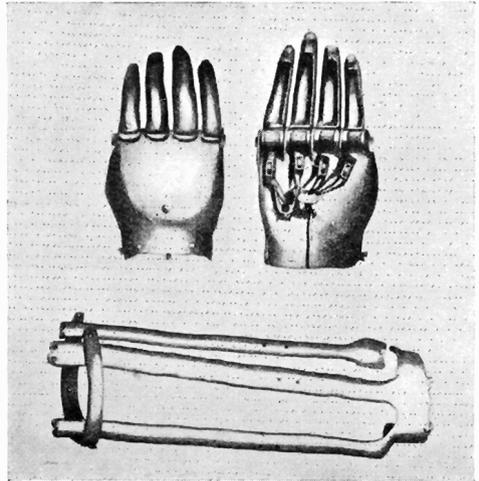


## PRACTICE AT EDINBURGH IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

THE surgeons and barbers came into prominence in the year 1505, when, along with various other guilds, they were incorporated under the Seal of Cause from the Town Council, ratified next year by the King. During the following century there are numerous references in the Town Council minutes and other Scottish records to their activities. That the surgeons and barbers were enterprising and patriotic is evidenced by the fact that when an English invasion was threatened in 1558, and the crafts of the burgh were convened in the Tolbooth to provide volunteers for the protection of the town against "our auld inemyes of England," twenty-five members of the Guild of Surgeons and Barbers volunteered for this duty as part of a force of 717 men provided by the various crafts. Their names were as follows: "Jhone Wawchthet, and Edward Wawghthet, his servand (*i.e.*, *apprentice*); David Robertsoun, and Thomas Kawpe, servand; Jhone Weddel; Patrick Mertene; Alexander Bruce; Jhone Libertoun; Robert Henrysoun, Andro Wyntoun and Gilbert Prymros, his servandis; Nowye Bruschet, and Thomas Boyes, his servand; James Lindesay; Archibald Maw, and Jhone Scot, servand; Alexander Percy, Thomas Blak, his servand; Niniane Maw, Jhone Chalmer, his servand; George Campbell; Maister Armle, William Gray, his servand; Maister Babteist, Jhone Pectarne, his servand; Pate Hardye, Walter Hardye, his sone."<sup>1</sup> There is a note in the Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, under the date 1542, for disbursements to Anthone Brisset, on account of services to Queen Mary of Guise, and to four surgeons who had apparently taken part in military operations on the borders in that year. This is the first reference to military surgeons in Scotland.

*Item*, gevin to Anthone Brisset, Surrurgeane, for laubouris done be him to ye Quenis grace, at this tyme alanerly. . . . . xx li.



STEEL HAND OF CLEPHANE  
(From Sir Walter Scott's "Border Antiquities of  
England and Scotland")

<sup>1</sup> Gairdner: "List of Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, 1581-1873." Edinburgh: 1874, pp. 3 and 4.

*Item*, to George Leche, William Quhite, George Fotheringham and David Robertsoune, Surrurgeonis, passand to ye Bordouris for curing of all personis yat hapnit to be hurt be Inglis menne . . . . xij li.<sup>1</sup>

The family of Clephane of Carslogie, near Cupar, possessed an iron hand without a thumb, the fingers of which move at the knuckles. It is attached to three flat bars, which were fastened by means of a hoop to the arm just below the elbow. Tradition says that it belonged to a Laird of Carslogie, who received it from a King of Scotland, in consequence of having lost his hand in the service of his country. It is apparently an example of the work of a 16th century Scottish armourer.

In 1557, John Wauchlott, who is described as officer and chirurgéane, received three pounds for curing the leg of James Henderson, injured in a fight with a thief. It appears, therefore, that Wauchlott must have been in the service of the Magistracy.<sup>2</sup> In 1563, Robert Hendersoun, cherurgeane, appears to have been in the service of the town, because a minute of the Council speaks of his great labours and expenses at their command on divers persons hurt within the town. Hendersoun's most notable exploit was said to have been the raising of a dead woman from the grave, when she had lain there two days after having been strangled. He had also dressed the stumps of two false notaries whose hands had been struck off, and he had successfully treated a man and a woman wounded through the body by the sword of a Frenchman. For these surgical exploits he was voted the sum of twenty merks.<sup>3</sup>

The monopoly granted to the surgeons and barbers of making aqua vitæ seems to have been gradually abandoned by them. On 20th March, 1557, Besse Campbell was ordered to "desist and ceis fra ony forther making of aquevite within this burgh in tyme cummyng," or from selling it except on the market day, "conform to the priuilege grantit to the barbouris vnder the seill of caus, without scho be admittit be tham thairto." It would seem, from the latter part of this judgment, as though the surgeons and barbers had been in the habit of leasing or granting to persons outside the craft the privilege of making and selling aqua vitæ. The complete abandonment of the privilege was therefore probably effected gradually.<sup>4</sup>

There are various records of surgeons being consulted in medico-legal cases, and furnishing reports to the Town Council or to the judges. The following is a good example of the form taken by a medico-legal report, dated 27th June, 1569:—

"Comperit alsua in jugement, in presence of the said Justice-depute, Nowye Buysat, dekyn of Scherurgianis, and productit this writting following, quhilk bayth the

<sup>1</sup> Pitcairne: "Criminal Trials," Vol. I, Part I, p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> p. 16, <sup>3</sup> pp. 165 and 166: "Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1557-1571."

<sup>4</sup> "Extracts," 1528-1557, p. 262.

parteis foirsaidis desyrit to be insert and registrat in the buikis of Adiornale; quhairof the tennour followis:—

TESTIMONIAL OF THE CHERURGIANIS

“Apud Edinburt. xxvij<sup>o</sup>. die mensis Junij, Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo nono. The quihilk day, at sindry tymes befoir, at ye queist and desyre of my Lord Justice Clerk, wes presentit befoir me Nowye Buysstat dekyn, Robert Henrysoun, Patrik Hardy and Alex. Tuedye, cherurgeonis and burgessis of Edinburgh, my breder, ane callit Johnne Farer, quha wes hurte vpoun the left arme, on the elbok, on the arme beneth, and on the hand; to have our jugementis, quihidder that the said Johnne suld be mutulat or no of the saidis hurtis and woundis than being haill: Eftir lang consultatioune and ernist advyement, we fand the said Johnne nather to be mutulat nor impotent of his arme nor hand; bot that it wald be daylie better, gif he wald make laubouris vpoun it: And this we testefie be this our hand wrytis and subscriptione to all and sindry to quhome it efferis, day, zeir and place foirsaidis.

“Nowy Byssat, Dekin of the Cherurgeonis.

Robert Henrysoun, wt. my hand.

Alex. Tuedy, wt. my hand.

Patk. Hardy, wt. my hand.”<sup>1</sup>

By 1563, the surgeons and barbers seem to have been taking means to stop unauthorised people from practising their craft, for in this year the Provost and Council forbade five men and a woman to indulge in “occupeing or vsing of cherurgeonrie or barbour craft” until they should be admitted and made free of the craft.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to furnishing certificates to the Courts, the surgeons were sometimes called before the Town Council to give evidence, as in March, 1580, when Jhone Lowsoun, chirurgian, appeared before the Provost and Baillies, and being sworn, gave evidence that Nicoll Haistie, cordiner, was in no danger of his life from a wound given him by Thomas Crawford, who therefore was set at liberty upon caution.<sup>3</sup>

At the same Court, seven surgeons appeared, *viz.*, Robert Henrysoun, Howie Brussat, Henry Blyth, Gilbert Primrose, James Lyndsay, James Craig and Henry Lumisdaill, who gave evidence that they had on various occasions examined Robert Asbowane, who had been wounded one week before by James Dowglas, with his servants and accomplices. As they testified that the said Robert Asbowane was in no danger of his life or of mutilation, the prisoners were set at liberty with a fine of five thousand merks. Four of these surgeons had already appeared two days previously and reported that “they as yit culd geve na resolute ansuer towart the hurting of Robert Asbowane be James Douglas and his complices, bot that he is in danger quhill forther tryell.”<sup>4</sup>

It may be assumed, therefore, that Gilbert Primrose, James Lyndsay, and James Craig were regarded as persons of greater weight in the profession, seeing

<sup>1</sup> Pitcairn: “Criminal Trials,” Vol. I, Part II, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> “Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1557-1571,” p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> “Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1573-89,” pp. 152 and 153. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

that they enabled the other four within two days to come to a definite decision in this serious case. All three were later Deacons of the craft.

In the same year Henry Lumsdaill is noted as having given a certificate that a servant to the Earl of Argyle was in no danger from a wound given him by Jhone Small, who was therefore set at liberty.<sup>1</sup> In 1581 the same three seniors, Gilbert Primrose, James Craig and James Lyndsay, gave evidence that they had examined the wound of Howsteane Braikinrig, a butterman, who had been wounded by Rychert Miller, and, as they declared that Braikinrig was in no danger of his life, Miller was set free.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, in 1583, Lyndsay, Lumisdaill, Blyth and Craig certified that James Marioribankis was in no danger to life from a wound in the hand and arm given him by William Blythman, flesher, and his complices, and cautiously added "bot gif he was mutilat culd nocht swa suddanelie declair the sam."<sup>3</sup>

Robert Henrysoun has been mentioned as having been employed several times by the town in medico-legal cases. In June, 1580, a supplication was made on the part of Thomas Morame, town's officer, who had been hurt in the execution of his office "be sum wicket persounis as yitt vnknawin," because his surgeons, doubting of payment, "ar become slak in thair cure." He had been thrust through the body and was troubled with inward bleeding. The Baillies and Council therefore ordained their treasurer to pay Robert Henrysoun and James Lyndsay, chirurgeanes, twenty pounds for Morame's cure, and to pay Adame Diksoun, apothecare, the sum of fifty shillings for the drugs supplied by him.<sup>4</sup>

The surgeons and barbers frequently had to contend with persons invading their craft, and, in 1575, the Provost and Baillies had issued a decree forbidding apothecaries and others who did not belong to the surgeons' guild to exercise any part of their craft. This had been duly intimated by the bellman of the burgh to Alexander Barclay and Robert Craig, apothecaries, and others. On 12th April, 1587, the Deacon of the surgeons' craft, James Craig, complained to the Town Council that Archbald Mwdie, an apothecary, had been practising surgery, and in particular he had been "curing and pansing of Mathow Weiche of ane vlcet in his fute" for three weeks past, and daily and hourly applying thereto various local remedies. For this, Archbald Mwdie was fined forty shillings and forbidden in future to exercise any point of the craft of surgery, under the pain of a similar fine.<sup>5</sup> On 27th June, 1589, however, Baillie Thomas Fyshear, who was not a surgeon, received twenty shillings from the Council for "mending ane Spayngyart's heid."<sup>6</sup> In the case of a Baillie, the surgeons' guild probably thought it better not to prosecute.

<sup>1</sup> p. 162, <sup>2</sup> pp. 218 and 219, <sup>3</sup> pp. 286 and 287, <sup>4</sup> pp. 165 and 166, <sup>5</sup> pp. 489 and 490, <sup>6</sup> p. 546: "Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1573-1580."

It must have been somewhat of a blow to the surgeons in Edinburgh when, on 5th February, 1589, Phillop Hislop, one of the regents of the Town's College, who suffered from a malady of the eye and feared he was to lose it, obtained leave of absence from the Town Council to proceed to London, where he was "in howpe to be curet thairof."<sup>1</sup>

Another distinguished surgeon of this period was John Chisholm, doctor of medicine, and surgeon to King James VI., who is believed to have been the operator who preserved the life of the Earl of Morton when he was suffering from strangulated hernia, although the Earl was beheaded nine years later, the first victim of "The Maiden," an instrument which he had invented: "November, 1572, James, erle of Mortoun, regent, lay deidlie seik of rumbussanes (*rupture*), and war nocht he was cuttit he haid lost his lyff."<sup>2</sup>

Another surgeon deserving mention is John Naysmyth, surgeon to King James VI., and for some time chief surgeon to the Scots Guards of the King of France. He was a companion of King James on the hunt at Falkland when James was enticed to Gowrie House in 1600.<sup>3</sup>

The first specialist in surgery of whom there is a record was apparently trained in France, for, in 1595, the surgeons complained against M. Awin, a French surgeon, for practising the art of surgery in Edinburgh without belonging to the guild. The Town Council fined him twenty pounds and forbade him under pain of imprisonment to practise surgery except certain special branches, viz., cutting for the stone, curing of ruptures, couching of cataracts, curing the pestilence, and distempers of women occasioned by child-birth.<sup>4</sup>

James Henrysoun (a younger contemporary of Robert Henrysoun), who had been busy as a kind of medical officer of health during the epidemics of plague, was apparently employed by the Town Council, after the disappearance of the plague, as a regular officer to treat the poor of the town, for, in 1589, there is a minute that he is to be paid the "sowm of nyne pund fourty penneis, in compleitt payment of all drogs, implasteris and mendicaments furnist be him in curing of the pure in tymes past, at the townis command, conform to the particulare compt thairof presently schawin."<sup>5</sup>

In addition to the surgeons and barbers, numerous apothecaries, some of whom kept shops for the sale of spices and for prescribing and carrying out medicinal treatment, were to be found in the town. There were also physicians, who had probably been trained abroad or had even received degrees at foreign Universities, among whom one of the most noteworthy was Gilbert Skeen, who had been

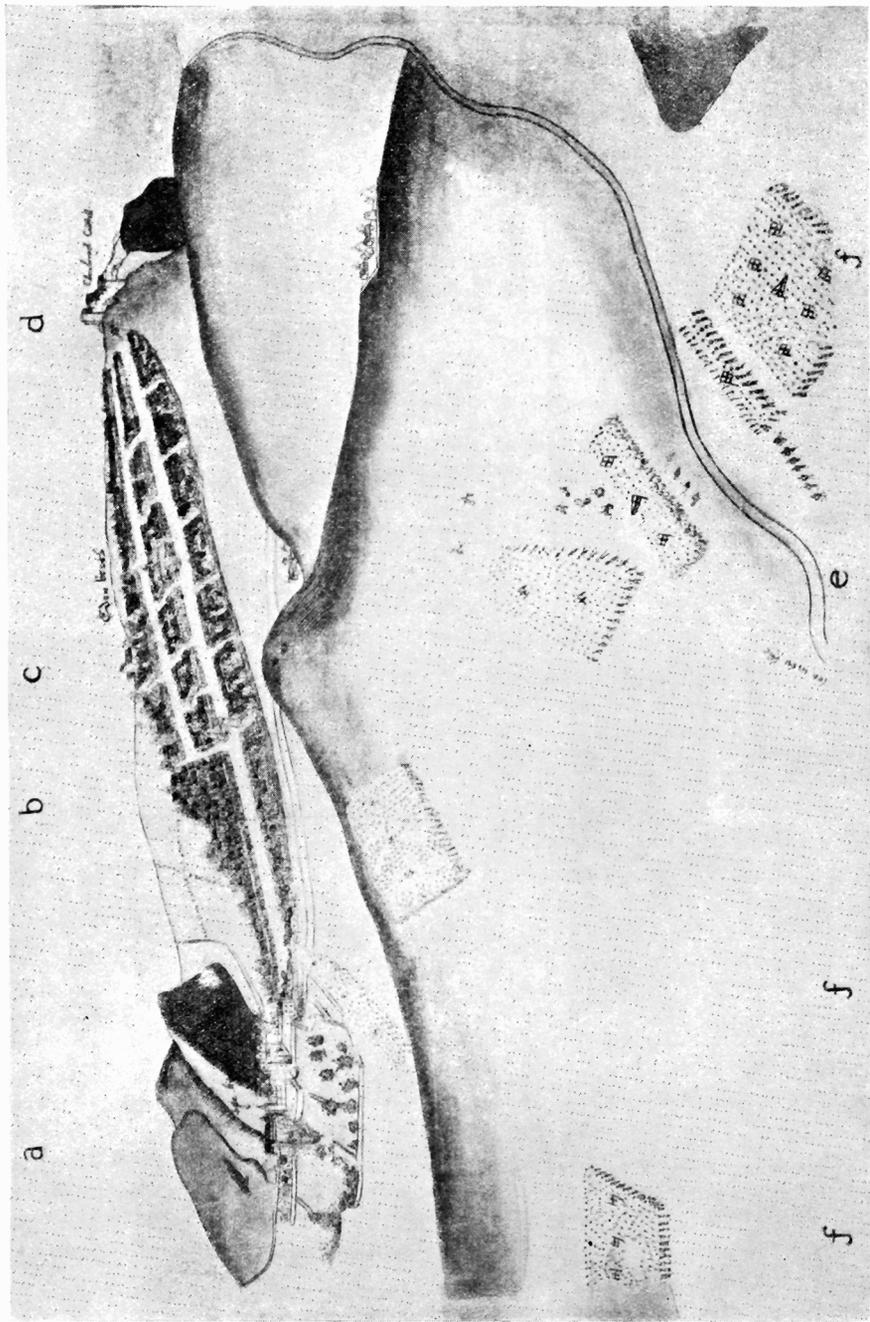
<sup>1</sup> p. 536: "Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1573-1589."

<sup>2</sup> "Diurnal of Occurrents," p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> "List of Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh from 1581 to 1873," Edinburgh, 1874, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Maitland: "History of Edinburgh," Edinburgh, 1753, pp. 46 and 47. Also "Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1589-1603, p. 136.

<sup>5</sup> "Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1573-1589," p. 535.



EDINBURGH IN 1544 FROM NORTH-EAST OF CALTON HILL  
*(Sketch made by an engineer with the English Army, for Henry VIII)*

Showing the attack of the English troops on the town prior to the burning of the city

Under a, Arthur's Seat and Holywood Palace; b, Monastery of the Blackfriars; c, Church and Hospital of Kirk o' Field, large group of buildings on the skyline; d, Edinburgh Castle, showing David's Tower; above e, Trinity Church and Hospital, appearing in a gap of the Calton Hill; f, f, f, columns of the English Army.

mediciner in King's College, Aberdeen, and who set up practice in Niddrie Wynd, Edinburgh, in the year 1575. Another physician practising at the same time was William Cassanate, a Spanish physician, who had been trained at Besançon, in Burgundy, and who is mentioned as the physician of the Archbishop of St. Andrews.

In the year 1551, Cassanate was settled in practice in Edinburgh. He was then thirty-six years old and had been attached for four years to the household of John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews.<sup>1</sup> His patron, the Archbishop, was a prominent actor in some of the most important scenes connected with the troubled political history surrounding Mary, Queen of Scots. Mary was at this time nine years old. The Archbishop's brother, James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, was next heir to the throne and Regent of Scotland. The Earl of Arran had succeeded in getting the Scottish Parliament to agree to a Treaty with England, arranged in 1543, by which Mary should be married to Edward, the son of Henry VIII, when she was eleven years old.

The Scottish barons, however, had declared against this alliance with England, and, as a result of the contention of these two parties, the south of Scotland had been virtually destroyed in two invasions of 1544 and 1547 by the Earl of Hertford. The party in favour of an alliance with England was headed by the Earl of Arran, backed by his brother, Archbishop Hamilton, while the party in favour of an alliance with France was headed by the Queen-Mother, Mary of Lorraine, backed by Cardinal Beaton.

In addition to his own ecclesiastical affairs, John Hamilton practically had to manage all that was difficult in the affairs of Scotland from about 1546, when Cardinal Beaton was put to death. He speaks of himself indeed as being too busy almost to breathe, his health failed from month to month, and at the end of the year 1551, after he had finished his celebrated "Catechism," attacks of asthma, which recurred every eight days and lasted for twenty-four hours, had made him very thin and brought him nearly to the point of death. Looking around for medical advice, he was counselled by his physician, Cassanate, to seek the help of Jerome Cardan, the famous physician of Milan.



SEAL OF JOHN HAMILTON



BLACKFRIARS' WYND

Looking from the Cowgate, with the House of the Archbishop of St. Andrews on the right  
*(From a sketch by Sir Daniel Wilson, preserved in the Library of the University of Edinburgh)*

In the end of November, 1551, Cardan received a letter written from Edinburgh two months earlier by Cassanate. As this letter contained matters of great importance, and as it had to be sent across Europe by the hands of a special messenger, and was addressed from one dignified physician to another, Cassanate apparently thought that the occasion warranted a very lengthy literary effort. The letter, as printed in Cardan's works, extends over some sixteen folio pages.<sup>1</sup> It began with a general disquisition on the subject of the formation of friendship, quoting the opinions of Cicero and other writers on the matter. Then followed complimentary references to Cardan's books, especially the books on "Subtilty," which Cassanate had only lately read. Finally, he came to the case of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, which is interesting as giving an idea of theories of pathology in the 16th century.

The Archbishop, he said, had been troubled for ten years with periodic asthma caused by a distillation from the brain into the lungs and associated at first with hoarseness, which had been removed, leaving a bad temperature in the brain. The brain, he continued, was too cold and moist, being nourished with pituitous blood. Whenever the brain became invaded with this matter there was a fresh accession of the asthma due to a flow of the same humour down into the lungs, an accession which agreed almost accurately with the conjunctions and oppositions of the moon. He offered the opinion that the matter flowing down into the lungs was serous, watery and sweet or insipid, for if it were acrid or salt the lungs would ulcerate and the disease would turn to phthisis. Thin at first, the fluid was expelled by coughing, but part becoming thick, adhered to the lungs, and the consequence was dyspnoea with stertor. Various physical signs, such as the heat of the breath, the character of the pulse, etc., were also given. Cassanate then proceeded that the Archbishop was about to visit Paris and begged Cardan to make an appointment with him in that city, so that they might have the benefit of a consultation. If Cardan could not come to Paris, he might at least travel to Lyons, where the Archbishop would come to meet him.

To this letter, dated 28th September, 1551, Cardan replied that he would go to Paris. On 23rd February, 1552, Cardan set out for Lyons, where he arrived in about three weeks. Here he was met by Cassanate,



JEROME CARDAN

(From Frontispiece of his "De Subtilitate,"  
edition of 1554)

<sup>1</sup> Cardan: "De Libris Propriis," 1557, pp. 159-175.

bearing a letter of introduction from the Archbishop, written in Latin, speaking of serious, urgent and inevitable business which had detained the Archbishop at home, and extending to Cardan an urgent invitation to come to Edinburgh. The letter is brief, business-like and so skilful a combination of compliments, with an obvious anxiety on the Archbishop's part to see Cardan, that it appears almost irresistible. The Archbishop concluded with the words: "Farewell, most learned Cardanus, and visit our Lares to find us not so much of Scythians as you perhaps suppose.—Edinburgh, Feb. 4, 1552." Accompanying the letter were 300 gold crowns as travelling expenses between Lyons and Edinburgh.

The two physicians accordingly set out. In Paris, Cardan met with the heartiest reception, and saw many noble patients. He and Cassanate dined with two celebrated physicians of the French king, Jean Fernel, first physician to the French King, and Jacques de la Boë (Sylvius), the Parisian professor of anatomy, in order to discuss the Archbishop's case. Cardan took great pains not to commit himself. During the discussion, he listened and said nothing, and, when asked for his opinion, declined to speak before the King's physicians had done so. Afterwards he abstained from committing himself, because he had not yet seen the case. Cardan and Cassanate then proceeded to London, and, after resting three days, continued their way to Edinburgh, a journey of twenty-three days from London. On 29th June, 1552, Cardan personally interviewed his Scottish patient, who resided on the east side of Blackfriars' Wynd, at the corner of the Cowgate.<sup>1</sup> There had been plenty of time on the journey to discuss the case. At the Paris dinner-party, Cassanate's opinion in tracing the Archbishop's trouble to a cold brain had been accepted, and it had been recommended that the former treatment should be continued for forty days. Cardan, however, traced all the evil to a hot brain, and differed with courtesy from his friends in other essential respects.

At the end of forty days the Archbishop became impatient. He had continued to waste in body and had become restless and dissatisfied. Cardan then pointed out that he himself had formed another opinion as to the nature of the disease and as to the proper way of attempting its cure. The natural result was that the Archbishop was indignant with Cassanate and Cassanate with Cardan, but Cardan at all events was in the favourable position that any change he made would likely be for the better.

Cardan now wrote out his whole opinion for the Archbishop at great length. This is included in a volume of professional opinions subsequently published.<sup>2</sup> Cardan had already discovered that the Archbishop's asthmatic attacks, when he took care of himself, did not occur oftener than every fifteen or twenty days, that he never took the amount of sleep necessary,

<sup>1</sup> Maitland: "History of Edinburgh," p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> Cardan: "Consilia Medica," Vol. IX., 52nd opinion, pp. 124-148.

that he was a great eater and drinker, that he was irascible, had a skin that exhaled freely, and had become thin.

After his forty days' study of the patient, Cardan's written opinion took the form of a long clinical lecture. He did not believe with Cassanate that the matter finally expectorated had collected in His Grace's brain during the intervals between attacks, for if so, the operation of the intellect must have been impeded and the matter so collecting would have turned corrupt. He believed that the thin fluid expectorated was partly serous humour, partly condensed vapour, which descended from the brain into the lungs, not through the cavity of the windpipe, but through its coats, as water soaks through linen. This thin humour he supposed had been drawn into the brain by the increased rarity of that organ caused by undue heat, for heat made all things rare, and rarefaction in one part of the body, to express the idea roughly, produced suction from another. The expectorated matter, Cardan thought, was formed from the food.<sup>1</sup>

As a practical application of his theories, Cardan said that the basis of the Archbishop's cure must depend on the use of a food as cold-natured and humid as possible. The cold-natured food would resist the attraction of the brain, and humidity would obstruct the soaking down of matter from the brain through the coats of the windpipe, thus compelling it to descend by the interior of the channel, from which it could easily be coughed out. The chief attack by medicine was to be made on the unhealthy temperature of the brain, and with this view the head should be purged, with, of course, previous purgation of the body. Purgation of the head, he explained, might be effected through the palate, the nose or the sutures of the skull. For procuring a good discharge by the nose he recommended the following prescription: Of milk of a goat or cow, half a pint, of water half a pint, of elaterium two grains; let this be drawn through the nostrils, when the patient has an empty stomach.<sup>2</sup>

For further purgation of the head, he recommended the application to the shaven head over the coronal suture of an ointment composed of Greek pitch, ship's tar, white mustard, euphorbium and honey of anathardus, sharpened, if desired, by the addition of cantharides. This ointment, he said, would sometimes fetch out two pints of water in twenty-four hours, although sometimes only three or four ounces.<sup>3</sup>

He advised also the use of the shower bath as recommended by Celsus. In a well-warmed bedroom, the head was to be washed with hot water containing a few ashes. Then a pailful of water, cold from the well, was to be dashed upon it suddenly, after which the head was to be rubbed with cool, dry cloths until

<sup>1</sup> Cardan reasoned upon principles laid down by Galen. They seem to us now very absurd, but not more absurd perhaps than some physiological theories of 1927 will appear to the medical philosophers of 2000 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably the patient only took a small part of the pint of fluid at a time; otherwise, the purgative effects of two grains of elaterium would have been memorable.

<sup>3</sup> This warm nightcap would effectually prevent the Archbishop from any desire for the pleasures of the table for several days.

no trace of moisture remained. The patient was to remain in the warm room for two hours before going out. By this habit, said Cardan, the brain is kept in a natural temperature and its substance rendered firm and dense. He also strongly advised the use of the bath.

He then came to what was perhaps the most important part of the physician's care—to prevent the generation in the body of peccant material. His Grace should walk in the shade in tranquil weather, and should be careful not to go out in rain or night air. He should make use of a perfume ball, but the perfume should not include roses, for the scent of roses made some brains warmer. The Archbishop should not sleep upon feathers but upon unspun silk, for the heating of the spine and vena cava upon a feather bed would cause matter to ascend into the head. The patient, too, should lie upon his face or side and, as a relief to the digestion, should press the hand upon the stomach. The pillow should be of dry straw finely chopped or, if His Grace preferred it, might be stuffed with dried seaweed, but not with feathers. The pillow-case also should be of linen and not of leather, and it should be sprinkled at night with a drying perfume.<sup>1</sup> The sleep must last for seven to ten hours, and the Archbishop must take the time from business or from his studies. His hours of business were to be limited to four, and might be from noon to four in the afternoon.

Upon rising, constipation might be corrected by taking a conserve of peaches and sugar of violets, waiting five hours for breakfast and then breakfasting lightly. Breakfast might be replaced by drinking two to four pints of new ass's milk, either in one dose or in several doses. This would serve to nourish his body and his lungs, allay the excess of heat, be grateful to the palate and help to avert consumption. Special directions were also given for the feeding of the ass which was to supply the milk.

His Grace, on rising, ought to comb his hair with an ivory comb, by which the brain was comforted, to rub his limbs, anoint his spine and chest with oil of sweet almonds, and, after dressing, to walk for a short time in some pleasant spot out of the sun. Cardan apparently restricted the meals to two in the day, and, discussing whether breakfast or supper should be the chief meal, decided that in every man's case an established custom ought not to be broken. He then gave a long series of minute directions upon food and cooking. He prescribed many articles of diet which would be specially suitable for the Archbishop, with the purpose of restoring his bodily weight. Chief on the list was tortoise or turtle soup. The whole animal except the shell was to be stewed down with water till it was as nearly as possible dissolved. The flesh was then to be eaten and the soup to be drunk, no other food or drink being used for about twenty days.

<sup>1</sup> The prohibition of feathers and leather is interesting, in view of the modern theory regarding the causation of some cases of asthma by proteins coming from animal materials.

Another thing which Cardan recommended as excellent was soup made from the blood of a young pig and coltsfoot leaves. Two ounces a day of this, taken with a little sugar, would fatten a man rapidly, and in Cardan's experience had been found able to bring back a hectic person from the gates of death. He also advised soup made of snails, and suggested that frogs might be employed in the kitchens of the Britons as they sometimes were in Italy. A soup, made of thick barley water with chicken broth, flavoured with wine and a little cinnamon or ginger, he also strongly recommended as an easily digested and fattening article of diet.

He added a great number of medical prescriptions to be used in various emergencies, some of them taken from the chief authorities in medicine—Greek, Roman and Arabic—and closed the list with the recommendation of an issue under each knee, to be established, however, only as a last resort if other remedies should fail.

It is evident in all this that while Cardan followed the rules established by authority, in his practical treatment of the case he really was guided by an experienced common sense. The check put upon the Archbishop's appetite, the limitation of his hours of business, the rest of ten hours in the night on a suitable bed, the morning shower-bath, a strict fast enjoined during the period of an attack, and an infrequent though nutritious diet at other times, improved the Archbishop's health quickly. Cardan remained in Edinburgh for thirty-five days after his own treatment of the Archbishop had been begun. During that time Scottish nobles flocked to him and paid liberally for his advice. From the grateful Archbishop he had already received 300 gold crowns for travelling expenses, and had been promised 10 crowns a day during his stay in Edinburgh. His Grace now gave him 1400 crowns for himself and 400 for his five attendants, as well as a gold chain worth 125 crowns, and other gifts, including a valuable horse.

In return for all this liberality, Cardan at his departure handed to the Archbishop a document distinct from the long written opinion already mentioned, containing careful and elaborate directions for the patient's private use.<sup>1</sup> This gave directions against all sorts of contingencies and was meant as a substitute for Cardan's own presence in Edinburgh. On his morning walk, the Archbishop was to chew a couple of tears of mastic gum to promote the beneficial flow of water from the mouth.<sup>2</sup> As he got better, he was to breakfast at nine o'clock, eating first the liver of a fowl with two or three grains of ginger, after that some bread soaked in gravy, and about two ounces of white wine, and afterwards he might eat at his discretion some chicken, roasted or stewed, and drink wine four or five times in the forenoon, but in all not more than ten ounces. The four hours after

<sup>1</sup> Cardan: "Consilia Medica," included in Opera, Vol. IX, p. 225 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> This accords well with modern American fashion.

noon were to be the hours of business, during which, however, he was not to write letters with his own hand. At four o'clock he was to go out for an hour's ride on horseback, and, having returned, he might give audience to persons desiring to see him. Towards seven o'clock he was to take the second meal of the day. This should commence with a spoonful of pure honey, and an excellent supper might often be made of bread and goat's milk, as was done by a Cardinal whom Cardan knew in Milan. At eight or half-past eight, the Archbishop should retire to bed and should secure ten hours of continued sleep, which would make his hour of rising about 6 a.m. For securing punctuality in carrying out the system laid down, Cardan suggested to His Grace to purchase a good clock, for, he said, every Italian prince had many and good clocks. When they parted, Archbishop Hamilton promised to follow the régime for two years, and then to send a report of the result to Cardan at Milan.

Cardan also considered it advisable to give his patient the following piece of counsel, which at the present day seems superfluous in the case of an Archbishop :—

De Venere. Certe non est bona, neque utilis ; ubi tamen contingat necessitas, debet uti ea inter duos somnos, scilicet post mediam noctem, et melius est exercere eam ter in sex diebus pro exemplo, ita ut singulis duobus diebus semel, quam bis in una die, etiam quod staret per decem dies.<sup>1</sup>

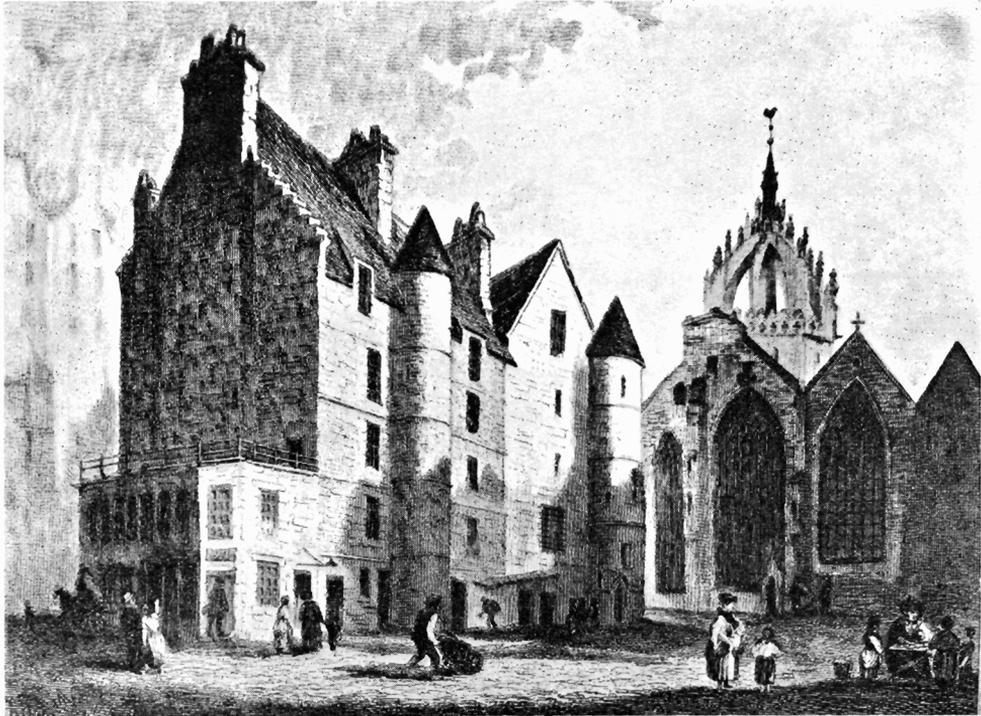
At the end of two years and one month, a Scotsman arrived in Milan, bearing a letter from the Archbishop to Cardan. In the course of this, His Grace said : " I thank you not only for your various and very welcome little gifts, but also for my health, that is in great part restored, for the almost complete subjugation of my disease, for strength regained ; in fine, I may say, for life recovered. All those good things, and this body of mine itself, I hold as received from you . . . the accustomed attacks now scarcely occur once a month, and sometimes once in two months ; then, too, they are not urgent and pressing, as they used to be, but are felt very slightly."

The century closed with a tragedy for the medical profession in Edinburgh. Robert Auchmowtie, cherurgeane, a burges of Edinburgh, was indited for the slaughter in a single combat or duel of James Wauchope, son of George Wauchope of Cleghorn, a merchant burges of Edinburgh.

The facts of this case appear to be that Auchmowtie and James Wauchope had quarrelled in April, 1600, and had agreed to meet upon St. Leonard's Crags in the King's Park, near Holyrood. Here a little dell on the top of an eminence formed a favourite place for such meetings. They fought with swords and Wauchope was killed. His relatives lodged a complaint that Auchmowtie had set upon him with two accomplices

<sup>1</sup> Cardan : " *Consilia Medica*," Vol. IX, p. 135.

“and maist schamefullie and crewallie, with swordis, straik him in the face and vpoune the heid, and gaif him foure bludie woundis thairon; and thairbye maist barborouslie, crewallie and tyrannouslie slew the said vmquhile [late] James Vauchope, vpoune set purpois, provisioune and foirthocht fellonye.” There appears, however, to have been no justification for saying that this was anything but a regular and fairly-fought duel. At the trial, various objections were lodged, and the Court appears to have been inclined to postpone and dismiss the matter.



OLD TOLBOOTH (demolished in 1817), WITH ST. GILES' CHURCH, EDINBURGH

*Drawn by Sir Daniel Wilson*

The pursuers, however, produced three letters from King James, written to the Justice Clerk and Deputies from Stirling, in May, and from Falkland, in June, in which he urged diligence upon the Court, and finally ordered Auchmowtie to be put to an assize. The reason for the King's prejudice against Auchmowtie does not appear, but in view of these royal commands, the issue was clear, and Auchmowtie was convicted of the slaughter and condemned to death.

Still, with the dice of justice loaded against him, Auchmowtie made one more bold bid for freedom. Being put in ward in the Tolbooth, he declared that he was sick and could not bear the light. He hung one cloak outside the bars of his window and another on the inner side and "he had *aqua fortis* continually seithing at the irone window, quhill at lest the irone window wes eittine throw." Then one morning he arranged with his prentice to give him a signal by waving his handkerchief at the time when the Town Guard was removed, and hanging out a rope, he prepared to descend. The Guard, unfortunately, had seen the signal, and so Auchmowtie was recaptured. He was beheaded at the Market Cross.<sup>1</sup>



SEAL OF TRINITY HOSPITAL

After the Reformation

<sup>1</sup> Pitcairn: "Criminal Trials in Scotland," Vol. II, pp. 112-124.