

A MEDICAL STUDENT AT LEIDEN AND PARIS WILLIAM SINCLAIR 1736-38: PART I

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In recent contributions to the *Proceedings* we have read how, in the early eighteenth century, Scottish medical students such as Adam Murray (1724-26) and John Boswell (1733) travelled to Holland to study with Boerhaave and Albinus in Leiden, and often rounded off their medical studies with practical training in the large Paris hospitals. A document that considerably enhances this picture is the notebook kept by William Sinclair during his stay at Leiden and Paris in 1736-38. It consists of six loose sheets folded to form an unbounded booklet of 24 pages. Its detailed financial accounts provide us with unique information on the necessary expenses of a Scottish student abroad, notably on his purchases of medical books at Leiden and his professional training with Paris surgeons. The booklet also contains the accounts of Sinclair's journey from Scotland to Leiden, of a holiday tour to Amsterdam and Utrecht in April 1737 and of his journey to Paris.¹

The text may well be a fair copy of entries originally made in other notebooks, but the copyist was clearly in a hurry, which may explain occasional errors and omissions, at least £15 are missing on the credit side in the accounting, and the faulty spelling of personal names. The financial accounts are made up of regular, often weekly entries. Most stand for single payments: two weeks' dining, a consultation of Boerhaave or the purchase of a book, but sometimes only the total expenditure, for instance in the case of the journeys. There are no entries for small amounts spent on beer, wine or coffee and collections in church. These were probably paid out of Sinclair's pocket money, possibly all or part of the 112 guilders 'to money from Mr Davidson on Lord Reay's account'. In Paris he also had about one pound a month.²

William Sinclair (1711?-1767), the fourth son of John Sinclair of Forss (Caithness), received his earliest training in 'the practice of physic' from the Edinburgh surgeon and apothecary George Young, who also taught John Boswell and whose shop 'in the Lawn Market' was highly recommended by Adam Murray. On 3 June 1728 Young agreed to take a William Sinclair as an apprentice for three years. Like John Boswell and many others he may well have studied at the medical faculty of Edinburgh before going to Leiden, where he enrolled on 13 September 1736. In September 1737 he continued his medical studies at Paris and on 12 April 1738 he took his MD at Rheims. Subsequently he practised as a physician (and apothecary) in Thurso.³

The crossing to Holland and arrival at Leiden

Sinclair left Caithness on 20 July 1736, and arrived at Leith on the 26th. In Edinburgh he probably stayed with friends or relatives, for he does not record any expenses for lodgings. On Friday 13 August he set sail for Holland and, after only four days at sea, the steeple of 's-Gravenzande was sighted, a landmark for

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ships' captains wishing to sail into the river Maas. However, it was decided to round the island of Voorne and head for the port of Hellevoetsluis. Here Sinclair's ship, like that on which Adam Murray was a passenger, was safely guided in through the treacherous sandbanks by a fishing boat.⁴

It was another four days before Sinclair and his friends, Anthony alias William Hay, James Kennedy and an unidentified Mr McKinzie, arrived in Leiden. The first night on Dutch soil was spent in the Royal English coffeehouse at Den Briel, two hours distant from Hellevoetsluis. In the morning they crossed the river Maas to Maassluis and then went to Delft, where like all tourists they inspected the monuments of William of Orange and the admirals Piet Hein, who captured the Plate Fleet (1628) and Maarten Harpertzoon Tromp, who died in the battle of Terheyde (1653). Instead of continuing to Leiden, only three hours distant from Delft, they went to Rotterdam, where most Scottish students had their bankers. Here they put up at Mr Moor's *The English Parliament* in the Wijnhaven, where they stayed three days, probably waiting for their money, so there was ample time to see 'the curiosities, which were very few'. Sinclair's merchant was Mr Andrews in the Boompjes, the tree-lined quay along the river Maas, which most tourists commented upon.⁵

On Friday 20 August O.S. (31 August N.S.) Sinclair and his friends boarded the Delft trekschuit, crossed the city of Delft on foot and took the barge for Leiden. Here they put up for the night with landlord Walter Clark at the Golden Ball, at present Papengracht no. 28, and then the meeting place of the Scottish students. The next day they took more permanent lodgings in the Nieuwsteeg, with Abraham van den Berg,⁶ who usually had British lodgers and who was to remain Sinclair's landlord, also providing him with breakfast and supper. Dinners were taken at Madame De la Rue's 'ordinary' in the same street and, as of January 1737, with the widow Elizabeth Hambroek in the Herensteeg. All these places were only a few minutes' walking from the academy building on the Rapenburg, the principal street in Leiden, in fact two streets on each side of a large canal lined with fine trees and crossed by three wide bridges. For some reason or other Sinclair and his friends did not matriculate within eight days of arrival as required by academic statute, but waited until September 13th. A full description of the ceremony is given by John Boswell, who also states that the beadle passed the Rector's note on to the excise people, whose ticket absolved the student of 'all taxes on wine and beer, to a certain quantity'.⁷

Scottish students at Leiden

At that time Leiden with over 55,000 inhabitants was about half as large again as Edinburgh, and, with The Hague, Rotterdam and Amsterdam at a few hours' distance, also very conveniently situated for students interested in sightseeing. On 1 November 1736 the Jacobite activist Ezeckiel Hamilton wrote to the Duke of Ormonde: 'This is the quietest and the cleanest town I ever lived in; there is a great concourse of students from all parts, even from Muscovy, which the great fame of Doctor Boerhaave, professor in physic, draws hither; and there is also a good academy for such young gentlemen as desire to ride and fence, which is a thing I have often heard Your Grace observe was wanting in the universities at home'. Hamilton did not mention Professor B. S. Albinus, the greatest anatomist of his day, who together with Boerhaave made Leiden the most outstanding medical school in Europe.⁸

We do not know whether Sinclair, like an otherwise unidentified Mr Cunningham, arrived with a letter of introduction to the great Boerhaave himself, or whether like John Boswell, whom he may have frequented at Mr Young's and whose graduation on 1 November 1736 he may have witnessed, he copied Boerhaave's lectures at home, long before going to Leiden. However, we do know about some of the lectures he attended. These started around 15 September; the public ones, which were free, were held in the university auditoria on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays, and the private ones, which cost each student ten ducatoons (f31:10), payable at the end of the course, were held with the professors at home whenever it suited them. According to the *Series Lctionum* of September 1736, Professor Van Royen taught from seven to eight in the botanical garden, Boerhaave from nine to ten in the auditorium; he does not appear to have done any clinical teaching in the hospital this year. In the afternoon Gaubius gave a chemistry lecture ('experimenta curiosa chemica') from two to three, and Albinus taught 'anatomica varia' from three to four. Sinclair attended four private 'colleges': one with Gaubius, one with Albinus, who according to Robert Dalrymple (Leiden 27 September 1737) far exceeded Dr Monro, and who paid much attention to physiology, and two with Boerhaave.⁹

In his public anatomical lectures of 1736-37 Albinus, several of whose dictates and preparations have been preserved, would have concentrated on the muscles and bones of the human body: in 1734 he published *Historia musculorum hominis* and in 1736-37 six more books including *Icones ossium foetus humani, accedit osteogeniae brevis historia* (1737) and *Opera omnia anatomica et physiologica Fabricii ab Aquapendente* (1737), which contained a detailed discussion of the mechanics of the muscles. Boerhaave's public lectures dealt with the action of the heart (October 1735-37). Boerhaave's own notes show that on Friday 21 September 1736 he resumed his teaching after the summer holidays with the 42nd lecture in the course. Boerhaave wrote out the main points of his subject in advance, apparently breaking off when time was up. There was a two weeks' holiday following 3 October, the yearly celebrations in remembrance of the relief of Leiden in 1574, but between Monday 22 October and 18 December (no. 62) the lessons were not interrupted. On 24 January Boerhaave made a short speech on the occasion of the New Year, complimenting his students on their enthusiasm for study. He intended to continue on the subject of the heart, during which lessons he would refer his pupils to the works of many scholars, and he hoped his audience would be able to gain a better understanding of the miraculous structure GOD had made and located in the human body. Boerhaave concluded his public lessons that year on 25 June with lecture no. 92.¹⁰

One of the last public lectures, which sometimes attracted audiences of a hundred, was attended by Joseph Spence, then bear-leader* to a young nobleman on the Grand Tour. He wrote on 11 June 1737: 'I had heard he was an ugly mean-looking man; but I can't think so. Nothing indeed can be plainer than his dress, but the dress with me has nothing to do with the man. His look is good-natured and open and though he is within a year of seventy, there's a freshness and clearness in his face that makes him appear almost a young man.' Boerhaave's private lectures were also very well frequented. In the second half of

*Name given to a tutor accompanying a young man on his travels.

1737, sixty-five students attended the (theoretical) lecture on medical practice, and about the same number attended that on the medical institutions; among them were six Scotsmen.

Sinclair was probably critical about Boerhaave and must have written about him to his former mentor George Young, according to John Boswell 'a great sceptic'. Young answered Sinclair's letter on 31 May 1737:

I find my sentiments of Boerhaave confirmed by what you tell me, because as you have more experience than most of his hearers, you are thereby a better judge. I have always thought that a man who lays down a settled theory must strain a point to maintain what he has once laid down, and in my own opinion Boerhaave makes no more scruple of squeezing facts into a consistency with his theory than our lawyers does of bringing off a criminal whom they are employed to plead for before the justiciary, for which purpose they use to conceal all which makes against him and exaggerate every circumstance in their favours. Had you not been a practitioner I doubt not but you would have been so much convinced of the justness and sufficiency of his method of cure as to wonder how anybody came to die in his hands.¹¹

With up to four public lessons each day, and four private 'colleges', plus the time needed to write out dictates, Sinclair must have been fully occupied. However, in October-November he, like most of his countrymen, took French lessons as well. This language was taught outside the university by private teachers some of whom also took lodgers.¹²

Book purchases

The most fascinating aspect of Sinclair's accounts is no doubt the log he kept of his book purchases, 48 titles which cost him about one hundred guilders, approximately ten per cent of his expenditure. The history student William Mure (Leiden 1700-03) spent a similar amount on 116 books, but William Clerk (Leiden 1701-02) was only expected to buy law books to the value of f30. However, he may well have arrived in Leiden with books bought by his brother John a few years previously, who had spent over f400. Another history student, George Bogle, was a real bibliophile. He had smaller resources than Sinclair, but disbursed between f200 and f250 on books while at Leiden. For those with money to spend Leiden was a standing temptation. Thus John Boswell, Gavin Crookshank (Leiden 1733-38) and Isaac Lawson (MD Leiden, 28 Dec. 1737), all contemporaries of Sinclair at Leiden, were persuaded to buy the two folio volumes of Jan Swammerdam's *Biblia naturae sive Historia Insectorum*, translated by Gaubius and prefaced by Boerhaave (Leiden 1737-38, price f30). According to George Bogle, books at Leiden were 'at least thirty, twenty per cent cheaper than in Scotland.' After Amsterdam, Leiden was the city with the largest number of bookshops and sales in Holland, possibly in Europe. That is probably why Adam Murray made the most of the opportunity and 'bought books to double the value of what I designed at first, but all of them are necessary'.¹³

Sinclair, possibly on the advice of his professors, started his purchases in October 1736 with the then standard histories of medicine: *Histoire de la medecine* (1st ed. 1696) by Daniel Leclerc, which dealt with classical medicine through to Galenus, and John Freind's *History of Physick* (1725-26), which continued the subject until the beginning of the sixteenth century. Four weeks later Sinclair acquired the medical texts attributed to Albertus Magnus (1489) and three books by Italian physicians (Alpini, Potier, Berengario), written in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries but recently reprinted, one of them prefaced by

Boerhaave with corrections by Gaubius. He also purchased the medical works of Archibald Pitcairne (1701), who was appointed professor of medicine at Leiden in 1691, but who left in 1693 without notifying the university authorities. Boerhaave had a high opinion of him.¹⁴

On 17 January 1737 Sinclair recorded the purchase of Bartholomeus Eustachius' *Tables*, which remained in manuscript until 1714. It was a valuable reference work on anatomy which Albinus preferred to that of Vesalius. Albinus' own edition was to appear in 1744. Two weeks later Sinclair bought a bible, possibly one in French. He also bought his most expensive book so far (five guilders), François Mauriceau's *Les maladies des femmes grosses et accouchées* (1668), a classic which was often reprinted and translated into Dutch, German and English.

On 21 March he obtained no fewer than ten titles, which set him back f15:3. Two were classics: A. C. Celsus' *De arte medica*, the oldest medical document after the Hippocratic writings and the first classical medical work to be printed (1478). The other was not strictly medical: *Rerum memorabilium jam olim deperitarum* (1599), by the 16th-century Italian lawyer, Guido Panciroli, who discussed a variety of discoveries made by the ancients which had not come down to modern times. Then there were the more modern authors: the Swiss physician Johann Jacob Wepfer's famous toxicological study on hemlock (1679), that of his countryman J. K. Peyer on digestion (1685) and the Dutch physician Ysbrand van Diemerbroeck's *De peste* (1644), based on his own observations during the plague epidemic at Nijmegen in 1636-37 and recently reprinted. It was also available in an English translation by Thomas Stanton (London 1722). Besides, Sinclair bought a medical miscellany with work by the English physicians Richard Morton, William Cole, Walter Harris and Martin Lister (1696). Finally there was a book on the gout, *De podagra* (1692), two botanical works by the German Knaut (1705) and the Swede Linnaeus (1736), an authoritative bibliography of modern publications in the medical, physical and chemical field by the Dutchman Cornelis van Beughem (1681 or 1696) and finally Boerhaave's *Praxis medica* (1716), which cost Sinclair six guilders.

A week later, on 28 March, Sinclair paid the Leiden bookseller and publisher J. A. Langerak the relatively large sum of thirteen guilders for Théophile Bonet's *Sepulchretum anatomicum* (1679), three volumes in folio. The same day he bought a classic work on women's diseases by the Pisa professor Rodrigo de Castro (1603) and *Ars de statica medicina* (1614) by Santorio Santorio, professor at Padua. Santorio's book was available in numerous editions, one of them with comments by Martin Lister and published in Leiden in 1728.

The largest batch of books was bought during the Easter holidays on 13 April, just before the trip to Amsterdam: fifteen titles for a total of f35:10. Apart from medical works, Sinclair also took home plays by Shakespeare, Dryden and Farquhar, together with Francis Bacon's *Opera omnia*, which included *Historia vitae et mortis*, which Boerhaave referred to several times in his lecture on the heart, and Virgil's works in the edition of the Leiden professor Daniel Heinsius (1629). Among the medical works was another copy of Celsus' *De medicina*, which he got from bookseller Gerard Potvliet; he paid f2:8, ten stuivers more than on 21 March, so this was possibly a better looking or more recent edition. All the other medical works were modern, some even very recent: Boerhaave's *Elementa chemiae* (1732), whose English edition (by Timothy Dallowe) appeared in 1735, Nicholas Robinson's *A New System of the Spleen, Vapours, and Hypochon-*

driack Melancholy (1729) and a book on worms (1729) by the Frenchman Etienne Coulet (MD Leiden, 1728). Then there were the works of John Freind (*Commentarii noven de febribus*, 1717; *De purgantibus*, 1719; *Emmenologia*, 1703; and possibly also his *Praelectiones chymicae*, 1709), an anatomical bibliography by James Douglas (1715), the Louvain professor Philippe Verheyen's *Anatomia corporis humani* (1693), which Boerhaave in 1711 told his students to buy,¹⁵ the Leiden professor Jacobus le Mort's *Collectanea chymica Leidensia* (1684) and a work on various diseases by the Pisa anatomist Lorenzo Bellini (1683)). This work may well have been the 1730 Leiden edition with a preface by Boerhaave, who also prefaced the Frenchman Carolus Piso's *Observationes* (1618; possibly Leiden 1736).

On 23 May, a month after the holiday trip, Sinclair bought two books on the operation of the stone, one by a famous Paris surgeon François Tolet (1682), which was also available in Dutch, German and English, and the other by the no less renowned London physician John Douglas (1720). He also purchased the medical works of the Amsterdam doctor Nicholas Tulp (1641), whose anatomical lesson was painted by Rembrandt in 1632. Finally there were two works on anatomy, one by the Schaffhausen physician J. J. Wepfer (1658), who was also a botanist, and the other *The Anatomy of the Human Body* (1713), a popular textbook by the famous London surgeon William Cheselden, who visited Albinus in Leiden around 1740. In July Sinclair made his last book purchases in Leiden. They comprised the work of the best-known Dutch obstetrician of that time, Hendrik van Deventer (1701 or 1728), a book by the French eye-surgeon Charles de Saint-Yves (1722) and possibly three books by the Italian physician and man of letters Francesco Redi, including that on the generation of insects (1688).

Together these forty-eight titles constituted a small library. Two belonged to the study of classical antiquity (Panciroli and Virgil) and four to modern literature, with Shakespeare, Dryden and Farquhar for entertainment and Francis Bacon for instruction in many branches of learning (together a little over f10). The vast majority of books (42) were to do with Sinclair's medical studies. The histories of medicine by Leclerc and Freind, together with the bibliographies by Van Beughem and James Douglas, would have enabled Sinclair to find his way through most of the publications in his field of study. These were supplemented by the classical texts on medicine by Celsus and Albertus Magnus (Hippocrates was bought at Paris). These medical reference works cost him a little over thirteen guilders.

Twenty guilders were spent on a variety of more modern works on theoretical and practical medicine written by Italians such as Alpini, Santorio, Bellini, the Frenchmen Potier and Le Pois (Piso), Englishmen like Morton and others, the Dutchmen Tulp and Boerhaave and Sinclair's countryman Archibald Pitcairne. There were also works dealing with specific subjects: digestion (Peyer), worms (Coulet), diseases of the eye (Saint-Yves), the plague (Van Diemerbroeck), the gout (Lacy), fevers, purging (Freind), spleen (Robinson), but more particularly women's diseases and obstetrics (Freind, Mauriceau, Rodrigues de Castro, Van Deventer), a speciality which claimed ten of the sixteen guilders spent on books belonging to this category.

The largest amount of money (over f21) was spent on anatomical reference works by Eustachius, Bonet, Verheyen, Wepfer and Cheselden. Works on surgical subjects excluding obstetrics, cost him less than f4: two on lithotomy (Tolet and John Douglas) and one on fractures of the skull (Berengario). Eleven guilders

were spent on chemistry books, represented by Boerhaave, Freind, Le Mort and Potier. The works on botany by Knaut and Linnaeus, together with Wepfer's study on the toxic effects of hemlock cost barely *f*2. Redi's works, which belong to natural history, cost *f*3 or *f*9. Sinclair did not buy any books on *materia medica*, a subject he had probably paid sufficient attention to during his time with George Young in Edinburgh.

Social life

When Sinclair matriculated there were about 900 registered students at Leiden, approximately forty per cent of whom came from outside the United Provinces. The number of Scotsmen was very small. At the annual recension in February 1736 there were only eight Scotsmen on the academic books, and nine in 1737. With some of these away on journeys or leaving after having finished their studies, and only three new matriculations (all medical students) from February 1737 till the end of June, the total number probably never exceeded a dozen during Sinclair's stay. According to Hamilton these included 'few gentlemen': 'a brother of Sir Alexander Murray of Stanhope, a very deserving young gentleman [... and] the eldest son of Sir Robert Monro, a lively youth of 17 or 18 years of age, a good scholar for that age'.¹⁶

However, the number of Scots was certainly higher, since there were always students who never registered at all, possibly preferring to remain outside official records. This applies particularly to Jacobites for whom Leiden, as in 1716, served as a refuge. Ezeckiel Hamilton did not matriculate, and when Sir Edmund Crofton (50 Med.) finally enrolled 'to save a trifling duty of three guineas a year on wine', he occasioned much amusement among the British community: 'in going to be admitted he lost a diamond ring worth twenty guineas.' Constantly mixing with these older and younger students were visitors from Britain, many of whom in the summer months when on their way to Spa, stopped over in Leiden to consult Boerhaave.¹⁷

It would seem that like most of his countrymen Sinclair mainly associated with fellow Scotsmen; probably also with the English students who stayed with Abraham van den Berg. On Sundays they attended divine service in the English (Scottish) church with the Rev. Thomas Gowan, minister at Leiden from 1716 to 1758, 'a man of very good sense and very well beloved by the students'. British students also worshipped in the French congregation then just under 2,000 souls, combining devotion with practising their French. On Sunday afternoons Sinclair may have gone for a walk into the countryside to Leiderdorp or to the beach at Katwijk, or simply around the city, which would have taken him an hour and a half.¹⁸

The students, who were visited by the Scottish minister at home, may not all have realized that it was part of his job to inform the government in London of the presence of undesirable characters. The Jacobite activist, the Rev. Ezeckiel Hamilton, who briefly returned to Leiden after the 1747 debacle, no doubt fell into this category. When he settled in Leiden in 1736, he knew that several people would be glad to find out his motives, but he never discovered that all his letters were opened at the Leiden post office, and that copies were sent to the Foreign Office. On 21 January 1737 he wrote to Earl Marischal, on behalf of whom he also consulted Boerhaave: 'I have not been idle since I came here, and have met with some very honest and agreeable young men who are very desirous

of conversing with me; I have confirmed some and mended others.' The Scottish students were used to celebrating St Andrew's day but the Jacobites had their special commemorations as well. On 10 May 1737 Hamilton celebrated the Duke of Ormonde's birthday 'with a considerable number of gentlemen of the three kingdoms with all possible respects'. This happened, not surprisingly, 'at the Golden Ball in the Papengracht'.¹⁹

Two events that caused quite a stir were an eclipse of the sun and the appearance of a comet clearly visible in the evening sky from the end of February till the beginning of April 1737. The comet was painstakingly described by scholars such as Nicolaas Struyck FRS, who saw it in Leiden and James Bradley in Oxford. George Clerk reported about it to his father, whose account of the eclipse appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions* (no. 447):

We had here the happiness of a fine day, but cannot boast of the goodness of our instruments, a piece of smoked common glass being the height of our ambition, it being a hard thing to find better in this place. The comet created no less amusement here to the populace, who upon the first hearing of it in the paper, ran out and seeing Venus, who at that time was in her greatest light, did not give themselves the trouble to think, but at once concluded that this was the comet. It was very pleasant to see them on the bridges at their observations, for some would have the tail to be above, others below, and others that it was not fixed to one place, but moveable. But all unanimous agreed that she had a tail and all were happy in making and placing it according to their own imagination.²⁰

Staying in Leiden was a relatively expensive matter. On 19 June 1737 Hamilton wrote to Earl Marischal that Leiden was 'a much dearer place than it was twenty years ago: few students, though they keep no servants, can live under a hundred pounds a year.' It would appear that this also applied to Sinclair: in just under ten months he spent approximately 960 guilders, or 96 pounds sterling. This was a little more than the *f*1,042 John Clerk disbursed at Leiden in his first year (1694–95), or the *£*99:3:10:½ George Bogle spent from 3 October 1725 till 21 January 1727, but nothing in comparison with the *f*1656:16 Andrew Wauchope was able to afford in five months at Leiden. This included over *f*500 on clothes, as much on board and lodging and that of his servant (*f*75), *f*138:6 for riding and *f*144:7 for private lessons and dictates.²¹ Sinclair spent almost one third (*f*280) of his *f*960 on board (about *f*5 a week), lodging (*f*75 a year) and heating (*f*17). About a quarter (*f*220) was spent on wine and clothes (including washing and mending) and a similar sum on tuition fees (*f*140) and books (*f*100). Then there are the twenty-two guilders twelve stuivers he paid to Boerhaave for two consultations and the cryptic entry of *f*112, which may have covered his pocket money. Finally he spent about *f*60 on various journeys, some of them necessary but at least one a pleasure tour.

Excursions

Scottish students at Leiden regularly travelled to Rotterdam (seven hours distant) on financial business and, in order to meet friends, to Utrecht (ten hours), where 'the air' was better and whose academy was preferred by the more aristocratic Scottish students to that of Leiden. During the holidays the students toured the country and Sinclair was no exception. In the second half of October 1736 he made a brief visit to Utrecht and, a fortnight later, to Rotterdam, saving some time for sightseeing at The Hague, a town he had not seen yet. His second recorded visit to Rotterdam, in March, may again have been for financial

transactions, but the trip in the Easter holidays (fol. 5-7) was solely for pleasure. It was possibly for this occasion that he ordered a scarlet frock coat and breeches, which cost him forty-five guilders.²²

Thus after a very mild but moist winter in which almost all British students had caught colds ('no person, not even Esculapius himself, had escaped it') the weather finally turned sunny, and on Friday April 19, Sinclair with James Kennedy, William and Charles Hay and his room-mate Walter Stirling, who had both just arrived in Leiden and who were to take their MD together at Rheims on 28 November 1737, set out in the scout for Haarlem, a five-hour journey (fare 13 st.). After dining at the Swan, near the Leiden gate, and drinking three bottles of wine, they went to see the famous bleaching fields in the surroundings and also briefly visited De Hartekamp, the house of the Amsterdam banker George Clifford. They did not have enough time to see the garden, 'the largest in the country', whose collection of plants Linnaeus, the Swedish botanist, was then describing. The next morning they visited the traditional sights: in the Great Church workers were engaged in building the still famous Müller organ, which 'was to have six thousand pipes, so it will be the largest in this country'. They also saw the house where Laurens Janszoon Coster was born, according to local tradition the inventor of the art of printing.²³

They set out for Amsterdam (fare 6 st.) before dinner and the same day inspected the Admiralty. They even went on board the Amsterdam, 'the largest ship they have, carrying a hundred and four guns, seventy-five foot from keel to the deck; I saw some anchors 8000 pound weight'. After this the students went to see the Exchange and the Stadhuis with its rich interiors, and they concluded the day's work by attending a Jewish 'passover' service, where Sinclair like many other tourists, was principally struck by the noise made when 'the Law [was] carried out in procession [...] I was in danger of having lost my hearing'.²⁴

On Sunday morning they made the traditional round of the various churches: 'Lutherans, Anabaptists, Quakers, Socinians, Armenians, Papists, Protestants etc., for all religions are tolerated here'. Next they went to the Plantage, a public promenade with a small zoo. At this point the exact chronology of the various activities becomes difficult to trace, but the students probably also walked a few miles out of town to visit Tulpenburg. This country house on the river Amstel, whose gardens were a tourist attraction, was described in 1726-27 by another of Boerhaave's and Albinus' students, the Swiss scholar Albrecht Haller.²⁵

It was possibly on Monday morning that the tourists took the track scout for Utrecht (fare 13½ st.), from which city Sinclair had received a letter just before setting out from Leiden. They arrived after eight hours and had sufficient daylight left to survey the city from the tallest steeple of the country, '463 steps high'. They lodged with Mr Oblet at the fashionable 'Castle of Antwerp'. The next day they inspected another tourist attraction: the gardens of Zijdebalen, belonging to Mr Van Mollem, the owner of a silk-factory. With their grottoes and waterworks Sinclair thought they were quite impressive, but they fell short of Mr Pinto's gardens (=Tulpenburg) near Amsterdam. The travellers left Utrecht either on Wednesday evening in the night scout or on Thursday morning (fare 21 st.), for on their return to Leiden Sinclair noted that they had 'stayed out six days and nights'. His share of the cost came to f24:10. He was to return to Utrecht in July 1737 to see George Sinclair of Ulbster.²⁶ This time he was f16:16 out of pocket.

When on 21 July Sinclair set out for Paris, he had spent a reasonable amount of money. He dutifully paid his professors for their lessons, Elizabeth Hambroek for her dinners and his landlord for his breakfasts and accommodation. Moreover he settled his bills with the washerwomen and the cobbler and left a tip for the maid. Then he and his friends, William and Charles Hay, Walter Stirling and Samuel Nicholson leisurely travelled southwards, reaching Paris on 9 August. Sinclair was to stay in Paris until April 1738.²⁷

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- Joy Pitman on Boswell, cf. *Proceedings*, 19 (1989), p. 487-91 and 20 (1990), p. 67-77 and 205-12. TC Smout on Murray, 24 (1994), p. 97-103. Cf. also EA Underwood, *Boerhaave's Men. At Leyden and After*, Edinburgh 1977. Kees van Strien and Margreet Ahsmann, 'Scottish Law Students in Leiden at the End of the Seventeenth Century. The correspondence of John Clerk, 1694-1697', *LIAS*, 19 (1992-2), p. 271-330 and *LIAS*, 20 (1993-1), p. 1-65: hereafter Clerk correspondence. CD van Strien, 'Schotse studenten in Leiden omstreeks 1700', *Leids Jaarboekje* (86) 1994, p. 132-48 and (88) 1996. Scottish Record Office, GD/136/375.
- Pocket money, cf. entries 18 July 1737 and 11 October 1737. William Clerk (Leiden 1701-02) had f100 pocket money on a budget totalling f744 (SRO, GD18/2307/12).
- J Henderson, *Caithness Family History*, Edinburgh 1884, p. 132. RWI Smith, *English-Speaking Students of Medicine at the University of Leyden*, Edinburgh 1932, p. 214. University training before going to Leiden, cf. Underwood, p. 25. Young, cf. Boswell (p. 74-75 and 77). Murray, letter 5. Agreement, SRO, GD136/31.
- Murray, p. 101.
- Andrews, cf. letter, E Hamilton, Leiden, 31 October 1736 (*Historical Manuscripts Commission, Eglinton MSS*, London 1885, p. 459-61).
- Golden Ball, Leiden city archives (GAL): 'inlichtingen betreffende huizen' and stadsarchief, no. 7388. Names of landlords are taken from the Album (University Library Leiden, UBL) and the yearly (February) recension books (UBL and GAL). Album 13 Sept. 1736: Anthony Hay (22, Med.), William Sinclair (25, Med.) and James Kennedy (20, Med.; MD Rheims, 2 May 1736). Hay is recorded as William in the recension books (MD Rheims, 10 March 1738). Kennedy soon moved to another address.
- Clerk and Van den Berg, cf. GAL Stadsarchief, nos. 7382-83, lists of landlords of students, 1736-37. Boswell, p. 208.
- PJ Blok, *Geschiedenis eener Hollandsche stad, 's-Gravenhage* 1916, vol. III, p. 7. Underwood, p. 10 and 124. Hamilton, p. 459, cf. n. 5.
- Cf. GA Lindeboom, *Boerhaave's Correspondence*, I, Leiden 1962, p. 202-03 (26 August 1726). Boswell, p. 75. Van Royen, cf. Boswell, p. 209. Series, printed in PC Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, vol. V, 's-Gravenhage 1921, p. 47*-48*. H Beukers, 'Clinical Teaching in Leiden from Its Beginning Until the End of the Eighteenth Century', *Clio Medica*, 21 (1987-88), p. 146-48. H Punt, *Bernard Siegfried Albinus (1697-1770). On 'Human Nature'*, Amsterdam 1983, p. 1-13. Dalrymple, letter Leiden, October 15 1737 (SRO, GD110/915/1).
- GA Lindeboom, *Herman Boerhaave, The Man and his Work*, London 1968, p. 207. E Cohen et al., 'Katalog der wiedergefundenen Manuskripte . . . H. Boerhaave', *Verhandelingen der Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Natuurkunde*, 2nd ser., vol. XL, no. 2 (1941), p. 23-24, MS 119 (microfilm 605 at UBL).
- Boswell, p. 74. Letter, SRO, GD136/376/2.

- ¹² Spence, cf. Lindeboom, p. 203. EC van Leersum, 'Two of Boerhaave's Lecture Lists', *Janus*, 1919, p. 115-24. Murray, letter 7. Lectures and French, cf. Clerk correspondence, p. 287-89 and 301.
- ¹³ *Selections from the Family Papers Preserved at Caldwell*, ed. W Mure, *Maitland Club*, vol. 71, Glasgow 1854, p. 220-224. Mure's name is not in the Album. Swammerdam, list of subscribers. Price, cf. R. Arrenberg, *Naamregister van [. . .] Nederduitsche boeken*, Rotterdam, 1788, reprint Leiden 1965. Murray, letter 7. Book purchases by law students, cf. Clerk correspondence, p. 276 and 298-300. G Bogle letterbook (1725-27), Glasgow, Mitchell Library, Bogle Papers, fol. 54 (21 Jan. 1727) and fol. 68 (25 March 1727).
- ¹⁴ He frequently referred to him in his orations, cf. E Kegel-Brinkgreve and AM Luyendijk-Elshout, *Boerhaave's Orations*, Leiden 1983, passim.
- ¹⁵ Cf. Cohen, p. 36.
- ¹⁶ There were 956 registered students in February 1736 and 830 in February 1737. *Pallas Leidensis MCMXXV*, Leiden 1925, p. 292-95. Fifty of the 124 Scots who registered in 1729-38 studied medicine. Number of inscriptions of Scots, 1734: 13 (8 Med.), 1735: 5 (1 Med.), 1736: 12 (10 Med.). John Murray, Album 1 Oct. 1735 (20 Jur.) stayed until 1738. Henry Monro, Album 18 September 1736 (19 Jur.), stayed until 1740. Hamilton, p. 467-68 (December 17, 1736).
- ¹⁷ According to a letter of 28 May 1716, the Rector of the university and the city magistrates had declared that if anybody's extradition was demanded the Scotsmen would be given a timely warning (*HMC, Stuart MSS*, vol. II, p. 191). Hamilton, p. 501-02 and 489.
- ¹⁸ Gowan, James Balfour, 27 May 1729, SRO GD69/296/4. French church, cf. *Leids Jaarboekje*, 1955, p. 108-30. Social life, cf. also Alexander Carlyle, *Anecdotes and Characters of the Times*, ed. by J Kinsley, London 1973, p. 84-95 (1745-46). CD van Strien, 'John Talman en andere Britse toeristen in Leiden en omstreken rond 1700', *Leids Jaarboekje*, 1990, p. 31-60.
- ¹⁹ Gowan informer, cf. *HMC, Townshend MSS*, p. 193 (11 May 1723). Hamilton, p. 458, 468, 477, 484-85 and 492. Album, 25 May 1747, 48 Jur., at his old address with lieutenant Aliome. By February 1748 he had left.
- ²⁰ SRO GD18/5396/3, letter 22 April 1737. Cf. N Struyck, *Inleiding tot de algemeene geographie, benevens eenige sterrekundige en andere verhandeligen*, Amsterdam 1740, p. 301-02; 299*-300*. *Philosophical Transactions*, **XL** (1737), p. 111-22.
- ²¹ Hamilton, p. 501. Cf. Clerk Correspondence, p. 275-76. SRO, GD247/177/6, financial accounts of Andrew Niddrie of Wauchope in Holland (1722-25). Bogle, fol. 54 (21 Jan. 1727).
- ²² Utrecht, cf. Clerk correspondence, p. 281. Data on the cost and conditions of travel (not provided by Sinclair) have been taken from CD van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland during the Stuart Period*, Leiden/New York/Köln 1993, *Brill's Studies in Intellectual History*, vol. 42.
- ²³ Weather, Hamilton, p. 477 and 488 (April-May 1737). William Hay, see n. 6. Album, 5 April 1737: Charles Hay (21 Med.) and Walter Stirling (22 Med.), staying with Pieter Surland in the Papengracht. Linnaeus published his *Hortus Cliffortianus* in Amsterdam in 1738. Cf. Boswell, p. 208.
- ²⁴ Cf. Van Strien, *British Travellers*, p. 209-11.
- ²⁵ Hintzsche E ed., *Albrecht Hallers Tagebücher seiner Reisen nach Deutschland, Holland und England (1723-1727)*, St Gallen 1948, p. 45 (1726) and 95-96 (1727).
- ²⁶ The Utrecht Album, which registers only a small minority of students, has 32 entries for 1737. No. 10 (no date) is George Sinclair (d. 1776), eldest son and successor of John Sinclair of Ulbster (cf. Henderson, p. 73).
- ²⁷ Nicholson, Leiden Album 25 September 1736, (American, 22 Med.), stayed with Christiaan van Gerwen on the Rapenburg (also 1737); MD Rheims, 10 March 1738, together with William Hay.

A PERIPATETIC PAEDIATRICIAN

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Like my father before me I was born in Kulim, Kedah a state in the northwest coastal region of Malaysia. He was an only child of Sikh parents who had their roots in a feudalistic society, living on their agricultural lands in a district well-known for its lawlessness, north-west of Lahore and now in Pakistan. My grandparents moved to Kedah at the end of the 19th Century where my grandfather worked for the State as revenue collector of the five districts which had been ceded to Kedah by Thailand. When I was a few years old, our family moved to Penang for my schooling. My father practised as an advocate and solicitor. I completed my Senior Cambridge Examination in 1936. He had heard of Dr Ruth Young, Principal of the Lady Hardinge Medical College at Delhi, and was in correspondence with her whilst I was still at school. Dr Young advised him to send me to Lahore to study science and qualify for admission to her College. Whilst in school, I had read every book I could find in the public library on life in India including Kipling's books as he had worked in Lahore as an editor of a paper. None of these books was written by an Indian.

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I was not prepared for the intense heat of summer, nor for the severe cold in winter in homes built to keep out the heat or for transport in rickety wooden contraptions called tongas in which you held on to the sides for your life in case the ill-fed horse decided to gallop instead of maintaining a slow trot. The cultural shock was yet to follow. On admission to the hostel, I found myself confined behind high walls that shut off the outside world. Most of the day scholars at the College wore a black burqa similar in function to the chaddors worn by the women in Iran today.

Lahore with a history going back 2,000 years had an ambience all of its own. Although it was the centre of Muslim culture and power, much of Sikh history, secular and religious, had been enacted in and around it. This I had to see. The college was close to the Mall, the modern part known as the Paris of India. We were told we could not leave the hostel grounds without permission. We could meet males only if they were members of our immediate family. I could never go out with anybody else. I wrote to my father. He sent me back a blank sheet signed by himself stating that I could enter the names of any friends as and when I wanted. When I presented this to the Principal, she was not amused. My father arranged for one of his friends to become my guardian and I was allowed out on two Sundays a month. Having travelled from Penang via Rangoon to Calcutta on my own, as the Captain's ward, been met at the docks in Calcutta and put on the train by friends and then been on my own again for the 36-hour train ride, I

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