates and council made a formal visitation to the University to issue a regulation that graduating medical students were required to attend Hamilton's midwifery course, and in December a legal action was brought against the Senate (in the persons of Principal and the Professors) in the Court of Session.<sup>54</sup>

A Royal Commission, established not just to resolve Edinburgh's problem but to examine all the Scottish universities, was announced in late 1826, and it took evidence from the medical professors, including Hamilton. However, the Commissioners refused to comment on the principal issue while the legal decision in the Court of Session was pending. In November 1827 it was ruled that the Town Council did indeed have the right of making regulations for the University and this decision was upheld on appeal in 1829. One result was that the Senate were obliged to obliterate several pages of minutes which recorded past votes of censure against Hamilton.

The Royal Commission's report was published in 1831, and Hamilton's aim was finally achieved when midwifery and a number of other medical courses at Edinburgh were made compulsory.<sup>55</sup> From May 1832 Hamilton, now a full member of the Medical Faculty, began examining for medical degrees, and one can sense the significance of this for him in the surviving list of examination questions in his subject that he compiled for that first year.<sup>56</sup>

Some of these hard-won differences in James Hamilton's status are apparent in surviving obstetrics or midwifery diplomas, which he continued to issue as a licence to practice after he joined the Medical Faculty. The diplomas are printed from engraved

plates, and from the wording of these there were clearly separate diplomas for male and female pupils. The earliest found is an Alexander Hamilton diploma lettered in English for a female midwife (the printed text refers to 'the time of *her* study'), issued in 1798 for attendance at lectures and at the General Lying-in Hospital, and designed for signature either singly or jointly with his son.<sup>57</sup> It was produced by the Edinburgh engraver Hector Gavin of Parliament Close (and marked at the foot of the plate 'Gavin scrip' et sculp'), and it bears the incomplete printed date '179...'. At the top is Gavin's asymmetrical elevation of Park House hospital with its single storey eastern extension (fig. 2) and the pediment off-set from the centre of the plate.

There was presumably an equivalent male diploma for university students and almost certainly both were reworked in 1800 when James Hamilton took over the chair. James Hamilton's formal Latin university diploma for attendance at lectures and demonstration in obstetrics is known from an 1807 example.<sup>58</sup> Curiously, it is headed by the same vignette elevation by Gavin of Park House, but with the east wing removed and the pediment now centred on the sheet. Minute differences in the coursing of the stonework show that this elevation must have been the companion illustration for the male student diploma, and it is apparent that the earlier plate had been cut down because the lettering on the 1807

diploma is printed from a separate plate and two plate-marks are distinctly visible. There is some slight indication that the eastern extension may originally have been present and may have been worked off the plate, but this is inconclusive.

The use of two plates in conjunction was clearly unsatisfactory, and the whole certificate was re-engraved in a more florid fashion by a new engraver some time before 1812, the date of a surviving example which is headed by the second engraved elevation of the main part of Park House (as in fig. 1), now shown flanked by foliage.<sup>59</sup> With the issue of his new university commission in 1824, Hamilton needed to reword his diploma to give his new title as professor of medicine and midwifery (rather than midwifery alone) and to record that his lectures and demonstrations extended to diseases of women and children (an important argument in his petition to the Town Council). An example of 1825 is known;<sup>60</sup> and the version was still in use in 1836 and hence probably until Hamilton's death in 1839. The same printing plate has been used, with the original lettering planished out, although traces of some of the deepest engraved flourishes are still just visible. The second vignette view of the house is clearly based on the same source as Gavin's earlier version and similarly shows the three statues that must have been intended at the outset in 1793, but which on the evidence of Storer's view of 1820 were never executed.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

I am indebted for advice and helpful discussion to Michael Barfoot, David Bryden, Kitty Cruft, Andrew Fraser, Ian Gow, John Morris, Alison Morrison-Low and Margaret Smith; and to the Librarians and Archivists of the Lothian Health Services (LHS) Collection at Edinburgh University Library (EUL), the Department of Special Collections at EUL, and the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh (RCPE) for permission to cite manuscript material in their care.

1 Inv. NMS T.1994.3.

- 2 The figure at the centre of the pediment represents motherhood; that on the left is perhaps Hygeia or Charity, whereas on the right the figure with the anchor represents the City of Edinburgh.
- 3 The 1798 diploma is a midwife's certificate issued to Mrs (Mary?) Somerveil: private collection. The other is a university obstetrics diploma of 1807 issued to James Hales Shirreff (MD, Edinburgh, 1804), 23 November 1807: EUL, Special Collections, Da 81.3.

- 4 See, in particular, J. B. Morrell, 'The Edinburgh Town Council and its University, 1717-1766', in R. G. W. Anderson and A. D. C. Simpson (eds), *The Early Years of the Edinburgh Medical School* (Edinburgh 1976), pp. 46-65.
- 5 D. B. Horn, 'The Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858', *University of Edinburgh Journal*, 19 (1959), pp. 169-199.
- 6 *Nomina Eorem, qui Gradum Medicinae Doctoris in Academia Jacobi Sexti... 1528-1845* (Edinburgh 1846), p. 111.
- 7 J. & H. S. Storer, *Views in Edinburgh and its Vicinity* (Edinburgh and London 1820).
- 8 For a full discussion of this see M. Tait and W. Forbes Gray, 'George Square: Annals of an Edinburgh Locality, 1766-1926', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 26 (1948), pp. 1-176.
- 9 J. Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, VII (Edinburgh 1910), pp. 261, 262.
- 10 Tait and Gray, *op. cit.* (note 8), p. 19.
- 11 The ground plan of Ross House is shown unaltered on the 1765 edition of Edgar's map. The first state of Ainslie's first plan of Edinburgh, reproduced in D. C. Simpson, *Edinburgh Displayed* (Edinburgh 1962), is dated to c.1780 by its dedication to David Stuart, Lord Provost, although recent work suggests a compilation in the 1770s: Andrew Fraser, 'A Reassessment of Craig's New Town Plans, 1766-1774', in Kitty Craft and Andrew Fraser (eds), *James Craig, 1744-1795: 'The Ingenious Architect of the New Town of Edinburgh'* (Edinburgh 1995), pp. 25-47 (p. 47, note 45).
- 12 H. W. Thompson (ed.), *The Anecdotes and Egotisms of Henry Mackenzie, 1745-1831* (London 1927), p. 50. Mackenzie's father, a doctor in Nairn, is said to have given Robert Adam, John's younger brother, his first domestic commission. in 1753: Margaret H. B. Sanderson, *Robert Adam and Scotland: Portrait of an Architect* (Edinburgh 1992), p. 27.
- 13 Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840* (London 1978), p. 58; and on Minto House, Edinburgh, also see J. Gifford, *William Adam, 1689-1748* (Edinburgh 1989), p. 176. Colvin incorrectly records Ross House as having been demolished in 1761. 'Fyfe House' was presumably the Edinburgh residence of the Earl of Fife, whose London house (Fife House in Whitehall) was subsequently built by Robert Adam: Sanderson, *op. cit.* (note 12), p. 62.
- 14 Tait and Gray, *op. cit.* (note 8), pp. 3, 20; and see note 16, below.
- 15 *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 9 March 1761.
- 16 Sanderson, *op. cit.* (note 12), p. 67. The sale was advertised on 14 January 1765.
- 17 *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 13 February 1769.
- 18 On the early holders of the chair see John Sturrock, 'Early Maternity Hospitals in Edinburgh (1756-1879)', *Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology*, 65 (1958), pp. 122-131.
- 19 See Guenter B. Risse, *Hospital Life in Enlightenment Scotland* (Cambridge 1986), pp. 269-271.
- 20 R. E. Wright-St Clair, *Doctors Monro, a Medical Saga* (London 1964), p. 85.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 58. For the development of the regius chairs see D. C. Simpson, 'The Chairs of Surgery at Edinburgh', *Journal of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh*, 22 (1977), pp. 91-102.
- 22 Wright-St Clair, *op. cit.* (note 20), p. 58.
- 23 For such issues see Lisa Rosner, *Medical Education in the Age of Improvement* (Edinburgh 1991), pp. 93-94.
- 24 See W. S. Craig, *History of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh* (Oxford 1976), pp. 422-424. Hamilton became a Licentiate on 5 February 1788, the earliest possible opportunity after the College of Physicians had agreed to drop the restriction. His Fellowship application may have been delayed until he had ensured his son's entry into the College of Surgeons.
- 25 Extract from Town Council minutes, 4 December 1782: Hamilton Papers, LHS Collection, EUL.
- 26 Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, Minutes of the Managers (RIE Minutes), vol. 7 (1789-1800), p. 114, 7 November 1791: LHS Collection, EUL. See also Risse, *op. cit.* (note 19), p. 271.
- 27 On 5 December 1791 Hamilton's printed proposals for the General Lying-in Hospital were considered by the Managers: RIE Minutes, vol. 7, p. 117. The publication of his printed proposals on 21 December, and the opening of subscription lists 'for carrying so necessary an establishment into execution', was announced in the press, but no copy is known to survive: *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 19 December 1791.
- 28 *Laws, Orders and Regulations of the Edinburgh General Lying-in Hospital* (Edinburgh 1793), p. 3.
- 29 RIE Minutes, vol. 7, p. 136, 4 June 1792.
- 30 It was advertised (as Ross House) in *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 9 January 1790.
- 31 *Laws, op. cit.* (note 28), p. 4.
- 32 See J. H. Young, 'James Hamilton (1767-1839), Obstetrician and Controversialist', *Medical History*, 7 (1963), pp. 62-73, which considers Hamilton's medical writings and some of his colourful disputes but does not treat his teaching and hospital practice.
- 33 James Hamilton, *Select Cases in Midwifery; extracted from the Records of the Edinburgh General Lying-in Hospital, with Remarks* (Edinburgh 1795).
- 34 'Dr James Hamilton Jnr, cases of the Patients of the

- Edinburgh General Lying-in Hospital, Vol. I, 1793 & 4': MS James Hamilton 9 (James Y. Simpson Collection), RCPE Library.
- 35 Hamilton, *op. cit.* (note 33), pp. iv–v. In fact, one case recorded in James Hamilton's MS casebook is of an unmarried woman.
- 36 *Ibid.*, pp. v–vi.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. iii.
- 38 *Address to the Public, respecting the Situation of the Poor of Edinburgh during the Season of Childbearing and Lying-in* (Edinburgh 1801).
- 39 *Annual Report of the Directors of the Edinburgh General Lying-in Hospital* (Edinburgh 1832), p. 5.
- 40 J. Duns, *Memoir of Sir James Y. Simpson, Bart.* (Edinburgh 1873), p. 142. Hamilton's own house was the mansion of Blandfield to the north of Edinburgh (on the east side of the present-day East Claremont Street), best seen on Robert Kirkwood's large *Plan of the City of Edinburgh and its Environs* of 1817.
- 41 Commissions extracted from the minutes of the Town Council, 5 December 1798 and 12 April 1800: Hamilton Papers, LHS Collection, EUL.
- 42 Agreement dated 16 April 1800: Hamilton Papers, LHS Collection, EUL.
- 43 For an abbreviated list of publications, see Young, *op. cit.* (note 32).
- 44 Quoted in A. R. Simpson, 'History of the Chair of Midwifery and the Diseases of Women and Children in the University of Edinburgh', *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, 28 (1882), pp. 481–497 (p. 496).
- 45 Robert Christison, *The Life of Sir Robert Christison, Bart.* (Edinburgh 1885–86), I, p. 86.
- 46 The pamphlet is dated at London, 20 February 1792. Although the pamphlet was withdrawn (Young, *op. cit.* [note 32], p. 64), a number of copies survive, including two in EUL.
- 47 For a discussion of Gregory's April and May 1793 pamphlets (*Answer to Dr James Hamilton Junior, and Remarks on the Pamphlet by J. Johnson, Esq.*) and Hamilton's response (*Reply to Dr Gregory*), see Young, *op. cit.* (note 32), pp. 64–65.
- 48 D. B. Horn, *A Short History of the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1967), p. 108.
- 49 The attempt is described in James Hamilton, *Memorial for Dr Hamilton, Prof of Midwifery in the College of Edinburgh, respectfully submitted to the Rt. Hon. the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Edinburgh, Patrons of the said College* (Edinburgh 1823), p. 12.
- 50 *Ibid.* For discussions of the events of 1824–27 see Young, *op. cit.* (note 32), pp. 66–67, and Horn, *op. cit.* (note 48), pp. 133–134.
- 51 Commission extracted from minutes of the Town Council, 21 July 1824, and endorsed as recorded in the Senate minutes on 2 August 1824: Hamilton Papers, LHS Collection, EUL.
- 52 A. Duncan Senior, *Speech delivered at a Meeting of the Senatus Academicus of the University of Edinburgh on the 20th Nov. 1824, respecting a Proposal for New Regulations in granting the Degree of Doctor of Medicine* (Edinburgh 1824), pp. 17–18. P. Shaw and A. Dunlop (eds), *Cases decided in the Court of Session, from May 12 1825 to July 11 1826* (Edinburgh 1826), pp. 414–417.
- 53 P. Shaw and A. Dunlop (eds), *Cases decided in the Court of Session, from Nov 14 1826 to July 11 1827* (Edinburgh 1827), pp. 569–596.
- 54 *Summons of Declarator: Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh vs. Principal and Professors of the College, 28 December 1825* (Edinburgh 1825).
- 55 *Report ... by a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the State of the Universities of Scotland* (London 1831). The Commission had been renewed by William IV in 1830 on his accession. At the same time, attendance at practical anatomy, clinical surgery, medical jurisprudence, and natural history was made compulsory for MD candidates: J. D. Comrie, *History of Scottish Medicine*, 2 vols (London 1932), II, p. 487.
- 56 'Subjects on which Dr H[amilton] examined Candidates for Degrees during [May–June] 1832': MS James Hamilton 11 (James Y. Simpson Collection), RCPE Library.
- 57 See note 3 above.
- 58 See note 3 above.
- 59 University diploma in obstetrics, issued to William Young, 22 February 1812: EUL, Special Collections, Da 81.3.
- 60 University diploma in obstetrics, issued to Dr Cumming Kidd, 1 August 1825: EUL, Special Collections, Da 81.3.