THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

The Genius Loci of the Athens of the North: The Cultural Significance of Edinburgh's Calton Hill.

Kirsten Carter McKee

PhD
The University of Edinburgh
2013

Contents

Acknowledgements

Many people should be particularly thanked for their help in researching, collating and producing this thesis.

Firstly, truly special thanks goes to my academic supervisor John Lowrey at the University of Edinburgh, whose unending support, patience and friendship has made what has at times been an arduous task thoroughly enjoyable and always intellectually stimulating. I will miss our Friday morning coffee sessions where much was unravelled, deliberated and discussed.

My supervisor at Edinburgh World Heritage Trust, Fiona MacDonald has also played a particularly special role in supporting and encouraging me at times when the project just seemed too big to take on. Her gentle encouragement has always left me buoyant and stimulated to forge ahead with the task at hand.

Other members of staff of the University of Edinburgh have also been extremely supportive, and I would like to thank in particular, Ruxandra-Iulia Stoica, Alex Bremner, Iain Boyd Whyte, Margaret Stewart, Viccy Coltman and Dimitris Theodossopoulos. Jim Lawson provided extremely helpful and thorough editing notes for this final version, for which special thanks and appreciation must also be noted.

At EWHT, the staff, Board and specifically the members of the Calton Hill working group have been endlessly supportive and encouraging throughout this process and I have enjoyed sharing my findings while viewing the on-going conservation of the hill first hand. It is heart-warming to see such thoughtful and skilled care being applied to bringing the hill into 21st-century use.

Financing for this studentship came from collaborative funding provided by the AHRC and EWHT. Additional financing for research and travel came from the INTACH UK Trust, and through numerous student bursaries available at the University of Edinburgh. It is highly unlikely that I would ever have been able to dream of undertaking such a studentship without this financial support, and in a world where financed studentships are increasingly difficult to come across, I feel exceptionally fortunate and truly grateful for the opportunities given to me by these organisations.

This work has been largely archive-based, and assistance from the staff at Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh City Library, the National Library of Scotland, the Royal Scottish Academy, the National Gallery of Scotland, the University of Edinburgh Library, in particular, those based in the Art and Architecture library and the Centre for Special Collections, the Burns Archive in Ayrshire, the RIBA Archives at the Victoria and Albert Museum, the

British Library, and The Bodleian at the University of Oxford have been extremely important in putting together this work.

There have also been three particularly generous people whom I have had the good fortune to meet whilst carrying out my research. These are; The Late Professor Charles McKean, Dr James Simpson OBE and Dr Allen Simpson. These people have given me their time and information willingly, and without expectation of recompense, and their example is one that I hope to emulate when approached by junior scholars in future years.

Finally, I would never have been able to complete this work without the support and encouragement of my family, and in particular, Paul Carter – who started out at the beginning of this research as my boyfriend and ended it as my husband, and father to my daughter. Thank you so much for the endless tea making, dishwashing, and rant-listening when I have been at my lowest ebb. This is wholly dedicated to you and to our daughter, Holly.

List of Plates

Introduction

Section 1

Plate 1.7 View of David Hume Monument from North Bridge. The Playfair Observatory viewed directly behind sits on the same spot as Craig's original Octagonal Observatory. Author's own photo.

Plate 1.8. Robert Adam, Bridewell Design 1, 1791, Taken from Markus, T. in Markus, T. Order in Space and Society, 1982.

Plate 1.9 James Wardrup, Design for a Bridewell in Edinburgh, 1791, Taken from Markus, T. in Markus, T. Order in Space and Society, 1982.

Plate 1.10 John Baxter, Design for a Bridewell in Edinburgh, 1791. Courtesy of RCAHMS.

Plate 1.11 George Dance, A plan of Newgate Prison in London, 1800, Crace Collection, Courtesy of the British Library.

Plate 1.12 Robert Adam, Bridewell Design 3, 1791, Taken from Markus, T. in Markus, T. Order in Space and Society, 1982.

Plate 1.13 Robert Adam, Final Bridewell Design, 1791, Taken from Markus, T. in Markus, T. Order in Space and Society, 1982.

Plate 1.14 Jeremy Bentham, Panopticon, 1787. Taken from Bentham, J., Panopticon: Or, the Inspection-House. Containing the Idea of a New Principle of Construction Applicable to Any Sort of Establishment, in Which Persons ... Are to Be Kept ... And in Particular to Penitentiary-Houses, Prisons, ... In a Series of Letters, Written In ... 1787, 1791.

Plate 1.15 Robert Adam, "Bridge over (?) from Princes Street at (?) Calton Hill Edinburgh," undated, circa 1791. Detail of Bridewell. Courtesy of RCAHMS

Plate 1.16 Robert Adam, "Sketch of a bridge of communication between the New Town & buildings on the Calton Hill, forming an entrance to the Old Town by the Calton Street & Leith Wynd to the High Street of Edinburgh", undated, circa 1791, Courtesy of RCAHMS.

Plate 1.17 Robert Barker, Edinburgh From the Calton Hill, 1792. Detail showing unfinished Octagonal Observatory. Courtesy of Centre for Special Collections, University of Edinburgh.

Plate 1.18 Alexander Nasmyth, Proposal for Nelson Obelisk, 1806. Taken from Nasmyth, J and Smiles, S. James Nasmyth, Engineer, and Autobiography, 1897.

Plate 1.19 W.Tombleton after Thomas Shepherd, Nelson's Monument, Calton Hill, Edinburgh. Taken from Shepherd, T, Modern Athens! Displayed in a series of views: or Edinburgh in the nineteenth century: exhibiting the whole of the new buildings, modern improvements, antiquities, and

picturesque scenery, of the Scottish metropolis and its environs, 1829.

Plate 1.20 Robert Adam, Brizlee Tower, Alnwick, 1781. Courtesy of www.scran.ac.uk.

Plate 1.21 W.Tombleton after Thomas Shepherd, The New Jail from Calton Hill. Taken from Shepherd, T, Modern Athens! Displayed in a series of views: or Edinburgh in the nineteenth century: exhibiting the whole of the new buildings, modern improvements, antiquities, and picturesque scenery, of the Scottish metropolis and its environs, 1829.

Plate 1.22 W.Tombleton after Thomas Shepherd, Waterloo Place, London (n.d.) Taken from Summerson, J. Architect to King George IV, 1949.

Plate 1.23 W.Tombleton after Thomas Shepherd, Waterloo Place, The National & Nelson's Monument, Calton Hill&c. Edinburgh. Taken from Shepherd, T, Modern Athens! Displayed in a series of views: or Edinburgh in the nineteenth century: exhibiting the whole of the new buildings, modern improvements, antiquities, and picturesque scenery, of the Scottish metropolis and its environs, 1829.

Plate 1.24 James Craig, "To His Sacred Majesty, George III, the plan of the new streets and squares, intended for his ancient capital of North Britain." 1768. Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Plate 1.25 Robert Mein, Plan of Edinburgh showing Leith Walk as a gravel track. Taken from Mein, R. *The Edinburgh paradise regain'd, on the city set at liberty, to propagate and improve her trade and commerce. ... By a merchant-citizen, ...*, 1764.

Plate 1.26 John Ainslie, "Old and New Town of Edinburgh and Leith with the proposed docks", 1804. Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Plate 1.27 William Reid, Proposal for the Third New Town between Edinburgh and Leith, 1813. Taken from Byrom, C. The Edinburgh New Town Gardens : 'Blessings as well as Beauties', 2005.

Plate 1.28 Richard Crichton, Proposal for the Third New Town between Edinburgh and Leith, 1813. Taken from Byrom, C. The Edinburgh New Town Gardens: 'Blessings as well as Beauties', 2005.

Plate 1.29 Alexander Naysmith, Proposal for the Third New Town between Edinburgh and Leith, 1813. Taken from Byrom, C. The Edinburgh New Town Gardens: 'Blessings as well as Beauties', 2005.

Plate 1.30 James Milne and Benjamin Bell, Proposal for the Third New Town between Edinburgh and Leith, 1813. Taken from Byrom, C. The Edinburgh New Town Gardens: 'Blessings as well as Beauties', 2005.

Plate 1.31 Robert Stevenson, Sketch plan and section showing the lands of Heriots Hospital on Calton Hill. Taken from Byrom, C. The Edinburgh New Town Gardens: 'Blessings as well as Beauties', 2005.

Plate 1.32a William H. Playfair, Design for a New Town between Edinburgh and Leith, April 1819**.** Taken from Byrom, C. The Edinburgh New Town Gardens: 'Blessings as well as Beauties', 2005.

Plate 1.32b William H. Playfair, Design for a New Town between Edinburgh and Leith, December 1819**.** Taken from Byrom, C. The Edinburgh New Town Gardens: 'Blessings as well as Beauties', 2005.

Plate 1.33 Ha-Ha at Royal Terrace Gardens, Author's own photo.

Plate 1.34 William Henry Playfair, Section of drain to be built at Blenheim Place, 1821. Drawing demonstrates detailed instructions provided for workmen excavating and laying the drain. Courtesy of Centre for Special Collections, University of Edinburgh.

Section 2

Plate 2.1. James Gordon. Edinodunensis Tabulam, 1647. Detail of Greyfriars Kirk and Kirkyard on the south side of Edinburgh. Courtesy of National Library of Scotland.

Plate 2.2 Robert Milne, Monument in memory of John Milne, 1667. Author's own photo.

Plate 2.3 Andrew Mostyn Armstrong, Map of the Three Lothians, 1773.Detail showing Calton Burial Ground on south side of Calton Hill. Courtesy of National Library of Scotland.

Plate 2.4 James Kirkwood, Plan and Elevation of the New Town of Edinburgh, 1819, detail showing proposed National Monument. Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Plate 2.5 Archibald Elliot, Perspective view of the National Monument for Scotland, Edinburgh, 1822, Courtesy of RCAHMS.

Plate 2.6 Alexander Nasmyth, View of the City of Edinburgh, 1822, Oil on Canvas, Courtesy of Yale Centre for British Art.
http://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/1666747

Plate 2.7 Hugh William Williams, View of Athens, c.1818, Oil on Canvas, Courtesy of Bridgeman Art Library.

Plate 2.8 John Wilson Ewbank, The entry of George IV into Edinburgh from the Calton Hill, 1822, Oil on Canvas, City of Edinburgh Council Collections.

Plate 2.9 Public Parks Department, Plan of Old Calton Burial Ground, 1928. Detail of Playfair Burial Plot, Courtesy of City of Edinburgh Council.

Plate 2.10 William Henry Playfair, Monument to Dugald Stewart, 1831. Author's own photo.

Plate 2.11. John Flaxman/Thomas Denman, Statue of Robert Burns, 1828. Courtesy of www.scran.ac.uk.

Plate 2.12a Charles Robert Cockerell, Transverse section of the National Monument, (pencil, pen and wash), 1822. Courtesy of the Royal Scottish Academy.

Plate 2.12b Charles Robert Cockerell, Transverse section through vestibule of the National Monument (pencil, ink and wash), 1822. Courtesy of the Royal Scottish Academy.

Plate 2.13 William Henry Playfair, National Monument, 1828. Author's own photo.

Plate 2.14 Thomas Hamilton, Monument to Robert Burns, 1832. Courtesy of www.scran.ac.uk.

Plate 2.15 Thomas Hamilton, Design of the Royal High School (pencil and watercolour on paper), 1831. Courtesy of the Royal Scottish Academy.

Plate 2.16 James Stewart and Nicholas Revett, Measured drawing of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, taken from Stewart, J. and Revett, N., The Antiquities of Athens, 1762.

Plate 2.17 James Kirkwood, "Kirkwood's new plan of the City of Edinburgh," 1821. Detail showing Millars Knowe. Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Plate 2.18 James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, Plan of the Acropolis of Athens, showing placement of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, Taken from Stewart, J. and Revett, N., The Antiquities of Athens, 1762.

Plate 2.19 Thomas Hamilton, Monument to Robert Burns (watercolour and ink), Alloway, 1818. Courtesy of RCAHMS.

Plate 2.20 Thomas Hamilton, Monument to Robert Burns, Edinburgh, 1832. Courtesy of RCAHMS.

Plate 2.21 Thomas Hamilton and David Roberts, View of the Royal High School and Burns' Monument, Edinburgh, undated, circa 1830. Courtesy of the Royal Scottish Academy.

Plate 2.22 William Henry Playfair, Royal Observatory, Calton Hill, Edinburgh (Watercolour on board), c.1818. Courtesy of RCAHMS.

Plate 2.23 William Henry Playfair, Monument to John Playfair, 1822. Courtesy of RCAHMS.

Plate 2.24 Monument to Dugald Stewart from North Bridge, showing relative scale to Gothic Observatory. Taken from Google Street View.

Plate 2.25 George Meikle Kemp, Monument to Sir Walter Scott, Edinburgh, 1844. Courtesy of www.scran.ac.uk.

Plate 2.26 J Noel Paton, National Memorial of the War of Independence under Wallace and Bruce, unbuilt, 1859. Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Plate 2.27 John Thomas Rochead, Monument to William Wallace erected at Stirling, 1869. Courtesy of www.scran.ac.uk.

Plate 2.28 Robert Kirkwood, "This plan of the City of Edinburgh and its environs," detail delineating curtiledge of New Calton Burial Ground, 1817. Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Plate 2.29 James Kirkwood & Sons' "Kirkwood's new plan of the City of Edinburgh," detail delineating curtiledge of New Calton Burial Ground, 1821. Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.

Plate 2.30 Thomas Hamilton, Obelisk to Political Martyrs, 1844.

Plate 2.31 Anon, Emancipation/Lincoln Monument in Old Calton Burial Ground, 1893. Taken from The Lincoln Monument in memory of the Scottish-American Soldiers, 1893.

Plate 2.32 House Tombs at New Calton Burial Ground. Image courtesy of the Scottish War Graves Project.
http://scottishwargraves.phpbbweb.com/scottishwargraves.html

Section 3

Plate 3.1 Robert Forrest, Robert the Bruce and the Monk of Baston, c.1832. Courtesy of J.Rock.

Plate 3.2 Robert Forrest, Duke of Wellington, c.1832. Courtesy of J.Rock.

Plate 3.3 T Picken after J Harding, The National Monument on Calton Hill, c1880. Courtesy of www.edinphoto.org.uk.

Plate 3.4 Henry Raeburn, Portrait of Sir James Stirling of Larbert, (Oil on Canvas),c. 1800. Courtesy of www.historicalportraits.com.

Plate 3.5 William Steven (?), Royal High School, Infirmary Street. Taken from Steven, W. The History of the High School of Edinburgh, 1849.

Plate 3.6 Thomas Hamilton, Proposal for a Royal High School in St James Square, c. 1825. Taken from Gow, I. in Walker, D., Scottish Pioneers of the Greek Revival, 1984.

Plate 3.7 Alexander Elliot, Regent Bridge/Road, c. 1817. Detail showing niches in retaining walls, Author's own photo.

Plate 3.8 Thomas Hamilton, Design for the Royal High School (pencil and watercolour on paper), 1831. Courtesy of the Royal Scottish Academy.

Plate 3.9 Julien-David Le Roy, Sketch of the Propalayea, Athens. Taken from Le Roy, J.D, Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce, 1758.

Plate 3.10 Robert William Billings, Trinity College Church, Edinburgh, south west view, 1847. Courtesy of RCAHMS.

Plate 3.11 David Bryce & Louis Joseph Ghémar, Proposal for Trinity Church at the foot of Calton Hill, 1852. Courtesy of Edinburgh City Libraries.

Plate 3.12 Ordnance Survey, Town plan of Edinburgh, 1849-53. Detail showing location of Burns Monument in relation to New Calton Burial Ground. Courtesy of National Library of Scotland.

Plate 3.13 James Gillespie Graham, Greenside Church, 1851. Author's own photo.

Plate 3.14 W.Tombleton after Thomas Shepherd, Royal High School, Calton Hill, Edinburgh. Taken from Shepherd, T, Modern Athens! Displayed in a series of views: or Edinburgh in the nineteenth century: exhibiting the whole of the new buildings, modern improvements, antiquities, and picturesque scenery, of the Scottish metropolis and its environs, 1829.

Plate 3.15 George Meikle Kemp, Calton Hill, Edinburgh, with the proposed National Monument, c1830. Courtesy of the RCAHMS.

Plate 3.16 Joseph Mallard William Turner, Edinburgh from Calton Hill & Heriot's Hospital, 1819. Courtesy of the Royal Scottish Academy.

Plate 3.17 Francois A. Pernot, Edimbourg. Vu du Calton Hill, 1826. Courtesy of www.britishmuseum.org.

Plate 3.18a Anon, The grand panorama of Edinburgh: As seen in a walk round the Calton Hill in 1847, detail of panorama looking towards the north. Courtesy of www.scran.ac.uk.

Plate 3.18b Anon, The grand panorama of Edinburgh: As seen in a walk round the Calton Hill in 1847, detail of panorama looking towards the south east. Courtesy of www.scran.ac.uk.

Plate 3.19 Thomas Begbie, Washerwomen on the Calton Hill, 1887. Courtesy of www.capitalcollections.org.uk.

Plate 3.20 David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, Calotype of Monument to Dugald Stewart and Gothic Observatory, c.1840s. Courtesy of http://www.gla.ac.uk/services/specialcollections/.

Plate 3.21 David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, Calotype of Nelson Monument, c.1840s. Courtesy of http://www.gla.ac.uk/services/specialcollections/.

Plate 3.22 David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, Calotype of Martyrs Monument, c.1844. Courtesy of http://www.gla.ac.uk/services/specialcollections/.

Plate 3.23 David Octavius Hill, The first General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland; signing the Act of Separation and Deed of Demission - 23rd May 1843,1866. Courtesy of http://www.gla.ac.uk/services/specialcollections/.

Plate 3.24 Mr Fairholm, Plan for completing the National Monument at Edinburgh, 1837. SL103, Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh.

Plate 3.25 James Dick Peddie, Suggestions for the improvement of Edinburgh (ink and watercolour), c.1870. Courtesy of the Royal Scottish Academy.

Plate 3.26 William Mitchell and Henry F Kerr, Proposal for the completion of the National Monument, 1906.

Plate 3.27 William Mitchell and Henry F Kerr, Proposal for the completion of the National Monument, 1906.

Plate 3.28 William Mitchell and Henry F Kerr, Proposal for the completion of the National Monument, 1907.

Plate 3.29 Henry F Kerr, Proposed development of Calton Hill as an open air Valhalla or Park of Memories and Hall of Recreation, 1909.

Plate 3.30 Ramsay Traquair and Frank Mears, A scheme to complete the National Monument on the Calton Hill, Pen and Watercolour, 1912. Courtesy of the Royal Scottish Academy.

Plate 3.31 George Washington Browne, Proposal for the Scottish National War Memorial, 1918.

Plate 3.32a Robert Lorimer, Plan of the Scottish National War Memorial, 1827. Courtesy of RCAHMS.

Plate 3.32b Robert Lorimer, Scottish National War Memorial, 1827. Courtesy of RCAHMS.

Plate 3.33 Pat Ronaldson, Perspective drawing of the proposed government offices on Calton Hill, 1930. Taken from McKean, C. The Scottish Thirties, 1987.

Plate 3.34 Thomas S. Tait, St Andrews House, 1933. Courtesy of www.scran.ac.uk

Conclusion

Plate 4.1 Alan Reiach Architects, Proposal for the Festival of Britain, 1949. Courtesy of RCAHMS.

Plate 4.2 Nationalist graffiti on the National Monument, 1968. Courtesy of www.scran.ac.uk.

Plate 4.3a Kate Whiteford creating installation on Calton Hill, 1987. Courtesy of www.scran.ac.uk.

Plate 4.3b Aerial view of Kate Whiteford's installation on Calton Hill, 1987. Courtesy of www.scran.ac.uk.

Plate 4.4 Jane Brettle, Allegorical Blueprint, Fotofeis Exhibition, 1995. Courtesy of www.scran.ac.uk.

Plate 4.5 Vigil for Scottish Parliament on Calton Hill, 1997. Courtesy of www.scran.ac.uk.

Plate 4.6 Debating chamber in ground floor of former Assembly Hall**,** Royal High School, Regent Road. C. 1979. Courtesy of RCAHMS.

Plate 4.7 Democracy Cairn, Calton Hill, 1998. Author's own photo.

Plate 4.8 Image of Scottish Parliament showing location with reference to Calton Hill, 2004. Taken from www.scotland-flavour.co.uk.

Introduction

At the eastern end of the Edinburgh World Heritage Site, a protrusion of volcanic rock known as Calton Hill is situated on the northern side of the Waverley Valley (Plate i). This area sits approximately 100m above sea level at its highest point - around 20m higher than Princes Street in the First 'New Town' and at approximately the same height as the Castle Esplanade in the 'Old Town' of Edinburgh.[1] During the early nineteenth century, the hill and its land to the north were developed, to extend the city of Edinburgh towards the Port of Leith, in order to open up new routes of access and communications between the port, the city, and the surrounding lands to the south and east. The resulting development provoked debates on the best approach to the development of the urban landscape, the suitability and resonance of specific architectural styles within the urban realm, and the use of public funds for large-scale urban development projects. In addition, the visual prominence of the hill in the city presented a stage for massive changes to the visual context of the boundaries of the city, the relationship between the Old and New Towns, and Edinburgh's relationship with its surrounding countryside. This blurring of the rural and the urban alongside new interpretations of the classical and the gothic, further emphasised the discordance between societal classes, initially marked out by the mid 18th century expansion of the first New Town and which became further emphasised during the city's industrial expansion in the latter half of the 19th century.

The great care over the choice for the hill's architectural character as an allegorical commentary on Scotland's role within the constitutional development of the United Kingdom became muddied throughout the 19th-century, as shifts in both societal perceptions and government constructs resulted in an evolution of the hill and its structures within the mindset of the Scottish populus. Although the structural evolution of the site during the

[1] Approximate height above sea level provided by www.earthtools.org.

later 19th and 20th centuries had lesser visual impact on the urban realm, as Scottish national identity swayed from a political to a culturally led discourse in architectural terms, perceptions of the structures on Calton Hill were considered to be representative of Scottish support for the construct of the British State during the 19th century. This was further confirmed by the development of the Scottish Office in the 1930s on the southern side of the hill, and the failed establishment of a Scottish Parliament in 1979, which was to be sited in the vacant Royal High School building. This culminated in the site becoming the focus for grassroots led campaigns for Scottish Independence and Home Rule by the later 20th century.

This thesis therefore focuses on the changing relationship between the perception of the hill and its structures over time, by exploring the architectural evolution of the site within broader aesthetic, social and political dialogues. It considers the extent to which the site, its structures, and the discourse surrounding the development of the hill represent the nuances that define Scotland as a nation, and help us to further understand how Scots viewed their identity, within both a British and Scottish context from the late 18th to the early 20th centuries.

This approach not only places the architecture on the hill within a broader discourse surrounding architecture's relationship with national, state and imperial identities, it also demonstrates how a more nuanced exploration of urban landscapes can contribute to a better understanding of the contemporaneous societies who developed the urban realm, and the events and debates that surrounded their development.

Geographical limitations

Due to the wide variety of themes that this thesis explores, and the extended timeframe that this work covers, the geographical limitations of the study area are mercurial in their extent, changing focus with the issues being

discussed throughout the text. However, for clarity and for ease of reading, the physical study area has been defined as that of the external limits of Playfair's 1819 plan for the Third New Town (Plate ii), which in the present day is defined through the following locations: The southern limit is the North Back of Canongate; the northern limit is the bottom of Leith Walk, at the intersection with Great Junction Street; the western limit is where Waterloo Place meets Princes Street, and follows Leith Street to the top of Broughton Street; and the eastern boundary is at the junction of Easter Road, Regent Road and Abbeymount, running down Easter Road to meet Leith Walk at its northernmost point.

History of the site before its development

The visual prominence of Calton Hill on the periphery of Edinburgh created a special relationship between this site and its surrounding landscape in the 18th century, which existed well before its development into a suburb of the city. Calton Hill's use before the 1770s is discussed in detail in Malcolm Irvine's 19th-century publication,[2] and Henry Paton's articles from the 1930s on the Barony of Calton in The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club.[3] These, alongside late 20th century archival analysis by Bill McQueen, mostly carried out using the City of Edinburgh Council Archives,[4] and the Archaeological analysis carried out by AOC Archaeology Group,[5] note the main activities on the hill from the prehistoric period to the 18th century. These include the area being a possible prehistoric hill fort,[6] an area for quarrying, a jousting

[2] Malcolm Sinclair Irvine, *The Calton of Caldtoun of Edinburgh 1631-1887* ([Edinburgh: s.n.], 1887).
[3] Henry M. Paton, "The Barony of Calton, Part I," *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* XVIII (1932), ———, "The Barony of Calton, Part Ii," *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* XIX (1933).
[4] B McQueen, "Appendix 1 - Archival and Documentary Research " in *Calton Hill Conservation Plan*, ed. LDN Architects for City of Edinburgh Council (1998). Which mainly outlines the information held within the archives of Edinburgh City Council.
[5] APC Archaeology Group, "Appendix 5 - Archaeological Analysis " in *Calton Hill Conservation Plan*, ed. LDN Architects for City of Edinburgh Council (1998).
[6] AOC Archaeology Group, "Appendix 5 - Archaeological Analysis " in *Calton Hill Conservation Plan*, ed. LDN Architects for City of Edinburgh Council (1998). 25.

ground[7] and an area for pastoral[8] and arable farming.[9] In addition, its open landscape, and its elevation and proximity to Edinburgh were considered a useful viewing point to the city and its environs to the west and east from the north side of Edinburgh.[10]

Much of the development in the vicinity of Calton Hill before the 1800s was of residences that made up small hamlets surrounding the hill. These were located at the southwest foot of the hill, in the hamlet of Calton, which is depicted on Gordon's map of 1647[11] (Plate iii) and at the western side, near Greenside, in the hamlet of Craigengelt, which was later renamed 'Mud Island.'[12] Being outside the boundaries of the Royal Burgh, the ownership and management of the land was in the superiority of the Balmerino family of Restalrig, who, under John Elphinstone, 2nd Lord Balmerino[13] granted a deed of gift in favour of Calton in 1631 to bring the inhabitants around Calton Hill together into a society that would provide exclusive rights over trade and taxation within the Barony. [14] In 1718, this society, by then known as the Incorporated Trades of Calton, opened a burial ground halfway up the

[7] Between the 'common-way and passage on the west' (Greenside) and 'the low ground betwixt the rock of Craigengalt' a flat piece of ground was given to the city as a jousting ground by James II on the 13th August 1456 for performing 'tournaments, sports and other warlike deeds'. James Grant, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh : Its History, Its People, and Its Places* (London ; New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., 1881). 102.

[8] 1693 John Sleazer: Edinburgh - 'The North Prospect of the City of Edenburgh' depicts sheep and shepherds on the summit of Calton Hill. See Plate 1.4.

[9] See such examples as Articles and Conditions of Roup[Auction/Sale] for a Tack [Lease] of the Lands of Calton Hill and of Green Gate Site, Belonging to the Town., 29th October 1756, Moses, Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh.

[10] John Sleazer, "The North Prospect of the City of Edenburgh," (National Library of Scotland 1693).

[11] James Gordon, "Edinodunensis Tabulam," (1647(?)), ———, "Edinodunensis Tabulam," (Amsterdam?: National Library of Scotland 1647).

[12] Leith Walk Research Group., Leith Walk and Greenside : A Social History ([Edinburgh]: [The Group], 1979).1 'Mud Island' is denoted and depicted as a cluster of buildings in Alexander Kincaid, A Plan of the City and Suburbs of Edinburgh, 1819. Plate iv.

[13] (d. 1649). One of a number of peers of the realm behind the instigation of the Scottish National Covenant of 1638.

[14] This was later to be entitled the 'Incorporated Trades of Calton', and was a society that worked in the interests of the tradesmen, or freemen of the hamlet of Calton. See Paton, "The Barony of Calton, Part I." and Irvine, *The Calton of Caldtoun of Edinburgh 1631-1887*. 9

summit of Calton Hill. During the early 17th century, the legal rights of the Kirk and parish of Restalrig – the Kirk associated with the hamlet of Calton - had been conferred upon the parish of South Leith, as the destruction of the collegiate Church of St Triduana in Restalrig during the Reformation in the mid 16th Century had removed the traditional burial ground and place of worship for those residing on Lord Balmerino's lands.[15] As a result, residents of Calton began using South Leith Kirk and Kirkyard for both religious worship and the interment of the dead.[16] This became problematic not only because it was a mile and a half to the north of the hamlet, but also because the high volume of burials that occurred at this site resulted in residents of Calton only gaining use of South Leith burial ground on specific times and days of the week. In the early 18th century therefore, permission was granted to the inhabitants of Calton by the Lord Balmerino to form a burial ground on an area of land on Calton Hill.[17]

Due to the nature of the establishment of the burial ground, the management of 'Old' Calton has never been under the control of a Parish Kirk[18], but instead was run as a business by the Incorporated Trades of Calton.[19] This society used the money collected from trade dues (the annual payment for the privilege of being freemen of Calton), the renting of burial plots, the provision of mortcloths for the dead and the interment of the recently-departed within the Old Calton burial ground to help freemen of Calton and

[15] Grant, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh : Its History, Its People, and Its Places*. Vol V, 131

[16] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland., An Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of the City of Edinburgh, with the Thirteenth Report of the Commission (Edinburgh, H. M. Stationery Off.,1951). lx-lxi. This Kirk was a similar distance from the church at Restalrig.

[17] Paton, "The Barony of Calton, Part Ii."

[18] NB. As religion played a large part in the daily running and recording of Scottish society up until the mid nineteenth century, this burial ground and the hamlet of Calton still had to associated with a Parish to record births, deaths and marriages. This, along with the lands of Restalrig to the east of Calton were part of the parish of South Leith, hence why bodies interred in Calton Burial Ground are recorded as 'Leith'.

[19] A society that worked in the interests of the tradesmen, or freemen of the hamlet of Calton.

their families who were poor, infirm or widowed. Further information on this group and how they functioned can be found in two volumes of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* from the 1930s[20], and in M.S. Irving's the Caldtoun or Calton of Edinburgh[21]. In addition, many of the meeting minutes and account transactions still survive in the Edinburgh City Archives. These hold a record of everyone buried within the Old Calton burial ground, and who paid for a burial plot.[22]

The remaining land on the western side of the summit of the hill, described as the 'North Craigs' or 'Neils Craigs' in Gordon's 1647 map, but given the name Calton Crags by Edgar's 1765 edition,[23] was sold by Lord Balmerino to Edinburgh Town Council between 1722-1725.[24] The ownership of the eastern side of Calton Hill was held by Heriot's Hospital and the lands to the north, leading down to Leith were split almost in half between the large institutions of Trinity and Heriot's Hospitals, with a few smaller individual farmsteads located at specific sites in between (Plate v). The area of Greenside to the north of the hill does not appear to be in private ownership. It had housed a chapel of the Holy Cross before being gifted to the Carmelite monks in the early 16th century for the erection of a monastery.[25] However, according to Hugo Arnot, in a *History of Edinburgh,* it was disbanded shortly after the reformation, and by 1591, the area housed a Leper Hospital by John

[20] See Paton, "The Barony of Calton, Part I.", ———, "The Barony of Calton, Part Ii."
[21] Irvine, *The Calton of Caldtoun of Edinburgh 1631-1887*.
[22] It should be noted that you did not have to be a freeman of Calton to be interred in the burial ground.
[23] William Edgar, "City and Castle of Edinburgh", 1765. (http://maps.nls.uk/towns/detail.cfm?id=312).
[24]Edinburgh Town Council Minutes, 17th August 1722, 7th September 1722, 6th January 1725 and 3rd February 1725, SL1, Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh. Balmerino was a staunch Jacobite, who ended up being beheaded in 1746 at the Tower of London for his support to Charles Stewart. It is possible that he had sold this land off to raise money for the Jacobean cause.
[25] Provost James, Earl of Arran and the Bailies of the city conveyed both the lands and the chapel at Greenside to John Malcolme, Provincial of the Carmelites and his successors by charter. Grant, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh : Its History, Its People, and Its Places*. Vol III, 102.

Robertson, a merchant in Edinburgh.[26] By the early 19th-century, this area is depicted in maps as developed land, with numerous residences and commercial premises.

Previous studies and broader context

Previous studies of Calton Hill and its surrounding area (known together as the third 'New Town') have concentrated on understanding this site mainly through architectural or historical analysis, often with a focus on individual buildings on or close to the hill's summit, or of specific persons or groups of people who have been associated with the site. This has resulted in a plethora of research on specific buildings, architectural genres and events relating to the area and its development within the city. For example, studies such as Malcolm Irvine's 19th-century publication on the Calton communities,[27] Henry Paton's articles on the Barony of Calton[28] and Anne Mitchell's study of the communities residing in Regent, Royal and Carlton Terrace[29] provide detail on the events and use of this site by its residents before and after its development in the 19th-century. Particular focus on the site's architecture and landscape can be found in A.J. Youngson's, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh,*[30] Connie Byrom's *Edinburgh's New Town Gardens*[31] and Peter Reed's chapter on the proposals for the urban layout of the grounds to

[26] Hugo Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh, by Hugo Arnot, Esq; Advocate.* (EdinburghMDCCLXXIX [1779]). 197 No trace of either the monastery or the hospital remain, although the site of both are still noted on 1:500 ordnance survey maps and archaeological excavations in 2009 located a number of graves thought to be holding the remains of the hospital's inhabitants. See Leith Walk Research Group., *Leith Walk and Greenside : A Social History*. And Duffy, G., "Skull Duggery", *The Sun*, 6th August, 2009.
http://www.thesun.co.uk/scotsol/homepage/news/2573735/Tram-workers-discover-400-year-old-skeletons.html
[27] Irvine, *The Calton of Caldtoun of Edinburgh 1631-1887*.
[28] Paton, "The Barony of Calton, Part I.", ———, "The Barony of Calton, Part Ii."
[29] Ann K. Mitchell, *The People of Calton Hill* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1993).
[30] A. J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh, 1750-1840* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988).
[31] Connie Byrom, *The Edinburgh New Town Gardens : 'Blessings as Well as Beauties'* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2005).

the north of Calton Hill.[32] Concerning specific structures on Calton Hill, Marcus Fehlmann's research on the unfinished National Monument provides a reasonably thorough outline of the events surrounding the development of this structure,[33] and texts by both David Gavine and D.J. Bryden provide a good general history of the observatory complex on the site.[34] Joe Rock and Ian Fisher's work on Thomas Hamilton have considered the development of both the Royal High School and the Burns monument in the context of the architect's career,[35] whereas other buildings and monuments on the hill have been considered as part of wider studies on Napoleonic commemorative structures,[36] institutional representation, or reactions to, state and municipal control.[37] Finally, the Burial Grounds of Old and New Calton have been considered both in terms of the architectural significance of their memorials,[38] and for their genealogical interest.[39] Recent studies carried out

[32] Peter Reed, "Form and Context : A Study of Georgian Edinburgh," in *Order in Space and Society*, ed. Thomas A. Markus (Mainstream, 1982).
[33] Marc Fehlmann, "A Building from Which Derived "All That Is Good": Observations on the Intended Reconstruction of the Parthenon on Calton Hill," *Nineteenth Century Art Worldwide* 4, no. 3 (Autumn, 2005).
[34] David Myles Gavine, "Astronomy in Scotland 1745-1900" (Thesis for the degreee of Doctor of Philosophy, Open University, 1982), D.J. Bryden, "The Edinburgh Observatory 1736-1811: A Story of Failure," *Annals of Science* 47 (1990).
[35] Joe Rock, Thomas Hamilton Architect 1784-1858 ([Edinburgh?]: J. Rock, 1984), Ian Fisher, "Thomas Hamilton," in Scottish Pioneers of the Greek Revival, ed. David Walker and Scottish Georgian Society. ([Edinburgh]: Scottish Georgian Society, 1984).
[36] Alison Yarrington, "The Commemoration of the Hero 1800-1864 : Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars" (Garland, 1988).
[37] Thomas A. Markus, "Buildings for the Sad, the Bad and the Mad in Urban Scotland 1780-1830," in *Order in Space and Society*, ed. Thomas A. Markus (Mainstream, 1982). Alex Tyrrell and Michael T. Davis, "Bearding the Tories: The Commemoration of the Scottish Political Martyrs of 1793-94," in Contested Sites : Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain, ed. Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrrell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), David Walker, Great Britain. Scottish Development Department. Historic Buildings and Monuments., and Great Britain. Scottish Office., St Andrew's House : An Edinburgh Controversy, 1912-1939 (Edinburgh: Historic building and Monuments, Development Department for the Secretary of State for Scotland, 1989). and Charles McKean, *The Scottish Thirties an Architectural Introduction* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1987).
[38] Ian Gordon Brown, "David Hume's Tomb: A Roman Mausoleum by Robert Adam," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 121 (1991), Betty Willsher, "Midlothian and Edinburgh " in *Survey of Scottish Gravestones* (National Monuments Record for Scotland c.1985).

for the purpose of the site's management and conservation have involved detailed explorations of the history and evolution of these sites alongside other burial grounds within Edinburgh World Heritage Site, in order to contextualise and evaluate their significance and importance.[40]

Many of the seminal texts on Calton Hill to date have tended to focus on the design, idioms and layout of the site, discussing Calton Hill and the development of its monuments either as a chronological chapter in the history of the development of Edinburgh, or with regards to its architectural or typological rhetoric. Those texts that have considered the site as a singular whole are fewer in number and include both published and unpublished papers[41] and conference proceedings.[42] These show that a more in-depth understanding of the area of Calton Hill has been of interest to both academics and local government for at least the last 40 years. Much of the interest in the present day has focused on the management and conservation of the site and its structures, and is gathered together in the production of the 1999 Calton Hill Conservation Plan by LDN Architects[43] - the most comprehensive survey of the site to date. The survey included architectural, archaeological and historical analysis of the summit of Calton Hill, researched through primary archival sources and on-site analysis. However, the geographical remit of the plan, which limited its focus to the upper part

---

[39] Michael T R B Turnbull, *The Edinburgh Graveyard Guide* (2006), John Smith, *Epitaphs and Monumental Inscritions in Old Calton Burying Ground, Edinburgh* (1907), J F Mitchell, *Some Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions* (1961), John F. Mitchell, *Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions (Pre 1855). Vol. 1, Old Calton Burial Ground, New Calton Burial Ground*, ed. Stuart E. Fleming. (2003).

[40] Kirsten Carter McKee, "Historical Analysis For "Edinburgh's Graveyards Project'," in The Edinburgh Graveyards Project, 2013, ed. Susan Buckham (Edinburgh: World Monuments Fund, Edinburgh World Heritage, 2011).

[41] John Smith, *The Calton Hill, Edinburgh and Its Monuments* (n.d.), David Gavine and Laurence Hunter, *A Caledonian Acropolis the Story of Calton Hill* (Edinburgh: Scotland's Cultural Heritage, 1982).

[42] University of Edinburgh. Department of Extra-Mural Studies; Edinburgh New Town Conservation Committee, "The Calton Conference: National Shrine, City Park and Outstanding Vantage Point: Does Edinburgh Make the Most of This National Asset?" (Edinburgh, 1983).

[43] Law-Dunbar and Naismith (LDN) Architects, "Calton Hill Conservation Plan," (Edinburgh1999).

of the hill, and the intellectual scope for its output, which was to consider current management issues and the hill's cultural significance brought only a partial understanding of the site. Its conclusions therefore related mainly to the hill's situation with regard to a range of themes bearing upon the cultural significance of the World Heritage Site. There remained the need for further analysis of Calton Hill within a wider cultural, political and social context, in order to fully understand its evolution, and explain why its cultural significance is considered to be of international importance.

Up until now, analysis of Edinburgh and Calton Hill within the context of 19th-century British urban design has been limited to brief research papers and footnotes discussing the monuments of Calton Hill within the broader discussion of Scottish national identity in the 19th-century.[44] These have demonstrated that consideration of the cultural, political and societal constructs that define Scottish identity alongside the development of Calton Hill, help to further understand the architectural rhetoric used in the structures on the site. Studies of Edinburgh and other Scottish towns from the post-modern period going back to the mid eighteenth century have also included the effects of contemporaneous societal events on the aesthetic of the urban townscape in their analysis.[45] The anglification of the city during the development of the first New Town in the 1760s, for example, was a deliberate attempt to create a visual homogeny in the urban townscape with other British cities, such as Bath and London, in order to establish British

[44] John Lowrey's analysis of the urban design of Calton Hill is one of the few published sources to discuss Nash's contemporaneous development of Regent's Park and its similarities to the development at Calton Hill. However, the length and scope of the article did not afford opportunity to explore this topic in detail, or to discuss the broader resonance of these outside factors in the development of this site. John Lowrey, "The Urban Design of Edinburgh's Calton Hill" (paper presented at the St Andrews studies in the history of Scottish architecture & design; The new town phenomenon : the second generation, [St. Andrews], 2000), Richard J. Morris and Graeme Morton, "The Re-Making of Scotland:A Nation within a Nation, 1850-1920," in *Scotland, 1850-1979: Society, Politics and the Union*, ed. Michael Lynch (1993).

[45] *"Three key events shaped eighteenth century Scottish Politics: The Union of 1707, the defeat of the Jacobite rising of 1745 and the British Wars against France"* Alice Brown, David McCrone, and Lindsay Paterson, *Politics and Society in Scotland*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998). 3.

Government control after the second Jacobite uprising.[46] The early 19th-century society in which the urban landscape of Calton Hill developed, however, evolved from an entirely different political outlook, as urban development not only sought to tighten control over British society but to promote its governing constructs - particularly on an Imperial stage.

Conscious efforts to promote the monarchy and the British State after the events of the French revolution (1789-99) and during the Napoleonic wars (1803-1815) were made through a plethora of commemorative structures to public heroes and the enhancement of the urban landscape throughout Britain, and the British Empire,[47]and it is in this context that Calton Hill was developed. In addition, the hill's landscape evolved at a time when Scottish society, in the throes of its Enlightenment period, was much more confident in its sense of self and the outputs of its Golden Age. The role of Edinburgh's urban layout during the Scottish Enlightenment in the 18th century is often considered as the stage and backdrop to the broader philosophical,[48] cultural and scientific ideas that were developed during this period, and that have evolved into modern society. The opportunities provided for many learned

[46] This is further considered in numerous discussions over Edinburgh's New Town development, such as Charles McKean suggestion that James Craig's original Union Jack plan for the development was to appeal to the Unionist sympathies of the judging panel see Charles McKean, "The Incivility of Edinburgh's New Town," in The Neo-Classical Town : Scottish Contributions to Urban Design since 1750, ed. W. A. Brogden (Edinburgh: Rutland, 1996). 41. Peter Reed also suggested that the plan was intended to be purely classical in form, in its hierarchical layout. Reed, "Form and Context : A Study of Georgian Edinburgh."

[47] Holger Hoock, "The British Military Pantheon in St Paul's Cathedral: The State, Cultural Patriotism, and the Politics of National Monuments, C.1790-1820," in *Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea.*, ed. Richard Wrigley and Matthew Craske (2004). Linda Colley, *Britons : Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, 2nd ed., Yale Nota Bene (New Haven, Conn. ; London: Yale University Press, 2005), Yarrington, "The Commemoration of the Hero 1800-1864 : Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars". John M. MacKenzie, "Empire and National Identities the Case of Scotland," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1998), Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (East Linton, Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press; Birlinn, 2001), Martha McLaren, *British India & British Scotland, 1780-1830 : Career Building, Empire Building, and a Scottish School of Thought on Indian Governance*, Series on International, Political, and Economic History (Akron, Ohio: University of Akron Press, 2001).

[48] James Buchan, *Capital of the Mind : How Edinburgh Changed the World* (London: John Murray, 2003). Chapter 1.

and inquisitive minds living in close proximity to the University, Law Courts and the Kirk – as well as to each other in the claustrophobic closes and wynds of the Old Town – allowed for the illuminati to engage in cross-disciplinary discussion. It has previously been noted that this opportunity to meet other like minded scholars facilitated the further pursuit of knowledge within their own discipline, and allowed for the emergence of new studies and theories that became the backbone of Enlightenment thought.[49] However, the effect that this discourse had on the development of the city is often only discussed in connection with specific aesthetic considerations, such as rationalism within the urban design of the New Town[50] or the honouring of antiquity in the architectural form.[51] It has not previously been considered how the shaping of cultural and social theories of the 18th-century, and their evolution through scholarly and political dialogue of the 19th-century, can also be identified in the developing urban landscape in the city - despite recognition of the necessity of including both aesthetic and social analysis in studying architectural history. As a result, the cultural and scientific remnants now found on Calton Hill are argued to have been as influential on the development of this area as the accompanying political discourse. This has already been recognised by both Architectural Historians and more mainstream texts relating to the social history of late 18th and early 19th-century Edinburgh and the Enlightenment.[52]

[49] Stewart Lamont, *When Scotland Ruled the World : The Story of the Golden Age of Genius, Creativity and Exploration* (London: HarperCollins, 2001), Buchan, *Capital of the Mind : How Edinburgh Changed the World*, Mary Cosh, *Edinburgh : The Golden Age* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2003), E. Patricia Dennison., *Holyrood and Canongate : A Thousand Years of History* (2005).

[50] For example, see McKean, "The Incivility of Edinburgh's New Town."

[51] Such as Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh, 1750-1840*. Patrick Geddes' work on the re-introduction of University residences into the heart of the Old Town is one of the few urban re-developments which tried to replicate this enlightenment community. See Jim Johnson and Louis Stanley Rosenburg, *Renewing Old Edinburgh: The Enduring Legacy of Patrick Geddes* (Glendaruel [Edinburgh]: Argyll Publishing ;Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies, 2011).

[52] Cosh, *Edinburgh : The Golden Age*. and Buchan, *Capital of the Mind : How Edinburgh Changed the World*, Morris and Morton, "The Re-Making of Scotland:A Nation within a Nation, 1850-1920.", Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, Lamont, *When Scotland Ruled the World : The Story of the Golden Age of Genius, Creativity and Exploration*.

Methodology and structure

In order to achieve a better understanding of the development of Calton Hill and the lands to the north, and its significance, it became imperative that this study consider the site and its structures within a remit that extended beyond its geographical limitations to include social, cultural and political constructs in Scottish and British society from the 18th- 20th centuries. By exploring identity through the architecture of the hill using these aspects, the following work therefore approaches the topic thematically, rather than chronologically. This focuses on the changing relationship between the city and its inhabitants with the hill and its structures, and considers the resonance of the actions that surrounded this change. In particular, it considers the centrality of perception to how contemporaries read Calton Hill and bases the broader discourse regarding the development of the site around contemporaneous events, cultural trends, and political movements. This has allowed for a broader contextualisation of key points in time that define the evolutionary stages of the hill's development. By detailing the development of the hill and its environs alongside contemporaneous discourse on cultural aesthetics and the political structure of the British state and the Scottish nation, inferences are made as to the significance of the architecture on Calton Hill in defining and understanding the complexities of Scottish identity in the post Union period

The first section; *Rural Urbanism to Urban Arcadia,* considers not only the hill as a singular entity, but also explores the relationship of Calton Hill to the city of Edinburgh and the broader Lothian and Scottish landscape, as well as to contemporaneous development of Regents Street and Regent's Park in London. The methodological approach to understanding the development of the urban landscape therefore has followed that of Professor Dana Arnold's approach to analysis of 19th-century London, which explores the interrelationships between 19th-century society and the development of Regent Street/Regents Park. This provided a broader understanding to the

events and processes surrounding the urban development of Westminster during this period,[53] and demonstrated that focus cannot be placed solely on the personalities involved in the large building projects associated with the area - such as had been previously done by John Summerson working on the architect John Nash.[54] Instead, she takes this knowledge together with an exploration into the relationships between all parties involved in the site's development in her pursuit of a deeper understanding of the "interactive process between landowners architect/builders patrons and broader social and cultural forces" is to be achieved.[55]

As the development of Calton Hill and the lands to the north are comparable with the Regent Street/Regent's Park development, in timescale, content and resonance for the development (i.e. the expansion of the British Imperial city),[56] this section considers the development of the site in a similar manner. Rather than studying "a set of buildings within a specific geographic location,"[57] or only considering the architecture or the architects/engineers associated with the site, this work attempts to consider the impetus for development within the broader context of British Imperial expansion. This includes consideration of the dialogue surrounding urban development, by both government and the general populace.

However, unlike Arnold's work, this thesis also addresses considerations of the aesthetic within the architectural and artistic outputs of this period. A consideration of the theories of aesthetics in the urban design of the hill in Section 1, is followed in the second section - *Death, Commemoration and Memory* with an exploration of the allegorical and cultural resonance of

[53] Dana Arnold, *Re-Presenting the Metropolis : Architecture, Urban Experience and Social Life in London 1800-1840* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).
[54] John Summerson, *The Life and Work of John Nash, Architect* (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1980).
[55] Dana Arnold, *Rural Urbanism: London Landscapes in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005). 52.
[56] This is highlighted in John Lowrey's paper, see Lowrey, "The Urban Design of Edinburgh's Calton Hill".
[57] Arnold, *Re-Presenting the Metropolis : Architecture, Urban Experience and Social Life in London 1800-1840*. Xix.

architectural rhetoric on Calton Hill. This section contains discussion of the role of the Greek Revival on Calton Hill in the early 19th-century as a national political rhetoric. This is followed by a discussion surrounding the rejection of classicism in favour of the Gothic, in both aesthetic and literary terms as a symbol of cultural nationalism by the mid 1800s. Through the designs of the monuments and structures associated with the hill, this section therefore considers both the evolution of design, and the role of the monument in the urban cityscape, in order to understand better the significance of the structures on Calton Hill to early 19th-century society.

The second section brings together analysis on the cultural and political discourse of the 19th century monuments on Calton Hill alongside discussion on its contextualisation within the evolution of the memorial in Scotland. To the author's knowledge, comprehensive architectural analysis of memorials limited to a purely Scottish context has never been attempted; instead, Scottish memorials have only been approached as a regional chapter within architectural textbook studies of British monuments.[58] As Scotland dealt with the burial of its dead through its own societal constructs, cultural influences, religion, and laws, the style and nature of its commemorative and memorial structures evolved separately to that of its English neighbour. This continued into the 19th-century, as its architectural influences were heavily influenced by its pre-union relationships with mainland Europe. Although the scope, subject and size of this thesis could not carry out this chronological analysis of Scottish memorials, an attempt has been made to place the burial grounds and structures on Calton Hill within a broader understanding of the 19th century Scottish cultural landscape. This is intended to not only contextualise the hill within a specifically Scottish dialogue, but also demonstrate the possible discourse that could be held, were there any in-depth analysis on Scottish memorials available to draw from.

[58] James Stevens Curl, Death and Architecture : An Introduction to Funerary and Commemorative Buildings in the Western European Tradition, with Some Consideration of Their Settings, New rev. ed. (Stroud: Sutton, 2002).

The perpetuation and enhancement of Scottish identity recognised in commemorative memorial structures on Calton Hill is a facet of the third section of this thesis; *Unionism to Nationalism.* It uses the work of Graeme Morton on the laissez-faire management of Scotland within the 19th-century Unionist state[59] to better understand the development of Calton Hill. This considers how the hill's landscape and its monuments were affected by, and reflective of, the aspirations of the Scottish elite - termed by Morton as Scottish Civil society – who fronted and managed Scottish municipal governance on behalf of the British state. In particular, it explores how and why those in Civil society perpetuated the notion of Scottish identity in cultural terms particularly for an Imperial stage, and how this can be identified in the design and use of the structures on Calton Hill from the mid 19th-century onwards. In addition, this section also considers those in the lower classes of society who used Calton Hill on a regular basis, but who did not have any control over the development of the site. It addresses how the architectural outputs of the decision-making elite conflicted with the interests of the hill-using populace and therefore considers the true ownership and identity of Calton Hill within local, national and societal spheres.

The thesis concludes with a consideration of the re-emergence of a political identity for the hill in the late 19th-century, and its manifestation through the development of the Scottish Office in the 1930s. This provides a starting point to discuss the role of the hill during the resurgence in the politicisation of Scottish national identity during the late 19th century and the establishment of Scottish Nationalism of the mid 20th century, which evolved alongside a distinct Scottish cultural consciousness.[60]

[59] Graeme Morton, "Civil Society, Municipal Government and the State:Enshrinement, Empowerment and Legitimacy. Scotland 1800-1929," Urban History 25, no. 3 (1998), Richard J Morris, "Civil Society and the Nature of Urbanism: Britian 1750-1850," Urban History 25, no. 3 (1998).
[60] http://www.holyroodinquiry.org/FINAL_report/chapter%2003.pdf, 45.

In all three sections, the use of primary and secondary sources are presented alongside architectural analysis of the structures on the site, or of structures related to the concurrent discourse. By discussing contemporaneous historical events alongside the establishment of architectural genres - of structures either geographically or thematically related to the hill - relationships between the evolution of the urban landscape of Calton Hill and the cultural and political discourse that drove and influenced this evolution are made clear. By establishing the relationship between the architectural development and the use of specific aesthetic styles in the design of many of the structures, with key societal shifts in Scottish and British culture and politics, it is therefore possible to provide a further dimension to the historical interpretation of Scottish society in the postmodern and contemporary period through its architectural presence. This thesis therefore concludes by considering the site's significance and role in the discourse surrounding late 20th century Scottish national identity, particularly with reference to the devolution of the Scottish Parliament in 1997, and the forthcoming referendum on Scottish Independence later this year.

Section 1: Rural Urbanism to Urban Arcadia

The evolution of Calton Hill from a rural hilly nub, into an urban hub reflecting the City's grandiose Imperial ambitions occurred mainly during the Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment period in Edinburgh. Both the layout of the hill and the structures built upon it are recognised as demonstrating a rationality and restraint in execution, which resulted in a synthesis between urban design and picturesque theory at the pinnacle of antiquarian interest in Greek architecture. Yet, how this interpretation of the surviving urban landscape can be understood within the broader social, cultural and political context of 18th, 19th and 20th-century thought is less widely known. Much is a consequence of the previous research on Calton Hill, which has mainly focussed on the site within the parameters of the history of urban development in Edinburgh and Scotland, or - with regard to the current surviving landscape - its comparison to the neoclassical aesthetic found in Bath or Regency London. It has, to date, tended to disregard the wider zeitgeist of the emerging British Empire, and the effects of political policies and social trends that were influenced by this, on the aesthetic discourse that surrounded the development of the urban fabric of the British city during the late 18th and early 19th-century.[61]

Previous study on the expansion of London and Britain during the early 1800s have engaged with this connection between government policy and the urban form.[62] This has recognised the importance of the contribution of localised schemes in reflecting and maintaining a sense of national equilibrium through the promotion of the British State and the glorification

[61] With the exception of a short article comparing Calton Hill's development to that of John Nash and Decimus Burton's Regent's Park design. See Lowrey, "The Urban Design of Edinburgh's Calton Hill".

[62] Arnold, *Rural Urbanism: London Landscapes in the Early Nineteenth Century*, Yarrington, "The Commemoration of the Hero 1800-1864 : Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars".

of British campaigns during the early years of the Empire.[63] It therefore seems appropriate that a similar analysis be applied to the development of Calton Hill as this area is both a reactive response to the needs of late 18th and 19th-century society, and an output of national government policy through local civic interpretation.

Calton Hill's changing relationship to the city of Edinburgh from the 18th-century onwards must also be considered within a broader aesthetic discourse. Theories of the picturesque and its application to urban landscape design are relevant to the site. In addition, other responses to the hill, both before and after the development of the urban layout in the early 19th-century correlate with emerging dialogues on the aesthetic that evolved throughout this period. Calton Hill's setting and topography provoked unique responses to aesthetic dialogues that emerged in Britain during the late 18th and early 19th century. The chronological development of the site's urban realm therefore requires contextualisation alongside the contemporaneous aesthetic discourse in order to better understand individual responses to the hill's development as specific points in time.

The following section therefore explores the social, cultural and political themes prominent to the hill's development during the late 18th and into the early 19th-century, with each of the three chapters focused on a specific aspect. The first, explores the idea of 'the visual' and its relationship with the urban design found on the hill. The second discusses the City's expansion during the early 19th-century and the hill's place in it, alongside emerging ideas of the urban picturesque. The third, discusses the implementation of these at the site and their relationship with broader notions of Scottish identity within the larger framework of British Imperialism.

[63] Ibid.

Chapter 1: The Visual

Apart from some of the monuments that survive in the Burial Ground established by the Incorporated Trades of Calton in 1717,[64] the oldest structure that survives on Calton Hill[65] is a small circular gothic building, located on the western edge of the hill's summit (Plate 1.1).[66] This building is the remnants of a development that occurred during the late eighteenth century, when Thomas Short, a mathematical instrument maker, applied to the Town Council to place a popular observatory[67] on the summit of Calton Hill. This was to house a large reflecting telescope that he had inherited upon the death of his brother James.[68]

Accounts of the history of Thomas Short's involvement in the development of the Edinburgh Observatory have been published in two different scholarly

[64] See Section 2 for further information on this.
[65] It is possible that older structures may have been placed on this site but these are not fully verifiable and are only identified through aerial photography.
[66] This is often referred to as 'Old Observatory House' or 'James Craig House', but both of these names are not fully correct and can be considered misleading. This building is therefore referred to as the gothic tower throughout this thesis.
[67] A popular observatory was an observatory that would be used as a tourist attraction. This is in contrast to an astronomical observatory, which would be closed to the public and was for scientific calculation only.
[68] See "Petition of Thomas Short, Optician of Edinburgh for a Feu of Half an Acre of Ground on Top of Calton Hill to Build an Observatory. With Plan of the Ground Etc,", 1st January 1776, D015R, *Macleod Bundles,* Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh.
Also, Anon, *Caledonian Mercury*, 8517, 3 June 1776. James Short's was a renowned instrument maker, based in London. His death in the late 1760s had resulted in his brother, Thomas Short, inheriting the London business along with the task of completing a lens intended for Christian VII, King of Denmark. By the time the lens was finally completed, the King had been removed from his throne and the commission was no longer required. This left Thomas Short with the 'twelve-foot focus reflector' reputedly worth 12,000 guineas. On the advice of friends, Short applied to set up the telescope on Calton Hill for the general public to view at a small sum, which would glean some profit from the bequest given to him by his brother, in addition to recouping some of the expense from completing this instrument after his brother's death. O.D.E. & P.A.R. "Account of the Observatory on Calton Hill", *Scots Magazine*, 50, December 1788, 606.

articles by D.J. Bryden[69] and in the 1982 Doctoral Thesis by D.M. Gavine.[70] The latter considers the historical implications of the development of the discipline of Astronomy in Edinburgh in relation to the rest of Scotland, and the former explores the complex relationship between Thomas Short, the Town Council and the University of Edinburgh in the establishment of an observatory for the city.(Bryden, 1990)[71] To date however, no more consideration had been given to the unusual character of the design.

After Short's application for the land feu on Calton Hill was granted,[72] it came to light that some monies to build this structure would be available from the University of Edinburgh, if the University were permitted to house their astronomical instruments within the proposed building and have access to the observatory.[73] The funds far exceeded the money required to build the simple building initially mooted by Short, which, according to the Scots Magazine was to be a simple unassuming stone and wood building:

> *Mr Short had confined his ideas to what was truly necessary towards the purpose in view, and no great sum would have been requisite for carrying them into execution; for it is in furnishing it with instruments and not in masonry or wright work, that the expence [sic] of an useful Observatory chiefly consists.*[74]

---

[69] Bryden, "The Edinburgh Observatory 1736-1811: A Story of Failure.", D.J. Bryden, "James Craig's Original Design for the Observatory on Calton Hill, May 1776," *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 7 (New Edition) (2008).

[70] Gavine, "Astronomy in Scotland 1745-1900".

[71] Both trace the history of the development of an observatory in Edinburgh back to the 17th century and describe in detail the efforts of Colin MacLaurin (Professor of Mathematics at the University of Edinburgh) to raise funds to erect an observatory at the University between 1734 and 1744. Gavine's article also provides detailed financial accounts for the costings in erecting the structures that were eventually to be placed on the hill.

[72] "Act in Favour of Thomas Short for a Tack of Half an Acre of the Calton Hill.", Edinburgh Town Council Minutes, 29th May 1776, SL1.

[73] Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh, by Hugo Arnot, Esq; Advocate.* 310. Gavine reports the funds standing at approximately 700 pounds after interest. See Gavine, "Astronomy in Scotland 1745-1900". 220.

[74] O.D.E. & P.A.R. "Account of the Observatory on Calton Hill", *Scots Magazine*, 50, December 1788, 606. This was to be built at a cost of £110. For a reference to this initial design and costs for masonry and timber work, see Anon, *Caledonian Mercury*, 10, 27 August 1787, 292.

Both Short's and the City Magistrate's ambitions for the structure grew with the availability of the additional monies and it was soon suggested that "*an Observatory…much more magnificent and ornamental …could be built.*"[75] By June 1776 therefore Short was advertising in the Caledonian Gazetteer, Edinburgh Evening Courant and the Caledonian Mercury for further subscriptions "*as many Gentlemen seem to be desirous that a building should be erected on a more elegant plan.*"[76]

After the allocation of the university funds to the construction of the observatory in 1776, the Magistrates of the city assumed greater control of the scheme during the additional fundraising stage. It is likely that it was at this point that James Craig was commissioned to design the new observatory, as the Town Magistrates had favoured Craig for a number of its projects during this period.[77] His original design, was double the height of the previous wood and stone structure (48ft/14.5m), and consisted of a central octagon 30 feet (9m) across, topped with a dome.[78] A sketch of the elevation (Plate 1.2) depicts a two-storied, octagonal building,[79] with a rusticated ashlar ground floor, rectangular portal and fenestration. It is topped by a domed roof, which can be opened to undertake astronomical observations. The whole effect is rather plain,[80] but it is clear that it was

[75] O.D.E. & P.A.R., "Account of the Observatory on Calton Hill," *Scots Magazine* 50 (December 1788). 606.
[76] Anon, Caledonian Gazetteer, 1, 31 May 1776.; Anon, Edinburgh Evening Courant, 1 June 1776.; and Anon, Caledonian Mercury, 8517, 3 June 1776.
[77] For a list of these, see Kitty Cruft and Andrew G. Fraser, *"The Ingenious Architect of the New Town of Edinburgh" : James Craig 1744-1795* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1995).
[78] P.A.R., "Account of the Observatory on Calton Hill." 633. Technical specifications for the building were by John Robinson, the Professor of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh see Bryden, "The Edinburgh Observatory 1736-1811: A Story of Failure." 462.
[79] Only three sides can be identified in the image, but the other sides are assumed from Laurie's plans of the site (see Plates 1.3a and 1.3b) and contemporary descriptions of the building.
[80] Untitled pamphlet, n.d., 23, 263, Gough Scotland Bodleian Library archives, University of Oxford. There is no date for this sketch, but it is known that the foundation stone for this building was placed on July 25th 1776. See *Scots magazine,* 38, July 1776, 393-394.

influenced by James Stuart's design for the Tower of the Winds, a belvedere built in 1764 for the Shoughborough Estate, which he had based on his own drawings in *Antiquities of Athens*.[81]

An early plan dating to April 1776 completed by John Laurie[82] of the proposed layout[83] (Plate 1.3a) details not one, but two buildings proposed for this site. The first is a regular octagon, which is assumed to be the octagonal observatory noted above, and the second, situated to the northwest, is an eight-sided lozenge-shaped structure with two elongated parallel sides. There are no surviving elevations for this structure and its use is conjectured to house the astronomical instruments owned by the University of Edinburgh.[84] However, comparing this plan with a second drawing of identical date (Plate 1.3b) it is clear that further discussion on the development of this site continued after Craig's proposals. This second plan is similar in layout and presentation and displays the same two buildings found in Plate 1.3a, but within a curtilege delineated by circular towers at diagonally opposing corners.[85] In addition, the two central buildings in Plate 1.3b are oriented differently to one another than in Plate 1.3a, implying that these two drawings are alternative proposals for the same site.

---

[81] James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens Measured and Delineated by James Stuart F.R.S. And F.S.A. And Nicholas Revett Painters and Architects*, 4 vols., vol. I (London: John Haberkorn, 1762). Chapter III. This building is described in *Antiquities* as possibly originally being a Clepsydra- described in Vitruvius as 'an astronomical instrument, by which hours are measured.' 15.

[82] Sometimes spelled 'Lawrie'

[83] Plan of half the acre of ground at the top of Calton Hill - site of the Observatory- John Laurie, 20 April 1776, D0105R, Macleod Bundles, Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh N.B. Accounts for James Craig's designs for the observatory mention that the design for an observatory was carried out by Craig in 1775 - a year earlier than Short's arrival or application to the town for a feu of ground on Calton Hill.

[84] *Inside this dome was where Short's telescope would be set, which would view the sky through the slit in the revolving dome. On either side of the octagon, to the east and west, pavilions housing a transit telescope, a mural quadrant and all other apparatus necessary for regular scientific observations. This building was to be shared with the University, where John Robinson – Appointed Chair of Natural philosophy, saw a need for students to be instructed in the advancement of the Science of Astronomy.* Bryden, "James Craig's Original Design for the Observatory on Calton Hill, May 1776."

[85] This plan is also held in the city archives, but under different location…! Plan of half the acre of ground at the top of Calton Hill - site of the Observatory- John Laurie, 20 April 1776, SL12/211, Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh.

Considering these two drawings together, it is therefore questionable whether they were the original plans proposed for the observatory alongside Short's application for the land. Although dated to April 1776, it is likely that these plans were drawn later and were backdated to the original proposal, once more ambitious plans for the observatory had been mooted and Craig had been brought in as architect. The presence of the curtilege wall and the two towers in Plate 1.3.b also supports this theory set alongside comments made on the observatory by Hugo Arnot in his 1779 *History of Edinburgh;*

> *… Mr Robert Adam architect, happened to come to Edinburgh. Upon seeing the intended observatory, founded upon the top of an high and abrupt hill, which terminates in a precipice, he conceived the idea of giving the whole the appearance of a fortification, to which it was excellently adapted.*[86]

This 'fortification' suggested by Adam is often attributed to survive as a circular tower which forms part of the gothic structure that now stands as part of Old Observatory House on the hill (Plate 1.1).[87] This is a three-storied circular structure, supported by buttresses, which merge into part of a curtilage wall.[88] The arched fenestration found on the first storey and the use of random rubble construction[89], gives the impression of a fortified structure. It is evident from images (Plate 1.1b) that in the early 19th century, this tower

[86] Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh, by Hugo Arnot, Esq; Advocate.*
[87] The Octagonal observatory designed by Craig was abandoned halfway through its construction in order to commence building on the fortified curtiledge. The building can be identified in Robert Barker's panorama of the late 1780s. See Bryden, "James Craig's Original Design for the Observatory on Calton Hill, May 1776." Barker's Panorama is also discussed in further detail below.
[88] No elevations remain of this original design, but, the southwest tower still survives as a house in (mostly) its original external form, with some later extensions added in the nineteenth century. In addition, there are a number of early drawings of the structure prior to the later 19th-century19th-century extensions that provide information on the building's original form.
[89] There is currently debate amongst experts in the field as to whether this would have been completely lime washed, or whether some protrusion of stone would have been visible. Pers. Comm., James Simpson, Simpson and Brown Architects, and Dorothy Marsh, Former Senior Curator, City of Edinburgh Council Museums and Galleries Division.

stood alone with only a small supporting wall on either side. This was added to in the mid 19th century by Charles Piazzi Smyth, who extended the structure to the east in order to create more living space. It is likely that this remaining building on Calton Hill is the southernmost tower depicted on Laurie's second plan (Plate 1.3b), and that it was executed in a gothic manner as a result of Adam's suggestions for the site.

In order to understand why Robert Adam, according to Arnot, suggested a fortified style for the site, it is necessary to ascertain Adam's perspective on landscapes such as Calton Hill. Until this point, Calton Hill had been mainly considered as somewhere to view the city *from* rather than somewhere for the city to view *towards*. John Slezer's 17th century view of the city (Plate 1.4), for example exploited the hill's pastoral character to artistically frame the central focus of the built-up burgh at the centre of the image, and the 6th Earl of Mar's proposals for the city in 1728 (Plate 1.5) proposed avenues of trees on the hill to provide controlled vistas to key points in the medieval burgh and within Mar's own planned Baroque New Town.[90]

However, with the adoption of the picturesque theory of landscape, particularly that of the '*Beautiful*' or '*Sublime*' from Edmund Burke's mid 18th-century publication,[91] new perspective was brought to the consideration of the real-life open landscape as an artistic entity in its own right. Adam's understanding of this discourse with regard to the relationship between the hill and the city were key to the changing role of Calton Hill in the latter part of the 18th-century. His involvement in the hill's development during the 1770s can be understood as a rudimentary attempt to give a *Sublime* character

[90] See Ian Campbell and Margaret Stewart, "The Evolution of the Medieval and Renaissance City," in *Edinburgh : The Making of a Capital City*, ed. Brian Edwards and Paul Jenkins (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005). In particular, the central colour inset which is a mock-up of Mar's written proposals for the site.
[91] Edmund Burke, "A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful." (London: printed for R. and J. Dodsley, 1757), http://ezproxy.lib.ed.ac.uk/login?url=http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO?c=1&stp=Author&ste=11&af=BN&ae=T042248&tiPG=1&dd=0&dc=flc&docNum=CW109732666&vrsn=1.0&srchtp=a&d4=0.33&n=10&SU=0LRK&locID=ed_itw.

to the landscape through the introduction of antiquarian structures at key points on the hill that would cause maximum dramatic impact. This can be particularly understood in light of Adam's interest in the sublime nature of the Scottish landscape, which was rooted in his ambitions as a landscape painter in his formative years. These had been cut short at his father's death in 1748 when he became more heavily involved in the family business.[92] But his interest in sketching structures within rural landscapes continued during the European travels of his Grand Tour in 1754. Set within the Italian campagna, many of the images he produced reveal a fascination not only with Roman domestic fortification, but also with how these buildings added to the romanticism of the landscape within which they were set. In his later years, when much of his time was spent in Scotland, he began to revisit this relationship between architecture and the rural landscape, by painting numerous watercolours of castellated and fortified structures within hilly and pastoral landscapes. These were for the most part imaginary, but are thought to have been inspired from real scenes of the Scottish countryside, as their rugged aspect and foreboding atmosphere simulated the harsh Scottish climate and the landscape found in much of the Scottish countryside north of the central belt.

Whether Adam's watercolours were for pleasure or were executed as serious artistic studies, many of his imaginary Scottish landscapes depicted scenes that were considered to have had "*…a direct, rather than a parallel relationship with his buildings*".[93] This can be particularly recognised in his country estate designs at Culzean, Barnbougle, Kirkdale and Seton Castle, where romantic and ruinous structures were placed within designed landscapes of an irregular and dramatic nature.

Adam's proposal for a Gothic style curtilage around Craig's Palladian building would have therefore been consistent with his aesthetic vision as

[92] William Kay, "Robert Adam: Some Responses to a Scottish Background " *Architectural Heritage: the journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland* iv (1993).

[93] John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830*, 9th ed. ed. (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1993). 407.

represented through his watercolours of similar views.[94] By building the curtilage wall and moving the larger building depicted on Laurie's plans onto the slope of the hill to the south of the octagonal observatory as opposed to the summit, Craig's designs would have also been completely hidden by the gothic fortifications and Adam's idea of Calton Hill as a sublime rural landscape would have prevailed.

However, as it is unclear how much input Adam really had in the final executed project, it is difficult to confirm whether this was definitively the reason behind the sudden abandonment of Craig's half-finished octagonal observatory in favour of the construction of a gothic curtilege. Building accounts for the observatory and the gothic tower, as the south western corner of the curtilege,[95] do not mention Adam being involved with the scheme, or receiving any official credit for his input through payment of monies. Neither is his name mentioned at all in the lengthy litigation process that occurred in the 1780s and 90s after the failure of the project.[96] It is therefore only through our understanding of Adam's acute interest in the relationship between architecture and landscape and through reference to other work by Adam and Craig that we can further consider the relationship between Adam and Craig on this project.

---

[94] Adam's watercolour collections of picturesque landscapes now held in collection at the National Gallery of Scotland depict a number of views that can be considered strongly reminiscent of Calton Hill and the surrounding Edinburgh landscape. In *Landscape with a River and Castle and Sailing Boat in the Foreground*, the hill in the distance to the left hand side of the picture could be interpreted as similar to the silhouette of the Salisbury Crags. *A lake with a Castle, Bridge and Sailing Boats* is a similar view found when looking below the ridge of Edinburgh Castle along the Old Town from west to east, including Mylne's North Bridge of the early 1770s and Calton Hill on the left hand side. As for Calton Hill in particular, *Landscape with a Castle, Lake and Farm Animals* does resemble the hill in both its layout and it use at the time of Adam's work, and *Landscape with a castle on a cliff on the Right and Another Castle on the Opposite side of the River* also could be considered an exaggerated version of rolling hills coming to an abrupt climax at a summit, atop of which sits a castellated building with a circular turret and enclaves.

[95] Accounts for the construction of both of these buildings are held in the Edinburgh City Archives. See Letter and account from James Craig for making designs of 2 observatories built on Calton Hill. With letter from James Douglas , 1st January 1792, 186/D015R, Macleod Bundles, Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh.

[96] See Bryden, "The Edinburgh Observatory 1736-1811: A Story of Failure."

Craig's final accounts, held in the Edinburgh City Archives claim payment for a 'tower with wings.'[97] This may be his proposal for the octagonal observatory,[98] but could also easily match the description of the southwest tower. However, as the detail in the southwest tower is so far removed from Craig's original Palladian vision, it could be that Craig may had some outside assistance with the final design. Gothic, castellated buildings are not often associated with Craig. In fact, the few pieces of gothic architecture that Craig is known to have proposed or executed during his career were all renovations of earlier gothic structures - i.e. no 'new' designs appear to have been built by him in this mode.[99] It is then, possible that Adam's influence may have not only been responsible for the outer curtilege wall and the circular towers shown in Laurie's second plan (Plate 1.3b), but also for the Gothic design of the structure. This is supported by *Arnot's* writings, which noted that Adam had recommended that the structure should have "*Gothick towers on the angles.*"[100] The surviving structure also incorporates other recommendations by Adam, such as the suggestion that the observatory should have the "*appearance of a fortification…. with buttresses and embrasures.*"[101]

Collaboration between Adam and Craig to improve the picturesque view of Calton Hill is possible. Scholars of the development of 18th-century Edinburgh are of the opinion that Adam & co. were often extremely influential in the design of many of the buildings of the city during this period;

[97] Letter and account from James Craig for making designs of 2 observatories built on Calton Hill. With letter from James Douglas , 1st January 1792, Macleod Bundles.
[98] Craig's design for the octagonal observatory was described as a tower with wings in O.D.E. & P.A.R. "Account of the Observatory on Calton Hill", *Scots Magazine*, 50, December 1788, 606.
[99] Cruft and Fraser, *"The Ingenious Architect of the New Town of Edinburgh" : James Craig 1744-1795*.
[100] Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh, by Hugo Arnot, Esq; Advocate*. 320.
[101] Ibid. 320.

Robert Adam influenced many of the new town builders who can be called the Adam Group… Even local Edinburgh architects like James Craig… was dependent on John and Robert Adam at times.[102]

Other structures in Edinburgh now known to be a product of Adam & co./Craig collaboration further strengthen the likelihood of this alliance. Examples include Botanic Cottage – previously attributed to James Craig, but now believed to have been designed by John Adam,[103] and the Monument to Linnaeus in the Botanic Garden in Edinburgh,[104] which was designed by Robert Adam and executed by James Craig. Both of these monuments are dated within two or three years of the observatory development, which would place the timing of the collaboration at a similar juncture in their careers.

Both the information stated above and *Arnot's* account of the development of the Gothic tower suggests that Adam had more involvement in the execution of this structure than has been previously acknowledged. Of course, it is possible that Adam's influence was in more of an unofficial manner, in a conversation between colleagues, rather than a direct working partnership on the observatory development.[105] Nevertheless, by exploiting Calton Hill's striking topography and its situation within the Waverley Valley, Adam's proposals for a gothic curtilage surrounding Craig's Palladian octagonal observatory during the 1770s suggests that he viewed this site as similar to the rural hilly landscapes represented in his watercolour paintings.

---

[102] A.R. Lewis, "The Builders of Edinburgh's New Town 1767-1795" (University of Edinburgh, 2006). 188 PhD Thesis.
[103] Pers. Comm. James Simpson, Simpson and Brown Architects.
[104] Cruft and Fraser, *"The Ingenious Architect of the New Town of Edinburgh" : James Craig 1744-1795*.114.
[105] The Adams' reputation for working with other architects and builders in the city in this way appears to be a common occurrence within Edinburgh building circles during this period *"There can be little doubt of the power and influence of the Adam family's buildings and patronage of tradesmen in Edinburgh. John, Robert and James Adam were able to influence tradesmen who aspired to be builders, and architects themselves*." Lewis, "The Builders of Edinburgh's New Town 1767-1795". 255.

This idea can be further pursued when considering Adam's early proposals for the memorial to the philosopher and historian David Hume (1711-76), which was constructed around the same time as the octagonal observatory. The monument sits within the graveyard of the (Old) Calton Burial Ground (Plate 1.6) and is a neoclassical interpretation of a Roman circular mausoleum, with a fluted frieze, doric entablature and classical funerary urn.[106] Despite its neoclassical components, the six proposals created by Adam during the design phase of the mausoleum are not reminiscent of the typical Adam style practiced in London.[107] Instead, it is argued by Iain Gordon Brown that these are more closely associated with the ruinous circular temples of the Roman Campagna, which were converted into fortified buildings in the Middle Ages.[108]

This 'blurring' of the traditional antique style memorial with rusticated Gothicised fortifications suggests that Adam may have been trying to create two simultaneous effects. Firstly, through the idea of architectural decline, he is incorporating the antique symbolism of death and mourning in this structure. Secondly, he is exploiting the dramatic visual picturesque by creating a contemporaneous version of the ruined medieval fortifications, which he often painted. This approach to the design would therefore not only provide a visual sense of decay and the passage of time through the allegory of classical antiquity, but would also exploit the memorial's placement on a precipice of Calton Hill, as had also been suggested for the 'Gothic fortifications' that would surround the Observatory. The hill's relationship with the broader landscape was therefore key to Adam's early architectural vision for this site, and in fact, when looking towards the Hume Monument from the North Bridge, (Plate 1.7) it is possible to conceive that Adam's suggestions to Craig on the design for the walling around the

[106] Brown, "David Hume's Tomb: A Roman Mausoleum by Robert Adam."
[107] See Alistair Rowan and Soane Gallery., *'Bob the Roman' : Heroic Antiquity & the Architecture of Robert Adam* (Great Britain: The Soane Gallery, 2003), Alistair John Rowan, *Vaulting Ambition : The Adam Brothers : Contractors to the Metropolis in the Reign of George Iii* (London: Sir John Soane's Museum, 2007). for further information on this.
[108] Brown, "David Hume's Tomb: A Roman Mausoleum by Robert Adam." 409.

observatory may have been to avoid compromising the view towards the carefully planned rhetoric of his design for the Hume monument. The addition of structures in this landscape had been intended, in Adam's mind at least, to focus the eye and augment the scene as a whole, rather than be stand-alone architectural entities.[109] The use of classical architecture reminiscent of the Roman campagna, alongside medieval gothic fortifications would have added to the air of decline and ruin befitting the Momento Mori commemoration of a public figure and, would also - as had been argued in Gilpin's work on the nature of picturesque landscapes - enhance and augment the picturesque nature of this site.

> *Roughness forms the most essential point of difference between the beautiful and the picturesque…A piece of Palladian architecture may be elegant to the last degree…but…should we wish to give it picturesque beauty we must… beat down one half of it, deface the other, and throw the mutilated members round in heaps. In short, from a smooth building we must turn it into a rough ruin.*[110]

In both Gordon Brown's paper on the Hume Monument[111] and John Lowrey's article on Robert Adam and Edinburgh,[112] it is argued that defining the relationship between Calton Hill and the city was a focus of Adam's designs for the city as a whole. The development of the hill would cause Adam's first building in the city, the National Repository or 'Register House' (1774-1789) at the foot of the North Bridge to become a centre point of the New Town development. In addition, the picturesque topography of the

---

[109] "When the eye is to be confined within the frame of a picture …we want a castle, or an abbey, to give consequence to this scene" William Prebendary of Salisbury Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales ... Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty; Made in the Summer Of ... 1770* (London, 1782). 14.

[110] William Gilpin, "Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: To Which Is Added a Poem, on Landscape Painting. By William Gilpin." (London: printed for R. Blamire, 1792), http://ezproxy.lib.ed.ac.uk/login?url=http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/ECCO?c=1&stp=Author&ste=11&af=BN&ae=T099006&tiPG=1&dd=0&dc=flc&docNum=CW106408718&vrsn=1.0&srchtp=a&d4=0.33&n=10&SU=0LRL+OR+0LRI&locID=ed_itw. 6-8.

[111] Brown, "David Hume's Tomb: A Roman Mausoleum by Robert Adam."410.

[112] John Lowrey, "Robert Adam and Edinburgh," *Rassegna* 64 (1994?).

Waverly Valley would extend the significant views visible from the northernmost point of his South Bridge that linked the Old Town to the New Town. This connecting route, or "*Via Triumphalis"*, approached the New Town from the south leading from Adam's College for the University of Edinburgh (commenced in 1789 - now known as 'Old College') down to Register House. This was to be created using an enclosed route of grandiose Neoclassical regularity, which passed over (and blocking the near view of) the Old Town, while at the same time providing an enclosed vista that terminated on Register House. This route led directly into the New Town by linking up with the William Mylne's North Bridge of 1765-69, opening out into the drama of the emerging view of the Waverley Valley, which would be perfectly exploited by the 'Sublime' views to Calton Hill and in particular, the towering drama of Hume's mausoleum on its precipice.

However, as Calton Hill's connection to the city became more prominent by the end of the 18th-century, Adam's later proposals show that his understanding of the hill's relationship to the city had evolved to acknowledge The Picturesque established through the cultural debates surrounding William Gilpin's 1782 publication of *Observations on the River Wye*.[113] In particular, as Adam further considered the site's relationship with the adjacent urban townscape of both the neoclassical New Town and the adjacent medieval Old Town, his choice of architectural rhetoric sways from neoclassical proposals to monolithic castellated gothic, as he struggles with whether the hill should become a fully integrated part of the New Town, or a Picturesque backdrop.[114] Eventually, Adam settles in favour of bringing the hill into the existing cityscape as a semi-rural periphery, rather than emphasising it as a sublime and wild entity.[115] He does this by suggesting

[113] Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales ... Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty; Made in the Summer Of ... 1770*.
[114] See the discussion below regarding Adam's proposals for a connecting bridge to Calton Hill from the New Town.
[115] This semi-rural state of picturesque landscape is discussed in papers published in the 18th century as theories of the Picturesque evolved. See Uvedale Sir Bart Price, *An Essay on the Picturesque as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful: And on the Use of Studying Pictures for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape* (2 vol. London,

both the medieval and the classical in his design by combining a regulated palladian façade with castellated parapets and corner turrets. This creates the impression of a medieval-style fortification, which is controlled in its overall presence. This later interpretation of the hill was influential enough to provide something of a blueprint for two key structures built on Calton Hill at least 10 years after Robert Adam's death - the Calton Gaol, and the Nelson Monument. In addition, his ideas and overall vision for the site and how it should be a part of the city can be recognised in the later incorporation of the site into the urban landscape during the 19th-century.

Despite both the Hume Monument and the Observatory development bringing focus to Calton Hill as a backdrop for the City, it took a further ten years before Edinburgh magistrates considered it as a potential site for any further development. That was a Bridewell for the county. The story of the development of a Bridewell for Edinburgh is told in detail by Thomas Markus.[116] Markus outlines part of the early proposals for a Bridewell, championed by the Lord Provost David Steuart in the early 1780s,[117] and the subsequent proposals of the three architects who submitted designs for the competition in the early 1790s - James Wardrup, John Baxter and Robert Adam. Adam won the commission and offered six proposals in total, the

---

Hereford, 1794), Humphry Repton and Uvedale Sir Bart An Essay on the Picturesque etc Price, *A Letter to Uvedale Price, Esq. [Commenting on His "Essay on the Picturesque," Etc.]* (London, 1794).

[116] Markus, "Buildings for the Sad, the Bad and the Mad in Urban Scotland 1780-1830." 65-88.

[117] James Craig, *Plan for a General Bridewell* ([Edinburgh?,1780). According to the Town Council minutes in the Edinburgh City Archives, James Craig was paid "*to making a design of a Bridewell for the City of Edinburgh 2 stories high, plans of different floors, Elevations & sections & to survey of the area contiguous to the present correction house where it is intended to be built.*" see Edinburgh Town Council Minutes, 28th January 1780, SL1. However, the reference to Craig as the author of the published pamphlet is possibly wrong - there is a handwritten acknowledgement that this would have been done by David Steuart, Lord Provost of Edinburgh between 1780-1782. As we know that Steuart was definitely responsible for the second pamphlet, published in 1782 (see D. Steuart and A. Cockburn, "General Heads of a Plan for Erecting a New Prison and Bridewell in the City of Edinburgh," (1782).) it is also likely that he was the author of this earlier pamphlet.

final one of which was adopted for the building.[118] These design proposals not only demonstrate the application of emerging theories in prison design during the late eighteenth century, but also show Adam's exploration of a re-definition of the relationship between the hill and the city.

The form of the prison was determined in the original proposal for the 1782 building,[119] which had taken inspiration from prison buildings developed by John Howard and William Blackburn after Howard's report on *The State of Prisons* in 1777.[120] Lack of ventilation and hygiene had been one of the reasons behind the spread of disease found in penitentiaries examined by Howard. His commentary on the conditions of prisons that he visited throughout the country and his suggestions on appropriate design were influential in the construction of many prisons in Britain after its publication. In particular, Howard's work with the architect William Blackburn, which implemented many of Howard's theories in a tangible form, "*helped to establish a reformed prison system* …[as they] *were…involved with many reconstruction programmes until their deaths in 1790.*"[121]

Much of Howard's study of the prison system centred around the provision of separate cloisters or 'Yards' for different gradations of prisoners, and the activities that they would undertake on a daily basis, from sleeping, to eating

[118] Markus discusses in his chapter that there are five designs, but on re-visiting the archives, it is possible there are at least six different proposals to be found in the Soane Museum drawings. This is also the opinion of other scholars of Adam's Bridewell designs. See http://www.scran.ac.uk/ada/documents/castle_style/bridewell/bridewell_designs.htm

[119] Steuart and Cockburn, "General Heads of a Plan for Erecting a New Prison and Bridewell in the City of Edinburgh." This consisted of a radial layou7t of cells, which were centred on a 'Keeper's House', the courtyard for which was entered from the south through a gatehouse in the old city wall.

[120] His suggested designs within the 1777 report included cells with vaulted arcades on the ground floor that would allow exercise in wet weather and to improve the circulation of air. See John the Philanthropist Howard, *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, with Preliminary Observations, and on Account of Some Foreign Prisons. (Appendix.)* (Warrington, 1777). 42.

[121] Allan Brodie et al., *English Prisons : An Architectural History* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2002). 37.

to work defined by the penitentiary.[122] Early competition proposals by Adam, Wardrup and Baxter all followed these courtyard-plan designs,[123] (Plate 1.8-1.10) and in Adam and Baxter's case in particular, were directly influenced by Blackburn's New Bailey prison in Manchester.[124] The elevations that survive for the 1791 competition entries by Adam and Baxter also present an exterior style found in many other contemporaneous prison designs during this period such as London's Newgate Prison (Plate 1.11). This was fortified Palladianism, with heavily rusticated high walls and limited openings that created an impenetrable air. Adam's first two proposals include many references to this prison style, with dentilled decoration on the cornices and pediments, entranceways defined by a rusticated central block, rusticated voussoirs over the portals and fenestration and porticoed entranceways flanked by Doric columns.

In Adam's third proposal for the Bridewell, both the layout and the external style have dramatically changed from his earlier designs (Plate 1.12). Rustication covers the lower storey and arched recesses are still included in the external facades, but the introduction of crow-stepped gables, turrets and slit windows gives the building the air of a fortification much more in keeping with Scottish castellated architecture.[125] The plan is also quite

[122]To date, an overall study of Scottish prison designs is yet to be carried out to evaluate fully the influences of the designs proposed for these penitentiaries. However, an excellent survey of the architectural history of English prisons has been researched and published by English Heritage, which provides useful information on the contemporaneous social considerations and philosophies of late 18th century prison reform, which is useful in contextualising these early designs, and the 1790s proposals for the Bridewell. See Ibid.

[123]This had been taken from traditional Monastic plans and had become standard for a number of institutional buildings during this period. Harriet Richardson and Ian H. Goodall, *English Hospitals 1660-1948 : A Survey of Their Architecture and Design* (Swindon: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, 1998). 16-20

[124] Adam had visited this building en route to Edinburgh in 1791. Ranald MacInnes, "Robert Adam's Public Buildings," *Architectural Heritage iv : the journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland* (1994). 13-14.

[125] In particular Adam's designs for Barnbougle. Although generally considered to be Barnbougle Castle - "*Fortified Castle or Palace, Surrounded by a high wall, corner Towers and a Central gateway,"* retains elements of the completed Bridewell, such as the turreted circular towers and the arched detailing for the fenestration and the recesses including twin towers with pitched roofs, recessed arched fenestration

notably different. Rather than following the standard convention for penitentiary design in the late 18th-century, Adam chose an alternative prison design by a relative unknown, Jeremy Bentham, whose work had never yet been put into practice for a penitentiary. Instead of segregated blocks surrounding internal courtyards, a main central semi circular structure is proposed with two radiating wings to the east and west and a small gatehouse to the north. These wings are removed in the subsequent proposals for the building, leaving only a central semi-circular block and gatehouse in the final design (Plate 1.13).

Bentham's idea for a single structure that would provide constant surveillance of its inmates - the Panopticon (Plate 1.14), had originally been created to supervise a large workforce and had been built by Bentham's brother, Samuel, in Russia with some success. Yet, Bentham's publication of his letters on the panopticon in 1787[126] suggested that his design could be adapted to a much wider number of potential uses, ranging from prisons and houses of correction, to factories and even schools. The benefits of using a Panoptic structure lay in the ability to create solitary confinement for the inmates, yet still provide constant surveillance through a series of lenses and pipes. Bentham also claimed that his design had the benefit of being much more cost-efficient than many other designs for this purpose, as it only required one central building, which kept material and construction costs down, as well as the reduced size of the ground required to site it.[127]

As limited ground size was not a consideration for Adam (he had already demonstrated that a Bridewell in the Howard/Blackwood style could easily be accommodated on the site), it is likely that Bentham's ideas may have appealed to Adam on a visual level. Bentham's proposal for the exterior of

---

decoration, a single storey entranceway and castellated towers at the corner points of the outer walls.

[126] Jeremy Bentham, *Panopticon: Or, the Inspection-House. Containing the Idea of a New Principle of Construction Applicable to Any Sort of Establishment, in Which Persons ... Are to Be Kept ... And in Particular to Penitentiary-Houses, Prisons, ... In a Series of Letters, Written In ... 1787, ... By Jeremy Bentham* (Dublin: Thomas Byrne, 1791).

[127] Ibid. 73-84.

the structure that it give the impression of a '*fortress*'[128] or a military citadel, as he believed would make an impression on those who looked upon it as a secure and impenetrable institution.[129] This would -according to Adam's Clerk of Works, John Paterson - have suited how the structure was to be run, which was *"[T]o be guarded by military*…[where]…*the guard house to be placed on the highest ground within the walls that the officer on guard might see every post where the sentinels stood and the courts for the felons…"* [130] In addition, it appears that the design of a prison in the style of a fortress may put to use the unfinished gothic structure on the summit.

> *… building the Bridewell on the top of the Hill would give full room for finishing a plan partly designed,*[131] *& what might be designed by you, if the Provost & Town honoured you with that employment, it would not only be highly ornamental but add very much to the Towns revenues,. Mr Elder was present … & both he & the provost thought that what I had said ought to be well considered before any further opinion was given of your plans, as most certainly said the provost they would both ornament & enrich the Town*[132]

The introduction of a new style of prison layout so dramatically different to the standard courtyard prison plans of Howard/Blackburn contrasted with other contemporaneous prisons and houses of correction that were being constructed throughout the country. Its panoptical layout allowed constant surveillance of its inmates, whilst its exterior design also created a constant imposing presence overlooking the Old Town – where most of its inmates would be *from*. The duality of a structure that would both overlook the most

---

[128] *"A fortress thus secured would have collateral use. In times of riot, it would afford an asylum, where obnoxious persons or valuable effects might be lodged in perfect safety against everything but cannon…."* Ibid. 525, Footnote.
[129] Ibid. 520-525.
[130] Correspondence of John Paterson t o Robert Adam, Dated 26th Feb 1790. Paterson Papers, Private collection. I am indebted to Dr Allen Simpson for access to these papers.
[131] This could be Paterson confirming that the unfinished gothic tower on the summit of Calton Hill was 'partly designed' by Adam, as has been considered above.
[132] Correspondence of John Paterson to Robert Adam, Dated 26th Feb 1790. Paterson Papers, Private collection.

insalubrious parts of the city - and be particularly visible to those insalubrious characters that currently resided in them - must have appealed to Adam. This establishment of an institutional sentinel would have also further vindicated the use of a castellated vernacular on the exterior aesthetic,[133] rather than the 'impenetrable Palladianism' of Dance's Newgate Prison in London (which was considered a more likely style envisioned for this structure by Jeremy Bentham).

Siting the Bridewell on Calton Hill had been considered as the ideal place for the new penitentiary by the city magistrates, as the hill's airy setting would provide health benefits to the inmates.[134] In Markus' paper on this structure, he argues that this choice of site was considered 'central' to the city, as it was placed in a visible location overlooking the inhabitants of Edinburgh.[135] However, it is clear from Adam's choice of architectural rhetoric that he did not consider this building central to the city, but rather, as part of a semi-rural periphery. This ties in with contemporaneous practices of siting municipal buildings that performed more basic or potentially dangerous functions to the outskirts of urban settlements.[136]

---

[133]This has been described as the 'Court Revival style', and linked to his studies of such buildings as Holyrood Palace. See MacInnes, "Robert Adam's Public Buildings." 15.

[134] Great Britain. Parliament., "An Act for Building and Maintaining a Bridewell and Correction-House, in and for the City and County of Edinburgh.," (Edinburgh1791). Item 16 D0021 Macleod Bundle, Edinburgh City Archives.

[135] *"The choice of the Calton Hill site was preceded by public debate and contention, mainly couched in practical and sanitary terms. But it is clear that the issue really was whether a jail could and should occupy a visible, central city site, or be peripheral –in the tradition of earlier institutions… Calton was a compromise and can be seen as the acceptance of social surveillance of the prison by the gaoler of the inmates. Its presence would be both a reminder of the order being achieved and a deterrent. Of course, this gave the architect the problem of finding a suitable formal expression for such a central, civic site."* Markus, "Buildings for the Sad, the Bad and the Mad in Urban Scotland 1780-1830." 66.

[136] For example, Jacques François Blondel, *Cours D'architecture; Ou, Traité De La Décoration, Distribution & Construction Des Bâtiments*, 2 vols. (Paris,1771). This was particularly common for many prisons built after John Howard's publication on the state of prisons (John Howard, *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, with Preliminary Observations, and on Account of Some Foreign Prisons.* (Warrington, 1777).) See Brodie et al., *English Prisons : An Architectural History*., See Markus, "Buildings for the Sad, the Bad and the Mad in Urban Scotland 1780-1830." for further discussion on this.

Adam's struggle to find an appropriate exterior aesthetic to define the Bridewell's - and Calton Hill's - relationship with the city can also be identified through his contemporaneous proposals for a connecting bridge between Calton Hill and the New Town. Although this bridge was never constructed during Adam's involvement with the project,[137] the ideas behind its conception can be identified as a continuum of Adam's development of prominent sight lines and vistas for the gateways into the New Town mentioned above.[138] Adam's understanding of the relationship between architectural style and the city determined his proposals, as he and Paterson envisioned this access as a further opportunity to create a grand approach into the urban centre, as was already underway from the south:

> *I mentioned to the Provost that … if he thought of bringing the road from Haddington over the Calton Hill he ought to think seriously of it before he gave his consent to a plan that would bring a reflection on himself and the city. I said they had it in their power to make one of the finest approaches into Princes Street in the world … if they convey'd the road by a bridge over the Calton Street in a straight line with Princes Street … improving there property on each side of the bridge and gave a grand entry into the Town...* [139]

The survey drawings of the options for an approach to the Bridewell survive in the form of two ink sketches for the bridge, and a faint pencil sketch over an inked landscape of the city.[140] These are attributed to Robert Adam,[141] and most probably date to around the time of the above correspondence between

---

[137] Despite a suggestion by John Paterson, to add a clause into the 1791 Edinburgh Bridewell Act[137] which would include the construction of an access route, this bridge was not realised for a further 25 years until the development of a second prison on the Calton Hill.

[138] For further discussion of this, see John Lowrey, "Robert Adam and Edinburgh," *Rassegna* 64 (1996).

[139] Correspondence of John Paterson to Robert Adam, Dated 26th Feb 1790. Paterson Papers, Private collection.

[140] This is extremely faint and provides no stylistic detail, it only considers where the bridge may be placed over Low Calton.

[141] These are held in the Soane Museum Archives in London

Paterson and Adam at the early stages of the Bridewell competition and before Adam developed his own designs for the Bridewell, as a sketch of the Bridewell in the drawing entitled "*Bridge over (?) from Princes Street at (?) Calton Hill Edinburgh,*"[142] (undated, Plate 1.15), includes an early proposal for a Bridewell similar to James Brown's design of 1782/3. This suggests that Adam may not have initially considered the Bridewell to be a key development in this part of the city, rather that the development of the prison on Calton Hill was a way to facilitate the establishment of an additional access route into the New Town.[143] Adam's focus on the stylistic relationship between the proposed bridge and the classical New Town is further emphasised by the prominence of his neo-classical structures within the sketch which include the dome of the University building in the Old Town, and as an classical version of the (unexecuted) monument to David Hume.[144] A further structure with classical features running off the left hand side of the page can also be identified, providing further contextualisation to the proposed colossal bridge with its pedimented, classical character. This link between the urban landscape and Adam's bridge designs is also identified in Adam's second proposal (Plate 1.16) inscribed "*Sketch of a bridge of Communication between the New Town & buildings on the Calton Hill, forming an entrance to the Old Town by the Calton Street & Leith Wynd to the High street of Edinburgh*". This is of a castellated design and provides no indication of its location in relation to the hill. However, its accompanying inscription and its emphasis on it being an "*entrance to the Old Town"* makes clear that the

[142] "*Bridge over (?) from Princes Street at (?) Calton Hill Edinburgh,*" Volume II, No. 50, Soane Museum Archives, Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

[143] This is similar to Adam's plan for the South Bridge, where its scale and detail dominate the landscape, and its classical facade creates a monumental, *"Via Triumphalis"* into the New Town.

[144] The dome was never constructed by Adam and instead was eventually built by Robert Rowand Anderson in the late 19th-century19th-century. See Andrew G. Fraser, *The Building of Old College : Adam, Playfair & the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989). The David Hume monument is represented, as a classical temple, with a domed roof, rather than the open roofed structure that it is now known to be. Arnot notes in *The History of Edinburgh,* that "*…the height of the walls conceal[ing] the roof..*" of the David Hume Monument, but no evidence of a roof being fitted on the structure has previously been found in Adam's designs for the monument. See Brown, "David Hume's Tomb: A Roman Mausoleum by Robert Adam."

relationship between this bridge and the Old Town was pertinent to its design, as does its 'Court Revival' style execution.[145]

Both of the inked bridge sketches of Calton Hill appear to have advanced no further than these conceptual designs. Progress was delayed perhaps as the city magistrates were clear from the outset in their reluctance to consider additional development that might detract from the development of the Bridewell.[146] However, this exploration of the relationship between the access routes into the city and what they would serve, and the surrounding cityscape, further demonstrate Adam's understanding of the relationship between architecture and landscape which has been explored through both the David Hume monument and the Bridewell designs. Both of his sketches for the bridges provided access into the city, through the form of grand entranceways, but in their differing architectural style, emphasised a different relationship with different parts of the city. In Adam's classically designed bridge sketch for example, this included stylistic linkages with other classical structures by Adam within the city – even ones that were not yet executed, or that were designed in a slightly different manner in their final execution. The castellated bridge design, despite still providing east-west access from the New Town to Calton hill also emphasised its structural purpose as an entrance into the Old Town at a lower level under the bridge.

The city magistrates' refusal to include an access bridge in the Bridewell project was therefore more than likely to have been influential on Adam's

[145] This has also been commented on by Stephen Astley, in the published catalogue of Robert Adam's castle styles from the Sir John Soane Museum. See Stephen Astley, *Robert Adam's Castles* ([London]: Soane Gallery, 2000). 34.

[146] The magistrates were not so convinced by the grand ideas that were put forward by Adam as they were not convinced that the value of the land could be redeemed and believed that the design issues surrounding the Bridewell had also not been taken into consideration within these proposals. See Correspondence of John Paterson to Robert Adam, 6th November 1790. *Paterson Papers*, Private collection. It may be unsurprising that they were so cautious of Adam's grand schemes, considering this grand idea of speculative building was in a similar vein to Adam's London Adelphi development, which ended in the bankruptcy of the Adam business in the 1770s see Rowan, *Vaulting Ambition : The Adam Brothers : Contractors to the Metropolis in the Reign of George Iii*.

final design decisions for the prison. Rather than the site becoming integrated into the New Town through the construction of a new access route, the hill's continued access from the Old Town through Calton Street maintained the physical link with the medieval burghs of Edinburgh and Canongate, which had already been metaphorically explored through the use of the Bridewell and its considered necessity within the county. Adam's use of a castellated design therefore was one that connected with the surrounding landscape within which it was set, as well as providing a prominent narrative regarding the use of the building and its purpose within society.

Adam's understanding of the relationship between the hill and the city had proposed structures which had turned what had been a rural periphery into a romantic rural landscape. However, the hill had also been somewhere to view landscape *from*, and this focus on the hill brought about through the introduction of prominent structures led to further opportunities to understand the surrounding landscape. The gothic observatory provided the first opportunity for further understanding of Calton Hill's placement within its surrounding landscape. This was not through astronomical observations during nightfall, but in its use during daylight hours and the views that the gothic tower provided of its environs. This was first brought to attention by Robert Barker (1739-1806), an art teacher and portrait painter who painted six scenes from a single fixed spot on the roof of the gothic tower,[147] and placed them together in a single continuous view.[148] By doing this, Barker created what was to become the first ever "Panorama".[149] The popularity of

[147] www.objectlessions.lib.ed.ac.uk/barker.htm. In fact, you can see Craig's unfinished octagonal observatory in the 1787 panorama. (Plate 1.17).
[148] Thomas A. Markus, *Buildings & Power : Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types* (London: Routledge, 1993).214. Barker was assisted by his 12 year old son Henry Aston.
http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.webfeat.lib.ed.ac.uk/view/article/1411?docPos=4
[149] As the word is considered in the present day. According to Wolfgang Stechow in Wolfgang Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century* ([London]: Phaidon, 1966). 33-49, the phrase Panorama originally referred to 17th century Dutch landscape paintings that show a distant scene with an extended view along the

this scene, and of the idea of the 'Panoramic View' became a method considered "capable of representing nature in a manner far superior to the limited scale of pictures in general." [150] This was soon applied to a number of different cityscapes, countryside views, and even re-enactments of both historical and concurrent events.[151] Its popularity as a sightseeing tool for the tourist and the local visitor became so great that purpose-built structures purely for viewing panoramic landscapes were being erected by 1793.[152]

In Edinburgh, the popularity of the Panorama not only provided a new method by which to view the Lothian landscape, it also contextualised the city's situation within it. Scholars of 19th-century art have considered this manner of displaying landscape painting crucial to the understanding and reception of urban landscapes by the public.[153] Although considered a frivolous form of popular entertainment as well as edification by some, it was expected to be an accurate rendition of actual views and was, on

---

horizon. See Scott Barnes Wilcox, "The Panorama and Related Exhibitions in London" (Thesis (M Litt), University of Edinburgh, 1976.). 2. This can also be identified in Scottish art see James Holloway, Lindsay Errington, and National Gallery of Scotland., *The Discovery of Scotland : The Appreciation of Scottish Scenery through Two Centuries of Painting* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1978). 14. However, Wilcox notes that the Dutch scenes were intended to be more expressive, as opposed to the later panoramas on cityscapes, which were intended to be informative.

[150] Sir Joshua Reynolds, quoted in *"The Panorama, with Memoirs of Its Inventor, Rober Barker, and His Late Son, Henry Aston Barker," The art-journal 3 (1857).* 46. For further information on the development of the Panorama and its success in the 19th-century19th-century see Wilcox, "The Panorama and Related Exhibitions in London". This provides a satisfactory analysis of the Panorama's place in the history of Art, but does not consider any further analysis on its impact within the wider cityscape.

[151] Fintain Cullen, "Union and Display in Nineteenth Century Ireland," in *Cultural Identities and the Aesthetics of Britishness*, ed. Dana Arnold (2004). 115.

[152] Barker had realized that by controlling the manner in which the painting could be observed, provided a much more satisfactory manner in which to display and view landscape painting. His first purpose built building, the Rotunda was designed by Robert Mitchell and opened in Leicester Square in 1793. It consisted of two cylinders, the large circle of 90 feet diameter and 40 feet height, and the upper circle of 2700 square feet. An inverted cone skylight lit the top panorama and a glazed annular ring the lower one. See Wilcox, "The Panorama and Related Exhibitions in London". For further information and plans of this.

[153] See Ibid. This includes views of British and foreign cities and scenic views, such as Bath (1794), Paris (1803), Mexico (1825) and Niagara Falls(1833) and scenes such as 'Lord Nelson's attack of Copenhagen'(1802), 'Battle of Paris'(1815), Lord Exmouth's Attack upon Algiers'(1818) and 'Procession of the Coronation of His Majesty George the Fourth' (1822).

occasion created by 'surveyors' rather than artists.[154] In particular, the homogenous manner in which the panorama would create an overwhelmingly all-encompassing view created means with which to experience views of cities within the British Isles from a different perspective. The opportunity to view the seemingly endless wonder of Man's 'improvement' on God's creation from a birds-eye perspective not only brought awareness of the layout of the streets, building masses, parks, and farmland into a new perspective; it also emphasised the scale of the city and the effect of topography on the urban landscape. In particular, the contrast of city and countryside was an important factor, and it was common for viewpoints to depict countryside on one side, and cityscape on the (Wilcox) other.[155]

Rather than viewing Edinburgh within the limited confines of the Old Town ridge, as had been depicted in Sleazer's 1693 perspective of the city (Plate 1.4), or focusing on the Old Town as a central point with suburbs radiating to the north and south,[156] the Panorama on Calton Hill opened up the landscape to include the Lothian countryside to the east and the Firth of Forth to the north. The view, taken from the summit of the Gothic Tower, depicts limited activity on the hill through the half-finished structure of Craig's Octagonal Observatory, and a number of paths leading around the hill in a pleasure walk. Many of the paths within the curtilege of the lands laid out for the observatory (as denoted in Plate 1.3b and shown in Plate 1.17) have dioramas placed at intervals of planets to represent the solar system, no doubt to educate and inform those on a walk around the grounds, and to maintain the presence of astronomical science on the site. Apart from a small kitchen garden within the curtiledge of the Observatory, the rest of the hill's summit blends into a rural landscape, which continues to the east, and north of the hill, which on both sides extend into the distance, eventually ending at the Firth of Forth. On the western side, some more defined semi-rural

[154] Ibid. 174 -176.
[155] Ibid. 178.
[156] See John Ainslie, "City of Edinburgh," 1780, and Alexander Kincaid, "A plan of the city and suburbs of Edinburgh," 1784.
(http://maps.nls.uk/towns/#edinburgh-city s).

settlements are identified, as is the encroaching urban development of the first New Town. The southern view, dominated by the cramped urban hub of the Old Town in the foreground, extends out towards Arthur's Seat, and the Lammermuir Hills in the distance.

This image of the city within its broader landscape presented a much greater visual connection between the city and its surrounding environs than had previously been considered. This opened up the confines of the city's layout beyond the city limits and popularised the hill as a famous viewpoint in Edinburgh.

The land to the north of the Calton Hill as a viewpoint was further popularised with the development of a monument in the city to commemorate the great naval captain, Lord Nelson in the early 19th-century. This structure, which was to*"…be placed on the Calton Hill - a situation grandest perhaps in Europe…"*, [157] included a viewing platform that would provide a panoramic view of the landscape almost as depicted in Barker's Panorama. However, it also further connected the hill with the land beyond the city by providing a visual connection with the port at Leith. This was further emphasised through the placement of a telegraph pole[158] on the top of the building, and later, through the installation of the 'time ball' on the roof of the building, both of which were methods of communication with the ships at Leith.[159]

---

[157] Nelson Pillar Minute Committee Book, 3rd March 1806. Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh.

[158] The site of the structure was on the site of a former telegraph pole, which was a visual form of telegraph using flags and semaphore. Electrical telegraph was not invented until later on in the 19th-century19th-century. This can be seen on John Ainslie, "Old and New Town of Edinburgh and Leith with the Proposed Docks.," (1804). (Plate 1.31).

[159] In January 1839, Sir David Milne recommended that a time ball on a mast could replace the long uphill trek from Leith by Mariners to check their chronometers against the clock in the transit house window, but there were no funds to build this until the middle of the 19th-century19th-century. Gavine, "Astronomy in Scotland 1745-1900". 344.

This was to provide the ship captains docked at Leith with accurate timekeeping. The ball would drop at exactly 1pm, allowing ships to set their clocks accurately, to allow for accurate navigation. This was accompanied shortly after by a single

The design chosen for the Nelson monument also was a stylistic relationship to other structures placed on the hill. During the competition phase in 1806, two designs were shortlisted. The first, by Alexander Nasmyth (Plate 1.18), consisted of an obelisk with three string courses recalling the significant battles of Nelson at the Nile, Copenhagen and Trafalgar. The viewing platform was in the form of a neoclassical temple, with Corinthian columns, a domed roof and topped by a finial supporting a flagpole. The second proposal, by Robert Burn (Plate 1.19) was the chosen design.[160] This consisted of an octagonal base supporting a circular stone tower, decorated with three string courses and topped by a viewing platform with a recessed tower above. Its likeness to an 'upside-down spy-glass' or telescope has been remarked upon ever since.[161]

In scholarly works, the design has often been questioned in relation to the purpose, influence and taste of the committee who chose this building over Nasmyth's obelisk, as historians who have commented on the surviving edifice, have not only voiced a dislike for the structure, but have also considered it much inferior to Nasmyth's design for the site.[162] This may well stem from criticism of the structure in the autobiography of James Nasmyth, Engineer[163] who was the son of Alexander Nasmyth.

> *My father supplied a design, which was laid before the monument committee. It was so much approved that the required sum was rapidly subscribed. But as the estimated cost of this erection was found slightly to exceed the amount subscribed, a nominally cheaper design was privately adopted. It was literally a job. The vulgar,*

---

cannon shot from Edinburgh Castle, which still fires at 1pm every day. See www.oneoclockgun.com.

[160] Building work commenced in 1807, but was halted through lack of funds. This was eventually completed by Thomas Bonnar in 1814-1816.

[161] John Gifford et al., *Edinburgh*, The Buildings of Scotland: Pevsner Architectural Guides (London : Penguin, 1991). 437-8.

[162] Ibid.

[163] James Nasmyth and Samuel Smiles, *James Nasmyth, Engineer an Autobiography*, Popular ed. (London: John Murray, 1897).

churn-like monument was thus thrust on the public and actually erected and there it stands to this day, a piteous sight to beholders.[164]

The minutes of the committee formed for the erection of this structure concur that Burn's proposal was the cheaper by around £700 and was likely to have been chosen because of this.[165] However, Burn's design was not wholly unsuited to the site, and its place within the shortlist for the structure suggests that it may have not only been picked for its lower price, but also its design. Its composition took a similar form to Brizlee Tower, an observation tower constructed between 1777 and 1781 by Robert and James Adam in Hulne Park, Alnwick, for the Duke of Northumberland (Plate 1.20). Brizlee's Gothick fenestration and portals have been substituted in the Nelson Monument for castellated, 'Court Revival' detailing complimenting Robert Adam's Bridewell – the only other structure of significance on the hill at the time.

Alison Yarrington's study of Monuments erected to Lord Nelson in the 19th-century[166] considers the many monuments to Nelson built during this period as local homage to the Admiral, and to the British Campaign. She notes that many of the monuments to Lord Nelson found throughout the country were "*guided by economic rather than aesthetic considerations.*"[167] The Edinburgh monument appears to have been no different. However, in continuing Adam's stylistic influence on the hill alongside the exploitation of Barker's (now famous) view, the monument provided a draw to the hill as a tourist

[164] Ibid.44-45.
[165] " *The Sub committee having considered the two plans of Mr Naysmith and Mr Burn, with the specifications of the work and estimates given in, of the expence (sic) of executing the same…While they highly approve of the plan given in by Mr Naysmith, regret that the narrowness of the subscription prevents them from carrying it into execution and therefore to accept the plan by Mr Burns.*" Nelson Pillar Minute Book, 30th July 1807, 9.41 62u, 'Fishsupper', Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh.
[166] Yarrington, "The Commemoration of the Hero 1800-1864 : Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars".
[167] Ibid. 101.

attraction,[168] which honoured a 'highly illustrious hero', providing positive images of Edinburgh as a city of the Empire which venerated heroes of the commonwealth and forged strong connections with its naval port from the summit of Calton Hill. This centering of the hill within the landscape provided a visual and social consciousness of Calton Hill, which further opened up the possibility for expansion of the city onto the hill and beyond, to the north and east in the subsequent years of the early 19th-century.

[168] See, for example, the Black's guides to Scotland in the mid 19th-century; Adam and Charles Black (Firm) and Charles Black, *Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland. With ... Map; Engraved Charts and Views ... Plans of Edinburgh and Glasgow and a Copious Intinerary* (Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1840). This idea for the monument as a tourist draw has also been commented on by John Gifford (Pers. Comm.), and it is evident from Barker's Panorama that the area was already being used as a pleasure walk and tourist attraction, where it had been used to educate on the planets of the solar system (Plate 1.17).

Chapter 2: Linking the urban landscape

The introduction of a number of key structures on Calton Hill by the early 19th-century had brought focus to the site. This chapter explores the development of the physical connection to the city, through a broader exploration of civic and national agendas with urban expansion. Included in this are also the social and cultural considerations that had began to evolve from an emerging understanding of the picturesque in an urban context.

Despite the integration of Calton Hill into the broader Lothian landscape in visual terms, and its stylistic relationship with the architectural rhetoric of the Old Town through the development of Adam's Bridewell, a physical connection between the City and the hill did not exist until 1817. This came in the form of a bridge linking Calton Hill to the eastern end of Princes Street in the New Town, and spanning Low Calton, just as Adam had proposed for his classical bridge design in the 1790s. This bridge, according to *Cockburn's memorials* "would never have been were it is except for the [city] gaol"[169] which suggests that its original purpose was purely to provide access to the Gaol, rather than extending the New Town to the east, or providing an alternative route to and from the city, as it much quickly became by the time it was developed.

Proposals for the City Gaol (Plate 1.21) (to replace the Tollbooth Gaol situated on the High Street, to the west of St Giles Kirk) had been passed by act of parliament in 1813.[170] . It was first intended that this new gaol would be relocated in the Old Town.[171] But in December 1813, a report by the Sheriff William Rae was published in the Scots Magazine, it discussed the needs of the Felon's Prison in terms of layout and space provision, in comparison to a

[169] Henry Cockburn Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, North Bridge, 1856). 241. Lord Henry Cockburn was an influential peer within the city.
[170] Anno 53 George III c.77, "An Act for Erecting and Maintaining a New Gaol and Other Buildings for the County and City of Edinburgh," (21st May 1813).
[171] At a site to the east of Libberton's Wynd to the rear of the Justiciary Court.

number of other similar institutions around the country.[172] It concluded that a much greater area was required than the small patch of land allocated[173] and that the only place large enough to accommodate the new gaol was on the southern side of Princes Street (where the Scott Monument in east Princes Street Gardens is currently situated.)

Calton Hill was considered in Rae's 1813 report for this building, and was dismissed as unsuitable due to the greater distance between the court and the jail - increasing opportunities for escape. A response to this article, published in the following edition of the Scots Magazine in January 1814, argued the case for Calton Hill as the most appropriate site for the gaol and supplied plans in support.

This article not only argued that the gaol would benefit from plentiful air supply and suitable drainage that would not likely be achievable at the proposed Princes Street site. It also considered the matter of ownership of the land, which would have to be purchased by the Magistrates if the Gaol were to be sited on Princes Street.[174] Perhaps most significantly, this article provided a solution to Rae's concerns over access, which could easily be rectified through the development of a bridge spanning Low Calton. This would provide better access to and from court and could replace a road planned to the north of Calton Hill, intended as the new grand access route from London into the city, instead exploiting the views made famous by Barker's panorama. This road would instead sit on the south side of Calton Hill, and would provide an eastern access route to and from the city.

[172] It appears that on the petition to parliament for this new jail, the Sheriff had undertaken a study tour of a number of jails throughout England. See Anon., "New Jail," *Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*, 76, May 1814, 393-4.

[173] It was originally intended to relocate this building in the Old Town, at a site to the east of Libberton's Wynd to the rear of the Justiciary Court.

[174] As opposed to Calton Hill, which was already owned by the city. In particular, it is likely that a 'New Town' venue would have been considered wholly unsuitable for what would have been considered an 'Old Town' institution – both in its original placement, as well as its purpose.

I propose that it should be the great approach to the city of Edinburgh from the London Road; and truly, I think, that a more striking and magnificent entrance cannot be figured – to gain the level of the Bridewell by gradual ascent – to overlook the Town and environs from that most striking of all points – to descend gently and arrive upon a great thoroughfare of Prince's Street (sic), the great point of divergence at Register Office – having commanded the Town in its most striking aspect…[175]

By March 1814, the Council magistrates petitioned the House of Commons to add the development of an access route to the 1813 Act.[176] It would involve procurement of the large amount of funding to construct a bridge to connect Calton Hill with the city. The engineer Robert Stevenson was commissioned to design the bridge and the new access road to the city Gaol. Stevenson's considerations took in the options and the cost of engineering the road around the south side of the hill, and compared these to other options for approaches to the first New Town. This considered the site's topography alongside engineering concerns and concluded the most direct and practical solution to connect Calton Hill to the east end of the New Town would be a bridge and road running from the eastern end of Princess Street, that would lead around the hill and away from the city to the east, which would also become the main approach from the south.[177]

---

[175] Timon, "View of Different Proposals for the Situation of the New Jail, with the Plan of a Bridge and Road across the Calton Hill. ," *Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany* , 76 ,January 1814, 4-5.

[176] Government of Great Britain, "Journal of the House of Commons," (4th November 1813-1st november 1814).151, Anno 54 George III c.53, "An Act for Erecting and Amintaining a New Gaol and Other Buildings for the County and City of Edinburgh," (1814). See also Anon., "New Jail," *Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*, 76, May 1814, 393-4. ; The act of the 53rd Geo III for putting in execution the act of 54 Geo II so far as relates to " opening communications to the New Gaol, and building a Bridge over Low Calton" (Calton bridge (Regent Bridge) Minutes of Committee 16th July 1814 to 31st Aug 1820 – Discussion regarding the New Gaol to go in King George IV act to alter and amend 53, 54, 56 Geo.3., December 1814, Shelf 32u 9/41), 'Fishsupper', Edinburgh City Archives. *"For enabling commissioners to erect and maintain a new Gaol and other buildings for the county and city of Edinburgh and for opening communications with the same.*
"http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:hcpp&rft_dat=xri:hcpp:fulltext:journals_hol_index-000008:233

[177] Byrom, *The Edinburgh New Town Gardens : 'Blessings as Well as Beauties'*.

His report on the best route for the site took into account the benefits of easier access in being able to use Calton Hill as a pleasure ground, and in opening up the potential of the area for feuing,[178] as well as the practicalities of building the bridge and routing the road. This was no small task, as it required the removal of old buildings blocking the eastern end of Princes Street, bridging a fifty-foot deep ravine, blasting a passage through solid rock, resulting in the relocation of part of the (Old) Calton Burial Ground.[179] Despite the complicated and disruptive nature of the proposals for the extant urban fabric, Stevenson took into account how the nature of the hill, its perceived assets, and the development both surrounding the site and on the hill could be utilised to enhance his design.[180]

> …[*T]his line[of road], …seems best suited to the peculiar situation of the ground, being calculated to show to much advantage the rugged rocks on which Nelson's Monument is erected, which beautifully terminates the view in looking eastward; and in entering the Town from the opposite directions, it exhibits at one view, from a somewhat elevated situation, the striking and extensive line of Princes Street*.[181]

In addition, Stevenson recognised the aesthetic asset of the views from the Old Town towards the hill and took great pains to retain and enhance these in his proposals. This sensitivity can be particularly identified over the treatment of the road in front of what was later to become Hamilton's Royal High School building. Stevenson needed to build a substantial retaining wall at this point to ensure that the road, which curved around the hill, would not begin to slip. By covering the retaining wall with rustic stonework facing to look like the outcropping rock found at other points on the craggy hillside,

---

[178] "*Access to the extensive lands connected with the Calton Hill, valuable both as building grounds and as a delightful city walk, has long been a desideratum*" Taken from Robert Stevenson's report to Heriot's Hospital, noted in David Stevenson, *Life of Robert Stevenson, Civil Engineer. [Illustrated.]* (Edinburgh,1878). 77.
[179] More about this in Section 2.
[180] This was most likely influenced by the posthumously published report by William Stark on the hill, dating to 1814. This is further discussed in detail below.
[181] Stevenson, *Life of Robert Stevenson, Civil Engineer. [Illustrated.]*. 82.

he ensured that this new intervention blended into the hill and became a part of the overall aesthetic enhancement of the site.[182]

The specifications for the layout of the roadway also included another consideration. In 1813 - the year before the Act of Parliament was passed permitting the construction of the new road a competition was held to design a third New Town that would stretch from the north side of Calton Hill to Leith.[183] By the time that Stevenson designed his plan of 1814, he understood that this road must tie in with this newly proposed development. He therefore had to consider its context within the third New Town development as a whole, which included both the aesthetic impact and practicality of the road design, as well as its hierarchical placement as a thoroughfare within the New Town development.[184]

> *As this road is not only to be the great approach from the eastward, but likewise to become the chief thoroughfare to the extensive lands of Heriot's and Trinity Hospitals, and to the lands of other conterminous proprietors, henceforth likely to become the principal building grounds for this great city, which is always increasing towards its port of Leith, it becomes desirable for these purposes, and particularly to preserve the interesting view of the Calton Hill … with two elegant buildings in the form of pavilions or wings to the bridge, would have an effect similar to what is strikingly observable in looking from the western end of George Street towards the Excise Office.*[185]

---

[182] Roland Paxton, J. Shipway, and Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland., *Scotland - Lowlands and Borders*, Civil Engineering Heritage (London: Thomas Telford, 2007). 151. See also Stevenson, *Life of Robert Stevenson, Civil Engineer. [Illustrated.]*.74-91.

[183] More on this is discussed below.

[184] *"[T]his road should not be less than seventy-five feet in breadth, or similar to Princes Street…Princes Street, including sunken areas, measures ninety-five feet in ….but the narrowing of the street even to sixty feet in width"* Taken from Robert Stevenson's report to Heriot's Hospital, noted in *Stevenson, Life of Robert Stevenson, Civil Engineer. [Illustrated.]. 82-83.*

[185] Ibid. 82-83.

Archibald Elliot's[186] designs for the access onto Calton Hill were important for the visual impact of the new development. He was commissioned to design the new City Gaol and Governor's House[187] at the same time as designing the buildings and architectural elements above Stevenson's Bridge, halfway along the new street of Waterloo Place. This streetscape had an entirely different feel in its execution from the buildings that already stood on the hill, as Elliot used a restrained Georgian classicism for this access more in keeping with the rhetoric of the adjacent New Town. His streetscape included screens, designed as triumphal arches[188] on either side of the bridge. They complimented and showed off Stevenson's engineering by affording views through the screen to Calton Road below.

The inception of Waterloo Place was influenced by the proposals for the Crown's London estate of Marylebone Farm, and its linking to Portland Place and St James' Park by John Nash.[189] Where Nash et al.[190] had used surprise and movement in his processional route up to Regent's Park to hint at the picturesque nature of the street's destination, Elliot had hinted at the semi-rural nature of Calton Hill by providing a visual connection with the

[186] 1761-1823. According to Colvin, Elliott was *"one of the leading Edinburgh architects during the first quarter of the 19th century. "Howard Colvin, "A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840," (Yale University Press, 1995).* 350

[187] Completed in 1817. This followed much of the rhetoric of the adjacent Bridewell, but with a less rusticated approach to the exterior stonework. In Elliot's design, the 'Court Revival' style defined by MacInnes in Adam's Bridewell made way for a more restrained ashlar castellation that seemed to incorporate Burn's interpretation of Adam's style through his Nelson monument. MacInnes, "Robert Adam's Public Buildings."

[188] These consist of central semicircular triumphal arches, flanked by Corinthian columns and framed either side by Ionic colonnades.

[189] Nash's had first implemented the ideas of picturesque in urban design during the development of Blaise Hamlet near Bristol, along with Humphrey Repton, in the 1790s. John Nash has been mainly attributed to the development of Marylebone Farm, but recent work by Dana Arnold has highlighted the importance of the team effort of the group of architects, builders and surveyors - led by Nash, Decimus Burton and S.P.Cockerell, that went into the development of this site, and its significance to the urban planning of London as a whole (See Arnold, *Rural Urbanism: London Landscapes in the Early Nineteenth Century*.

[190] As Nash is the sole author of the proposals of 1809, then this discussion will refer to him only. Where the need arises to discuss the actual development the group will be referred to as Nash et al.

outlying landscape to the north and south of the city through the screens of Regent's Bridge. In particular, the key viewpoint into Waterloo Place from the Prince Regent's residence at Carlton House (Plate 1.22) was copied almost exactly for Elliot's key view from Princes Street for the entrance into Waterloo Place in Edinburgh (Plate 1.23).[191] Elliot designed an access that connected to the landscape, as well as replicating the most fashionable and *urbane* project of its period. By making a direct connection between the Prince Regent, the triumphs of the Napoloeonic wars, and the development of the classical urban streetscape, both Nash and Elliott therefore encapsulated the mood of a nation and the exploited the notion of nationhood and loyalty to the crown that was to become a prominent factor in early 19th-century thinking.[192]

The Regent Street development in London has been described as *" a wish on the part of George IV and his ministers to reinforce the position of the crown and enhance the authority of State."*[193] Keeping these aims in mind with regards to the development of Edinburgh, further similarities can be drawn between the ambitions of London's development and the development of both Calton Hill and the broader Edinburgh cityscape from the mid 18th-century onwards. From this point, Edinburgh had adopted a homogeneous British architectural style in order to legitimise itself as a city of significance within Britain, rather than as an unsophisticated backwater. Edinburgh's struggle to be regarded as a city of comparison to its English counterparts during this period is often viewed as the impetus for much of the development of the city.[194] Initially, the development of regulated and rational townscapes had

[191] The similarities between these two views have previously been highlighted in John Lowrey's paper on the urban design of Calton Hill, where he discusses the significance of these two developments in terms of the implementation of the Picturesque in urban design during the early 19th-century19th-century. Lowrey, "The Urban Design of Edinburgh's Calton Hill". 6.

[192]Nash's plan was considered to demonstrate how urban design could be implemented as a 'National object.' see Terence Davis, *John Nash. The Prince Regent's Architect. [Illustrated.]* (London,1966). See below for further discussion on this.

[193] Arnold, *Rural Urbanism: London Landscapes in the Early Nineteenth Century*. 77.

[194] "Compared to mainstream contemporary Scottish urbanism, Edinburgh's plan was distinctly English." Charles McKean, "Twinning Cities: Modernisation Versus

sought to instil a message of uniformity and togetherness throughout Britain by building in an 'English Manner,' after a period of nearly 50 years of unrest during the Jacobite rebellions. For example, in the 1752 pamphlet entitled *Proposals for carrying on certain public works in the City of Edinburgh,*[195] it is clearly stated that works to the city were considered to be beneficial not only to the city in which they were carried out, but to the British nation as a whole;

> *[B]uilding bridges, repairing high-roads, establishing manufactures, forming commercial companies and opening new veins of trade, are employments which have already thrown a lustre upon some of the first names of this country…the leading men of a country ought to exert their power and influence...what greater object can be presented to their view, than that of enlarging, beautifying an improving the capital of their native country?...[and] prove more beneficial to Scotland and by consequence to United Britain.*[196]

The implementation of this plan had been advanced through the development of James Craig's first New Town of 1766[197] (Plate 1.24), and its access with the building of 'North Bridge' (1769).[198] However, the city's attempts to compete with its English counterparts, could not only consider its development in light of political events.

Improvement," in *Edinburgh : The Making of a Capital City*, ed. Brian Edwards and Paul Jenkins (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005). 47 See also ———, "Improvement and Modernisation in Everyday Enlightenment Scotland " in *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600 to 1800*, ed. Elizabeth A. Foyster and Christopher A. Whatley (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010).

[195] Sir Gilbert Elliot Baronet Minto, "Proposals for Carrying on Certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh.." (Edinburgh1752).

[196] Ibid. 36.

[197] John Lowrey and Anthony Lewis, "James Craig: Architect of the First New Town of Edinburgh," *Architectural Heritage v : the journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland* (1994), Cruft and Fraser, *"The Ingenious Architect of the New Town of Edinburgh" : James Craig 1744-1795*.

[198] This bridge was designed by William Mylne, however, it partially collapsed soon after opening and had to be rebuilt by John Smeaton (1724-1792), eventually re-opening in 1772. In 1894-97, this bridge was again rebuilt by Cunningham, Blyth and Westland to its current state. Paxton, Shipway, and Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland., *Scotland - Lowlands and Borders*.144-145.

Its reputation as a picturesque burgh, admired by genteel visitors when viewed as a distant landscape, was not considered in a similar light when experienced in close proximity. Thomas Gray, for example, in his *Journey into Scotland* from the 1760s noted that Edinburgh was "*that most picturesque (at a distance) and nastiest (when near) of all capital citie*s."[199]

The building of access routes into the New Town provided some opportunity to address this problem by developing a grand processional route from the south that would conveniently bypass some of the more insalubrious and poorer parts of the Old Town commented on by Gray.[200] Robert Adam's input into this processional route was significant, as much of his focus in the 1770s and 1780s was on the development of major public buildings along this route and the manipulation of views towards the New Town through axial vistas and dramatic sweeping landscapes. It included plans for a triumphal arch at the entrance to the city.[201] It would be immediately followed by Adam's new University building[202] and classical South Bridge development.[203] This enclosed bridge design created a vista towards Adam's Register House building at the entrance to Craig's New Town. This was

[199] Quote from a letter written by Thomas Gray, c. 30th September 1765. Footnoted in Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque : Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain 1760-1800* (Stanford University Press, 1989). 207.

[200] Lowrey has previously commented that Samuel Johnson's scathing remarks on the thoroughfares in Edinburgh provide a direct and precise counter to the development of the North and South Bridges of the city. "[Johnson's] observation [in his 1775 publication, *A journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*] that the highway to London was the most welcome sight a Scotsman ever saw, is not only a criticism of what he considered the backwardness of Scotland, but a reference to the way London was seen by many Scotsmen, namely, as a place of opportunity and a standard against which developments in Scotland were measured." John Lowrey, "From Caesarea to Athens Greek Revival Edinburgh and the Question of Scottish Identity within the Unionist State " *JSAH* 60: 2 (2001). 147.

[201] This arch was later incorporated into the entrance of the University building.

[202] It has been noted that the southernmost wall of Adam's (Old) College building for the University of Edinburgh would have been viewed as part of the city wall on entering the city from the south. This wall is much more ornate than the northernmost wall of the building, which would not have been seen on entering the city.

[203] Designed by Adam c. 1785 and built by Alexander Laing Architect between 1786-88. Paxton, Shipway, and Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland., *Scotland - Lowlands and Borders*.143.

further emphasised by the meeting point between the North and South Bridge, which opened out at the meting point of these two bridges to reveal the view of the Waverley Valley to the west, incorporating the distant view of the Castle and the New Town and east, incorporating Hume's monument and the gothic observatory on Calton Hill.

In addition to providing a direct access route to the New Town that would bypass the less attractive parts of the Old Town, North and South Bridge were also part of a larger scheme of infrastructural development to enhance trade and commercial routes to and from the city. These had been part of the larger plans for the city at the early stages of proposals for the development of a New Town, mainly from the proposed canals that would have connected the city and Leith docks,[204] or that were to run east - west through the Waverley Valley.[205] However, with the onset of the French revolution of 1789, and the restriction in European travel, a new focus on the city as a stopping point in the increasingly popular British Grand Tour[206] brought further focus on Edinburgh and its comparison with other cities of the British Isles. The success of small local projects was therefore considered key to displaying Edinburgh's advancement as a city of the Empire and its role in the strengthening of the country as a whole. [207] In particular, a need to improve connections between major British cities and their ports was mooted in

[204] Robert Mein, *The City Cleaned, and Country Improven. By Following out This Proposed Method, for Paying Only One Penny Per Week, for an 8l. Rent, and So Proportionally by the Possessors of Each Bounds, Consisting of 800l. Of Yearly Rent, Which Is 50 Houses, at 16l. Rent* (Edinburgh,1760).
[205] See inset on Mostyn John Armstrong, Andrew Armstrong, and Thomas Kitchin, "To the Nobility, Gentry & Clergy of the Counties of Haddington, Edinburgh and Linlithgow This Map of the Three Lothians Is," ([Edinburgh],1773).
[206] "The society of Edinburgh has never been better, or indeed so good…the exclusion of the British continent which made this place the favourite resort of strangers" In Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time*. 212.
[207] *"The wars against France were a catalyst for British nation-building. Scotland had participated actively in that process…"* Richard Rodger, *The Transformation of Edinburgh : Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).471-2.

connection with the relationship between Edinburgh and Leith from as early as 1752.[208]

An increase in sea trade with the colonies in the late 18th-century had prompted schemes to connect and improve many of the ports of Great Britain. This was not only to increase access to goods and services to and from ports, but also to allow for winter docking of the growing shipping fleet.[209] By the 1800s, modernisation and improvement within both urban and rural areas in Scotland mean that the rate of economic growth in Scotland surpassed that of England,[210] with Leith being second only to Glasgow/Greenock in the tonnage of shipping entering Scotland from abroad[211] and it struggled to keep up with the demands required for a shipping industry of this level. As the City of Edinburgh was the (then) Port Authority for Leith, it was responsible for the development of the docks, but had no means to finance these improvements. At the end of the 18th-century therefore, the city gained government authority to raise £80,000 on the security of the rates to construct a series of small docks leading off the west side of the Water of Leith, the river running into the Forth from the south. This work was carried out between 1800 and 1817, alongside improved access from the city by enhancing the streetscape between the new docks in Leith and Leith Walk.[212]

---

[208]Baronet Minto, "Proposals for Carrying on Certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh..". Specific works to improve Leith docks can be found in "An Act for Enlarging and Improving the Harbour at Leith; for Making a New Bason, Quays, Wharfs or Docks,; for Building Warehouses; for Making New Roads and Widening Others; Leading to and from the Said Harbour; and for Empowering the Lord Provost , Magistrates and Council of the City of Edinburgh to Purchase Lands , Houses and Areas; and to Borrow Money for These Purposes.," (1788).

[209] See Gordon Jackson, *The History and Archaeology of Ports* (Tadworth: World's Work, 1983). Chapter 3.

[210] "[B]etween 1750 and 1800, [Scotland's] overseas commerce expanded by 300 per cent, England's by 200 per cent." Colley, *Britons : Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*. 123

[211] Its increase in shipping trade is remarked on in *Plan and Estimate for Enlarging and improving the Town and Harbour of Leith By Charles Henry Kerr*, 1787.

[212] John Rennie was engaged to do this. See Paxton, Shipway, and Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland., *Scotland - Lowlands and Borders*. 156. The decision was to sell it or turn it into a trust, by 1826, the Leith dock commission had been created and in another 12 years it was financially independent of the city.

Before the development of Leith Walk,[213] access between Edinburgh and Leith was along two routes – either through the Canongate, up through Abbeyhill and onto Easter Road, or through Broughton Village to Leith Mills on the western side of the town. The city appears to have been maintained the walk at public expense from at least the late 17th Century[214] but as a pleasure promenade, rather than a main access route, as all commercial wheeled traffic was banned from using it until the late 18th-century.[215] By the time that the docks were being developed, the direct access between Edinburgh and the Port at Leith that was afforded by Leith Walk meant that it was considered, alongside Easter Road to the east, as a primary connecting route between the two urban areas.[216] The enhancement of routes of access and communications between cities, ports and surrounding lands could be identified all over the country as part of the strengthening of naval ports during the Napoleonic wars. These were a priority for the Edinburgh Town Council, as this was considered a vital part of the city's future and prosperity. It is therefore unsurprising that while upgrading these two main

[213] The line of the road was created during the threat of invasion from Oliver Cromwell in July 1650, when General David Leslie had ordered two deep defensive trenches be dug from Calton Hill to Leith Walk for the protection of the city. It is argued that the walk was built on top of the trenches, but evidence has been found that the level of the walk was much lower than that of the present. Leith Walk Research Group., *Leith Walk and Greenside : A Social History*.

[214] The earliest known use of Leith Walk as a street dates to 1695, when the Town Council ordered payment of £60 Scots yearly to James Lauder "to be the keeper and overseer of the walk betwixt Edinburgh and Leith, for laying chanell (gravell) thereon." Taken from Ibid.3.

[215] The route is still identified as a gravel walk as late as 1760, in Robert Mein's pamphlet on improving trade and commerce in the city (Plate 1.25). Robert Mein, *The Edinburgh Paradise Regain'd, on the City Set at Liberty, to Propagate and Improve Her Trade and Commerce. ... By a Merchant-Citizen, ...* (Edinburgh,1764).

[216] As the infrastructure projects within Edinburgh were prioritised over the dock re-development, this resulted in the mis-management of funds and only two out of three docks were ever completed. (Jackson, *The History and Archaeology of Ports*.54.) This may be mainly due to the cot of the bridge linking Calton Hill and Princess Street, which had been financially draining on other commitments that the Town Council had made within the city, see Reed, "Form and Context : A Study of Georgian Edinburgh.", Byrom, *The Edinburgh New Town Gardens : 'Blessings as Well as Beauties'*. 315.

access routes, the area between these two streets was considered for development.

During the 18th and early 19th centuries, the ownership of Calton Hill, Greenside, and the land east of Leith Walk and west of Easter Road was split between a number of different feus of differing sizes (Plate 1.26). These ranged from large swathes of land owned by the charitable institutions of Heriot's and Trinity Hospitals in the northern part of the site, the large area of common ground owned by the City on the summit of the hill, to small individual farmsteads, which were dotted in between the larger estates.[217] The development of this area was proposed at a meeting between Heriot's and Trinity Hospitals, and a key landowner - Mr Allen of Greenside.[218] At the same meeting, The Lord Provost of Edinburgh, William Creech, who sat on the boards of Heriot's Hospital and Trinity Hospital trusts, proposed that the setting up of a committee, entitled the "Committee for feuing Calton Hill grounds and co." should be undertaken purely for the interests of developing the land. It was therefore agreed at the meeting that; *"the ground belonging to Heriot's Hospital, Trinity Hospital and Mr Allan, situated between the Easter and Wester Roads to Leith, Also a small part of Heriot's Hospital Ground, and a part of Trinity's Hospital Ground lying on the East side of the Easter Road to Leith shall be laid out on Joint plan for building ground."*[219] A letter was directed by the newly formed 'Committee', to the City of Edinburgh to invite the Town Council to consider including their common land on the Calton Hill in the plan.

The proposal of the third New Town to be sited to the '*east of Leith Walk*' therefore included the open common land of the city, as well as that of

[217] See Ainslie, J. "Old and New Town of Edinburgh and Leith with the proposed docks", 1804. Plate 1.26 for detail on specific boundaries and extents of the landowners.
[218] See Reed, "Form and Context : A Study of Georgian Edinburgh." 135.
[219] Minutes of Committee for feuing Calton Hill Grounds & co., 15th January 1811, Shelf 32 9/41, 'Fishsupper', Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh. Also taken from Peter Reed, "Georgian Edinburgh " in *Order in Space and Society*, ed. Thomas A. Markus (Mainstream, 1982).

private landowners. The proprietors entered "*into a joint contract*" and John Bell, a land surveyor was commissioned by the committee set up for the project to prepare a measured plan of the area. This was to serve as both a visual guide to the boundaries of ownership and to set the limits of the development for an open competition to find an appropriate design for the site.[220] The competition was advertised to the public in late 1812, and published in both local and national papers, such as the Edinburgh Courant and the Times of London.[221] The advertisement stated that an area roughly an oblong square, had been surveyed and that plans of the land, sections and levels' had been prepared for proposals to be submitted for "*a BUILDING-PLAN or DESIGN… for the Lands situated to the East of Leith Walk"(sic).* The best plan would *"be entitled to receive the premium of THREE HUNDRED GUINEAS, and the designer of the next best plan, to the other premium of ONE HUNDRED GUINEAS (sic).*"[222] All proposals for the competition were to be submitted (sealed up and anonymous), to Messrs Macritchie and Little, lawyers based in Edinburgh.

By the start of 1813, at least 34 proposals had been submitted. Ten competitors submitted two or more designs.[223] Although only the four plans of the successful competition winners survive,[224] the notes relating to all of the submitted proposals to Macritchie and Little can still be viewed, as well as the comments on the designs by the judges for the competition, who were

[220] According to the Minutes of Committee for feuing Calton Hill Grounds & co., Shelf 32 9/41, 15, 'Fishsupper', a similar scheme had been carried out for the Second New Town.

[221] The full list notes local papers as; The Courant, Mercury, Advertiser and Correspondent and the London papers as; The Courier, St James' Chronicle, London Chronicle and the Times. Minutes of Committee for feuing Calton Hill Grounds & co. ,Shelf 32 9/41, 15, 'Fishsupper'. 22-23.

[222] See above. 22nd August 1812. Notice dated 29th July 1812.

[223] It is not possible to give an exact number of the different proposals as not all are mentioned in the record book. From detailed study of this, it appears that around half a dozen hopefuls submitted more than one and that submissions 6 and 7 were counted as one submission, placing the number around 41 or 42 different designs proposed.

[224] The four joint competition winners were: William Reid (Plate 1.27), Richard Crichton (Plate 1.28), Alexander Nasmyth (Plate 1.29) and James Milne and Benjamin Bell (Plate 1.30).

well know architects of the time.[225] From reading the descriptions that accompanied the designs, and the assessor's comments on their preferred submissions, the priorities of the development and to some extent, the mindset of the entrants and the committee emerge. It is clear from the judge's comments that it was expected that the winning design needed to establish Leith Walk as a main route to the port of Leith, and enhance the link between the city and the newly-developed Leith Docks.

In addition, as the comments about the location of the New Jail in Scots Magazine in January 1813 made clear,[226] much emphasis was placed on the health benefits of the design. The quality of the air was of great concern. This included a combination of features found in other New Towns of this period in Bath and Clifton, such as squares, circuses and crescents, which were believed to be healthful as well providing locations for picturesque elements, terminating views and vistas. A stipulation of the competition was that no alterations could be made in the plans to the Observatory, [Nelson] Monument, Flagstaff or Bridewell,[227] and many of the proposals used the Nelson Monument as a key focal point for proposed vistas to the south. A number of the proposals also included additional commemorative and monumental architecture such as statues and public buildings to further create focal points throughout the development. However, despite the incorporation of vistas towards the Nelson Monument in the urban layout of the four competition winners, not one placed commemorative monuments on the summit of the hill. Instead, provision was made for large monumental edifices to be placed within the proposed urban layout to the north of Calton Hill.

---

[225] These were: Robert Reid, John Baxter, William Burn, James Gillespie, John Paterson and William Stark, although Stark's report was not included in the comments at the back of this book. See Entry of the Plans for the New Buildings In the order in which they were received by Macritchie & Little, 1813, GD113/1/325, National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh.

[226] Timon, "View of Different Proposals for the Situation of the New Jail, with the Plan of a Bridge and Road across the Calton Hill. ," *Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany* , 76 ,January 1814, 4-5.

[227] Minutes of Committee for feuing Calton Hill Grounds & co., Shelf 32 9/41, 23, 'Fishsupper'. A flagstaff was located on the summit of Calton Hill until the 1820s.

Despite nearly forty-five different submissions, in the end, no overall winner could be decided upon.[228] Instead, rather than focusing on the entrants plans, decisions for the development of the site were taken from comments made by one of the judges, William Stark, on how the picturesque nature of the site should be improved.[229] Unlike the preferences stated by the other committee members, it is unclear whether Stark had favoured any of the particular designs submitted in the 1813 competition. Instead, he compiled a report that included general details on the considerations that should be made in any proposals for the development of the hill. This report, which was never completed due to his sudden death in 1813, commented mainly on the existing landscape and how it should be developed. Its contents were considered so insightful that it became highly influential for the layout of the site. Stark believed that any new architecture or urban plan must exploit the site's topography and its existing elements, if the design was to be executed in a satisfactory manner.[230] Unlike the first New Town, of which Stark was

[228] This resulted in the committee deciding that the prize money should be shared out between four proposals that were considered to have interesting and preferential parts to their designs, but which were not overall wholly acceptable as a plan for the area. It was therefore suggested that the first prize of £300 pounds should be shared by William Reid (Plate 1.27), Alexander Nasmyth (Plate 1.29) and Richard Crichton (Plate 1.28) and the £100 second prize should go to a jointly submitted plan by James Milne and Benjamin Bell (Plate 1.30). This would mean that all "winners" received £100 apiece. These designs are discussed in detail in Reed, "Form and Context : A Study of Georgian Edinburgh." And Byrom, *The Edinburgh New Town Gardens : 'Blessings as Well as Beauties'*.

[229] Stark (1770-1813) was a Fife–born architect whose father was a merchant and mill owner in Glasgow but who had family connections to the Midlothian area. His architectural portfolio was in the main Glasgow structures, such as the Glasgow Court House, the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow University and St Georges Tron Church in Buchanan Street. His work in Edinburgh consisted of the interiors of the Signet Library and the Advocates Library (now the upper Signet Library), and his role on the committee for the development of the lands of Calton Hill. Colvin, "A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840." 977.

[230] "*It is of the utmost importance that the plan should be well considered, since the site is so well calculated to display either all its beauty or deformity.*" William Stark, *Report to the Right Honourable the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City of Edinburgh, and the Governors of George Heriot's Hospital ... On the Plans for Laying out the Grounds for Buildings between Edinburgh and Leith* (Edinburgh: Printed by A. Smellie, 1814). 16.

highly critical, its layout should not follow a regulated grid plan,[231] but instead the contours of the site should be the starting point for the proposed urban plan, enhancing its natural assets through the introduction of new architecture.

> *It is of the utmost importance that the plan should be well considered, since the site is so well calculated to display either all its beauty or deformity.*[232]

The elevated situation of Calton Hill was also to be taken into account. As the hill sat above the city, any development there would be prominent within the landscape and therefore should be carefully and thoughtfully executed.

> *To a community like that of Edinburgh, where a taste for fine scenery is so generally prevalent, it is impossible that such situations should not have high attractions, if adorned with buildings worthy of them and combined so as to retain even a portion of their local beauties and splendid views*.[233]

In particular, Stark's insistence that the natural assets of the landscape should be exploited, rather than removed was one of his heaviest criticisms of the competition proposals submitted. Not one of the proposals for the area had considered using these natural assets to enhance the layout of the site. Instead, most sought to remove or build over them.

> *There are assemblages of trees, besides, which might be well worth preserving, even at some expence (sic) of ground, as they might adorn a square or public walk, or give interest to the picturesque effect to a church…. as an instance I select the fine double row of elms which stand in a line with the buildings of Baxter's place, and*

---

[231] "*To the stranger occupied in the examination of the present New Town, it would import little to be informed when looking along George Street, that it is precisely parallel to Prince's Street and Queen's Street; or, if admiring Charlotte Square to be told that it forms exact counterpart upon the ground plan to St Andrew's Square.*" Ibid. 8.
[232] Ibid. 16.
[233] Ibid. 6.

form the northern boundary of Mr Allan's property…it would seem impossible for any one to approach them without being struck with the beauty of their forms, or remarking…how much indeed they enrich and give interest to the whole surrounding scene.

Stark's premature death in 1813 resulted in 'a friend' posthumously publishing his comments. In this publication, this friend also added a postscript of opinions that Stark had - according to the author - 'intended' to be included in the completed work.[234] This included further suggestions for the site, specifically: the need to provide access from Princes Street to the south side of Calton Hill; the development of a sweeping grand terrace around the lower and southern parts of the hill; and the retention of the upper part of the hill as public open space. These comments were also included in the later designs for the hill and became key elements in the development of the site during the 1820s.

Comparison of these proposals for Calton Hill to Nash's plan for London's Regent Park particularly demonstrates the widespread interpretation of the principles of the Picturesque and its application in urban design by the early 19th-century. Although Nash and Stark's proposals both aimed to develop a semi urban/rural area, Stark's focus on giving precedence to existing topographical features of Calton Hill brought a more sensitive approach to the retention of the existing landscape by designing an urban framework around existing rural features. Conversely, Nash's designs aimed to impose an urban landscape on a rural site, by creating a controlled urban feel within a semi rural setting through the introduction of formal geometric avenues and circuses. The differences in these two approaches was no doubt due to the visual prominence of Calton Hill within the city, compared to Regent Park, but it is also relevant that there was a priority for the London development to reflect Crown and State interests. This may also be the reason that a more formalised idea of an urban landscape was implemented

[234] Ibid. It is thought that William Playfair may have been the 'Friend' who had added the Post Script, as he was apprenticed to Stark at the time.

in Nash's London development, as topographical concerns did not play such a prevalent part in the design. Instead, as the development was determined by the boundaries of land ownership on the west London site, focus was given to the statement that the landscape would make once it was developed, rather than the landscape that already existed.

Stark's reputation as an architect of particular taste and refinement led to his opinion on Calton Hill and expertise in the understanding the urban picturesque being lauded in influential circles. Sir Walter Scott is said to have commented at Stark's death that '*More genius has died than is left behind among the collected universality of Scottish Architects*'[235] and Lord Henry Cockburn, considered him to have been '*the best modern architect that Scotland had ever produced*.'[236] McKean, exemplifies why this was in his chapter in Edwards and Jenkins edited book on *Edinburgh*, by stating that "*[T]he inspiration to break with precedent, by responding to the landscape rather than dominating it, came from William Stark … Stark's recommendations … elevated the values of landscape, contour, prospect and trees above the seduction of geometry.*"[237] His influence on his contemporaries, the third New Town Committee had a massive impact on the focus for the design of this site, and his localised approach to the application of the aesthetic was key in the development of Calton Hill after his demise.

While Calton Hill was considered as one large development area for the 1813 competition proposals, it is clear that a number of smaller proposed developments within the site played an essential part in focusing interest on the development of this area in the early 19th-century. Firstly, the City's aspiration to enhance itself as a Port town through the development of Leith Docks and the connections between the City and Leith, brought focus to the adjoining area as a site for development. Secondly, the need for a new city

[235] Colvin, "A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840." 977. Quote cited by but not referenced.
[236] Ibid. 977.
[237] McKean, "Twinning Cities: Modernisation Versus Improvement." 55.

Gaol, and the suitability of Calton Hill as the location for it, again brought up the discussion that had occurred in the 1790s regarding access between the hill and the New Town. In spite of the consolidation of these proposed developments within the overall 1813 competition however, it was not until Stark's 1814 report that the proposals for the third extended development of the city were considered within the realms of picturesque design.

Stevenson's considerations behind his 1814 designs for Regent Bridge and Regent Road, for example, incorporated considerations of the Picturesque as his proposals for the new road emphasised the importance of views towards the south side of the hill and enhanced the hill's natural assets. In addition, his (slightly later) proposals for the layout of housing (Plate 1.31) directly reflected Stark's comments regarding residential development on top of Calton Hill. His three sweeping grand terraces planned for the eastern side of the hill emphasised the natural landscape and provided outlooks 'far excelling the views of Clifton, or Bath, or the Terrace at Ramsgate.'

That Elliot's design for Waterloo Place was so different to his contemporaneous design for his city gaol is also telling. Elliot had continued to use Adam's fortified castellated style as the key influence for the Calton Gaol, but in Waterloo Place Elliot took influence from the classicism already adopted in the first New Town and applied it in picturesque urban setting. This choice of design was an attempt to literally and figuratively 'bridge the gap' between the urban New Town and the rural Calton Hill. By taking the lead from the ideas implemented by Nash et al. in the urban picturesque, this brought the new bridge and road into the forefront of fashionable architecture. In addition, it also legitimised the project as one of national consequence – an effect that would continue during the development of the hill in the subsequent 20 years.

Chapter 3: Merging the Visual with the Practical

Despite prize money for the 1813 competition proposals being awarded out to the chosen 'winners', the committee largely disregarded all of the submissions. Instead, it was decided to use Stark's ideas as a basis for the planning and commission a different architect to implement them in a new set of proposals. During the process of planning, however, focus shifted to include the expanding city and the needs of its residents, as its previous central focal point of the high street shifted further and further away for many of its more affluent citizens. In particular, with discussions over the introduction of a number of new civic buildings within Edinburgh, the city looked to areas outside of the Old Town to site new developments - where space was readily available, and where they would be easily accessible. This re-thinking of the layout of the town was also coupled with what was a nation-wide emotive response to the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and the victory at Waterloo. From 1815 onwards, a drive to commemorate the fallen and celebrate British patriotism was carried out through a number of civic projects in the public realm. Many of those in Edinburgh, as elsewhere in the country, found a place within new urban developments.

The architect, William Henry Playfair was commissioned to provide new plans for the area designated in the 1813 competition. Playfair was a rising star in Edinburgh circles, having been appointed to complete Robert Adam's work on the University's 1780s South Bridge development in 1816 and having won the commission for the new scientific observatory on Calton Hill for the Astronomical Institution at around the same time.[238] Playfair's first report to the Calton Hill committee[239] focused on the new road that was at that time being constructed to the north of Calton Hill. It would connect

[238] Further discussion on this in Section 2. According to Byrom, this 'received unanimous approval', as reported in the EEC dated 12th Feb 1818. See Byrom, *The Edinburgh New Town Gardens : 'Blessings as Well as Beauties'*. 316.
[239] Minutes of Committee for feuing Calton Hill Grounds & co., 8th May 1818, Shelf 32 9/41, 'Fishsupper'.

Leith Walk and the 'Eastern Road' (now Easter Road), which would eventually become London Road. He advised that this should be kept at a level height to ensure that any development above this would not have its views compromised.

His more comprehensive 1819 report[240] was published along with a second, more detailed plan (Plate 1.32b) and comments on the overall proposals for the whole site. Playfair emphasises his association with Stark in this publication, by copying the title, typeface and style of Stark's 1814 report. He was also careful to refer to many of the considerations mentioned within Stark's earlier document in his own explanation of his new proposal for the site stating that; "*In all cases I have paid the strictest attention to the nature of the ground, and none whatever to the neatness of the plan, as it appears on paper.*"[241] Playfair focuses on the views and amenities, that this plan would provide for the city, along with the convenience it would bring in accessing the city from the east. In addition, he also stresses the importance of this development by explaining how his plan would enhance the route between Leith and Edinburgh, so that Leith Walk would become a "*…magnificent approach, from the great and judicious pains that have already been bestowed upon it, and from its being the great line of communication between the two cities,* [it] *deserves to be well studied and holds out great opportunities for a variety of beautiful effects.*"[242] His vistas from and along this street are careful to begin and end with striking commemorative monuments and picturesque environs. Inclusion of amenities, such as gardens and a promenade and carriage drive on the eastern road between Edinburgh and Leith demonstrate how Playfair's vision was to create a whole new town fit for 19th-century Britain.

[240] William Playfair, *Report to the Right Honourable the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City of Edinburgh ... On a Plan for Laying out the New Town between Edinburgh and Leith, Etc* (Edinburgh,1819). NB Playfair produces two reports, a rough draft in April 1819(Plate 1.32a) and another one in December 1819.
[241] Ibid. 5.
[242] Ibid. 3.

Yet Playfair was also aware that as well as appear to resolve the other criticisms made by the judging panel on the earlier competition. he had to satisfy the financial aspirations of his clients, , stating that he had "*attended to the beauty of the proposed town, without interfering with its more important interests.*"[243] He discusses how his planned layout would use the hill's topography in a manner allowing the incorporation of desirable high-end houses which would ensure the popularity of the area, as well as more compact and profitable housing. This, he believed, would ensure a high status for the development and keep a high-profit margin, without one compromising the other. [244]

Whilst considering Stark's view on the treatment of the site's natural assets and the topography, Playfair's inclusion of considerations of the profitability of this development together with its purpose as a commemorative landscape also draws similarities to Nash's 1809 proposals for Regent's Street and Regent's Park. Nash's report included considerations of the London plan's *Utility to the Public*, enhancement of the *Beauty of the Metropolis* and the *Practicability of the measure* in its design.[245] By comparison, Playfair's proposals for the Third Edinburgh New Town included *Practicability* through its laying out in a manner so that it *could* be extended further to the east if additional land was acquired.[246] *Utility to the Public* was considered through the opening up of a direct route to the Port of Leith from the city, which would be beneficial to commerce and the provision of more suitable housing in keeping with a modern city of the Empire. However, it was in Playfair's

[243] Ibid. 7.
[244] "Above these public buildings, and rising from the trees, is a handsome row or terrace, sufficiently elevated to give a prospect over the tops of the houses immediately below, and enjoying an extensive view of the more distant country." Ibid. 2.
[245] John Nash, "1st Report to H.M Commissioners of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues " (1809). Taken from John Summerson and John Nash, *John Nash. Architect to King George Iv. (Second Edition.)* (pp. 299. pl. XVI. George Allen & Unwin: London, 1949).
[246] The development of the land had already been determined by the project Trustees early on in the venture (hence why the site is a strange zig-zag shape on the eastern side, where landowners had agreed, or not to be part of the development.)

understanding of how to ensure the *Beauty of the Metropolis* that the greatest similarities to the London plan can be identified. Playfair's inclusion of leafy grand streets lined with villas, grand circular terraces, squares and crescents embellished and terminated by commemorative monuments and key structures of architectural merit, all intended to give *"a magnificence that nothing else could impart."* These elements are all key components of both Regent's Street and Regent's Park, where Nash had stated that vistas, grand circuses and monumental architecture would *"add to the beauty of the approach."*[247]

Playfair's plan for his residential development was essentially in two parts; the north end, where the majority of the residential development was laid out; and the south end, which included Calton Hill, park and garden land and some higher-end residential developments. The most prominent of these high-end developments consisted of a street that would continue around the Hill from Elliot's Waterloo Place, and a crescent to the north facing onto Calton Hill, fronted by public gardens. Playfair's street around Calton Hill followed, as Stevenson's proposals had, Stark's suggestion for terraces of streets to be built following the contours of the hill. This was executed through the development of a street which curved in one continuous road around Calton Hill, but which was split into three different terraces, named Royal Terrace, Regent Terrace, and - confusingly for the hill's namesake - *Carlton* Terrace.[248] This comparison with the contemporaneous developments in London further emphasises Playfair's ambition to connect his design within the general zeitgeist that surrounded British urban development during this period, and specifically that of Regent's Street and Regent's Park.

In his design for the three Terraces, Playfair accommodated the sloping street, which hugs a contour around the hill, while designing a uniform

[247] Ibid. 126.

[248] The name 'Carlton' has caused numerous issues in the referencing and understanding of the hill, as it has often been confused with the namesake of Calton and its origins. A simple 'Google' search demonstrates how commonly this mix-up occurs.

classical façade for the streetscape. Playfair's aim was to keep the architecture on the streetscape quite simple and "subordinate" to the hill's natural landscape. Yet he stated that the presence of a small amount of development on the hill would add to the *"charm…[of] the surrounding scenery,"* no doubt considering that some level of development would further emphasise the picturesque nature of the hill.

To ensure some form of continuity between the development and the summit of the hill (which was to be left as public pleasure grounds), Playfair proposed that part of the land to the rear of the terraces should be made into private gardens, as this would "*…present a pleasing foreground to the enchanting landscape which is to be seen from the public walks above."* [249] Playfair's enthusiasm for these gardens was such that his instructions to the builders digging the foundations of the houses on Regents Terrace (the rubble of which, was to be used to lay out the road leading from Leith walk to the Terrace) limited the amount of soil that could be taken from the foundations, in case this compromised the size and quality of the gardens.[250] This attempt at visual continuity on the hill and the blurring of the private and public grounds can still be discovered in the Ha-Ha (Plate 1.33) within the boundaries of the private gardens. This created the illusion of a continuous and far-reaching landscape from the private garden when looking up towards the public area.[251]

Playfair also sought to ensure the retention of many of the natural assets that surrounded Calton Hill by easing the transition between the urban residential development in the north part of the plan, and the rural nature of

[249] Playfair, *Report to the Right Honourable the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City of Edinburgh ... On a Plan for Laying out the New Town between Edinburgh and Leith, Etc*. 2.
[250] See Plate 1.34.
[251] It appears that a wall was also built to separate the private from the public land, but this was shielded on the private gardens side by the Ha Ha. It is possible that these were built at the same time, as the wall is noted in place from as early as 1840. See http://www.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-000-126-115-C.

the hill, through the development of public gardens at the base of the hill.[252] Hillside Terrace, another of Playfair's higher-end streetscapes at the foot of Calton Hill is particularly associated with this transition. At the southern side of the street, two gardens, one on the south side of Hillside Terrace, the other, directly behind at the foot of Calton Hill, provided a glimpse of greenery from the north end of the proposed development that would create a suggestion as to what could be found at the south end of the site.[253] This, Playfair states, was designed out of regard for the *"interests of the proprietors"*, to *"add beauty to the scene…[which would] render the adjoining houses much more valuable, beauty of situation being now so much and justly prized in Edinburgh."*[254] This idea can also be identified in Nash's design for the entrance to Regent's Park from the south. His controlled, enclosed vista leading northwards up towards the entrance of the park ensures that hint of open space is maintained in the distance, yet it is not until you are relatively close to the entrance to Regent's Park that the extent and nature of the open landscape are brought into full view.

The pleasure grounds of Calton Hill had already been established prior to Playfair's plan - pleasure walks on the summit of the hill had been laid out as paths by 1816 as a method of employment for the poor.[255] The area around the gothic and octagonal observatory had also been used as the site for an astronomical diorama from the late 18th-century,[256] and its summit had been a further point of touristic interest with the building of the Nelson

---

[252] *"I have also …introduced large public gardens, trusting that by judicious and careful planting, an assemblage of trees and buildings may be obtained, without which architecture is deprived of half its beauty."* Playfair, *Report to the Right Honourable the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City of Edinburgh ... On a Plan for Laying out the New Town between Edinburgh and Leith, Etc*. 5.

[253] Playfair also further associates his plan for the Hillside Terrace gardens with Stark's proposals, by including the same group of elm trees that Stark mentions in his 1814 report; "*Going down the walk, we first come to that part of Mr Allan's property, which is so much adorned by a double row of elms. These I would most carefully preserve…*" Ibid. 3 It is possible that these are still preserved to this day, in what is now known as London Road gardens.

[254] Ibid. 6.

[255] See Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time*. 185.

[256] See discussion on the Panorama, above.

Monument. Playfair's plan, in accordance with Stark's suggestions, leaves this site virtually empty, so that the much-lauded views discussed in guidebooks and made popular through Barker's Panorama would continue to be appreciated on this part of the hill. Part of the appeal to Playfair of leaving this area partly rugged, may also have been to provide a contrast to the manicured and landscaped private gardens of the adjacent terraces that have been discussed above.

The final part of Playfair's proposal for consideration is the inclusion of commemorative monuments and architecture within his design. These were to provide terminating focal points for streetscapes throughout the site, as well as emphasise the importance of specific thoroughfares and the connection between Leith and Edinburgh. Again, these can also be identified in Nash's plan to link his Regent's Park scheme to Carlton Place, where numerous monuments, public buildings and statues are included in the landscape masterplan.[257] Emphasis in recent scholarly work has been placed upon the importance of these monuments in celebrating not only the glory of Britain, but also her intellectual achievements, identity and culture.[258] Playfair's design provided a number of opportunities to celebrate Britain and its subjects in a similar manner. However, this was only specified in his report at a few of the locations throughout the site.[259] Squares at the centre of the urban layout for example, were to have "*…an obelisk or column, in memory of some remarkable person or event,*"[260] and the large crescent halfway between Edinburgh and Leith, on Leith Walk was to have *"…in the centre…the proposed National Monument intended to commemorate the victory at Waterloo."*[261] However, these were also intended to provide terminating, or focal points

[257] Davis, *John Nash. The Prince Regent's Architect. [Illustrated.]*. 64.
[258] Arnold, *Re-Presenting the Metropolis : Architecture, Urban Experience and Social Life in London 1800-1840*. 47.
[259] This incorporation of commemorative architecture was to become a real focus for the development of the city in the late 1810s and early 1820s and is the focus of the discussion in the next section.
[260] Playfair, *Report to the Right Honourable the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City of Edinburgh ... On a Plan for Laying out the New Town between Edinburgh and Leith, Etc*.
[261] Ibid.

within the landscape, and to add drama and depth to the design. This can be seen at numerous locations on Playfair's plan, but in particular, he singles out the public buildings proposed for the gardens of Hillside Road to emphasise the importance of commemoration and celebration within his report. For example, he states that these are intended to form an "*appropriate termination to each of the principal streets…"* leading up from Leith towards Calton Hill, which would also focus the eye up towards the backdrop of Calton Hill and Royal Terrace to the rear.[262]

In providing these grand evocative views and landscapes, there is no doubt that Playfair was attempting to create a grand triumphal route between Leith and Edinburgh similar to the one that Nash had proposed between Carlton House and Regent's Park. However, unlike Nash's proposals for Regent's Street and Park, which were realised by a team of architects/builders and developed over the ensuing decades, Playfair's plan was never fully executed. Within five years of its implementation, interest in the development of the eastern side of the city began to diminish in favour of the Earl of Moray's development to the West. This resulted in the site being only partially built to around a third of the way down Leith Walk before stopping altogether. This is how it remained until the arrival of the railways in the mid 19th century, which cut through the site around halfway down Leith Walk.

The use of Stark's key considerations regarding the visual importance of the hill within the design alongside Nash's approach to urban expansion, is telling of the calibre of Playfair's skills as an architect and urban planner. In his plan, he manages to ensure the requirements of his clients through maximising commercial profit, alongside an acute understanding the site, and implementing within this the most up-to-date methods in urban design in the early 19th-century.

[262] It should also be noted that Hillside Road was later renamed London Road Playfair also provides separate, more detailed drawings on this area and its public buildings. See Playfair Drawings Collection, Centre For Special Collections, University of Edinburgh.

By including public architecture in his urban plan, Playfair synthesised the emotive nature of commemorative architecture with the visual drama of the picturesque, in order to represent the notions of nationhood, identity and civic duty. These had been explored in their individual components, through Adam's proposals for the hill and their exploration of identity, and through the key role that the hill and its environs played in facilitating access to the port, in order to reinforce the city as a British military stronghold. Yet, it was only through Playfair that all of these elements combined and this was, in part due to the realisation of the role that the wider landscape played in connecting the city to the port, captured and appreciated in the panoramic views from the rooftops of the structures placed on Calton Hill.

Section 1: Conclusion

The complicated nature of the development of Calton Hill from an urban periphery to an integral part of the city was influenced by a number of factors that encompassed not only the 18th, and early 19th-century aesthetic thinking regarding landscape design within the urban realm, but also the political aspirations of Great Britain as an imperial power during this period.

Also contributing to the development of the hill during this period were the efforts of the numerous architects, engineers, opticians, artists, and all-round visionaries for this site, who developed the landscape and instilled buildings on the hill which enhanced the discourse surrounding the hill's purpose and relationship with Edinburgh. These men looked beyond the actualities of the site to the possibilities that could be achieved and what this would mean in terms of the application of landscape aesthetics to the city, the country, and the wider British Empire.

The architectural manifestations of Enlightenment through the establishment of an Astronomical Observatory and a Panopticon were joined by experimentations in the theories of the beautiful, through the manipulation of landscapes into The Sublime, and the development of the 360° view of the panoramic landscape. All this was integral in the evolution of the urban design of Calton Hill in the 19th-century, as without the dialogue created by Adam on the role of the hill within the cityscape, or a heightened consciousness of how the picturesque nature of the city contributed to the broader Lothian landscape, the hill's potential to enhance these aspects during the expansion of the urban realm may never have been considered.

The contribution of the practical and the cultural within Playfair's design reflected the concerns of the city in developing the Third New Town in a manner that would befit Edinburgh's political standing within the British Isles, whilst also producing maximum economic gain for those involved in the development. In providing large swathes of new housing for the upper and middle classes, Edinburgh would be encouraging higher levels of

commerce by strengthening its links to the wider Empire. By exploiting the area's aesthetic potential in terms of the picturesque, and the placement of commemorative monuments to heroes of the British Empire at key points within the design, the plan would not only create a visually attractive outcome, but would also further affirm Edinburgh's place within the imperial construct.

This dialogue, within which the third New Town was created, reflected the aspirations and outlook of Edinburgh, and Scotland as a part of Great Britain at the end of the Napoleonic wars. Although the contemporaneous developments carried out in London during the same period were part of the same aesthetic application of the Picturesque in urban design, outward displays of British nationalism, and expansion for economic gain, London had much less to prove than Edinburgh. Edinburgh, in assimilating itself to London in terms of its architectural aspirations, as well as in its urban design, did so to prove its legitimacy as a key city in the northern part of Great Britain, as Craig's design had also attempted in the mid 18th-century. However, by also including key communication links to London, and particularly by providing a key route to the port of Leith, as well as establishing the port as a place of navigation in the North Sea, Edinburgh was also asserting its presence as a city of Empire. The establishment of monuments within this matrix to support this display of State and Imperial power therefore only served to further assert its newly defined role within the British Empire.

Section 2: Death, Commemoration and Memory

In Lord Henry Cockburn's[263] famous "Letter to the Lord Provost on the best ways of spoiling the beauty of Edinburgh,"[264] Cockburn describes Calton Hill as the "*Glory of Edinburgh …adorned by beautiful buildings, dedicated …to the memory of distinguished men.*"[265] This description of the hill as a commemorative landscape dedicated to the memory of the deceased, was one that was deliberately cultivated alongside the development of the urban layout during the early 19th-century as part of a civic demonstration of national identity and allegiance to the British state. However, Calton Hill's role as a place for memorial did not start out as one focused on the glorification of state martyrs and national heroes as Cockburn describes it, but instead as a community's control over the right to bury its dead in a proper and timely manner.

The following section explores this shift from private to public through an investigation of the development of the commemorative landscape of Calton Hill during the 18th and early 19th centuries. It will consider the notion of memorial and veneration as both a religious and secular activity and the changing attitudes towards death and mourning in Western Europe that evolved from the late 16th century. By focusing on how and why people were commemorated, and where those memorialising the deceased chose to erect their monuments, it will place into context the hill's development from a local place of burial to a proposed National Pantheon. This section is split into two chapters: the first provides a background to the changing idea of memorial and its relationship with religion and state from the post Medieval period up to the 19th-century. This contextualises the relationship between the deceased, the mourner, and the representation of mourning, and

[263] (1779-1854). Scottish Lawyer, Judge and literary figure. Highly influential figure in 19th-century19th-century Edinburgh.
[264] Henry Cockburn Cockburn, *A Letter to the Lord Provost on the Best Ways of Spoiling the Beauty of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1849).
[265] Ibid. 7.

discusses this relationship alongside a consideration of the growth in commemorative monuments to public heroes during the late 18th and early 19th-century. Within this framework, it is then possible further to consider the structures on Calton Hill and the architectural rhetoric used to display pride in British achievement during the Napoleonic wars. The second chapter opens up the idea of commemoration in both a public and private context within the broader landscape. This considers the emergence of a dialogue surrounding the notion of Scottish culture and identity, which can be identified in commemorative architecture of the urban form in Scotland during the 19th-century.

Chapter 4: The Memorial - Ecclesiastical, Secular and National

By the end of the 16th century, the traditional Christian practice of burying the deceased inside churches had led to the overcrowding of crypts, creating unsanitary conditions that raised public health concerns and questions over the decency of the practice. Although the installation of statuary and *memento mori* continued within many Christian churches throughout the subsequent centuries, the dominant Protestant faith in 17th century Scotland forbade the presence of statuary and imagery inside its ecclesiastical buildings as part of the Church of Scotland's Calvinistic practices. This rejection of idolatry inside ecclesiastical establishments and the concerns over the links between disease and the burial of the dead (therefore) resulted in the establishment of new large spaces for burials outside churches, or outside of city walls.[266] In Scotland, a good example is Greyfriars burial ground,[267] established outside of the city walls to the south of the Old Town (Plate 2.1) in the late 16th century, to give relief to the graveyard of St Giles in the heart of the burgh. This (relatively large) expanse of new burial space allowed for the erection of opulent grave monuments for those who could afford them, allowing for the inclusion of both images and text to mourn the deceased's passing and commemorating their contributions to society whilst living.[268] This practice of commemorating status provided benefit to living family members who associated themselves with the deceased. For example, the monument to John Milne, Royal Master Mason,[269] (Plate 2.2) carries a poem in English glorifying John Milne's place within a prestigious lineage of master masons

[266] This often occurred when the city was overcrowded and the threat of plagues made it a necessity to separate the infectious dead from the living.
[267] A Kirkyard situated to the south of the city and consecrated in 1562, which served the population of the Burgh up to the nineteenth century.
[268] From as early as the 1616, the Dean of Guild in Edinburgh had assumed control over the style and form of the monuments erected in Greyfriars Kirkyard and only monuments erected to a particularly high standard and by the wealthiest of families would be permitted within the site. Anne Boyle et al., *Ruins and Remains : Edinburgh's Neglected Heritage* (Edinburgh: Scotland's Cultural Heritage, 1985). 17.
[269] This was erected in Greyfriars by his nephew, Robert Milne (also a Royal Master Mason) in 1667.

to the crown whilst also providing a Latin inscription that names his nephew Robert as his successor.[270]

> *To John Milne, who, at the expiry of fifty-five years of this frail life, sleeps softly here, sixth master mason to the King of the family of Milne, of remarkable skill in the building art, frequently deacon convenor of the trades of Edinburgh, the circumspect and faithful representative of the metropolis on several occasions in the public parliament of the kingdom; a man adorned with gifts of mind above his condition in life, a remarkably handsome person, upright, sagacious, pious, universally respected. Robert, his brother's son, emulous of his virtues, as well as his successor in office, has, out of gratitude, erected this monument, such as it is, to his uncle. He died 24th Dec. 1667, in the fifty sixth year of his age.*[271]

This commemoration of the rank, wealth and position of the dead assisting the aspirations of the living is discussed by Nigel Llewellyn, in *The Art of Death*.[272] He explains the notion of the social level at which the departed leaves their mortal life is separated from the natural body at the time of death. By memorialising the social level that the deceased had attained during their living years, through effigies or gravestones, continuity of position, status and connection is retained by the surviving family of the deceased.[273]

This practice of veneration of the deceased alongside the living also became common in burials outside the landed classes, where money was available to

---

[270] John Lowrey, "Architect's Monuments at Greyfriars " in *Death, Commemoration and Memory Conference* (University of Edinburgh 2010).
[271] James Brown, *The Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh.* (J Moodie Miller, Edinburgh, 1867). 249.
[272] Nigel Llewellyn and Victoria and Albert Museum., *The Art of Death : Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual C.1500-C.1800* (London: Published in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum by Reaktion, 1991). 48, 54.
[273] Matthew Craske also explores this idea from an English context, where he argues that the use of funereal effigies and memorials within English churches also served as a public and official proclamation of lineage and inheritance. Matthew Craske, *The Silent Rhetoric of the Body : A History of Monumental Sculpture and Contemporary Art in England, 1720-1770* (New Haven, [Conn.] ; London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2007).

erect permanent memorials. The (Old) Calton Burial Ground in Edinburgh,[274] on the south side of Calton Hill (Plate 2.3) contains a number of gravestones erected to the memory of tradesmen from the 1700s, and into the 1800s that display the deceased's profession alongside familial connections.[275] This burial ground was established in the early 18th-century by the Incorporated Trades of Calton[276] to provide a place for the local tradesmen and their families residing in the small hamlets that surrounded the hill in the early 18th-century. The close proximity of this burial ground to local inhabitants and the prominence of its members' burials served as a visual reminder of the families involved in established professions in the hamlet, ensuring continuity from father to son, or uncle to nephew that would provide for the family after the death of the *paterfamilias*.

In addition to memorials emphasising the connection between the recently deceased and living through lineage and inheritance, monuments to the deceased also played a symbolic role in the veneration of the dead, particularly when those who had departed held offices of state. This is referred to in the opening lines of an early eighteenth century book on the burials within Greyfriars Kirkyard, which warns the bailies of the city that

[274] 'Old' is in brackets to differentiate this Burial Ground as this is how it is referred to in the present day as a 'New' Calton Burial Ground was established in the early 19th-century19th-century (see below.)

[275] This is substantiated by the names and occupations found on grave markers in Old Calton from this period, as well as from records of interments through the Incorporated Trades Minute Books. See Smith, *Epitaphs and Monumental Inscritions in Old Calton Burying Ground, Edinburgh*, Mitchell, *Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions (Pre 1855). Vol. 1, Old Calton Burial Ground, New Calton Burial Ground*. Incorporated Trades of Calton, 1689-1888. Edinburgh City Archives, SL110.

[276] The *Incorporated Trades of Calton* used the money collected from trade dues (the annual payment for the privilege of being freemen of Calton), the renting of burial plots, the provision of mortcloths for the dead and the interment of the recently departed within the (Old) Calton Burial Ground to help the freemen of Calton and their families who were poor, infirm or widowed. Further information on this group and how they functioned can be found in two volumes of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* from the 1930s[276], in M.S. Irving's the *Caldtoun or Calton of Edinburgh*[276] and many of the meeting minutes and account transactions of the Incorporated Trades that still survive in the Edinburgh City Archives. This latter resource includes records of those buried within the (Old) Calton Burial Ground, and who paid for burial plots there. It should be noted that you did not have to be a freeman of Calton to be interred in the burial ground.

although they may believe themselves to be in powerful positions, death eventually will bring them to the same position as those who held office before them;

> *This treatise may serve as a monitor to whisper you in the ear that you are men; and tho you be called gods, you must die. This sets before you the memoir of those excellent worthies, whose steps you tread and whose vertues (sic) you imitate; and whose (following) inscriptions, changing only the names, may be thought of as just delineations and descriptions of your selves, your way and walk. This theatre of mortality may raise in you an assiduous and daily contemplation of Death; which will enable you, through grace, so to number your days, and to wait your change as to apply your hearts to heavenly wisdom.*[277]

Despite the Calvinistic interpretation of the monuments in Greyfriars by the author of *An Theatre of Mortality*, its emphasis on the importance, virtue and sacred responsibility of government office was a focus for many memorials found throughout the British Empire during this period, particularly in areas where there were high proportions of inhabitants in government positions. Barbara Groseclose, in her study of ecclesiastical monuments in colonial India during the 18th and early 19th centuries, identifies this focus on the importance of status in many of the memorials found throughout Mumbai (Bombay) Kolkata (Calcutta) and Chennai (Madras) during the period;

> *From the Baroque onward, sepulchral art situated allegories within secular as well as religious realms and sometimes even presented the deceased as he or she might have been alive, not only in physical likeness but also biographical narrative. …the shift in sepulchral imagery after the baroque was not so much downward, from*

[277] Robert Monteith, *An Theatre of Mortality: Or, the Illustrious Inscriptions Extant Upon the Several Monuments Erected over Dead Bodies ,(of the Sometime Honourable Persons) Buried within the Greyfriars Church-Yard; and Other Churches within the City of Edinburgh and Suburbs:* (1704). Dedication.

the transcendental to the secular, but upward, promoting characteristics associated with worldly achievement to pious accomplishment.[278]

Matthew Craske also identified this transition of 'worldly achievement to pious accomplishment' in his study of the monuments erected within Westminster Abbey.[279] Many of those commemorated in the hallowed grounds of what was considered "*the sole church building that could be classed as national territory,*"[280] were to persons recognised for their contribution to the British state. Richard Jenkyns, in his book on Westminster Abbey argues that as this came about in particular through the erection of monuments to many notable poets, writers and men of science in Westminster who were buried elsewhere, these memorials were removed from the act of mourning to become purely commemorative items.[281]

Because of this, Craske describes the Abbey's role from the early eighteenth century as being "*the public space in which the notion of the exemplary national citizen was articulated through the erection of monuments*"[282] - something that

---

[278] Barbara S. Groseclose, British Sculpture and the Company Raj : Church Monuments and Public Statuary in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay to 1858 (Newark London: University of Delaware Press ; Associated University Presses, 1995). 25.

[279] These were being erected from as early as 1737. The monuments to William Shakespeare and John Milton, for example were erected without any notion of the body being interred alongside (John Milton is buried in the Church of St. Giles' Cripplegate in London and William Shakespeare is buried in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Stratford-upon-Avon.)

[280] This reputation is considered to have inspired the development of later galleries of national 'celebrities' throughout Europe (such as the Panthéon in Paris and Walhalla in Regensberg) and in America (United States Capitol in Washington D.C.) and has even been taken into today's popular culture from this period. See Uta Kornmeier, "Madame Tussaud's as a Popular Pantheon," in Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea., ed. Richard Wrigley and Matthew Craske (2004).

[281] "*[T]he Abbey's function [*was*] not only honorific, but integrative: [*uniting*] individual achievement to the life of society as a whole"* Richard Jenkyns, *Westminster Abbey*, Wonders of the World (London: Profile Books, 2004).

[282] Matthew Craske, "Westminster Abbey 1720-1770: A Public Pantheon Built Upon Private Interest," in Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea., ed. Richard Wrigley and Matthew Craske (2004). 57.

had been recognised as early as the mid 18th-century by Voltaire.[283] This is in contrast to Christopher Wren's St Paul's Cathedral (1675-1710), which was viewed as the national church for the state mourning of military leaders from the 18th-century onwards.[284]

As the erection of monuments therefore became further removed from religious devotion towards secular veneration by the early 19th-century, the act of commemorating outstanding members of society - either through cultural, or military acclaim took on a more public form, evolving completely outside of their original ecclesiastical context.

This was enhanced by the funding of a large number of public monuments by Government on the pretext of investing in public good during the early 19th-century. Between 1802 and 1812, at least £40,000 of public money was voted by parliament for national monuments to persons who were deemed important to national and imperial pride. Such was the extent of this venture, that the Treasury appointed a number of gentlemen to act as a *Committee of Taste* for National Monuments on the government's behalf, in order to decide on an appropriate use *for* and administration *of* the funds.[285] This can be seen as a form of public relations exercise by the government, a response to the American and French Revolutions, which had left the government feeling vulnerable to the threat of popular insurrection, as well as invasion from overseas. By recalling the recent success of military battles in the Napoleonic campaigns, these monuments were an attempt to raise patriotism, chivalry and heroism and "to encourage civic perception of self sacrifice for the good

[283] *"Go into Westminster Abbey, and you will find that what raises the admiration of the spectator is not the mausoleums of the English kings, but the monuments which the gratitude of the nation has erected to perpetuate the memory of those illustrious men who contributed to its glory."* François Marie Arouet de Voltaire (1694–1778). Letters on the English. The Harvard Classics. 1909–14. Letter XXIII—On the Regard That Ought to be Shown to Men of Letters. http://www.bartleby.com/34/2/23.html.
[284] Hoock, "The British Military Pantheon in St Paul's Cathedral: The State, Cultural Patriotism, and the Politics of National Monuments, C.1790-1820."
[285] In treasury letter book T.27/53.400 reports from the committee can be found in treasury minutes e.g. T.29/505.527 and its activities easily followed in the Index to treasury letters for each year in Margaret Dickens Whinney, Sculpture in Britain, 1530-1830 (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964). 199.

of the country."[286] In other words, by glorifying the state and its military prowess and commemorating men who had played a role in defending the British state, these monuments reinforced the role of the citizen in strengthening unity at a time of their country's need.[287]

Although the large increase in the number of public monuments erected during the early 19th-century could be partially attributed to the state funding of monuments through the *Committee of Taste*, the connection between an increase in the number of monuments erected and urban improvement in the early 19th-century has also been acknowledged. In London,[288] as well as in other English towns and cities,[289] there appears to have been an attempt to further pursue the idea of "self sacrifice for the good of the country"[290] by merging commemorative memorials into the urban landscape. [291]

> *Public monuments commemorating national heroes of the French Wars were a means of expressing the emerging national and civic pride of the British people, particularly in expanding provincial towns and cities… In the case of provincial monuments national pride was closely linked with the desire to improve the*

[286] Hoock, "The British Military Pantheon in St Paul's Cathedral: The State, Cultural Patriotism, and the Politics of National Monuments, C.1790-1820."
[287] This is referred to as "The Cult of the Hero" see Ibid. This has not only been identified in commemorative monuments, but also in other forms of material culture of the period, such as paintings, texts and panoramas. These were addressed in a conference held in 2012 at the Tate Britain, entitled. Contested Views: Visual Culture and the Napoleonic Wars. See http://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-britain/conference/contested-views.
[288] Dana Arnold, *The Metropolis and Its Image : Constructing Identities for London, C.1750-1950* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), Arnold, *Re-Presenting the Metropolis : Architecture, Urban Experience and Social Life in London 1800-1840*, Dana Arnold, ed. *Cultural Identities and the Aesthetics of Britishness*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester ; New York: Manchester University Press,2004).
[289] In particular those that had strong connections with the British Navy, see Yarrington, "The Commemoration of the Hero 1800-1864 : Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars". Colley, *Britons : Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*.
[290] Hoock, "The British Military Pantheon in St Paul's Cathedral: The State, Cultural Patriotism, and the Politics of National Monuments, C.1790-1820."
[291] Such as the naming of streets after key successes in battle (Waterloo Place, Trafalgar Square etc.)

physical appearance of new cities and towns, providing central symbols of their civic pride and patriotism.[292]

This increase in the commissioning of public monuments coincided with the boom in urban expansion that occurred throughout the country in the early 19th-century.[293] Memorials could take the form of buildings, bridges and streets named after notable citizens,[294] as well as the more traditional form of a free standing monument, set at key points within the urban form. This incorporation of memorial into the urban fabric therefore allowed the notion of the commemorative landscape to migrate out with the confines of the burial ground and become integrated into the everyday fabric of British towns and cities.

Outside London, the state purse did not stretch to funding commemorative monuments within 19th-century urban expansions. Instead, memorials to notable members of society were financed through local government schemes, or private ventures – particularly as many citizens of means considered it their public duty to invest in local development. Texts such as William Godwin's Essay on Sepulchres of 1809[295], and William Wood's 1808 Essay on National and Sepulchral Monuments[296] explain how such a display of civic virtue was also perceived to be of benefit to national endeavours. In these, both Godwin and Wood explain that there are many ways to protect and celebrate a country, and that the erection of public monuments to

[292] Yarrington, "The Commemoration of the Hero 1800-1864 : Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars". 326.
[293] See Section 1.
[294] Arnold, *The Metropolis and Its Image : Constructing Identities for London, C.1750-1950*.
[295] William Godwin, Essay on Sepulchres: Or, a Proposal for Erecting Some Memorial of the Illustrious Dead in All Ages on the Spot Where Their Remains Have Been Interred (London, 1809).
[296] William Wood, *An Essay on National and Sepulchral Monuments* (London: William Miller, 1808).

celebrate achievements is almost as good as carrying out the achievements themselves.[297]

In Alison Yarrington's work on the spread of monuments to commemorate the Napoleonic wars during the early 19th-century, she concluded that building local monuments throughout the towns and cities of Britain was "*In no way …part of a centrally organised, politically motivated propaganda plan to boost public morale as was the case with Napoleonic Monuments in France.*" [298] Rather, local memorial projects "*helped consolidate patriotic fervour in local areas by the discussion of the qualities of the hero*"[299] and became a means of patriotism towards the state through civic endeavour. That Edinburgh took this idea of civic virtue to heart as much of the rest of the country was commented on by Cockburn in his memoirs of 1856;

> *The influence of these circumstances can only be appreciated by those who knew Edinburgh during the war…There were more schemes, and pamphlets, and discussions, and anxiety about the improvement of our edifices and prospects within ten years after the war ceased, than throughout the whole proceeding one hundred and fifty years…*[300]

The proposal for a monument to Lord Horatio Nelson was the city's first attempt at commemorating a public figure within the urban landscape in

---

[297] *"It is not only by the sword that a country be defended: when true patriotism is properly excited, the most obscure and feeble individuals will devise their own means of assisting the public cause."* Ibid. 6.

[298] Yarrington, "The Commemoration of the Hero 1800-1864 : Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars". 103. Yarrington's PhD Thesis concentrates on case studies of monuments to Lord Nelson in London and Bristol, but also briefly considers the Edinburgh monument within the wider context of the phenomenon of the commemoration of Nelson through sculpture and architecture of the early nineteenth century within the UK.

[299] Ibid. 103. Yarrington's PhD Thesis concentrates on case studies of monuments to Lord Nelson in London and Bristol, but also briefly considers the Edinburgh monument within the wider context of the phenomenon of the commemoration of Nelson through sculpture and architecture of the early nineteenth century within the UK.

[300] Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time*. 288-292.

such a manner.[301] After Nelson's death at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805 until well after the victory of Waterloo, statues, pillars and buildings were erected to commemorate the great admiral all over the country. The sentiment surrounding the proposal for the Edinburgh monument, initiated on the 25th November 1805, was no different from others around the country in commemorating the great Naval and British icon, whilst also professing sadness at his sudden death.[302] The tangible outcome of the monument however, which was built between 1807 and 1815, focused on a celebration of Nelson's life and his achievements, rather than any religious obligation of mourning his untimely demise.[303] This is clear from its placement within the public secular realm rather than in an ecclesiastical context of mourning,[304] and the tone of the inscription placed above the door of the Nelson Monument is eloquent in praise of his secular virtue,

> *To the memory of Vice Admiral Horatio Lord Viscount Nelson, and of the great victory of Trafalgar, too dearly purchased with his blood, the grateful citizens of Edinburgh have erected this monument, not to express their unavailing sorrow for his death, nor yet to celebrate the matchless glories of his life, but by his noble example to teach their sons to emulate what they admire, and like him, when duty requires, to die for their country. MDCCCV.*

---

[301] As previously discussed above and in Section 1, the establishment of the David Hume monument on Calton Hill was the first instance on the hill and in the burgh environs where memorial became a public display of veneration as well as a symbol of commemoration. However, it is not thought that Adam's intention was to create an emotive visual trigger through the remembrance of Hume in the construction of this monument, in as much as his design was to add to a broader landscape that would provide emotive stimulus in picturesque terms.

[302] "*We…regret the loss of that highly illustrious hero, Lord Viscount Nelson, …[whose]… superior skill and intrepidity led our fleets to victory…it was inter alia resolved that a subscription for the erection of a statue, Naval Pillar, or other monument to the memory of Lord Nelson as a lasting mark of the affection of this metropolis*." Minutes of the Nelson Pillar Committee, 25th November 1805, 9.41 62u, 'Fishsupper', Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh.

[303] This may explain why by the early 19th-century19th-century, the Hume monument in (Old) Calton Burial ground was noted in numerous travel guides to Edinburgh as a monument to visit within the burial ground to commemorate the 'celebrity' of Hume as a hero, rather than appreciate the broader drama of the landscape of which it contributed to, as Adam had intended.

[304] Two sites had been suggested, one at the west end of Princes Street, the other on Calton Hill. Pers. Comm, Prof. Charles McKean.

This celebration of Nelson's role in protecting and enhancing Imperial Britain, allowed for a homogeneity of sentiment to percolate throughout the country in a manner that religious memorialisation would not have achieved.[305] However, the raising of local monuments to state figures also produced variances in design that allowed regional cultural identities to manifest through symbolism, allegory and cultural association. This intertwining of state and local identity helped to maintain a sense of connection with British Imperial interests at a local level as it allowed for the propagation of national sentiment through the association of national causes with civic endeavours.

This is never clearer than in the proposal for a monument to commemorate the Scottish war dead of the Napoleonic Wars (1822-1829). It came out of a debate held in the House of Commons in 1815, on how to "*[Pay] that respect and gratitude… owed to the memory of those who had fallen*" during the Napoleonic wars.[306] A memorial planned for this purpose in London was immediately followed with proposals for others in Dublin and in Edinburgh, so that those who could not get to the '*Metropolis of the Empire'* might be able to view one of the other two memorials.[307]

> *The National Monument to be erected in London, in commemoration of the Glorious Naval and Military achievements of the late war…is seen and visited by a very small proportion only of the Scottish Nation. The ancient metropolis of*

[305] Due to the number of factions of the Christian church found throughout the different British nations, as well as those who practiced other religions, which had varying perceptions as to the use of idolatry. The propagation of religion was addressed through the development of new churches throughout Britian, (particularly England), see below for further details on this.
[306] T.C. Hansard, "Parliamentary Debates." 29th June 1815, vol 31 cc 1048 Address For A National Monument, and Monuments To Officers Who Fell In The Battle Of Waterloo. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1815/jun/29/address-for-a-national-monument-and#S1V0031P0_18150629_HOC_30.
[307] Ibid. 29th June 1815, vol 31 cc 1055. Address For A National Monument, and Monuments To Officers Who Fell In The Battle Of Waterloo. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1815/jun/29/address-for-a-national-monument-and#S1V0031P0_18150629_HOC_30.

Scotland ought unquestionably to be ornamented with a similar Trophy, for, as your Grace justly observed this forenoon; 'The blood and treasure of Scotland largely contributed to the purchase of the triumphs of the British arms by sea and land.' Scotsmen, therefore, as well as Englishmen, when they repair to the Capital of their Country, ought to be gratified[308]

The institution integral to setting up the committee for the Edinburgh monument was the Highland Society of Edinburgh - now known as the Royal Highland and Agricultural society of Edinburgh. The society's remit during the 1800s was to "*improve the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and the conditions of its inhabitants, an enquiry into the means of their improvement by establishing towns and villages - facilitating communications by roads and bridges - advancing agriculture - extending fisheries - introducing useful trades and manufactures, and the preservation of the language, poetry and music of the Highlands*."[309] The institution not only intended to commemorate the war dead through a national memorial, but also considered the action as a way to fulfill its agenda of promoting Scottish interests on a British stage. This can be recognised in the agenda outlined by Mr. Linning of Colzium[310] to the National Monument Committee in 1816;

… [A]s may be deemed most prudent and advisable, for the obtaining for the Metropolis of Scotland; a Pillar, Triumphal Arch, or some such Architectural Monument. … in order that Scotchmen may be gratified with the contemplation of some striking emblem of their country's prowess and glory, and may read on this hallowed record, the names of those Friends, Comrades and Countrymen who, by their heroism, maintained the martial fame of their Scottish ancestors, and by their arm contributed to the overthrow of despotism, and with their blood sealed the peace of the World…[311]

[308] Minutes of the National Monument Committee, 24th February 1819, SL103.
[309] See http://www.rhass.org.uk/information/thesocietysfoundation.
[310] An Estate near Kilsyth, in North Lanarkshire.
[311] "Proceedings of the Highland Society of Scotland regarding the application for a monument to be erected in honour of the Victory of Waterloo. Chaired by Earl of

The National Monuments Committee minutes record a proposal for an arch at the west end of Princes Street by the self-proclaimed 'Architect in Scotland of the Prince Regent'[312] James Gillespie (Graham). A triumphal arch was originally envisioned to show "*…the grand view of Princes Street through the arch...,*"[313] which is depicted in a drawing by Gillespie (Graham).[314] However, by the creation of Robert Kirkwood's 1819 map of Edinburgh New Town,[315] the arch spans the eastern end of Waterloo Place. This shows a large classical structure with a central archway, flanked by double ionic pilasters and a rectangular pediment above, no doubt for an (as yet uncomposed) inscription. To each side of the arch are smaller arches flanked by single ionic pilasters with similar tables above. The design is not dissimilar to the arch of Constantine in Rome, but is stepped down to a lower height at the ends

From the outset of the parliamentary debates over the erection of a National Monument to the Napoleonic war dead, the view was that the monument should be a public monument, accessible to everyone. [316] Whether it was to be a building or a structure, either was to maintain a level of accessibility to a general populace that had not before been considered, as well as something

---

Wemyss, attended by 120 noblemen & gentlemen, members of the society." Minutes of the National Monument Committee, 9th January 1816, SL103.

[312] Colvin, "A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840." 440.

[313] Letter from James Gillespie to Lord Linning. Minutes of the National Monument Committee, 4th March 1816, SL103. The cost for this was estimated at £10,000.

[314] A copy of this drawing was held by Prof. Charles McKean, who obtained it from a collection of images from the offices of Frank Mears/Naismith. These images are now held in the National Library of Scotland but despite numerous attempts to locate this drawing, it appears to have vanished from the collection.

[315] Plate 2.4. This map would have been put together long before October 1819, hence why the map is outdated by the time it is published. Pers Comm. National Library of Scotland maps.

[316] "*The interior ...would be admirably calculated to contain any monuments hereafter to be erected by the Nation to departed heroes, as well as those by which St Paul's and Westminster Abbey are now encumbered, if they could with propriety be removed; and from which the Public are virtually excluded, except during the hours of divine service.*" Andrew Robertson, *The Parthenon Adapted to the Purpose of a National Monument to Commemorate the Victories of the Late War; Proposed to Be Erected in Trafalgar Square or Hyde Park [with Plans]* (1838). 25.

of a colossal and impressive scale.[317] Designs suggested for the National Monument in London to commemorate Trafalgar in particular, encompassed both of these elements. Robert Smirke, who was involved with both the London and Dublin monuments, designed structures that had "*The same basic principal of a huge monolith (either an obelisk or fluted column) with the minimum of decoration, all of which is placed around the base and easily viewed by the passer-by.*"[318]

However, despite London leading the way in public commemoration through national memorial, and a Parthenon on Primrose Hill at the north end of Regent's Park[319] being proposed in 1816, a monument in the guise of a 'National Memorial' was never realised in the Metropolis. Instead, the money allocated was used to develop Nelson's column and Trafalgar Square. A report of 1838 which tried to revive the 1816 proposals for London,[320] states that the reason for this was that the allocation of public funds to a National Memorial were not considered to be appropriate as "*the government, whilst eager to promote public enthusiasm for patriotic virtues personified by national war heroes, were also eager to avoid censure over the use of public funds for non-utilitarian projects.*"[321] This was also the case in Edinburgh, as the British

[317] "*…the intention was to erect a pillar, or triumphal arch, some architectural monument, in fact, suitable to the magnificence of the nation, and which, of course, would not be confined within the walls of a church.*"

[318] Yarrington, "The Commemoration of the Hero 1800-1864 : Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars". 200.

[319] "The building would have served as a monument to the victory over Bonaparte and was to be placed on a platform to the north end of London's Regent's Park on Primrose Hill. The author praised the Parthenon as the taste of the purest age of Athens; the production of the very ablest artists the world ever saw, acting under the guidance of the most accomplished patrons. It is admitted, beyond all dispute, to be the perfection of Greek architecture: and now that a large proportion of the original sculpture belonging to it is deposited in the British Museum, it is equally beyond all cavil, that these ornaments of the temple are of the highest scale of excellence." (Anonymous, signed with 'B.' 1817) London Times, 8 April 1817.

[320] Robertson, *The Parthenon Adapted to the Purpose of a National Monument to Commemorate the Victories of the Late War; Proposed to Be Erected in Trafalgar Square or Hyde Park [with Plans]*.

[321] Yarrington, "The Commemoration of the Hero 1800-1864 : Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars". 327-328.

Government refused access to public money as early on in the project as 1816.[322]

After being refused funds by the British Government for their cause, the National Monument committee in Edinburgh began to debate other forms for the structure that would attract public funding. The focus was changed from a design for *"A pillar, triumphal arch, or some such architectural monument"* to a proposal for a national church in order to attract funding through the 1818 Church Act, which included re-allocated money intended for building national commemorative monuments.[323]

> *The committee…are of the opinion that a monumental church of Ornamental Architecture would be a most appropriate an[d] Hallowed place of record, for inscribing, on some durable material the names of those British Heroes, who by their signal gallantry upheld the martial fame of their ancestors.*[324]

The Church Act fund was set up to address the lack of pews available to the poor in areas where industrial expansion had exponentially increased the population, as there were concerns that the lack of direct communication between the Church and the poorer classes was leading to a disaffection

---

[322] Correspondence between the British government and the committee set up for the purpose of erecting a monument in Edinburgh were told that "application for public aid was unsuccessful and resolve to continue efforts to accomplish their objective by means of subscription "or in such other way as may be deemed most advisable". See Minutes of the National Monument Committee, June 1816, SL103.

[323] *"Mr. Tierney gave notice, that soon after the holydays he intended to move, that the sum granted by parliament for the erection of a monument to commemorate our victories by sea and land, be laid out in the erection of a parish church or churches." "The Chancellor of the Exchequer[s]… own opinion was that nothing could be more fit than that national monuments should be rendered applicable to purposes of general utility…. The right hon. gentleman then moved, "That his Majesty be enabled to direct exchequer bills, to an amount not exceeding one million, to be issued to commissioners, to be by them advanced, under certain regulations and restrictions, towards Building, and promoting the Building, of additional Churches and Chapels in England."*
http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1818/mar/16/building-of-new-churches.

[324] Proposals for building in Scotland a Monumental Church of Ornamental Architecture in Commemoration of The Naval and Military Victories of the late war. Minutes of the National Monument Committee, 20th April 1818, SL103.

towards the religious teachings that played a major role in upholding the ideas of State. This was considered to have been a key factor giving rise to the godlessness that was witnessed in the revolution in France,[325] and therefore was of concern to Government in their need to maintain the general status quo in society.

At least four proposals for a national church were submitted as the National Monument in Edinburgh. These were: a design in the style of the Parthenon of Athens, supported by Lord Elgin from an earlier proposal in London by a Mr Robertson; a design in the style of the Pantheon by Archibald Elliot (Plate 2.5) which included a circular inscription hall with an extended wing leading off from the central chamber that would serve as the church; a design for a gothic church by an amateur enthusiast, Peter Spalding; and a Roman Italianate design by a Mr Thinn.[326]

However, it was the proposals for Elliot's Pantheon and Robertson's/Elgin's Parthenon that attracted most of the attention of the committee. These proposals most aptly demonstrated the sentiments of commemoration and patriotism to be achieved through the execution of this project, being *"… formed on, or… an exact model of some of the most approved structures of antiquity."*[327]

---

[325] M. H. Port, *600 New Churches : The Church Building Commission, 1818-1856*, [New ed.]. ed. (Reading: Spire Books, 2006). Chapter 1. N.B. Churches in Scotland were not explicitly included in the specifics of this Act, which stated that it was to fund churches in England. However, this was not conclusively implied, and it appears that those involved in the National Monument just presumed the monies would be available to all who required it for church building purposes. This is supported by an application in Edinburgh in 1824 for money to build St Mary's church in Bellevue Crescent. This resulted in a query into whether the act did actually included Scottish churches - the treasury confirmed that it did. 215.

[326] Spalding' s designs are mentioned in the footnotes and "Mr Thynn proposed a Roman Italianate style" M. Linning, Memoranda Publica ([Edinburgh: s.n.], 1834).. No trace can be found of either of these designs, but the models for Mr Spalding's gothic church were included in the inventory for his house in 1, Heriot Row. It has since been discovered that Mr Thynn worked as William H. Playfair's draughtsman and was busy designing churches in Leith at the same time as his proposal for the National Monument. Pers. comm Joe Rock. 18/10/2012.

[327] Minutes of the National Monument Committee, 22nd July 1819, SL103.

Elliot's Pantheon-style proposal was for the national church to be placed on a gap site on the Mound, where the Royal Academy now sits.[328] Elliot stated in an early letter to the committee that his design had given *"[P]reference to the Pantheon at Rome or the Hall for inscriptions and sculpture …*[as]*… St Sophia at Constantinople … is a building much admired but was built in the decline of the classic age of architecture...*[and]*… The temple of Minerva at Athens …*[was]*… rejected because it is too small for a Hall and a Church and badly, if at all, lighted…to give it size and light… the character of that building would be lost."*[329]

His building also fulfilled many of the symbolic criteria for commemoration, as Elliot considered that *"[t]he spherical form is much more indicative of the exertions and heroism performed by our countrymen in the cause of independence, liberty and religion in the various quarters of the globe than the rectangular form which has little or no meaning."*[330] This observation drew on the examples of Christopher Wren's St Paul's Cathedral in London and Jacques-Germain Soufflot's Panthéon in Paris more particularly and the Pantheon in Rome in general, as although all three buildings were used to house commemorative monuments, it was St Paul's and the Panthéon that were particularly renowned for commemorating heroes of the state.[331] Yet, though Elliot had

[328] In fact, this site was also mooted for the National Monument as Parthenon, alongside the discussions for the new Royal High School. *"It is disposed therefore, not as an indispensable part of any plan for removing the High School to the only open space in the midst of the city, but as a subject for consideration that the great hall or national monument be placed near the north end of the Earthen Mound, opposite to the opening of Hanover Street. In that situation it would be visible from a great many parts, and over a considerable extent of the Old and New Town: it would add another to the very few public buildings which it contains, while it would not interfere with any other view or object, but would give, in the very bosom of the city, a character more truly attic to our metropolis than any other edifice which it contains. Above all it would unite utility with ornament…"* "A Letter to the Lord Provost on the Mischevous Tendency of a Scheme for Abolishing the High School of Edinburgh," (Edinburgh1822). 25.

[329] Minutes of the National Monument Committee, 10th February 1819, SL103.

[330] Minutes of the National Monument Committee, 15th June 1821, SL103.

[331] St Paul's becoming the public *pantheon* for the commemoration of the stately war dead in Britain from 1795 onwards- See English Church Monuments 1510-1840 Katherine Esdaile 1946 page 60 and the Panthéon, honouring both French statesmen and men of cultural merit, after its completion in 1790 - Dominique Poulot, "Pantheons in Eighteenth-Century France: Temple, Museum, Pyramid. ," in

looked to the domed magnificence of St Paul's as an example of commemorative space, its commemoration of members of state of political or military means made is exclusive of those who could be considered British Heroes in the broader sense. This fact was emphasised by supporters of a structure based on the Parthenon of Athens who wished the National Monument to celebrate thos who were considered patriots in the much broder sense of the word.

> *[T]he National Monument is not intended to be confined to the celebration merely of naval and military merit, but that it is meant to be employed in the commemoration of public genius and virtue of every description; exactly as Westminster Abbey is in England. The precise way that this is to be done has not yet been matured, but the general idea is that besides containing a place of religious worship, it is to serve as a depository for the ashes & the busts of illustrious Scotsmen in whatever line their eminence may be displayed.*[332]

As Westminster Abbey's role from the early eighteenth century was considered as "*the sole church building that could be classed as national territory,*"[333] this comparison further justified a commemorative monument in Edinburgh alongside the memorial in London, as the Scottish equivalent.[334] By creating a building that commemorated national, rather than State (i.e. British government) triumphs, through military, political *and* cultural

---

Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea., ed. Richard Wrigley and Matthew Craske (2004). N.B. The Panthéon was originally designed to replace the Abbey of St Genevieve as a votive church for Louis XV and was only 'secularised' after the Revolution by Quatremere de Quincy.

[332] Lord Henry Cockburn to Mr Niven, (Edinburgh City Archives, 2nd May 1822). SL103/4/200 Lord Henry Cockburn, Bonaly-by-Callington

[333] Craske, "Westminster Abbey 1720-1770: A Public Pantheon Built Upon Private Interest."

[334] *[T]his edifice…which as it commemorated the victories of Marathon and Salamis in ancient, so will its representative, commemorate as it is destined to do, those of Trafalgar and Waterloo in modern Athens, while it will, as to monumental purposes serve as "the Westminster abbey of the north" and like it, will have its "poet's corner".* Linning, *Memoranda Publica.* 57.

means,[335] a monument could be placed to inspire and perpetuate a sense of pride in citizens who may never have to opportunity to visit London, as well as cultivating friendly rivalry with other nations. This is in line with Wood's theories that citizens need to be *"…sublimed from the domestic apathy… to a state of active patriotism; and manifest their love for their country, by a gigantic effort to preserve it. They must be induced to meditate on the deeds of their predecessors, until warmed by the association; and then press forward in the same glorious path, to gain, like them, the unfading laurels of public esteem and gratitude."*[336] The idea is further emphasised in an article written by a Mr Allison for Blackwood's magazine of July 1819.

> *…[W]ho has not felt the sublime impression which the interior of Westminster abbey produces, where the poets, philosophers, and the statesmen of England 'sleep with their Kings and dignify the scene…*[337]

> *It* [The National Monument] *will give stability and consistence to the national pride a feeling which when properly directed is the surest foundation of national eminence. It will perpetuate the remembrance of the brave and independent Scottish nation a feeling all others the best suited to animate the exertions of her remotest descendants. It will teach her inhabitants to look to their own country for the scene of their real glory and while Ireland laments the absence of a nobility insensible to her fame it will be the boast of this country to have erected on her own shores a monument worthy of her people's glory and to have disdained to follow merely the triumphs of that nation whose ancestors they have ere now vanquished in the field.*[338]

---

[335] *"[T]his edifice…which as it commemorated the victories of Marathon and Salamis in ancient, so will its representative, commemorate as it is destined to do, those of Trafalgar and Waterloo in modern Athens, while it will, as to monumental purposes serve as "the Westminster abbey of the north" and like it, will have its "poet's corner." Ibid.*57

[336] Wood, *An Essay on National and Sepulchral Monuments*. 5.

[337] Sir Archibald Alison, "On the Proposed National Monument at Edinburgh," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 28, July 1819.

[338] Sir Archibald Alison, "On the Proposed National Monument at Edinburgh," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 5, no. 28* July 1819. 380.

Allison's article also discusses the choice of architectural style for a monument befitting the mood of the nation. According to the author, neoclassical, rather than gothic architecture assimilates itself much more to the spirit of national pride,[339] *"…recall*[ing] *the brilliant conceptions of national glory as they were received during the ardent and enthusiastic period of youth…"*[340]. In particular, the Athenian idiom's *"stern and massy form…"* was considered to "*befit[s] an edifice destined to commemorate the severe virtues and manly character of war."*[341] This accords with Marc Fehlman's extensive work on the exploitation of the Greek canon in eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain, where he proposes that the successes of British victory was strengthened through classical justification by associating the Napoleonic wars to the wars of Marathon, Salamis and Plataea.[342] This is, Fehlman argues, down to the regard that nineteenth century Britons had for the ancient Athenian state as "*the dominant force in ancient Greece - a leading naval power that had become rich and strong through free trade and the liberty of its subjects,*"[343] which conveniently suited the zeitgeist that surrounded Britain's own self-perception of its naval prowess after the victories of the Napoleonic Campaign. Given these associations, therefore, it is surprising that a proposal in Edinburgh to create a replica of the most famous building in Greek Antiquity as a National

---

[339] *…[T]here is something in the separate styles which is peculiarly adapted to the different emotions they are intended to excite. The light tracery and lofty roof and airy pillars of the Gothic seem to accord well with the sublime feelings and spiritual fervour of religion. The massy wall and gloomy character of the castle bespeak the abode of feudal power and the pageantry of barbaric magnificence. The beautiful porticos and columns and rich cornices of the Ionic or Corinthian seem well adapted for the public edifices in a great city for those which arc destined for amusement or to serve for the purpose of public ornament. The Palladian style is that of all others best adapted for the magnificence of private dwellings and overwhelms the spectator by a flood of beauty against which the rules of criticism are unable to withstand. If any of these styles of architecture were to be transferred from buildings destined for one purpose to those destined for another the impropriety of the change would appear very conspicuous."* Ibid. 384.

[340] Ibid. 385.

[341] Ibid. 385.

[342] Marc Fehlmann, "As Greek as It Gets: British Attempts to Recreate the Parthenon," *Rethinking History* 11, no. No. 3 (September 2007). This is confirmed in Elliot's accompanying essay to his Pantheon design for Edinburgh, where he states that *"It has been confidently asserted by some writers on the subject that the Parthenon was a National Monument in honour of the glorious conclusion of the Persian war."* 371. Minutes of the National Monument Committee, 15th June 1821, SL103.

[343] Ibid. 354-355.

Monument was just one of two 'successful'[344] attempts to erect a Parthenon in Great Britain during the 1810s and 20s.[345] The origin of the outline plans for the Edinburgh monument, which was the proposal for a 'facsimile' of the Parthenon in London by a Mr Robertson in 1816. This had been championed in Edinburgh by Lord Elgin.[346] It was stated that it had been "*universally admired*" in London but deemed unsuitable for the design of a national memorial in the Metropolis due to "*the determination of Parliament to erect separate monuments for the Army and the Navy.*"[347]

It is possible therefore, that despite the general rhetoric of neoclassicism lending itself to displays of national pride, the use of the Parthenon as a monument to celebrate British victories would not be considered as an appropriate choice for a 'National Monument' in a British context. As London relied on bolstering national sentiment within the masses through the erection of monuments within the public realm, the Parthenon's strong associations with places of learning and those proclaiming naval ascendancy would have excluded many who had contributed to the national campaigns. The decision behind the execution of the Scottish National War Memorial in the form of the Parthenon therefore must have been decided upon through the consideration of other factors alongside the allegorical connection with British naval success.[348]

---

[344] In Cambridge, the Parthenon was the inspiration for the design of the Fitzwilliam Museum - I say 'successful' in that both it, and the Scottish National Monument progressed further than paper proposals, despite the National Monument never being completed.

[345] Fehlmann, "As Greek as It Gets: British Attempts to Recreate the Parthenon." 371 In David Watkin's book he notes that Cockerell "from the start… had *'felt the necessity of setting forth the Parthenon as a free translation of the original.'*" See David Watkin, The Life and Work of C.R. Cockerell, Studies in Architecture (London: Zwemmer, 1974).

[346] "*…I beg leave to submit to consideration a view which as presented to the public in 1817, on a proposal for erecting an exact copy of the Parthenon of Athens with materials and accompaniments worthy of the united efforts of Great Britain. – and as the same effect may be adequately produced by the Freestone of this country...I have no doubt that Mr Robertson would cheerfully send his model to the Committee if desired.*" Minutes of the National Monument Committee, 23rd February 1819, SL103.

[347] Minutes of the National Monument Committee, 15th April 1819, SL103.

[348] See above.

The adoption of Hellenism as an architectural idiom in particular had been especially prevalent in Scotland during the late 18th and 19th centuries, as associations between Hellenic culture and the rational principles of the Scottish Enlightenment were supported by an antiquarian interest in the past.[349] This is considered by Naik and Stewart to have been the result of "Scotland's lack of political autonomy …[which had] encouraged the assertion of its unique cultural origins."[350] Edinburgh in particular came to be obsessed with all things Greek in the first half of the 19th-century, being referred to as the *'Athens of the North'* around the time of the development of the National Monument. Although it could be assumed that the development of a Parthenon on Calton Hill was chosen to emphasise the similarities between the Scots and Greek capitals, it is more likely that the model of the Parthenon for the National Monument was settled upon because of the Scots interest in Hellenism. This had been fostered through cultural understanding of the Edinburgh topography, and this, coupled with connections to the sea, heavily influenced the decision over the National Monument's design.

This can be further understood when the origins of the phrase '*The Athens of the North'* are more closely considered in rhetoric to the development of Calton Hill and its environs. One the earliest comparisons made between Edinburgh and Athens is in a comment made by the artist Allan Ramsay in 1762 to Sir William Dick of Prestonfield. He states that:

> *The setting up of further learned institutions such as a Riding school will render Edinburgh the 'Athens of Britain' where instead of the monkish pedantry of the old-fashioned Universities, young gentlemen will be initiated in the principles of*

[349] For further information on the association between Hellenism and Scottish culture in the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries see Anuradha S. Naik and Margaret C. H. Stewart, "The Hellenization of Edinburgh : Cityscape, Architecture, and the Athenian Cast Collection " *JSAH* 66:3 (2007).
[350] Ibid. 370.

useful knowledge and liberal accomplishments which qualify a man to appear in the distinguished spheres of life.[351]

Although this parallel of the advances of the intellectual community of the Scottish Enlightenment and of Ancient Athens appears from the mid 18th-century onwards, the association between the Edinburgh as a physical entity and Athens did not become common until the early 19th century. In fact, according to Cockburn, it was during the time of the Napoleonic Wars that this idea was fully cemented.

It was about the time that the foolish phrase "The Modern Athens," began to be applied to the capital of Scotland; a sarcasm, or a piece of affected flattery, when used in a moral sense; but just enough if it meant only a comparison of the physical features of the two places. The opportunities of observing, and the practice of talking of, foreign buildings in reference to our own, directed our attention to the works of internal taste, and roused our ambition.[352]

The likeness between the landscape of Athens and Edinburgh was paramount in cementing the comparison of the two cities. Cambridge Geologist, Edward Daniel Clarke, had first pointed out similarities between the topography of the two areas in his 1818 publication *Travels in various countries in Europe, Asia and Africa.*[353] He stated that *"Edinburgh exhibits a very correct model of a Grecian city and with its Acropolis, Town, and Harbour,* [as] *it bears some resemblance to Athens and the Piraeus."* It is this relationship between Piraeus and Athens and Clarke's comparison of these to Leith and Edinburgh that Allison uses in support of his argument for the erection of a Parthenon on Calton Hill.

---

[351] Allan Ramsay to Sir William Dick of Prestonfield, 1762. Taken from Lowrey, "From Caesarea to Athens Greek Revival Edinburgh and the Question of Scottish Identity within the Unionist State ". Footnote 1.

[352] Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time*. The Ordinance Gazzetteer of Scotland of 188(0?) notes that Edinburgh is called the Athens of the North by Stuart of Stuart and Revett.

[353]Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa, (Vol. 6)* (London: London, 1818). 378.

> *Its* [Edinburgh's] *position on a rock in the middle of a fertile and champagne country the vicinity of the sea and the disposition of the town at the base of the fortress resemble in the most striking manner the situation of Corinth Athens Argos and most of the Grecian capitals.*[354]

The contrast of citadel and countryside, and its comparison to that of Athens can be further observed in images of Edinburgh's landscape from this period, in particular through Alexander Nasmyth's landscape watercolours of Edinburgh (Plate 2.6). When compared with Hugh William Williams' views of Athens (Plate 2.7), the romantic interpretation of the Edinburgh topography evokes the neoclassical dreamy exoticism of William's Grecian countryside. However, in Nasmyth's drawings, and in Clarke's description, the comparison of the Acropolis in Athens is with Edinburgh Castle, not Calton Hill. This does not stop Allison pushing the idea of Calton Hill as a new acropolis for Edinburgh. Instead, he fits Clarke's observations to his manifesto and states the outright untruth that Clarke had considered Calton Hill's potential to become a new acropolis in his work.

> *To make the resemblance complete he adds it is only necessary to have a temple of great dimensions placed on the Calton Hill and such an edifice seen from all quarters and forming an object in every landscape would give a classical air to that beautiful city of which the value cannot easily be conceived.*[355]

Despite Allison's stretching of the truth of Clarke's comments,[356] the location of the hill as a centre point during the early 19th-century had slowly emerged during the development of the Third New Town plan. Early versions had focused not on the development of Calton Hill, but on the road network between Leith and the City, using commemorative and triumphal architecture to emphasise this thoroughfare that included space on Leith

[354] Sir Archibald Alison, "On the Proposed National Monument at Edinburgh," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* 28, July 1819. 385.
[355] Ibid 385.
[356] Clarke does not mention Calton Hill at all in his text.

Walk halfway between Edinburgh and Leith for the National Monument.[357] In placing the National Monument instead on *top* of Calton Hill in the form of a Parthenon and adopting a Greek rhetoric, the city's connection to the Port of Leith was firmly established, as Piraeus to Edinburgh's Athens - adding further gravitas to its intellectual achievements and architectural rhetoric by emphasising Edinburgh as the 'Athens of the North. This visually, physically and metaphorically strengthened Edinburgh's position as a naval port within the British Isles and further boosted the purpose and raison d'être of the National Monument, by celebrating the intellect and beauty of Scotland's capital, alongside the glory of the British Naval Fleet and, in particular, Britain's world dominance at sea.[358]

The choice of Charles Cockerell as the lead architect for the National Monument placed emphasis on the 'Britishness' of the project. Cockerell was a young, up-and-coming London architect, who the Lord Elgin invited up to Scotland on behalf of the National Monument committee in 1822.[359] Cockerell's appointment was somewhat pushed on the committee by Elgin who had, according to Watkin, acted prematurely in asking Cockerel to become lead architect in the scheme.[360] But as he had also already made a name for himself through his "*particular knowledge in Grecian architecture & his long residence in Athens*,"[361] he was outright favourite to provide the accurate

[357] See Section 1

[358] Further argument for this can be found in Hamilton's adoption of Greek Revival Rhetoric for his Royal High School building on Calton Hill. His earlier 1823 design for a structure situated in the First New Town, adjacent to Register House (Plate 3.6) consisted of *"A broad street … to separate the new school from the north side of Adam's Register House, terminating in a triumphal arch leading towards Chamber's Dundas mansion…its tall colonnaded dome, resembling that of Gandy's (James Gandon) Four Courts in Dublin, the effect was Roman, rather than Greek. Apart from the north facing hexastyle portico, little ornament is visible in the drawings, but the upper floor displays a style of massive simplicity, which Hamilton was to use for the side wings of the 1825 High School and for several other buildings. This was marked by pilasters, large windows narrowing towards the top and having recessed panels below the sills and tall, straight topped entablatures."* Fisher, "Thomas Hamilton." 38-9.

[359] Minutes of the National Monument Committee, 19th July 1822, SL103.

[360] Letter from Lord Elgin to Charles Robert Cockerell, July 1822, MS638, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

[361] Minutes of the National Monument Committee, 19th July 1822, SL103.

detail needed to replicate the Parthenon in the design of the National Monument.[362] The appointment of Playfair as resident architect to produce the working drawings was therefore not only practical and cost-effective; the poetry of collaboration between an English and Scottish architect on a 'national concern of this [magnitude of] importance'[363] would not have been lost on the appointing committee for the monument.[364]

The exploitation of the classical idea therefore was not only one that utilised the picturesque possibilities and views to and from the site - as Barker, Craig, Adam and Burns had done. It now also manipulated and legitimised the landscape and the monuments through collective Imperial purpose that was allied with an allegorical association with the antique - in particular, an emphasis on the cultural assimilation of Scotland to Ancient Greece.

This can be traced back to the mid-18th-century work of James Macpherson's *Ossian,* where he transcribed Gaelic verse as a Grecian poetic cycle.[365] At the time of its publication in 1760, a comparison between Ossian and Homer's writings came to enhance the perceived connections between the classical utopia and primitive rural highland life, particularly with regards to poetry and folk songs. This was further emphasised by David Allan's hellenized interpretations of traditional Scottish rural pastimes.[366] The 18th-century literary critic, Johan Herder (1744-1803), for example, makes this comparison

---

[362] His ability to work in the Greek style had been particularly lauded by Lord Aberdeen, author of "*An inquiry into the principles and beauty of Grecian architecture.*"George Hamilton Gordon Earl of Aberdeen, *An Inquiry into the Principles of Beauty in Grecian Architecture; with an Historical View of the Rise and Progress of the Art in Greece* (pp. 217. J. Murray: London, 1822).

[363] Diary of Charles Robert Cockerell, Monday 22nd July 1822, COC/9/3 1822 . Archives of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

[364] For further information on the National Monument project, and the appointment of Cockerell, Playfair, and the aftermath, please refer to Watkin, *The Life and Work of C.R. Cockerell*, Linning, *Memoranda Publica*.

[365] "In Scotland in particular, readers felt their national culture, to say nothing of their national identity, had been validated by Macpherson's 'Discoveries.'" John Valdimir Price, "Ossian and the Canon in the Scottish Enlightenment," in *Ossian Revisited*, ed. Howard Gaskill (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991). 125.

[366] Naik and Stewart, "The Hellenization of Edinburgh : Cityscape, Architecture, and the Athenian Cast Collection ".

in musing that he *"…must go to the Scottish Highlands, to see the places described by the great Ossian himself and 'hear the songs of a living people'. After all, 'the Greeks, too…were savage…and in the best period of their flowering far more of Nature remained in them than can be described by the narrow gaze of a scholiast or a classical scholar'."*[367]

This, to many, validated Scots' own cultural roots as one of the great ancient cultures and paved the way for a romanticising of the highlands particularly identified with Sir Walter Scott's Waverley novels. Scott's further activities in cultivating this romantic idea of the highlands during King George IV's visit to Edinburgh also perpetuated this assimilation of the highlands and Greek culture as what was deemed *"…[T]he beginning of the Highland takeover of Scotland...,"*[368] included *"… Cockerell's uncompromisingly Greek temple…"*[369] as *"…the backcloth of the opening scene in [Scott's] romantic drama."*[370]

Scottish cultural identity after the Napoleonic wars therefore built on this romantic image of Scotland's utopian fabled yesteryear and sought to dismantle the earlier 18th-century perception of the Highlands as a threatening savage wilderness full of Jacobean sympathisers. The re-branding of Scottish primitive life through an association with the primitive yet learned culture of Ancient Greece[371] allowed Scots to retain a Scottish

---

[367] Isaiah Berlin, Vico and Herder : Two Studies in the History of Ideas (London: Hogarth Press, 1980). 172. Taken from Frank Walker, "National Romanticism and the Architecture of the City," in *Perspectives of the Scottish City*, ed. George Gordon ([Aberdeen]: Aberdeen University Press, 1985).129.

[368] Watkin, *The Life and Work of C.R. Cockerell*. 151.

[369] Ibid. 151.

[370] This is shown in John Wilson Ewbank's *Entry of George IV* Calton Hill, over the Bridewell and towards the Old Town and the Castle (Plate 2.8). This image depicts numerous groups swathed in tartan aligning Waterloo Place to welcome the King into the city, who is sitting in an open-topped carriage to the right of the picture. This places Calton Hill as a background setting to this mixture of highland garb and medieval pageantry created by Scott. See also Walter Scott, *Hints Addressed to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh, and Others, in Prospect of His Majesty's Visit* (Edinburgh: Printed for Bell and Bradfute, Manners and Miller, Archibald Constable and Co., William Blackwood, Waugh and Innes, and John Robertson, 1822).

[371] *"Greek architecture represented the original or primitive source of all classical architecture…Scott's image of Scotland as a noble, simple, and primitive land was rather similar to the idea of Greece evoked by the neoclassical interest in Greek architecture. Both*

identity within the union[372] that was not perceived as threatening to the political and financial integration of the 1707 Act of Union.[373] As this cultural assimilation filtered through the production of art in Scotland, the chaste style and restrained language of the architecture of the Greek Revival suited Scots' Presbyterian sensibilities. This style that established itself in the strict archaeological study of classical buildings by Stuart and Revett and Le Roy, was understood alongside the emerging comparisons between the literary cultures of Scotland and Ancient Greece and further perpetuated by the connections made between the academic advancements of the Ancient Greeks in philosophy, science, and mathematics and those made during the Scottish Enlightenment. Many of the men exposed to this dialogue took on this understanding of their assimilation with the Ancient Greeks into their established careers in banking, law, and positions in public office. It is therefore likely that this continued connection with Ancient Greece and its culture further perpetuated the Greek style for public buildings within the urban realm in the early 19th-century – a genre which continued to be the main dominant source of Greek Revival buildings until Alexander 'Greek' Thomson applies his own re-imagining of Grecian architecture to Glasgow in the mid- late 19th-century. [374]

---

were in some senses concerned with a primitive yet Golden Age of their respective cultures, and both had their separate architectural styles that evoked that age." Lowrey, "From Caesarea to Athens Greek Revival Edinburgh and the Question of Scottish Identity within the Unionist State ". 143.

[372] Fintain Cullen, "The Art of Assimilation: Scotland and Its Heroes," *Art History* 16, no. 4 (1993).

[373]See N.T. Phillipson, "Nationalism and Ideology," in *Government and Nationalism in Scotland an Enquiry by Members of the University of Edinburgh*, ed. J. N. Wolfe (Edinburgh: Edinburgh U.P, 1969). and Andrew Noble, "Versions of the Scottish Pastoral: The Literati and the Tradition 1780-1830," in *Order in Space and Society*, ed. Thomas A. Markus (Mainstream, 1982). 263-310.

[374] "The extent of the Greek Revival's supremacy can be gauged by its dominance over one particular building type: the public building for legal, administrative, or cultural purposes." J. Mordaunt Crook, The Greek Revival : Neo-Classical Attitudes in British Architecture, 1760-1870 (London: J. Murray, 1972). 98.

Many scholars of Scottish culture and art history who consider the emergence of the Scottish Greek Revival [375] agree that it was mutually beneficial to both Scotland and Britain to exploit this romantic, innocuous cultural identity for Scotland as it allowed Scots to exist as a race that was removed from any commentary on Scottish political autonomy within the British State. However, John Lowrey has argued that the particular association with Athens on Calton Hill was, in fact, an attempt to demonstrate Scottish importance and prominence within the British Empire.[376] For example, in Thomas Shepherd and John Britten's publication of 1829 entitled "*Modern Athens!*",[377] the romantic era of medieval Scotland[378] is promoted alongside images of the Calton Hill and the National Monument. In the preface, it is stated that it is a 'great city of an empire' and one of our 'national capitals' and its *"…history and description…will be important to Scotland and the whole United Kingdom…"* Its text, which goes into great detail on the medieval history of Scotland and the early modern history of Edinburgh, halts at 1661, stating that "*From this time on, the only events of importance to enumerate are - the Union of the two Kingdoms in 1707, which has been attended with so many benefits to Scotland; the rebellion of 1745; and the visit of our present gracious sovereign in 1822."*

By placing not just a Greek Revival structure on Calton Hill, but a specifically Athenian structure on its summit, therefore,[379] a statement of cultural

[375]See Phillipson, "Nationalism and Ideology." and Noble, "Versions of the Scottish Pastoral: The Literati and the Tradition 1780-1830." 263-310 Cullen, "The Art of Assimilation: Scotland and Its Heroes."

[376] Lowrey, "From Caesarea to Athens Greek Revival Edinburgh and the Question of Scottish Identity within the Unionist State ".

[377] Thomas H. Shepherd and John Britton, *Modern Athens! Displayed in a Series of Views: Or Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century: Exhibiting the Whole of the New Buildings, Modern Improvements, Antiquities, and Picturesque Scenery, of the Scottish Metropolis and Its Environs* (London: published by Jones & Co. Temple of the Muses, Finsbury Square., 1829).

[378] Such as the medieval Old Town. The frontispiece of the book also depicts an image of the honours of Scotland 'found' by Sir Walter Scott and a sketch of Abbotsford Walter Scott's house in the Borders, built in the Scots Baronial style.

[379] Gow notes that it was only the minds of the National Monument Committee that the National Monument was to be an exact facsimile of the Parthenon, Cockerell never thought it would be so. Ian Gow, "C.R. Cockerell's Design for the Northern Athenian Parthenon," *Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland* 16 (1989). 25.

association is turned into one of political alliance that asserts Edinburgh's identity, if not superiority within the British State. As Lowrey states, "… *by assuming the identity of Athens, the implication was that Edinburgh and Scotland were superior to London and England. Scottish Achievements in the Enlightenment period gave the city the right to claim that it was now the civilizing influence within Great Britain and the Empire…although Edinburgh was still defining itself in relation to London, it was claiming an identity that in some ways usurped the role of the capital.*"[380] In creating a specific direct comparison with Athens by placing a 'Parthenon' on top of an 'Acropolis' Edinburgh became active, rather than passive in the affairs of Empire.[381] In other words, by displaying a message of strength and fortitude in alliance with the British Government, Edinburgh was asserting itself as a significant city of the Empire in its own right. [382]

Comments on and sketches of the National Monument after 1828 further support interpretation. Michael Linning, secretary to the National Monument committee, in his published memoirs of 1834, states that its role in building the structure was much more politically focused in 'promot[ing] the cause of domestic colonisation,' rather than perpetuating cultural affiliations. A proposal to finish the monument by a Mr Farholm in 1837 suggested that

[380] Lowrey, "From Caesarea to Athens Greek Revival Edinburgh and the Question of Scottish Identity within the Unionist State ". 150.

[381] *"While her insular situation, and the union and energy of her people, secure for Great Britain peace and tranquility within her own bounds, the rivalry of the different nations of whom the Empire is composed, promises, if properly directed, to animate her people with the ardour and enterprise which have hitherto been supposed to spring only from the collision of smaller states. Towards the accomplishment of this most desirable object however it is indiscernible that each nation should preserve the remembrance of its own distinct origin and look to the glory of its own people with an anxious and peculiar care."* Sir Archibald Alison, "On the Proposed National Monument at Edinburgh," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 28, July 1819. 389.

[382] This was particularly prevalent as such a relatively high proportion of men involved in the development of the Empire in overseas colonies came from a Scottish background, which not only emphasises Scots contribution to the unified Imperial goal, but also suggests that Scotland was financially benefiting from imperial expansion. Linda Colley calculates that by the late 18th century, 60% of free merchants in Bengal and over 25% of the officers serving in the East India company were Scottish. Colley, *Britons : Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*. 128.

Britannia should be placed astride the finished structure that he believed was *"suited to the national object to which this structure was intended."* [383]

[383] Letter from Mr Fairholm to Mr Skene, Minutes of the National Monument Committee, 25th November 1837, SL103. In fact, a statue of Queen Victoria by the sculptor John Steel (who also carved Sir Walter Scott's sculpture for the Scott monument) was erected in a similar manner on top of the Royal Academy Building in 1844.

Chapter 5: Public and Private Memorial in the 19th-century

The shaping of the Hill's landscape for commemoration can be further explored with reference to Calton Hill's Burial Grounds and other monuments sited on the Hill. During the first half of the 19th-century, both the Old and New Calton Burial Grounds were developed and through both the people interred and the layout of the grave markers within these sites, understood in the context of the emulative effect of memorials to the dead on the living. However, it is in the relationship of the Burial Grounds with the other monuments established on Calton Hill during this period that further insight can be gained into the purpose and consequences of mourning the death of the exalted.

The (Old) Calton Burial Ground in the early 18th-century had been established in response to the need for new space in which to inter the dead of the Hamlet of Calton[384] and in particular, those associated with the Incorporated Trades of Calton.[385] It was not until Robert Adam's development of David Hume's tomb,[386] that the Burial Ground became much

[384] In the early 17th century, the legal rights of the Kirk and parish of Restalrig – a parish to the north of Edinburgh, associated with the hamlet of Calton- had been transferred to the parish of South Leith. As a result, residents of Calton began using South Leith Kirk and Kirkyard for both religious worship and the interment of its dead. This became problematic, not only because it was a mile and a half to the north of the hamlet, but also because the high volume of burials that occurred at South Leith Kirkyard resulted in the residents of Calton only gaining use of the space for burials on specific times and days of the week. A small patch of land on the south side of Calton Hill was therefore granted to the inhabitants of Calton by the landowner, Laird (Lord) Balmerino, so that a burial ground could be formed on an area of land on Calton Hill, adjacent to the Hamlet See Paton, "The Barony of Calton, Part Ii." And Grant, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh : Its History, Its People, and Its Places*. Vol V, 131, for further detail on this.

[385] A society that worked in the interests of the tradesmen, or freemen of the hamlet of Calton. Due to the nature of the establishment of the burial ground, and its distance from its associated Kirk, the management of (Old) Calton was therefore never directly under the control of a Parish Kirk, but instead was run as a business by the Incorporated Trades of Calton.

[386] Built 1777.

more than a place of interment for local trades people.[387] This may, in part, be a link to the area being promoted as a place of interest to visitors in the city by the 1800s, as the proximity of the Hume monument in the (Old) Calton Burial Ground to the Nelson Monument, added additional interest to the pleasure walk around the hill.[388] The Monument's location on the summit of Calton Hill meant that it could only be reached by going past the entrance to the Burial Ground, which in its sheer presence would have provided an introduction to the concept of memorial and remembrance on the journey up towards the Nelson Monument. This expansion of memorial space on the hill outside the confines of Burial Ground's curtiledge was further extended with the decision to locate the National Monument on the summit of the hill in the late 1810s. These three aspects therefore set the context of the broader landscape of the hill within a commemorative sphere and seemed to promote the erection of further monuments on the hill.

In the ensuing decade after the establishment of the Nelson and National Monuments, three further monuments were erected to John Playfair (1822), Dugald Stewart (1831) and Robert Burns (1831). All three were erected away from the place of bodily interment and - in the case of Dugald Stewart and Robert Burns - were erected in addition to grand private monuments that were placed at the site of their burial. The following chapter considers these three monuments and their presence within this context, by exploring their relationship to the hill, each other, and the proposed National Monument.

John Playfair, and Dugald Stewart were key figures in the Scottish enlightenment. Playfair (1748-1819), Professor of Natural Philosophy at the

[387] Despite the walls of the burial ground being visible from the Old Town. The burial ground was originally defined as a rectilinear area on high ground to the north of the Canongate, which can be identified on Mostyn's Map of 1773 (Plate 2.3) but by the early nineteenth century, the popularity of the burial ground was such that it was extended to the south and the west.

[388] See discussion on Nelson Monument in section 1, where its purpose as a touristic 'draw' has already been discussed. The walk around the hill, incidentally was known as 'Hume's Walk' as David Hume had petitioned the Town Council in 1775 to provide a public walk on Calton Hill for the benefit of the Edinburgh inhabitants.

University of Edinburgh was an influential member of the Edinburgh intelligencia and President of the Astronomical Institution that had established the neoclassical observatory building on Calton Hill.[389] Dugald Stewart (1753-1828) held the chair of Moral Philosophy at the University during the last quarter of the 18th-century and was influential in the teaching of many prominent members of early 19th-century society.

Playfair's prominence in the city were such that on his death in 1819, a committee was set up to collect subscriptions to fund "*an architectural monument, or cenotaph, in some appropriate or conspicuous situation*"[390] in his memory. The committee determined upon two locations for the erection of his monument, both of which were on Calton Hill. Significantly, however, although one of the locations mooted was within the (Old) Calton Burial Ground, the committee did not consider the Playfair plot within Burial Ground itself.[391] Instead, the committee wished for the monument to be erected either within the enclosure of the newly established astronomical observatory on the hill's summit, or on a plot within the Burial Ground that belonged to another family"*on the Brow of the precipitous rock to the south*."[392]

Both the committee's preferred choice of the monument's site on the summit of the hill, and the secondary proposal of erecting the memorial on another visually prominent plot within the Burial Ground are telling to understanding the overall purpose of the Playfair Monument in the eyes of the committee. In erecting a memorial to Professor Playfair, his admirers were not mourning Playfair's death, but rather were celebrating his

[389] Designed by William Playfair in 1817. See Plate 2.23.
[390] Proceedings relative to the ERECTION of a MONUMENT to the late JOHN PLAYFAIR, Esq., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, 26th December 1820, MYBN 274A Box 4/1-4/29, Ref 4/17, 'Fishsupper', Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh.
[391] This was tucked behind the Hume Monument in Old Calton Burial Ground, Plate 2.9.
[392] [392] Proceedings relative to the ERECTION of a MONUMENT to the late JOHN PLAYFAIR, Esq., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, 7th February 1822, MYBN 274A Box 4/1-4/29, Ref 4/17, 'Fishsupper'. The owner of which, in the end refused to sell it to the Playfair monument committee.

achievements. That the most appropriate choice was adjacent to the site of the neoclassical observatory of the astronomical society - that he was instrumental in establishing – demonstrates this,[393] as does the need to erect a monument in a situation where it would have a high degree of visual impact.

This need to create visual impact through the placement of memorials can be found also in the erection of a cenotaph to Dugald Stewart (Plate 2.10) some ten years later, which was to be placed in a position that would do '*good to Scotland*'.[394] This structure was in addition to a private monument erected over his grave in Canongate Kirkyard.[395] Rather than an architectural object, the first idea was for a sculpture that would be placed in a prominent internal location, such as the library of the University of Edinburgh. Debates ensued between those on the committee for the memorial regarding the suitability of an external monument or an internal sculpture. Despite Stewart's wife's own preference for a statue, and her stating in a letter that Stewart believed that statues were more befitting to the "*merits and situation of literary men….than any building,*"[396] it was decided that a monument should be erected on Calton Hill in Stewart's name, as it would be viewed by a

[393] "*…it has appeared to them* [the committee] *to be happily and eminently suited for the monument of a man of Science, - that such a monument would be calculated to bestow , as well as to derive no slight degree of interest or dignity, from its connection with that scientific establishment, of which Mr Playfair was himself so distinguished a member;" Committee of Subscribers for the erection of a Monument to Professor Playfair, "Proceedings Relative to the Erection of a Monument to the Late John Playfair, Esq., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Printed for the Information of the Subscribers," (Edinburgh City Archives, 1820-1822).* No. IV Dec 26th 1820.

[394] Letter from Mrs Stewart to Lord Minto, 19th July 1828. MS 11798, f.176, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

[395] Stewart's son, Matthew erected the tomb for Stewart in the Canongate Kirkyard. the words above the door are " His son and daughter, his surviving children have in mourning dedicated here a tomb to a most beloved father of the highest character" FILIUS ET FILIA LIBERI SUPERSTITES PATRI CARISSIMO MORUM SUPREMUM MOERENTIES HIC SEPULCRUM DEDICAVERUNT. Taken from Gordon Macintyre, *Dugald Stewart: The Pride and Ornament of Scotland* (Sussex Academic Press, 2003). 231. Latin inscription in footnote 18, 310.

[396] A comment he had made when referring specifically to the Playfair monument on Calton Hill. Letter from Mrs Stewart to the Marquess of Lothian, 1 January 1830; GD 40/9-321, Lothian Muniments, National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh.

larger number of people than a sculpture in the elitist halls of the University.[397]

However, there may also be another reason behind the choice of medium for Stewart's Memorial- one influenced by the challenges faced by the committee for the erection of the Robert Burns Memorial. The Neoclassical monument to Robert Burns situated on Calton Hill, is one of three of the earliest architectural structures erected to the Scots poet. The others, situated in Dumfries and Alloway make up a trilogy of monuments built (at earliest) twenty-five years after the poet's death - despite discussions regarding Burns' commemorations being held from the early 1800s.[398] From the securing of a site for the memorial on Calton Hill in 1817 by John Forbes Mitchell,[399] the form that the memorial was to take varied, like the Stewart monument, back and forth between a classical sculpture and an architectural edifice. In 1819, the monument was proposed as a classical tomb, which would hold Burnsonian relics. [400] By 1821, the design had changed from an architectural edifice to a large bronze monumental sculpture by the classical

[397] For a fuller description of the debate and those involved in the erection of the Stewart monument see Macintyre, *Dugald Stewart: The Pride and Ornament of Scotland*.

[398] For a more in-depth discussion regarding the instigation of these three monuments and the relationship between the development of these structures, and Calton Hill Please refer to Carter McKee, K . 2014 *Monument to the Memory of Robert Burns on Calton Hill, Edinburgh.* Forthcoming AHSS publication.

[399] On the 8th October 1817, the Edinburgh Town Council was presented with a letter from John Forbes Mitchell, a merchant of the East India Company who had been living and trading in Bombay in the earlier part of the decade. This letter, entitled *"Proceedings respecting a situation for [a] Monument to the memory of Robert Burns"* described a subscription of funds donated by a few 'admirers of genius' that had been collected in India with the intention that 'a monument could be erected of the Poet in the Capital of his much loved country'. It was requested by Forbes Mitchell that the Town Council could find a piece of land in the burial ground of Calton Hill or on some part of the summit of the Hill for this purpose. Edinburgh Town Council Minutes, 8th October 1817, SL1.

[400] See "Festival in Commemoration of Robert Burns; and to Promote a Subscription to Erect a National Monument to His Memory at Edinburgh: Held at the Freemasons' Tavern, in London. With an Appendix, Containing the Resolutions of the General Meeting, April 24, 1819, Together with a List of the Subscribers.," (London5th June 1819).

sculptor John Flaxman.[401] However, once the memorial began to be sculpted in 1824,[402] a change from bronze cast to marble statue (Plate 2.11)[403] also heralded a change in opinion as to where the memorial was to be placed. Marble was vulnerable in the damp Scottish climate, being "*a substance which fades and darkens even under the Blue of the Grecian sky,*"[404] and was much more vulnerable to damage, so it was not likely to be left outside on show. [405]

It is apparent, therefore, that the intention was to place the sculpture indoors. There were two places where it was deemed appropriate to display statues of this nature. The first was in the University Library[406] - but there were doubts as to the appropriateness of placing the statue in the Old College library, and in fact, a number of people considered it distasteful to place him amongst people of whom he had spoken irreverently.[407]

Sir,

---

[401] *"Mr Flaxman's model for a statue of Burns has been approved by the committee. The poet is represented with a mountain daisy in his right hand, and "the cottar's Saturday night" in his left. It is to be colossal and of bronze and to be erected in the New Town of Edinburgh."* Anon, "Court of Kings Bench, Westminster, April 30th," *Leeds Mercury*, 4th May 1822. I am indebted to Mr Gordon Astley for my attention to this article.

[402] By 1824 John Flaxman was an old man and in such poor health that he passed away in the winter of 1826, leaving the statue incomplete. His brother in law Thomas Denman finished off the piece, which was reported to be complete by the summer of 1828." Anon, Monument in Memory of Burns ", *Aberdeen Journal*, 27th August 1828.

[403] "The first idea, we understand, was to have the statue executed in Bronze, and to place it in the open air, in a conspicuous situation in Edinburgh. We regret deeply that this design - which, in our opinion was more national, and more suitable to the spirit of the Poet, and the public commemorative end in view – was not carried into effect. But, since it was changed to the less comprehensive and magnanimous determination of having a statue in marble, instead of Bronze, we are not sure that a better site than the college library could have been obtained." Ibid.

[404] James Cuthbert Hadden, George Thomson the Friend of Burns. His Life & Correspondence (London,1898). 78.

[405] *"First, it is not to be thought of for a moment that a marble statue can be placed in an open temple in Scotland. It would be at the risk of mischievous boys and drunken blackguards and we might loose our £1400 in the course of a night. The statue of Hygeia in the open temple over St Bernard's mineral well is a warning, with its one arm and its chipped face and figure."* Ibid. 77.

[406] Now known as the Playfair library – see Fraser, *The Building of Old College : Adam, Playfair & the University of Edinburgh*, Niven.

[407] See Robert Burns, "Epistle to J. Lapraik," (1785).Verse 12.

…permit me to remark that I perfectly agree with you in thinking there is something extremely absurd in the idea of placing a statue of Burns anywhere in or about the college…Let the statue of our National Bard be placed, if not in the open air, in the National Monument. Let him stand where he will see and be seen… [408]

This second option, the National Monument, fits with the timing of the commissioning of the statue. Cockerell had stated at the outset that he intended sculpture to be present in the building, and his drawings of the monument included these in his designs (Plate 2.12a and b).[409]

If the statue *was* then intended to be placed in what was to be the Scots answer to Westminster Abbey, then this would also explain why there was an issue with finding somewhere for it to be placed by November 1830,[410] just two years after the statue's completion by Denman in 1828. By this point, the National Monument project had been put on hold after the building of just twelve columns of the structure (Plate 2.13), as a number of options to raise money had failed.[411] While it sat unfinished and as a grand architectural folly, its ambitions to provide an enclosed space for commemorative memorials had fallen short.[412] This would have left those who had commissioned marbles in the hope of being one of the first on display in the

[408] Anon, "Burns' Monument," *Caledonian Mercury*, 26th February 1824
[409] Lord Aberdeen had told him on the 24th August that he 'thought it might be difficult to apply sculpture to the Church of Scotland. [we thought it] better not at first to bring this matter forward, but let it creep on. 25th August " It seems that the spirit of the puritan church is diametrically opposed to the Roman Catholic…." [409] Diary of Charles Robert Cockerell, 24th and 25th August 1822, COC/9/3 1822.
[410] Hadden, *George Thomson the Friend of Burns. His Life & Correspondence*. 75.
[411] *"[T]he promotion of this great national object is now unfortunately at a stand in consequence of the funds being exhausted; and The act obtained for making certain improvements in the city of Edinburgh, particularly in the approaches thereto from the south and the west…the actual has, as is generally the case, far exceeded the hypothetical or estimated expense; and the fund being exhausted, these works are likewise at a stand…There is no apparent mode whatever of completing the first of these undertakings, and scarcely any of completing the other without public aid…"* Committee for the National Monument of Scotland and Parliamentary Commissioners for Improvement in the City of Edinburgh to Lords of Treasury, "Request for Financial Aid."
[412] See section 3 for further detail on the failure of the National Monument project.

National Monument at a loss for where to house them. [413]

It is at around this time that the cenotaph for Dugald Stewart was designed by William Henry Playfair, that another call for subscriptions[414] was sent out to collect further funds to erect a protective structure to house Flaxman's marble statue of Burns *"since we have as yet no Pantheon or National Edifice for the reception of Statues or Busts of Eminent Scotsmen…"*[415] Flaxman's Burns sculpture was finally placed inside the monument, designed by Thomas Hamilton, in 1833 (Plate 2.14). But even after this date, there were concerns as to whether Hamilton's Edinburgh Monument was an appropriate and fitting place for a statue by such a highly respected neoclassical artist. [416] By 1846, smoke from the gasworks in the Waverley Valley below was adversely affecting the marble,[417] and so the statue was placed in the University of Edinburgh's Old College Library until it was moved to the newly established Scottish National Portrait Gallery in 1882, where it has remained ever since. The empty monument that remains on Calton Hill to this day is still referred to as the Burns Monument, despite being redundant as a housing for the statue. Ironically, however, after the removal of the statue, the monument was used for a number of years as a museum for Burns memorabilia, fulfilling the original vision for a classical monument that would hold relics to the Bard that had been originally proposed in 1819. [418]

---

[413] One of the statues depicted in Cockerell's watercolours of the proposed National Monument (Plate 2.12b) Looks close to the finished version of the Burns Monument (Plate 2.11) This information would have been available at the time of Cockerell's designs as a Maquette of the sculpture had been made up by Flaxman by 1824.

[414] See "Proposed Monument to the Memory of Robert Burns- List of Subscribers "..

[415] Board of Manufactures - General and Manufacturing Records, NG1/2, National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh.

[416]Public admission was delayed by another 4 years while George Thomson petitioned unsuccessfully to an (by then) uninterested elite for yet more money to landscape the surrounding gardens and to protect Hamilton's structure by erecting a cast iron fence around it. [416] See Anon, "Scotland Yet," *Scotsman*, 22 Oct 1834.; Anon, "Burns Monument, Calton Hill," *Scotsman*, 12.July 1837.

[417]Although it was Lord Cockburn that led this, so it is possible that the damage from the gasworks was an excuse exaggerated by him as he had harboured strong feelings against the placement of the statue in the monument altogether.

[418] "Festival in Commemoration of Robert Burns; and to Promote a Subscription to Erect a National Monument to His Memory at Edinburgh: Held at the Freemasons'

Comparing the design of William H. Playfair's Monument to Dugald Stewart (Plate 2.10) with Thomas Hamilton's monument to Robert Burns (Plate 2.14), it is interesting to consider how both of these architects viewed the landscape of Calton Hill by the early 1830s. While both committees for the memorials still agreed that Calton Hill should be the location for these structures, calling it "*a very magnificent point, "*[419] and stating that *"…Our architect and artists to a man decidedly recommend that Burns' temple should be placed there,"*[420] the hill's location as a grand commemorative landscape appears to have shifted slightly from the previous decade, as by this point, the National Monument project was in hiatus, and the construction of Thomas Hamilton's Royal High School building (Plate 2.15), [421] halfway down the southern slope of Calton Hill was already on its way to completion.

The location of these two monuments on the hill, therefore were integral to their conception. Both architects looked to the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates (Plate 2.16)[422] for inspiration, yet interpreted it in very different ways. Where Playfair's restrained classicism fitted in closely with his other structures on the summit of Calton Hill, [423] and with his idea of the architectural 'facsimile' most obviously the National Monument, Hamilton's monument to Burns is much more subtle and subversive, [424] and responded

---

Tavern, in London. With an Appendix, Containing the Resolutions of the General Meeting, April 24, 1819, Together with a List of the Subscribers.."

[419] Letter from Thomas Thomson to 2nd Earl of Minto, 5th December 1828, MS 11811, f.91. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

[420]Hadden, *George Thomson the Friend of Burns. His Life & Correspondence*. 76.

[421] Thomas Hamilton Design for the Royal High School, Edinburgh (pencil, and watercolour circa 1825-1831), D2637, National Gallery of Scotland. This building appears to be based on Le Roy's 1758 drawings of the Propylea at Athens. See Julien - David Le Roy, *Les Ruines Des Plus Beaux Monuments De La Grèce* (Paris: H. L. Guerin & L. F. Delatour, 1758).

[422] Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens Measured and Delineated by James Stuart F.R.S. And F.S.A. And Nicholas Revett Painters and Architects*.This structure had already been associated with the symbolism of death and memorial from the mid 18th century.

[423] Which by this point was the Astronomical Observatory, the Monument to Prof. John Playfair, and the twelve columns of the National Monument.

[424] This is in spite of Hamilton having designed another monument to Robert Burns in Alloway (Plate 2.19), which was an (almost) identical copy of Stuart and Revett's

to the subject whom it was to commemorate, as well as to the landscape in which it was to be placed. [425]

Hamilton's request to change the placement of the Edinburgh Monument from the original plot designated by the Town Council to a piece of land on the hill known as Millar's Knowe in 1831[426] (Plate 2.17), may have been an attempt by the architect to repeat the spatial relationship found between the Acropolis and the Lysicrates Monument (Plate 2.18) in that of the National Monument and the Edinburgh Burns monument.[427] As his request failed, and the monument's location was sited opposite the Royal High School on a rocky precipice, Hamilton manipulated the visual connection between the site donated by the Town Council, by relating it with the rocky precipice beneath the Temple of Vesta (or Sybill) at Tivoli in Italy.[428] By allusion to this structure in the design of his monument, Hamilton demonstrates that his structures took into consideration both the existing landscape and the placement within it, in a manner which is resonant of Adam's work at the

---

drawings of the Greek structure. An early watercolour of the Edinburgh Monument could suggest that the Alloway monument's fame may well have been influential in the final design, as despite many similarities between the watercolour and the built structure, this image shows that Hamilton's earlier vision for the Edinburgh monument did not replicate the Lysicrates cupola in such intricate detail as is found in the final design. In addition, Hamilton's earlier design for the columns include ionic, rather than Corinthian capitals, which are found on the Lysicrates and Alloway monuments. See Plate 2.20, Thomas Hamilton, Design for Burns Monument on Calton Hill (Pen and Watercolour, Undated, circa 1830), D2533, National Gallery of Scotland.

[425] For a full analysis of the architectural design and imagery found on this structure, Please refer to Carter McKee, K . 2013 *Monument to the Memory of Robert Burns on Calton Hill, Edinburgh.* Forthcoming AHSS publication.

[426] Edinburgh Town Council Minutes, 6th July 1831, SL1.

[427] This preference for a change in site went unheeded and the original site as designated by the Town Council in 1817 was used for the Edinburgh Monument.

[428] The view of which is found in numerous late eighteenth and early nineteenth century landscapes. For an excellent example, see this late 18th C, painting by an unknown French artist in the National Gallery in London. http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/french-the-temple-of-the-sibyl-at-tivoli-seen-from-the-gorge. Hamilton recreated the solid drum inside the colonnade of the monument, as is found at Tivoli, which is in comparison to the open colonnade of the Lysicrates monument. In addition, he ensured that the ground underneath the monument was deliberately built up so that it sat on a raised platform, which would give a greater illusion of a 'rocky precipice,' as found at Tivoli.

end of the previous century. Yet, while Hamilton considers how the existing romantic nature of the landscape could be enhanced through carefully chosen architectural rhetoric, Playfair, in contrast, attempts to impose a romantic landscape on the hill through the introduction of classical monuments. He believed that the presence of these classical structures created the romantic effect on the landscape, rather than their presence merely enhancing an already romantic setting. This can be further explained through the architect's artistic representations of the site. In David Roberts and Thomas Hamilton's painting of the Burns monument and the Royal High School building (Plate 2.21), they contrast the utopian imagery of grand classical monumental edifices, bathed in light from an unseen celestial source with the dark shadows and ethereal mists that surround the castellated and gothic structures of the medieval old town in the distance. Classical buildings, in Roberts' and Hamilton's eyes, therefore augment and enhance the already romantic precipitous gothic landscape, of the southern side of the hill. By contrast, Playfair's 1817 sketch of the proposed neoclassical observatory building of the Astronomical Institution (Plate 2.22)[429] depicts the structure within a fantastical exotic landscape of Playfair's imagination, with ruinous classical structures in the background and classically swathed figures and an oriental male smoking a hookah in the near foreground. The disregard of the hill's real landscape in the drawing suggests that Playfair perceived the establishment of his classical buildings on the summit, as a means to provide a romantic air to this part of the hill. His replacement of the gothic observatory with the Dugald Stuart Monument in his later elevation of the Stuart Monument, the Astronomical observatory, and John Playfair monument (Plate 2.23) further adds to effect, as it suggests that Playfair wished to establish a predominantly classical idiom on the summit, rather than play on the juxtaposition of the gothic and the classical as Roberts and Hamilton do further down the south side of the hill.[430] However, Playfair's

[429] This was placed on top of Craig's (uncompleted) Octagonal Observatory on the summit of Calton Hill.

[430] Although Playfair never managed to remove the Gothic Observatory, it can be of no coincidence that Playfair's scale and placement of the Stuart Monument on

focus on classical structures on the summit of Calton Hill does not by any means indicate that he was dismissive of the landscape that lay around the hill. Rather, as has been established in the discussion of his 1819 plans in Section 1[431] he viewed the summit as separate from that located further down the hill, which could explain why he thought it necessary to dislocate the hill's landscape in his pictorial representations of the Astronomical Institution. By establishing a pure, utopian idea of a classical landscape towering over the city, Playfair was attempting to create a sentinel to the glory of the Enlightenment and the State as had been envisioned by Allison, Elgin and the intelligensia of Edinburgh society,[432] which - just as the Acropolis was regarded in its closer proximity to the gods - would be loftily separate from the city and almost other-worldly in its mood.[433]

The halt in the development of the National Monument in 1828 brought about a slow, but irreversible shift in the aspirations for the commemorative landscape on Calton Hill. Despite the establishment of monuments and publications for the completion of the classical utopia on the hill in the five years or so after 1828,[434] interest quickly waned from the grand schemes for the hill as memorial projects directed their sights elsewhere in the city.

As the establishment of Scottish culture in the second quarter of the 19th-century leaned further towards the romantic idea of pre-reformation (a

---

Calton Hill masks the Gothic observatory from prominent views to the hill on North Bridge (Plate 2.24).

[431] Plate 2.8.

[432] "One such building, placed on Calton- hill might lead to the erection of others, until it should become the acropolis of the Northern Athens, and Edinburgh be called the city of temples and taste." "Festival in Commemoration of Robert Burns; and to Promote a Subscription to Erect a National Monument to His Memory at Edinburgh: Held at the Freemasons' Tavern, in London. With an Appendix, Containing the Resolutions of the General Meeting, April 24, 1819, Together with a List of the Subscribers.."

[433] The Image in Shepherd's Modern Athens of the completed National Monument depicts this perfectly. See Shepherd and Britton, *Modern Athens! Displayed in a Series of Views: Or Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century: Exhibiting the Whole of the New Buildings, Modern Improvements, Antiquities, and Picturesque Scenery, of the Scottish Metropolis and Its Environs*.

[434] Ibid.

culture that was, in part, perpetuated by Scott in his publications) and further away from the 18th-century Greek Classical, Scotland's identity was re-affirmed through appropriate imagery, in both art and architecture. According to Cookson,[435] this was responsible for the move towards a more Scottish rhetoric, such as used in the Gothic Revival design for the Scott Monument in Edinburgh (1844, Plate 2.25), the monument to Bruce and Wallace in Edinburgh in 1859 (Plate 2.26)[436]and of the Scots Baronial in the Stirling Wallace Monument (1869, Plate 2.27). With these alternative 'National Monuments'[437] directing focus away from the message that Classicism in general, and the Greek Revival in particular had connected with the glorification of Nation and Empire in Scotland,[438] the hill had a diminished practical and political resonance. [439]

This may also have been a consequence of the classical style falling out of fashion as a commemorative genre. From the 1830s onwards, an increase in local government powers created a culture within local councils to advance civic projects that mainly focused around persons or events with direct

[435] J.E. Cookson, "The Edinburgh and Glasgow Duke of Wellington Statues: Early 19th Century Unionist Nationalism as a Tory Project," *The Scottish Historical Review* LXXXIII, 1, no. 215 (2004).
[436] Joseph Noel Paton, *National Memorial of the War of Independence under Wallace and Bruce and of Its Results in the Union of England and Scotland, to Be Erected in the Scottish Metropolis* (Edinburgh,1859).
[437] These are called this in Walker, "National Romanticism and the Architecture of the City."
[438]"In other words, by assuming the identity of Athens, the implication was that Edinburgh and Scotland were superior to London and England. Scottish Achievements in the Enlightenment period gave the city the right to claim that it was now the civilizing influence within Great Britain and the empire…although Edinburgh was still defining itself in relation to London, it was claiming an identity that in some ways usurped the role of the capital." Lowrey, "From Caesarea to Athens Greek Revival Edinburgh and the Question of Scottish Identity within the Unionist State ". 150.
[439] An attempt to rebrand the National Monument along this idea of the 'Scottish romantic' can be identified in a souvenir book of Holyrood Abbey of 1849, which displays images of the Abbey Ruins, Mary, Queen of Scots, John Knox, Robert the Bruce and images of the Old Town, alongside GM Kemp's drawing of the completed National Monument from the 1830s.

connections to a local area,[440] rather than the promotion of national Government interests.[441] These therefore memorialised people who represented specific cultural or political ideas, rather than fostering emulation and encouraging good citizenship through the abstract allegory of architectural rhetoric.[442] This is particularly emphasised in the design of the Edinburgh Scott monument (1844), which from the outset was to include a sculpture of Scott in its design, rather than using its architectural language to represent the author, suggesting that it was the author, himself who was to be commemorated, rather than his position and achievements.[443] On Calton Hill, this manifested itself in the development of the New Calton Burial ground. As focus shifted away from the summit of the hill as a commemorative utopia, this alternative commemorative landscape was being developed on the south eastern side of the hill, in which a high number of the burials in the first 20 years of the site are of men with a connection to

[440] Yarrington also discussed this with reference to the Nelson monuments that were being erected throughout the country during this period. "Public awareness and appreciation of patriotic heroism was manifested on a local, rather than national level, provincial monuments to national heroes with strong local connections being more successful overall than large national monuments raised in London. Whilst it was possible to stimulate provincial pride with suggestions of rivalry between cities or counties using public monuments as symbols of civic achievement, it was difficult to promote similar feelings nationally. Evidence of this was provided during the war years by Nelson Monuments. Whilst Birmingham, Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool and Portsmouth all successfully raised monuments to the hero in public places, no national monument was raised by public subscription in the capital." Yarrington, "The Commemoration of the Hero 1800-1864 : Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars". 327.

[441] *"Not surprisingly then, a sequence of highly visible monuments celebrating Dundas, Nelson, Burns and the National Monument or 'Parthenon' remembering those who had fallen in the Napoleonic campaigns- the cult of the heroic dead – were neo-classical in form, as were sculptures of Pitt and George IV. Hellenic ascendancy dominated architectural design in Edinburgh until the 1840s. However, from the 1830s the unitary British state ceded additional powers to Town Councils and the local bourgoisie to such an extent that Westminster was not the prime focus of the 'governing' civil society. The degree of local autonomy exercised by the Edinburgh bourgoisie over the running of institutions, therefore, in part explains the resurgence of a national identity in the built environment of the Scottish Capital. Empowered by Westminster and enshrined by statue, a Scottish identity flourished not in opposition to but in association with the British state."* Rodger, *The Transformation of Edinburgh : Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century*.471-2.

[442] This is considered in Johnny Rodger's paper on the Burns monument, where he explains this as *"The Cult of the Hero overtak[ing] the cult of the state."* John Rodger and Gerard Carruthers, *Fickle Man : Robert Burns in the 21st Century* (Dingwall: Sandstone, 2009).

[443] Walker, "National Romanticism and the Architecture of the City."

the British Navy.[444] This Naval connection can be read as a statement of Calton Hill's links to the port of Leith, which the monument to Lord Nelson, and astronomical observatory with its associations had striven to establish.

New Calton Burial Ground was opened in 1817[445] by the Incorporated Trades of Calton. It was made up of land that was sold to the Incorporated Trades by Edinburgh Town Council in 1816,[446] in addition to land that had been given to them in lieu of ground lost from the (Old) Calton Burial Ground, during the development of Regent Road.[447] This landscape, unlike the summit, was to be 'out of view' of the new housing development higher up the hill on Regent Terrace.[448] Despite this, its formalized layout and planting has been recognised by recent scholars of memorial landscapes as providing

[444] Mitchell, *Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions (Pre 1855). Vol. 1, Old Calton Burial Ground, New Calton Burial Ground*, Turnbull, *The Edinburgh Graveyard Guide*.

[445] The first interments in New Calton were the numerous bodies brought from the displaced part of the Old Calton Burial ground. These are now found in the northern part of the site, near the entrance. Bodies interred in individual plots with associated headstones in this area of Old Calton were transported and re-interred in new plots in the new burial ground. Hence, there are several stones, which pre-date the existence of this site. See Peter McGowan Associates, "064 New Calton Burial Ground," in Edinburgh: Survey of Gardens and Designed Landscapes (City of Edinburgh Council, 2007). A description and photographs of one of these that originates to the 18th century can be found in Betty Willsher, "Midlothian and Edinburgh " in *Survey of Scottish Gravestones* (National Monuments Record for Scotland c.1990s?).

[446] Minutes of the Incorporated Trades of Calton, 1st February 1816, SL110/1/6, Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh. The area is first marked out as a burial ground on the Kirkwood Map of 1817, but no burial plots are identified on this map (Plate 2.28) According to Gifford et al., *Edinburgh*. The burial ground became open to visitors in 1820. Kirkwood's 1821 map (Plate 2.29) shows burial plots around the curtilege of this site. NB. Monuments were erected within Old Calton burial ground even after New Calton was opened. This includes the 1844 Monument to Political Martyrs (Plate 2.30) and the Emancipation monument of 1893 (Plate 2.31). See *The Lincoln Monument in Memory of the Scottish-American Soldiers*, (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1893).

[447] See Section 1. "We must look to the extension of the line of Princes Street to the Calton Hill…It unfortunately happens, however, that if carried in a direct line it must pass through the Calton Burying Ground. There was time indeed, when, without encroachment upon the Burying ground, the road could have been made with a curve to the southward of Hume the historian's tomb; but of late years the walls of the burying ground have been extended to the verge of precipitous rocks." Taken from Stevenson's report to Heriot's hospital in Stevenson, D. Life of Robert Stevenson 1878. 78.

[448] Edinburgh Town Council Minutes, 20th August 1817, SL1.

a different effect to other burial grounds and graveyards of a similar date,[449] which has prompted some debate over its influence in the Garden Cemetery Movement.[450] This stems from an observation about the stylistic 'House Tombs' (Plate 2.32) that are identified in New Calton, and their similarity to those found at Pere Lachaise - the first real 'landscaped cemetery.'[451] However, the tombs type in Scotland is already to be found at Greyfriar's Kirkyard from the 16th century and most possibly is a continuation of a stylistic influence taken from European masons working on memorials in Greyfriar's during this period.[452]

The thirty years after New Calton's establishment comprised a period of substantial development, which included the development of access routes into the site, the construction of boundary walls and the laying out of the grounds by the Superintendent of City Works, Thomas Brown.[453] In Curl's 1983 paper, which links New Calton to the Garden Cemetery Movement, he states that John Claudius Louden, the founder of the Garden Cemetery Movement "wrote approvingly" of New Calton, which could have been influential in the development of his ideas about cemetery reform in the 1840s. The publication of Curl's article has since resulted in New Calton being considered as a possible precursor to his influential theories on cemetery design; but this has never been wholly substantiated. The quotes

[449]Boyle et al., *Ruins and Remains : Edinburgh's Neglected Heritage*. 66, Peter McGowan Associates, "064 New Calton Burial Ground." 4.
[450] James Stevens Curl, "John Claudius Loudon and the Garden Cemetery Movement," *Garden History* 11, no. 2 (1983).
[451] Ibid.
[452] Carter McKee, Kirsten. *The development of the monument and the memorial landscape in Scotland*. Conference paper delivered at the Death in Scotland Conference, Edinburgh, Jan 2014.
[453] Colvin, "A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840." 169. This is also shown in both the map-based evidence and from plans currently held in the NMRS that date to this period. The graveyard was developed during this period from north to south, being laid out in a series of vaults that stepped down from the hill in a manner that distorts the size and number of graves when viewed from the entrance. This is due to the steep sloping ground that the burial ground was created upon. See Gifford et al., *Edinburgh*., 1991. 438 and William Pitcairn Anderson, *Silences That Speak. Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds, with Biographical Sketches of the Notables Who Rest There* (Edinburgh,1931). 616.

provided in Curl's article are not, in fact by Loudon, but are by a 'Mr. Brown, Esq.' in an article published in *Gardeners Magazine* on the cemeteries of Edinburgh and Leith dated to 1842.[454] It is therefore likely that Thomas Brown, the Superintendent of City Works and the person associated with the laying out of New Calton was the author of the text. As Loudon was editor of the journal in which the article was published, he would no doubt have been aware of Brown's article, but there is no mention of either New Calton or Thomas Brown's article in Loudon's seminal work on the Garden Cemetery to suggest that the layout of New Calton burial ground was influential to his theories. It is more likely that Brown's laying of out the cemetery was a continuation of his methods in his landscaping of Princes Street Gardens, which he carried out alongside Playfair, Hamilton and William Gilpin, the English artist and landscape designer.[455] In this way therefore, he was contemporaneous to Loudon in his application of landscape theory to memorial landscapes, although his output was nowhere near as influential in the later development of the memorial landscape.

[454]See John Claudius Loudon, "The Principles of Landscape-Gardening and of Landscape-Architecture Applied to the Laying out of Public Cemeteries and the Improvement of Churchyards; Including Observations on the Working and General Management of Cemeteries and Burial-Grounds.," *The Gardners Magazine and register of rural and domestic improvement* 1843.

[455] It is not well known that Playfair also laid out the area of Princes Street gardens to the east of the Mound from 1826, including the construction of the banked terraces on which the Scott Monument was built in 1844. In 1828 he also laid out the gardens on the other side of the Mound in collaboration with 'William Gilpin' (William Sawrey Gilpin, who was nephew to Rev William Gilpin, Author of Observations over the River Wye) and Thomas Hamilton.

Section 2: Conclusion

The evolution of the memorial from graveyards and churches into the urban realm came about contemporaneously with the fervour surrounding the late 18th-century campaigns against the French, and in particular the Napoleonic wars. Memorial structures were displayed to celebrate the success of British government policies in the Napoleonic Campaigns, in order to instil confidence the State and Monarchy, and to evade the threat of civil unrest.

Within this context, the monuments of Calton Hill followed the practice of placing structures within an urban realm, in an area that was to better establish Edinburgh's role within Britain, and promote its importance within the Empire (as was already discussed in Section 1). However, with the exception of the monument to Lord Nelson, those who were to be commemorated within this urban landscape were not representative of the British State, but rather marked the significance of the Scottish contribution to the British Idea. In this manner, the allegorical nature of the classical architecture used on this site conducted a dialogue, which was not only to glorify the successes of the British State, but also to claim Scotland's role within that success.

This strive to define Scotland's identity within the British State began to evolve through its cultural outputs in more definitive ways as the 19th-century continued. Through the influence of the literature of Sir Walter Scott, and the increasing industrialisation of the city with the establishment of the railways in the1850s,[456] Scots moved away from the use of Classical allegory towards the gothic romanticism associated with pre-reformation Scotland for characterising its identity. This looked to specific characters and used cultural heroes to make outward displays of nationhood, rather than the abstract architectural rhetoric of Greek Revival Classicism used by those

[456] "The Highlandization of Scottish culture and the celebration of rural values was largely a middle class response to the demand for nostalgia in an increasingly urbanised and industrialised society"Richard J. Finlay, "Caledonia or North Britiain?," in Image and Identity : The Making and Re-Making of Scotland Throught the Ages, ed. Dauvit Broun, Richard J. Finlay, and Michael Lynch (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998). 153.

involved in the development of the site. The result of this was that within a decade of being conceived, and before it was even finished, the classical landscape of Calton Hill was out of touch with Scottish notions of what represented Scottish identity. As a result, the hill never achieved the ambitions of the Scottish elite to become an *Urban Arcadia* - instead, project proposals halted and interest in the completion of the National Monument waned, as its classical architecture came to be perceived as a representation of the British elite, and those who supported and ran it, rather than the Scots nation as a whole. This became ever more defined as the 19th-century continued and the gothic baronial came to represent a Scottish identity that tapped into a culture of romanticising a golden era of Scotland in a pre-reformation pre-union age. This reinvented medieval visual culture and looked to influences from former allies on the European mainland, further substantiating Scotland as a separate cultural entity from the established British identity, which for the main, tended to be reflective of English culture. By the early 20th century therefore Scotland had developed an identity which sat more comfortably within the cultural melting pot of British Imperial society, rather than as a part of the British State.

Section 3: Unionism to Nationalism

Around the early 1830s, Scottish society began to define Scottish nationhood through different cultural genres to those used in the immediate post-Napoleonic period. As the 19th century continued into the early 20th century, the shift away from classicism as an allegorical discourse on Scottish identity - which had sprung from collective Unionist-Nationalist pride in the early 19th century - became ever more prominent. As Scottish culture further separated itself from the collective culture of a unified British State that was displayed through neoclassical architecture, it looked to revivalist aesthetic styles that were more closely associated with a Scottish medieval golden age as a better representation of Scottish culture and Scotland as a nation.[457] This resulted in the classical structures on Calton Hill no longer being viewed as part of the discourse surrounding Scotland's role in the British State, but instead representing elite governance and control over Scottish affairs. Although Calton Hill was used largely as a pleasure ground throughout the 19th century, its classical aesthetic - created by a laissez-faire governance system of local organisations that managed Scottish society in the absence of state authority during the 19th-century - continued to maintain the presence of the governing elite on the site. However, the grandiose visions of those in positions of influence to create Calton Hill into an exclusive elite space were stymied by the presence of long established lower class pursuits, which ensured that despite the presence of classical structures, the site continued to be used and populated by the lower tiers of Edinburgh society.[458] The conscious class divide that existed between those with the decision-making powers for the hill, and those who used the hill on a daily basis exacerbated the sense of disjunction on the hill, as the presence of these pursuits alongside the classical architecture only served to further highlight the extreme poverty wretchedness of the lower classes in 19th century society.

[457] Morris and Morton, "The Re-Making of Scotland:A Nation within a Nation, 1850-1920."14.

[458] Despite discussions on public architecture in the early 19th-century19th-century setting out the purpose of architecture being for the greater good of society. In particular Wood's literature. See Section 2 for further discussion on this.

This created a fissure in the identity of the hill as an area dedicated to the glorification of the British State, instead highlighting flaws in the governance of the Scottish populace at both a state and municipal level.

This final section therefore focuses on how Calton Hill's identity was challenged through the heightening discourse surrounding class issues, Scottish national identity and the role of Scotland in the British Empire that occurred during the later 19th and early 20th centuries. It considers how these factors influenced and determined the manner and purpose of the architecture established on - and proposed for - Calton Hill during this period, and considers how the architectural genres chosen for later proposals on the site add to broader discourses in Scottish culture and politics that led to the establishment of the Scottish Office in the 1930s.

Both chapters in this section consider the significance of the unique manner in which Scottish affairs were managed in shaping both the architectural style and typology on the hill that had evolved by the late 1930s. In doing this, it aims to further decipher the site's links to Scottish political nationalism that emerged during the 20th century. The first chapter focuses mainly on the dichotomy between the elite and the populist perspectives of Calton Hill, and how these evolved through the changing social context of the 19th-century. In particular as the hill's reputation shifted from a platform for state ideology to common public ground, it explores why and in what manner those who were involved in the management of the site sought to regulate development after 1830. The second chapter continues the story of the demise of the National Monument project after 1828, and follows this into the 20th century legacy of Calton Hill, by considering the evolving definition of Scottish national identity and its emergence out with an Imperial context. In particular, it considers the dialogue that was being held regarding state governance over national affairs during the 20th century and how the role of the hill in this discourse can be recognised through a variance of stylistic cultural outputs on the site.

Chapter 6: The Elite Perspective and the Populist Reality

In 1831, the monumental sculptor, Robert Forrest, was invited by Robert Linning as head of the National Monument Committee to open a 'public exhibition of statuary' at the site of the National Monument.[459] Forrest had gained notoriety in Edinburgh in the late 1820s for his sculpture of Lord Melville for William Burn's 1822 Melville Monument in St Andrews Square,[460]and it was hoped that his exhibition would continue interest and public support in the site's development as a national pantheon to house 'monumental busts and statues.'

Forrest's 1832 exhibition consisted of four equestrian statues in grayish Lesmahagow sandstone, known as Liver Rock, placed in the area behind the completed columns.[461] The statueswere a blend of Scottish cultural folklore and British political triumph,[462] fused together through classical inferences in the costume and composition of the subjects.[463] The idea to place the statues

---

[459] "Obituary- Mr Robert Forrest, Sculptor," *The Gentleman's Magazine* March 1853. 324

[460] Who was cited by Forrest as *"one of the most illustrious names in Scottish, or any other history,"* Joe Rock, "Robert Forrest (1789-1852) and His Exhibition on the Calton Hill," *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 7 (New Series) (2008).

[461] These were: The Duke of Wellington, The Duke of Marlborough, Mary Queen of Scots with Lord Herries and Robert the Bruce and the Monk of Baston. See Anon, "Equestrian Statues", *Scotsman,* July 28th 1832.

[462] Robert Forrest, "Descriptive Catalogue of Statuary from the Chisel of Mr Robert Forrest," (Edinburgh: Thomas Allan & co. , 1835). 4.

[463] Bruce was depicted in Roman Costume and standing next to his horse after the battle of Bannockburn (Plate 3.1). The Duke of Marlborough *"[T]he Pillar of our nation in the glorious reign of Queen Anne – the chief support and grand alliance formed to check the formidable power and encroachments of the house of Bourbon"* was also depicted in classical dress. The other two statues were clothed with more contemporaneous societal associations. The Duke of Wellington (Plate 3.2), was depicted casually leaning against his horse in his field-marshal uniform as though he is addressing his troops after the Battle of Waterloo. This statue was to be viewed as part of a pair with the statue of Marlborough, as Wellington is also considered to have "*retrieved…the ancient honour and glory of the English nation.*" The statue of Mary. Queen of Scots is noted in at least three contemporaneous texts as being previously paid complement by Sir Walter Scott - no doubt providing the sculptor with a cultural and national seal of approval. Ibid. and Anon, *Chambers Journal*, 45, 8th December 1832. http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=XWAiAQAAMAAJ&lpg=PA358&ots=VJcAiVh4lQ&dq=robert%20the%20bruce%20and%20the%20monk%20of%20baston&pg=

at the site of the National Monument was at the outset considered to be a mutually beneficial one, as focus on the summit of Calton Hill and the National Monument would be sustained through continued public interest in the site by a thematically relevant exhibition, while Forrest would have somewhere to display his work and boost his own reputation as a sculptor. However, as the construction of the National Monument continued to be in abeyance throughout the 1830s, Forrest further added to his collection on the hill[464] to the point where his occupation of the site was considered an unseemly blight on the hill's landscape - particularly the large wooden hut that had been erected in front of the National Monument to house his sculptures (Plate 3.3).

By the time proposals for the completion of the National Monument were mooted in the 1840s, Forrest's (now large) collection of a variety of statues from history and fiction - initially received with positive response from the public[465] was considered to bring down the 'tone' of the hill[466] and put any further proposals for the completion of the National Monument in jeopardy.[467] Though heavily condemned, first by art critics,[468] then by the National Monument committee, Forrest's exhibition was not the reason that the National Monument project resulted in failure, or the reason why focus

---

PA358#v=onepage&q&f=false, Forrest, "Descriptive Catalogue of Statuary from the Chisel of Mr Robert Forrest.", Robert Forrest, *Descriptive Account of the Exhibition of Statuary, National Monument, Calton Hill, Edinburgh, by Robert Forrest, Sculptor* ([Edinburgh: s.n.], 1846), ———, *Forrest's Statuary, within Area of National Monument, Calton Hill, Edinburgh ... Catalogue of Statues* ([Edinburgh?,1850).

[464] Forrest, *Descriptive Account of the Exhibition of Statuary, National Monument, Calton Hill, Edinburgh, by Robert Forrest, Sculptor*.

[465] Anon, "Forrest's Statuary – Calton Hill." *Scotsman*, 15th September 1832.

[466] Minutes of the National Monument Committee, 20th April 1844, SL103.
"Lord Provost of Ed. Suggests Ass should instruct Mr Forrest to discontinue engaging people for the purpose of soliciting persons walking on Calton Hill to visit his exhibition – this system had been a frequent subject of complaint and the Magistrates were determined to suppress it."

[467] *"At yesterdays meeting of Edinburgh Town council notice was given of a motion to the effect that, as there was little likelihood of the National Monument on the Calton Hill being soon completed, an effort should be made to get the unseemly wooden erection surrounding it removed, and the ground railed in and laid out in a way becoming to the natural beauty of the town. "* Anon, "The National Monument ", *Scotsman*, 18th July 1849.

[468] According to Joe Rock, art critics saw it as "common and vulgar".Rock, "Robert Forrest (1789-1852) and His Exhibition on the Calton Hill."

on the development of Calton Hill as a national landscape fell out of favour so soon after 1828. It was not a straightforward matter of cause and effect, instead, its presence brings focus to a continual problem on the hill during its development in the late 18th and early 19th-century - that of perceptual 'ownership,' by Edinburgh's inhabitants.

Previous discussions in Section 1 of this thesis have defined the ownership of Calton Hill and the land to the north of the site in legal geographical terms, demonstrating that the majority of the site by the late 18th-century was owned and managed by the City as public ground, or by influential charitable institutions within the city. This resulted in many of the decisions regarding the initial development of the site's landscape being made by those who sat on the Boards of these Trusts, or on Edinburgh Town Council Committees tasked with overseeing the development of the site. However, decisions regarding the placement of structures on the hill during the late 18th, and early 19th centuries were not solely made by those who had legal rights to the ownership of the land. In fact a complicated matrix of municipal, civil and quasi-'national' organisations facilitated the establishment, funding and design of these structures, which came to embody the political perspectives and aspirations of those involved within these organisational groups.

Graeme Morton's book on the governance and management of urban Scotland during the 19th-century discusses the roles of these groups, which filtered into every aspect of society from the late 18th-century onwards.[469] Termed as Scotland's Civil Society, these ranged from council committees, set up to oversee the management of municipal projects, to scientific and literary institutions run by academics and learned gentlemen, to institutions

[469] "…Urban life in Scotland was governed by its own elites, out with central state administration and out with central state created Boards of Control and other Bureaucracies." Graeme Morton, *Unionist Nationalism : Governing Urban Scotland, 1830-1860* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1999). 46, 189.

established by the Kirk focusing on benevolent and charitable causes.[470] As in most of these organisations established within Scotland during the 19th-century, those operating in Edinburgh were made up of "an active elite," who formed a mode of self-governance at a local level that was out with central state control.[471] It is therefore suggestive from the subset of society who made up these groups, that the decisions made for the development of the city, and in particular Calton Hill, were based on agendas tending to be of interest and of benefit to those elites, rather than for the benefit of the city as a societal construct, or economic whole.[472] In respect of Calton Hill, this can be particularly seen through consideration of those involved in the instigation and erection of the National Monument, as despite its name, the National Monument was never, in fact, a "National Project" but rather, a project run and supported by organisations fronted and steered by those within elite society.[473]

During the late 18th-century, the process of decision-making on urban development projects on Calton Hill brought prestige to those on the Town Council who were involved in the projects, as well as the Council itself. Henry Raeburn's portrait of Sir James Stirling of Larbet (Plate 3.4),[474] exemplifies this, depicting Stirling sitting in a room with a window that frames a view of Robert Adam's Bridewell outside – a project that was commenced and built while he was Lord Provost of Edinburgh. It can also be identified in the Town's sanctioning of an Observatory on Calton Hill in the 1770s as a public work and their subsequent rapid disengagement with it

[470] Morton used contemporaneous Almanacs and Post Office Directories to explore the different groupings of these organisations within the city of Edinburgh to further understand the role of 'Public Life' in 19th-century Scotland. Ibid. Chapter 4.
[471] Ibid.Chapter 4.
[472] In particular, these decisions around the development of the Third New Town and the docks at Leith made during this period resulted in the city becoming bankrupt. See Thomas Hunter and Robert Porter, "Report on the Common Good of the City of Edinburgh," (Edinburgh1905). 44.
[473] As previously noted in Section 2, The Committee for the National Monument project was set up by the *Highland Society of Edinburgh*, after the proposals for the erection of National Monument in London, Edinburgh and Dublin had been discussed by Parliament in 1816.
[474] Stirling was Edinburgh Lord Provost from 1790-1800.

when the project failed in the late 1770s.[475] By the early 19th-century, and particularly after the triumphs of the Napoleonic wars, prestige deriving from the initiation and conduct of the larger urban development projects within the Third New Town was claimed by those involved in the broader 'administrative management' of Scottish society - defined by Graeme Morton as Scotland's Civil Society. In the early years of the site's development therefore, decisions were made regarding the site's development that suited elite political agendas alongside economic gain for the City and major landowners. Where previously the Town Council could hand pick projects that were of interest and benefit to them and their time in office, those in elite organisations who would directly benefit from the stronger connections to Empire, through economics and political power, pushed focus on the collective national consciousness of Empire building in the cause of city development.[476]

The debate surrounding the relocation of the Royal High School building to Calton Hill in the early 1820s emphasises the role that the local elite played in the promotion of specific agendas through city development. Prior to its placement on Calton Hill, the Royal High School had maintained a close proximity, virtually and academically, to the University of Edinburgh - the two institutions having been established within 5 years of each other in the 16th century in Kirk O'Fields.[477] When Robert Adam's new University

[475]The Lord Provost quickly withdrew responsibility and refused to pay any additional monies to either the contractors or to James Craig after the university funds for the project had depleted. David Myles Gavine, "Astronomy in Scotland 1745-1900" (Thesis for the degreee of Doctor of Philosophy, Open University, 1982)

[476] *"The Government confined that grant to the metropolis alone. ..pride and exultation in very Scottish bosom that the martial spirit of their ancestors has descended untarnished to their posterity…rehearsal of Scottish arms...It appeared to the Cttee that the most proper plan for a National Monument is to erect within the Metropolis of Scotland, in a situation hereafter to be determined, a splendid edifice, destined for the purposes of Divine Worship and, at the same time, so ornamented as to commemorate the great and prominent events….lasting proof of NATIONAL PIETY…and to serve to after ages as the strongest manifestation of our sense of obligation to those whose services this Monument is intended to commemorate."* Speech by the Duke of Atholl, Minutes of the National Monument Committee, 24th February 1819, SL103.

[477] John Lowrey, "The Polis and the Portico: The High School of the Athens of the North," in *Cast Collection Conference* (Edinburgh College of Art 2010).

premises were built on the southern side of the Old Town in the late 18th-century, the High School was also re-housed in a building that sat roughly across from the entrance (Plate 3.5).[478]

By the early 1820s however, discussions were underway by the Town Council to re-locate the High School to a new site. A demand for a larger premises to accommodate the growing numbers of pupils at the High School[479] was cited, along with the need for a more 'centrally' located building that could be accessed easily from all corners of the expanding city.[480] In particular, it was thought unacceptable that the school be located in what was considered an increasingly insalubrious part of the city, and therefore were being exposed to the repugnance of Old Town life on a daily basis.[481] However, in reviewing the discussions that accompanied the establishment of a new High School in the Edinburgh Town Council minutes,[482] it is apparent that the real push came from proposals to erect a new Academy at the north end of the New Town.[483] This was the project of Lord Henry Cockburn and Leonard Horner,[484] who proposed that the site for the Edinburgh Academy would be at the farthest point from the Old Town. Location, along with its high fees, would establish a geographical and

[478] The Royal High School has been established in the city since the 12th century. It had been housed in a number of locations throughout its 700 year lifespan.
[479] This had come about from the expansion of the city in the late 18th century.
[480] *"…[T]he extent and population of Edinburgh have of late years increased very much and …the present high school is too remote from many parts of the city, particularly the new town…The facts stated furnish… very strong reasons for removing the present school to a more centrical situation where more ample, and all necessary accommodation, may be afforded for the suitable education of the youth from all quarters of the city."* "A Letter to the Lord Provost on the Mischevous Tendency of a Scheme for Abolishing the High School of Edinburgh." 2.
[481] Ibid. 3.
[482] Edinburgh Town Council Minutes, SL1.
[483] This was later to become Edinburgh Academy, built by William Burn. Lowrey, "The Polis and the Portico: The High School of the Athens of the North."
[484] Leonard Horner (1785-1864) was a factory inspector, geologist and educationist who played an active part in the city's political and educational reform movements. In 1821 he founded the Edinburgh School of Arts, and in 1823 the Edinburgh Academy. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13803.

financial exclusion to those residing in the Old Town.[485] As the majority of High School pupils who attended the school in the early 19th-century lived in the New Town,[486] it was considered that this exclusivity would appeal to those in the higher class of society, and therefore be of detriment to the High School.[487]

The Town Council's attempt to retain control over the city's educational establishments brought forth a proposal in 1822 that the new Academy be under the aegis of the High School and two separate schools would be created- the original Old Town premises, and a newly-built establishment in the New Town.[488] Thomas Hamilton was commissioned to prepare designs for the new High School, which was proposed on the site of St James's square, adjacent to Robert Adam's Register House (Plate 3.6),[489] but this was dismissed as it continued to perpetuate concerns over the elitism that would result from having two separate schools within the two different areas of the city.[490]

---

[485] Only the most elite of Edinburgh society would be able to afford to send their sons there, in fact, the whole set up of the establishment was geared for the elite, including the curriculum. See *Committee of Contributors to the Edinburgh Academy, "Report by Committee," (Edinburgh April 1823).* and *John Campbell, "Prospectus of an Educational Institution, on Christian Principles, Proposed to Be Established in Edinburgh.," (1825).*Also, Lowrey, "The Polis and the Portico: The High School of the Athens of the North."

[486] Edinburgh Town Council, "Address from the Town Council of Edinburgh on the Subject of the New Buildings for the High School, of Which the Foundation Was Laid on 28th July 1825," (1825).2.

[487] *"The first objection which occurs to the scheme of establishing another "Great School," instead of removing the high school, is, that, according to the plan proposed, the expence of education at the proposed Academy will be so great as to exclude all but the very highest and most wealthy classes of community from its instructions."* "A Letter to the Lord Provost on the Mischevous Tendency of a Scheme for Abolishing the High School of Edinburgh." 22

[488] Edinburgh Town Council Minutes, 10th July 1822, SL1.

[489] David Walker, ed. *Scottish Pioneers of the Greek Revival* ([Edinburgh]: Scottish Georgian Society,1984). 32-33. Further information on the style of this structure is also discussed in Section 2, Footnotes.

[490] "It is most desirable that no class, however humble, should be excluded entirely from the means of attaining the best education." "A Letter to the Lord Provost on the Mischevous Tendency of a Scheme for Abolishing the High School of Edinburgh." 4.

In addition to the exclusive location of the new Academy, those who were involved in the proposal for the school also intended to provide an exclusive style of education. For a number of years, there had been concerns over the Latin style of classical education offered by the High School - in particular, the 'Scots' pronunciation of Latin, and a preference for Latin over Greek in its classical curriculum. The Academy was to provide a more Etonian, anglicised style of education so that pupils from elite families in Edinburgh would be able to 'challenge the stranglehold' of the public schools on Oxbridge, and access the influence and power that an Oxbridge education fostered. It was therefore this challenge to an English stronghold on establishment power in Great Britain and Empire that those who were behind the development of the Academy really looked to achieve in the building of a new school for the city.[491]

The suggestion to *'convert[ing] the Parthenon of Athens into the great hall of our National Academy'* on the Mound into the new Royal High School,[492] which would '*… combine the splendour of classic, with the glories of our own times, in the young and ardent associations of our sons'* therefore further fostered the idea that a new establishment would be built to educate Scots to become the British leaders of tomorrow,[493] rather than provide a feeder school of the Edinburgh University. Subscribers to the National Monument were appealed to, to assist in raising support and funds for the new High School to be established as part of the National Monument this premise, as it was

[491] Lowrey, "The Polis and the Portico: The High School of the Athens of the North."
[492] "*It has been suggested…that the new high school shall be erected on the earthen mound, or in its vicinity, as the best situation in every point of view for accommodating the whole population of the city… It is disposed therefore, not as an indispensable part of any plan for removing the High School to the only open space in the midst of the city, but as a subject for consideration that the great hall or national monument be placed near the north end of the Earthen Mound, opposite to the opening of Hanover Street. In that situation it would be visible from a great many parts, and over a considerable extent of the Old and New Town: it would add another to the very few public buildings which it contains, while it would not interfere with any other view or object, but would give, in the very bosom of the city, a character more truly attic to our metropolis than any other edifice which it contains. Above all it would unite utility with ornament…*" "A Letter to the Lord Provost on the Mischevous Tendency of a Scheme for Abolishing the High School of Edinburgh." 22, 25.
[493] Ibid. 25.

considered that *"…there is no purpose to which it can be supplied so appropriate as the erection of a great national school, in which the youth, not of Edinburgh, but from every quarter in Scotland, are to be trained to serve their country in all departments of public life… let the fabric be connected with the youth of the country."*[494]

As the Town Council did not build the proposed new structure in time to satisfy the subscribers to the new Academy building, Cockburn and Horner commissioned William Burn to design and build the structure on their original plot at the North end of the New Town. This, in essence freed up the Town Council to develop a new High School building on their own terms on Calton Hill. Yet, the design also incorporated concerns that it believed would satisfy the aspirations of its elite students.) The hill's proximity to the National Monument and its location within an Imperial landscape were no doubt part of that message which the Town Council wished to portray to the students of the Royal High School. In addition, as the only educational establishment on the hill up to this point had been Joseph Lancaster's school for educating the poor, it provided further opportunity to establish elite control over the educational presence on the hill.[495] Rather than the route to the city school passing through the insalubrious characters located on the North Bridge, its pupils would walk along Waterloo Place, past Archibald Elliot's retaining walls for the Old Calton Burial ground (Plate 3.7), in which would be placed memorial busts and statues of characters of great inspiration, piety and patriotic valour.[496] On reaching the school, they would

[494] This was proposed to be *"adorned every side with statues and other memorials of Abercromby, of Moore, of Burns, and of other lights in the Land either gone or not yet faded away – would be an arrangement which ought to reconcile the views of all parties, and to secure for this monument the deserved and distinctive epithet of national."*Ibid. "A Letter to the Lord Provost on the Mischevous Tendency of a Scheme for Abolishing the High School of Edinburgh." 24.

[495] The original school was a long, low building Lancastrian School on top of Calton hill. Established in 1812 by the "Society for Promoting the Lancasterian System for the Education of the Poor." It was placed on the summit where it was then "the fashion to stow away anything that was too abominable to be tolerated elsewhere." Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time*. 256-258.

[496] These niches follow the wall all the way along into Regent Road and would no doubt have created a walk of contemplation, similar to that established by the

be confronted by "*an erection…of ornamental character…[which would] be a conspicuous object from many points, and particularly prominent on entering the town by the splendid approach of the Regent's Road…[which] harmoniz…[es]… with the magnificence of the surrounding scenery.*"[497]

The site that was decided upon as the location for the new High School at Calton Hill therefore elevated local concern regarding a local institution to a national level, whilst also attempting to incorporate the old establishment order. The space afforded by siting the building on Calton Hill meant that only one building would be required and there would be no need to split the school between two sites in the Old and New Town, [498] while its placement on the hill allowed the architect, Thomas Hamilton, to create both visual and geographical links with the National Monument on the hill's summit. Hamilton's insightful proposal for the structure considered the placement of the building, which would sit on a curve in Regent Road, [499] halfway up the hill (Plate 3.8). His interpretation of Le Roy's Propylaea (Plate 3.9), the gateway to the Athenian acropolis provided opportunity to contribute to Calton Hill's Ancient Greek eminence, whilst its horizontal dominance satisfied William Stark's contention that structures are "*finer when seen from a moderate elevation…skirting the brow of the hill.*"[500] In addition, the Propylaea's

---

arches at George Heriot's School on the south side of the city. Giovanna Guidicini, " A Scottish Triumphal Path of Learning at George Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh," *International Review of Scottish Studies* 35 (2010).

[497] Edinburgh Town Council, "Address from the Town Council of Edinburgh on the Subject of the New Buildings for the High School, of Which the Foundation Was Laid on 28th July 1825." 2.

[498] William Ross, on his monograph of the High School notes that it was the salubrious air, and space available for the building and its grounds at Calton Hill general that determined the site of the new School. William C. A. Ross, *The Royal High School* (Edinburgh,1934). 31-32.

[499] "There is in bending alignment of streets much beauty. Public buildings break upon the eye the most favourable point of view, showing at once a front and a flank" Quoted in Fisher, "Thomas Hamilton." 39 Taken from Stark, *Report to the Right Honourable the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City of Edinburgh, and the Governors of George Heriot's Hospital ... On the Plans for Laying out the Grounds for Buildings between Edinburgh and Leith*. 8.

[500] Stark, *Report to the Right Honourable the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City of Edinburgh, and the Governors of George Heriot's Hospital ... On the Plans for Laying out the Grounds for Buildings between Edinburgh and Leith*. 17.

purpose as a gateway building to the Acropolis, no doubt provided appropriate references to the School's purpose as providing education as a gateway to Imperial opportunities, whilst also displaying a renewed emphasis on Grecian classicism within the curriculum. By therefore fully removing its geographical association with the University and placing the structure on Calton Hill, the school no longer sat in the shadow of Academia, but instead basked in the celestial light of Imperial grandeur.

Further examples of elite autonomy guiding the development of the hill can be identified in the proposed re-siting of the gothic 15th century Trinity College Chapel (Plate 3.10) on Calton Hill during the early 1850s. Following the driving of the railway through the chapel's original site within the Waverley Valley in 1848, and following an outcry at its planned demolition, an alternative location for this pre-reformation structure was sought.[501] A number of locations in the city were considered.[502]They included two sites on the south side of Calton Hill - the first, a site near the foot of the access steps to the top of Calton Hill, and the second on the site of the Burns monument.[503]

A watercolour showing the proposed site for Trinity College was prepared by David Bryce (Plate 3.11).[504] This depicts the placement of the church at the entrance to the steps leading up to the arcadian classical summit,[505] from

[501] See David Rhind, "Documents and Correspondence Relative to Trinity College Church," (Edinburgh Thomas Constable, 1848).

[502] Alternative sites were considered within Edinburgh Castle, Holyrood Palace, Greyfriars, Princes Street Gardens, Market Street and Leith Wynd.

[503] The area originally proposed for the relocation of the church at Ireland's Woodyard, located in the Waverley Valley close to the original site on the south side of the railway. However, once the railway company had settled the sum of £16,000 by means of compensation, the Town Council considered such substantial investment in a development that would solely benefit the poor, to be a waste of civic opportunity. Report by the Lord Provosts Committee regarding Trinity College Church, Minutes of the Trinity Hospital Committee, 25th January 1853, SL152, Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh.

[504](1803-1876). The architect of Fettes College.
http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=100014.

[505] According to the Town Council Minutes, this was placed at the back of Calton Convening Rooms, at the steps leading up to Calton Hill the site procured by Black had not only been too small for the erection of the Chapel, but that Rock House,

which *"commanding position…[it would] be seen, not only along Waterloo Place, but from several quarters of the city."*[506] The second site on Calton Hill was located on the site of the – already built - Burns Monument, which was to be removed and placed elsewhere.[507] Of the two sites, this one would have made more sense overall, as a plan of the area (Plate 3.12) demonstrates that this development would have resulted in the church being adjacent to the New Calton Burial Ground, provifing a small parish church and a burial site for the residents of Greenside. The proposals for the placement of Trinity chapel in such prominent positions on Calton Hill show that the gothic structure was considered of architectural or historical merit. This is supported by Robert William Billings, in his publication on *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, where he states that "*with the exception of Holyrood Chapel, Trinity College Church was the finest example of Gothic architecture in Edinburgh,"*[508] as with detailing similar to that of Roslin chapel, but on a larger scale, its ornamentation was considered worthy of minute examination and study.

Despite Billings, and the Town Council's appreciation of Trinity Chapel's grandeur, the re-siting of Trinity Chapel was challenged when it was apparent that in removing the Kirk from its location in the Canongate, it would provide a place of religious worship for the inhabitants of Calton Hill to the detriment of those who lived in some of the poorest conditions in the city.

The church, which had been founded in 1462 by Mary of Gueldres, consort of James II, was closely associated with the charitable trust of Trinity Hospital, which was set up to give alms to the poor.[509] In this manner, both the church

---

which was then occupied by Octavius Hill, would also have had to be removed to fulfil this proposal. See Edinburgh Town Council Minutes, 25th March 1852, SL1.

[506] Lord Provosts Committee, "Report by the Lord Provosts Committee Regarding Trinity College Church," (25th January 1853).

[507] At the cost of an extra £1800 for the Burns' monument's removal and resurrection. Hugh Miller, "Trinity College Church Versus the Burns Monument," *The Witness*, 5th March 1856.

[508] Robert William Billings, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1852). Vol II. 170-171.

[509] The same trust that incidentally owned a large proportion of the area proposed for development as the Third New Town. See Section 1.

and the Trust continued in one of the poorest parts of the city up until the church and Hospital's removal in 1845.[510] By removing the chapel from near the Canongate, and placing it on the hill for the benefit of those residing in the exclusive properties at Playfair's Royal, Regent and Carlton Terrace, Trinity's removal from the Old Town would become inaccessible to those who needed the most help, both financially and spiritually.

> *…[T]he parish [currently] attached to the Trinity church is one of the most destitute in Edinburgh, and one the most devoid of religious ordinances. In passing through the Canongate, countrywards on a Sabbath afternoon, we have seen more of the people who never attend any church lounging at the close-heads than would have filled the church of the Holy Trinity thrice over. But not such the character of the locality in which it is proposed to re-erect it. The inhabitants of Regent and Carlton Terrace belong mainly to the upper ranks, - the people of Norton Place and comely green to the Middle classes; they are church goers already; and a new church in the district would be of no use to them, and would bear no moral effect on the community at large…*[511]

Hugh Miller's[512] comments in his 1856 article opposing the proposal for the re-siting of Trinity Chapel[513] further highlights the social discrepancies between those who were to benefit from urban redevelopment in the city, and those who actually needed it. The placement of the Chapel in a prominent position on the south side of the hill shows that the priorities of the Town Council lay with enhancing the urban landscape of the hill, rather than providing poor relief and investment in the city where it was sorely needed.[514] In fact, despite the efforts of the Town Council to resurrect the complete structure on Calton Hill - which included the careful recording, photographing,[515] and numbering of the stones during

[510] Billings, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*. Vol II. 170-171.
[511] Hugh Miller, "Trinity College Church Versus the Burns Monument," *The Witness* 5th March 1856.
[512] 1802-1856. Geologist and Writer.
[513] Miller, "Trinity College Church Versus the Burns Monument."
[514]This is further supported when it is considered that the church that was built to serve the parish of Greenside (Plate 3.13) in 1851, although built by James Gillespie Graham was of no architectural significance and was placed on the north side of the hill in a much less prominent position. I am indebted to John Lowrey for bringing this to my attention.
[515] This was done by Bryce, and was apparently his first foray into photography. From the date of the Kirk's destruction, and the evidence found in the Hill and

its demolition for the railway[516] - when Robert Billings was finally commissioned to rebuild the chapel in the Old Town in 1872, only the original apse of Trinity was used. It is possible that a reduced version of this structure was erected in the Old Town, as it was not considered right to place what was considered such an impressive and grandiose building in a poor area of the city.[517]

Despite the best efforts of those within the elite to create an ornamental landscape on Calton Hill, the poorer inhabitants of the city had been a constant presence throughout its development. Through the establishment of the Royal High School and the Astronomical Observatory designed by William H. Playfair, development on Calton Hill placed emphasis on establishing a relationship with scholarly society residing in the New Town and the hill. In addition, the dominance of elite pursuits on the hill would help to eradicate, or at the very least discourage the presence of less salubrious activities and persons on the site who had easy and direct access to the hill from the Old Town at Jacob's Ladder.[518] The image of the Royal High School in Shepherd's *Modern Athens*![519] (Plate 3.14) for example,

---

Adamson archive in Glasgow, it is possible that he may have been advised and assisted in this venture by Hill and Adamson.
http://www.gla.ac.uk/services/specialcollections/collectionsa-z/hilladamson/

[516] The stones were carefully numbered and placed on the slope to the south of Regent Road, where they lay for 25 years.

[517] The suitability of grandiose structures in working class neighbourhoods was considered during this period elsewhere. See Lucy MacClintock, "Monumentality Versus Suitability: Viollet-Le-Duc's Saint Gimer at Carcassonne," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 40, no. 3 (1981).

[518] *"True, they have a public walk round Calton Hill, but that is merely a thing of yesterday; and though they have place upon the top of it a monument to Lord Nelson, modelled exactly after a dutch skipper's spy-glass, or a butter-churn; an astronomical observatory, tasteful enough in its design, but not much bigger than a decent rat trap, or a twelfth cake at the Mansion House; and are to build "the national monument;" yet they have never thought of planting so much as a thistle, but have left the summit of the hill in all its native bleakness, and allowed it to be so much infested by lazy blackguards and barefooted washerwomen , as to be unsafe for respectable females even at noon day; - while after dusk this, the most fashionable promenade of the Athens, is habitually the scene of so much and so wanton vice, that instead of an ornament to the city, as it might easily be made, it is a nuisance and a disgrace."* Robert Mudie, *The Modern Athens : A Dissection and Demonstration of Men and Things in the Scotch Capital*, The second edition. ed. (London: Printed for Knight and Lacey, 1825).

[519] Shepherd and Britton, *Modern Athens! Displayed in a Series of Views: Or Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century: Exhibiting the Whole of the New Buildings, Modern Improvements, Antiquities, and Picturesque Scenery, of the Scottish Metropolis and Its Environs*.

illustrates this attempt disengagement of the hill from the Old Town, by distancing this emblem of enlightenment knowledge[520] from the grim reality of the poverty in the Canongate below.[521] G.M. Kemp's image of Calton Hill from Salisbury Crags (Plate 3.15) c. 1830 betrays a consciousness of this opposition by setting the Arcadian aspirations of the National Monument Committee in a distant celestial light whilst removing the Old Town completely by cleverly obstructing all but the Castle from view. Images of the hill from a closer viewpoint, however, provide an alternative perspective of those who frequented and used Calton Hill in their day-to-day lives. JMW Turner's 1819 sketch of *'Edinburgh from Calton Hill & Heriot's Hospital'*, (Plate 3.16) and Francois A. Pernot's sketch entitled *Edimbourg. Vu du Calton Hill* from 1827[522] (Plate 3.17) for example, capture the presence of the washerwomen on the hill – as commented on by Robert Mudie - alongside other characters who, by their dress, are evidently from the lower classes of Edinburgh society, and who would have resided in the Old Town. These present what appear to be a more realistic context of the hill within the city, and suggest that a discord existed between those who were involved in placing the architecture on the site during the early 19th-century, and the society who actually used the hill.

These social divisions apparent in the management of the site were recognised through the use of the hill and its structures. By 1847, around the time of the proposals for Trinity Chapel, a second panorama from Calton Hill was published. It showed that despite the efforts of the elite to endow the hill with an elevated character through its architectural enhancement, in reality, nothing had changed.[523] The establishment of classical monumental edifices

[520] It has been considered that the style of the building proclaimed the renewed emphasis on the teaching of Greek in the schools curriculum See Fisher, "Thomas Hamilton."
[521] The industrialisation of the city and the destitute air of the barefoot woman who has evidently just buried her children's father is suggestive of this.
[522] Capital Collections, no. 14700.
http://www.capitalcollections.org.uk/index.php?WINID=1390135469444.
[523] See (Plates 3.18a and 3.18b). These depict both washerwomen bleaching sheets right next to middle class women taking a stroll on the hill.

had not brought about an arcadian landscape of sublimity, morality and national pride frequented by the elite, as respectable couples still promenaded a hill frequented by washerwomen and barefooted children. Instead, its architecture became a picturesque backdrop to touristic pleasure walk within the city, frequented by the broad spectrum of the populace for a variety of activities.

Its draw as a tourist site by the mid 1830s resulted in Maria Short's Camera Obscura[524] being erected alongside the rapidly expanding exhibition of Forrest's statuary[525], and the presence of these tourist attractions, alongside the Nelson Monument further removed any serious opportunity for the development of national discourse on the site. [526] Nevertheless, the presence of these two structures, denote that even before the arrival of Maria Short's "wooden showbox"[527] on Calton Hill – as Lord Cockburn disparagingly called it[528] – there were two tiers of structures operating on the site; one for the elite gentleman scholar, and one for the everyday common populace.

---

http://www.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-000-126-115-C.

[524] Maria Short was Granddaughter to Thomas Short (See Section 1), who had been the instigator of the original observatory on the Calton Hill in the late 1770s. This had been set up after a Maria Short returned to Edinburgh citing that the Town Council had taken advantage of her Grandfather's/Father's ill health and they had used "legal trickery" that had dened her of what was legally hers to own. Edinburgh Town Council Minutes, 8th January 1828, SL1. See also Gavine, "Astronomy in Scotland 1745-1900".

[525] Denoted by the number of Wooden huts erected adjacent to the monument. Plate 3.3.

[526] This was the second Camera Obscura cited on the Calton Hill, the first being housed in the Gothic Tower until 1839. For further detailed information on the history of Astronomy on Calton Hill, please refer to Gavine, "Astronomy in Scotland 1745-1900".

[527] Henry Cockburn Cockburn, *Journal of Henry Cockburn; Being a Continuation of the Memorials of His Time. 1831-1854* (Edinburgh,: Edmonston and Douglas, 1874).61-62.

[528] Cockburn *"'…assailed the council, and excited the press, and agitated in all quarters,' until Short's grant was rescinded. But this was reversed shortly after, and was placed adjacent to Forrest's exhibition in a 'less offensive position.' The astronomical institution, alarmed that 'a person' had been allowed to erect a kind of observatory of boards within sight of their own, had suggested to the provost that an alternative site, a piece of waste ground originally intended for a debtors jail."* Edinburgh Astronomical Institution, Minute Book 1, Royal Observatory, Edinburgh.

This division of gentlemanly and populist pursuits was particularly represented in the establishment and use of the astronomical observatories on Calton Hill of the last quarter of the 18th-century. Despite the failure of Thomas Short's proposals to construct an observatory that would house his optical lens, subsequent remedial work by Short's son James Douglas Short, in 1792 completed both Craig's Octagonal Structure, and the Gothic Tower, housing the optical lens within the Gothic Tower and advertising it as a popular observatory, or 'Camera Obscura' for public viewings, to pay for the upkeep of the structures.[529] When the area was handed over to the Astronomical Institution in 1812,[530] James Craig's octagonal structure was demolished to make way for the new Royal observatory[531] by William H. Playfair (Plate 2.17), and the Gothic tower was retained as a popular observatory for the masses. However, the serious financial situation of the astronomical institution by the mid 19th-century resulted in the Camera Obscura being sold and dismantled and removed at auction.[532] The Royal Observatory never really reaching its full potential to contribute to astronomical science. Once the new Royal Observatory was completed on Blackford Hill to the south of the city in 1895, the Playfair building, and the ancillary domes were no longer used at all for academic study and all of the

[529] In 1792, James Douglas Short failed to negotiate terms with the Town Council that would have resulted in the Octagonal Observatory being available for use in academic teaching (as had originally been envisioned,) after the Town Council intimated that they wanted nothing more to do with the building, despite the majority of the funds for the structure coming from the University, and the Town Council's initial sanctioning of the project as a public work. James Douglas was therefore left without choice but to go to sea to recoup some of the costs of completing the structure, in addition to providing a popular observatory, or 'Camera Obscura' for public viewings in order to pay for the upkeep of the structure. For more detail on the discourse and issues surrounding this, please see David Myles Gavine, "Astronomy in Scotland 1745-1900" (Thesis for the degreee of Doctor of Philosophy, Open University, 1982) and Bryden, "The Edinburgh Observatory 1736-1811: A Story of Failure.", ———, "James Craig's Original Design for the Observatory on Calton Hill, May 1776."

[530] David Gavine, "The Calton Hill Observatories," *Journal of the Astronomical Society of Edinburgh*, 3 (October 1981).

[531] In 1822, the building was awarded the title of Royal Observatory by George IV during his visit to Edinburgh.

[532] Gavine, "Astronomy in Scotland 1745-1900". 344. This was sold in 1848 by auction, Royal Observatory (Herstmonceux) Airy Ms Class L Shelf 4 : Printed Sale catalogue of Tait and Nisbet, June 19 1848, Edinburgh.

working machinery in the Calton Hill Observatories was instead used by members of the public who practiced astronomy as a hobby.

The social division of these structures reflected the circumstances of the hill on a larger scale. Overshadowing the significance of the hill's monuments, and those that they commemorated, [533] was what was classed in disparaging terms by local councillors as the 'peep show' of Short's Camera Obscura, [534] which was considered no more than an attraction for persons of ill repute. Some attempt was made to 'clean up the hill' with the presence of a Constable, and a 'suitably attired' guide to point out monuments and places of interest to visitors.[535] But despite these measures, Thomas Begbie's 1887 photographs of the Washerwomen bleaching sheets on Calton Hill (Plate 3.19),[536] show that the practices of the lower classes who resided close to Calton Hill continued uninterrupted, well up to the end of the 19th-century.

Begbie's evocative images were not the only instance of photographic legacy on the hill. During the 1840s, a photographic studio was established on Calton Hill in Rock House by David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. Much of their work focused on experimenting with the calotype technique and processes through a series of photographs of external structures that included images of the Dugald Stewart monument and the Observatory,

[533] *"of the inscriptionless Stewart monument the purpose of which is now made known only by tradition…is learnt by a stranger only by the inquiry of the first ragged urchin he meets with on the Calton…"* Letter from Lord Palmerston to Lord Lord Rutherford, 3rd Viscount Palmerston, 12th December 1853, MS 9717, f. 153. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Henry Cockburn, who was an ardent supporter of placing the statue of Burns in one of the purpose built halls of learning already found in Edinburgh and instead suggested that the monies could be put towards a similar project, but for a different aim; "… Disposing of the statue by placing it in some 'worthy large place' such as the college library, the new library begun for the faculty of advocates, in the exhibition room of the royal institution, in the circular dome of register house…Disposing of the statue in this way leaves you, I understand some hundred pounds over- a strong additional recommendation; for, besides the statue, sacred to the rich, it enables you to erect some architectural edifice, sacred to his memory with the poor." Hadden, *George Thomson the Friend of Burns. His Life & Correspondence*. 77-78.

[534] Short's Observatory was also forcibly removed from Calton Hill by the council in the 1850s. In 1854 short announced that she would erect another public observatory on Castle Hill . This continued as shorts observatory for a number of years and was bought by Patrick Geddes in 1892 for conversion to an outlook tower. Edinburgh Town Council Minutes, 8th January, 19th February, 11th June, 30th July, 27th September 1850 and 25th March 1851, SL1.

[535] This was set up in 1850 by the Dean of Guild in Edinburgh. See Edinburgh City Archives for further information on the records pertaining to the Edinburgh Dean of Guild.

[536] Capital Collections, no. 11677.
http://www.capitalcollections.org.uk/index.php?WINID=1390135469444.

(Plate 3.20) the Nelson Monument (Plate 3.21), and the Political martyrs monument (Plate 3.22) on Calton Hill, as well as a number of panoramas and views to and from the site. But it was their capturing of human character through photography work, spurred by the photographic portraits for David Octavius Hill's painting of the Disruption of the Kirk (Plate 3.23),[537] which have since been acknowledged as particularly insightful and evocative pieces of artwork. In particular, Hill and Adamson's studies of working men and women at Newhaven Harbour are often referenced as particularly significant in the context of early photographic portraiture. These beautifully raw images of the 'Fisherfolk' of Newhaven, included portraits of many of the fishwives of the area, which captured the rugged characters and fragile wretchedness of women who at the time, were considered not much better than prostitutes and at the lowest rung of society.[538]

In considering those from the Old Town who frequented Calton Hill, it is possible that inspiration for these calotypes could have come about from Hill and Adamson's exposure to the ravages of hard work and poverty that were so apparent against the classical backdrop on the summit of Calton Hill. No known images of the washerwomen of the hill are known to exist in Hill and Adamson's collection of negatives, but, considering the location of the photographic studio at Rock House, and that Hill and Adamson prepared a number of images of Calton Hill's landscape and architecture,[539] they would have frequently traversed the area. As in the successful development of calotype photographs, the bleaching of linen also requires good light and so it is not far to surmise that the constant present of these working women on Calton Hill were the inspiration for their later studies down at Newhaven.[540] In particular, the presence of the grandiose architectural edifices on Calton Hill through the erection would have only served to further highlight the plight of those in the lower classes, which are now preserved in austerity for all to view.

---

[537] Completed in 1866.
http://www.gla.ac.uk/services/specialcollections/collectionsa-z/hilladamson/disruptionpicture/.
[538] Dana MacFarlane, "The Fishwives of Newhaven," in *The National Galleries of Scotland Research Conference* (Edinburgh 2013), Sara Stevenson et al., *Hill and Adamson's the Fishermen and Women of the Firth of Forth* (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1991).
[539] http://www.gla.ac.uk/services/specialcollections/collectionsa-z/hilladamson/.
[540] Stevenson et al., *Hill and Adamson's the Fishermen and Women of the Firth of Forth*.

The influence of both those who developed the Calton landscape, and those who experienced the hill on a daily basis shaped the perception of the hill, culturally and socially throughout the remainder of the 19th-century. The Unionist-nationalist aspirations reflected in the classical structures became further obscured by the growing cultural affiliation with pre-reformation Scotland that many felt was best represented in art and architecture by the medieval gothic and romantic figures of pre-reformation Scotland. With this loss in clarity in the elite aspirations for the hill's development, and the growing presence of populist activities on the hill, Calton Hill's status as an arcadian landscape of Imperial aspiration lost out to the city's tourist trade, for which many of the structures supplied little more than a picturesque backdrop.

Scots' sense of identity was further focused in the latter part of the 19th-century after 1840s legislation, establishing Boards in Scotland to monitor local services of poor relief, public health, and mental welfare. Concern for the wretchedness and poverty of the lower classes,[541] began to raise questions as to the management and control of internal social problems within Scotland. Where previously national ambition had turned to Scotland's external reputation within the British Isles and its role in Imperial expansion, the lack of autonomy and power that the Scots had over national affairs brought focus to the problems of legislation through government based outside of Scotland. The following chapter explores the growing desire for home governance in Scotland, and how this affected Scottish perception of its national identity.

[541] I. Levitt, "Scottish Sentiment, Administrative Devolution and Westminster, 1885-1964," in *Scotland, 1850-1979: Society, Politics and the Union*, ed. Michael Lynch (1993), Henry J. Littlejohn, "Report on the Sanitary Condition of the City of Edinburgh," (Edinburgh1863). The reports by Henry J. Littlejohn were commissioned as a result of the concerns risen by these boards. See Littlejohn, "Report on the Sanitary Condition of the City of Edinburgh." and Henry J. Littlejohn, "Report on the City Cemeteries," (Edinburgh1883).

Scottish National Identity of the late 19th-century was largely founded on a vision of the Scots as an 'imperial race'. Scottish achievements in the Empire formed a focus of national pride; it was claimed that the Scottish militia played a prominent role in its conquest and defence, the workshop of the empire furnished it with manufactured goods, Scottish governor generals administered vast territories, Scottish colonists formed significant parts of the new dominion nations and Scottish missionaries spread Presbyterianism to all quarters of the globe. Such a self-congratulary view of the nation, however, was becoming increasingly difficult to sustain as the gradual emergence of mass democracy forced contemporaries to look at the reality of life in Scotland. Slum housing, poverty and disease painted a very different picture which was becoming hard to ignore.[542]

By the 1830s, proposals and discussions for the completion of the National Monument no longer attempted to portray the structure as a representation of Scottish autonomy within the British state. Some looked to it as a symbol of British sovereignty, for example Mr. Farholm in 1837 (Plate 3.24),[543] proposed a statue of Britannia astride the finished monument- a figure that he believed was "*suited to the national object to which this structure was intended*." This unsuccessful design was followed in 1840 by another of a similar fate by James Raeburn. This scheme proposed to turn the National Monument into a memorial to the Duke of Wellington. This would have added *"six columns to the twelve already executed, dividing the interior by a central wall into two porticoes… to give the whole the appearance of a triumphal porch – on the centre of the pediment the equestrian statue of the duke would be placed."*[544] In some respects, this could be viewed as fulfilling the intention of

[542] R.J. Finlay, "Scottish Nationalism and Scottish Politics 1900-1979," in *Scotland, 1850-1979: Society, Politics and the Union*, ed. Michael Lynch (1993). 20.
[543] Letter and Sketch by Mr Farholm for the completion of the National Monument, Minutes of the National Monument Committee, 25th November 1837, SL103.
[544] *"We have seen a very imposing drawing by Mr James Raeburn, architect of this city, illustrating a plan for placing the Wellington Testimonial on the Calton Hill… The expense of the plan, according to Mr Raeburn's estimate, would be about £7000 – independent of the*

the National Monument to commemorate the Napoleonic wars, and in particular the battle of Waterloo. Scottish contribution to this battle would have been acknowledged in the '*decisive charge of the Scots Greys at Waterloo'* depicted on the western tympanum, which would be balanced by another similar group of soldiers associated with a Scottish regiment on the eastern side. However, in making the man who was previously described by Robert Forrest as representing *"…the ancient honour and glory of the English nation,"*[545] the focal point of the structure rather than the Scots who fought for the British state, it in actuality directly contrasted with the 1820s intentions for the National Monument. By giving the memorial of the Scots regiment secondary importance to the memorial of Wellington, and establishing a Roman triumphal porch rather than an Athenian temple,[546] prominence was placed on a hero who represented the British state, and Britain as a colonial power, rather than the contribution of the Scots nation to the success of British campaigns.

Indicative of these proposals for the national monument on Calton Hill was its removal from the discourse of Scotland's role within the British State, and instead, through its architecture, its establishment within the British elite's claim to authority over Scottish affairs. Throughout the general populace, Scots looked more to the past to define their culture, rather than within their present political construct - which resulted in a further distancing of the idea of 'Scottishness' from that of 'Britishness' within the Union. As political

---

statue, and whatever differences may exist with regard to his idea as a matter of taste, the expedience of completing in some shape or form a building which was intended to commemorate the final victory of the great Duke will not be disputed. The unfinished state of the National Monument has long been a subject of regret and the prospect of its completion according to the original design appears to be exceedingly remote. …the beautiful columns are at once an ornament and a reproach to our city.." Anon, *Edinburgh Advertiser,* 8th December 1840.

[545] Forrest, "Descriptive Catalogue of Statuary from the Chisel of Mr Robert Forrest." 5 and Anon, *Chambers Journal*, 45, 8th December 1832. 358 Footnote. http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=XWAiAQAAMAAJ&lpg=PA358&ots=VJcAiVh4lQ&dq=robert%20the%20bruce%20and%20the%20monk%20of%20baston&pg=PA358#v=onepage&q&f=false.

[546] It is notable that in proposing a porch to *"finish the west end of the National Monument,"* Raeburn leaves open the possibility of the rest of the structure still being erected in the future.

reforms looked to internal, rather than national affairs, by the mid 19th-century, Scottish national identity within the British state further evolved to become a predominantly cultural concept. An understanding of Scottishness as it had been set out by Sir Walter Scott in the early 19th-century[547] perpetuated this notion, largely removing Scottish national identity from the political discourse of the relationship between nation and state, instead focusing on historical references. This emerging form of national identity is therefore recognised in architectural terms through the emerging prominence of the gothic architectural style,[548] alongside the development of monuments to commemorate specifically Scottish heroes as nationalist icons during the latter part of the 19th-century.[549] On Calton Hill, this strengthening of cultural nationalism, already identified in Forrest's exhibition during the 1830s, and in the proposals in the early 1850s to place Trinity Kirk on the hill was substantiated in the 1846 proposal for the completion of the National Monument as a gallery of monumental busts and statues.[550] As this structure was a classical one, emphasis was placed on the housing of the concept of nationhood, commemorating great and distinguished persons of all nations and periods through sculptural art, rather than being representational of it through its architectural style. By amending the original Act of Parliament for the National Monument of the 1820s,[551] this subtle shift allowed a re-branding of the structure to sit within a historical cultural context, rather than the political one that had been pushed by those involved with the original design. In particular, it is stated in

[547] In fact, the Scott memorial itself perpetuated the idea of Scott as Shakespeare's 'wee brother' in its inscription. See Morris and Morton, "The Re-Making of Scotland:A Nation within a Nation, 1850-1920." 17.
[548] One key example of this is the Scottish National Portrait gallery by Sir Robert Rowand Anderson, opened in 1889.
[549] This has already been addressed in the previous section concerning the 'Imperial development' in the mindset of the early 19th century had, by the mid 19th-century19th-century become more concerned with transport and communication networks within the British Isles. Pers. Comm., Dr Alex Bremner.
[550] Minutes of the National Monument Committee, 6th April 1844, SL103.
[551] Anno 3 George IV c.100, "An Act to Incorporate the Contributors for the Erection of a National Monument in Scotland to Commemorate the Naval and Military Victories Obtained During the Late War. ," (1822).

George Cleghorn's[552] 1852 publication on the National Monument that the aims of the resurrected project were no longer to promote Scotland and Edinburgh as 'North British', such as was the original proposal for an Athenian building, but instead to emphasise Scots independent culture in its own right. [553]

This distancing of Classicism from Scottish cultural identity therefore resulted in the stylistic classical outputs of the late 18th and early 19th centuries developing a reputation in Scotland as representing Unionist aims. In particular, the establishment of a number of statues to Tory heroes who represented and perpetuated policies that benefitted and strengthened the union, such as Lord Melville Henry Dundas, Sir William Pitt, and George IV in the first New Town,[554] cemented the classical urban landscape representation of the British state as the prime political entity.[555] James Dick Peddie's painting of suggestions for *"Improvements to the City"*(c.1870, Plate 3.25) further perpetuates this association between the 'Classical' and 'British' landscape in Edinburgh in his proposals for the development of a hotel that would sit at the terminus to the North British Railway line between Edinburgh and Berwick - the northernmost part of the main line between

[552] Secretary to the National Monument Committee after Michael Linning.
[553] *"But besides giving a powerful impulse to architecture and the sister arts of sculpture and painting, its completion, by commemorating the great men and warlike achievements of Scotland, will effect another national and most important object, - it will resuscitate and keep alive that patriotic independence and martial spirit for which our countrymen were so distinguished, when Scotland was an independent kingdom, but which is apt to die away when united to a larger and richer Kingdom like England."* George Cleghorn and Architectural Institute of Scotland, *Essay on the National Monument of Scotland* ([Edinburgh?: Architectural Institute of Scotland, 1852). 112.
[554] The obelisk to the Scottish Political Martyrs of 1794 (Plate 2.30), designed by Thomas Hamilton and placed in the Old Calton Burial Ground was proposed in late 1837 by Joseph Hume and William Tait. This was considered to have been sited on the hill particularly to loom over the skyline of 'tyrrany and corruption' identified in the monuments to Pitt, Melville and George IV. For further discussion on this in this context, see Tyrrell and Davis, "Bearding the Tories: The Commemoration of the Scottish Political Martyrs of 1793-94."
[555] This had been further substantiated on Calton Hill, where the Tory focused *Blackwood's* magazine had been fundamental in perpetuating support for the development of the hill as a National Valhalla during the 1820s.

London and Edinburgh.[556] By aligning the picture to cut out the Nelson Monument, and removing the non-classical elements of the gothic observatory and the curtiledge walls - replacing these with regulated classicised walls of smooth ashlar - Peddie depicted a suitably British backdrop to his proposal for a hotel serving those undertaking the journey between England and Scotland.[557] Proposals for the National Monument since, and including the 1846 proposal therefore no longer perpetuated the allegorical representation of Grecian classicism as defining Scotland within the nation-state. Instead, the level to which society was prepared to engage with the question of if and how Calton Hill and its structures related to Scottish national identity and the British state was reflected in the wide ranging proposals for this site from the late 19th-century onwards.

After the proposals of 1846, the next substantive proposals for the development of the National Monument did not appear until the beginning of the 20th century, when William Mitchell - Edinburgh lawyer and secretary to the Cockburn Association[558] - proposed that the monument be completed to house a new National Gallery building for Scotland. This was made into a pamphlet proposing the adaptation of the National Monument into the new National Gallery site in 1906,[559] and gave suggestions for how to fund work. In particular, Mitchell argued that any notion of the structure as a National Monument should be rejected on the grounds that it represented the successes of the British State Military against 'Scotland's Auld friends,' the French. Instead, Mitchell proposed that the structure should be redefined as

[556] This was actually designed in 1892 by Walter Wood Robertson, then architect for H M Office of works, Edinburgh.
http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=201227.
[557] The image also includes the proposed new North British Hotel, which has some elements of French architecture in the renaissance style, with mansard roofs on each corner. John Dick Peddie *Suggestions for the Improvement of Edinburgh* (ink and watercolour, circa 1870) (Diploma Work) RSA collection.
[558] A civic association set up in memory of Lord Cockburn's critique of the city. See Cockburn Association., Secretary Honorary, and William Mitchell, *The Cockburn Association. A Short Account of Its Objects and Its Work, 1875 to 1897* (Edinburgh,1897).
[559] William Mitchell, *The National Monument to Be Completed for the Scottish National Gallery on the Model of the Parthenon at Athens : An Appeal to the Scottish People* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1906).

a Scottish National Gallery that would celebrate Scottish achievements.[560] This would therefore house the national collection, busts to the great and good of Scotland, the National School of Art and the collection of casts of the Scottish antiquarian society.[561] Mitchell's financial proposals sat alongside designs by Henry F. Kerr for development of the gallery on Calton Hill, which proposed to complete the rectilinear structure with a Grecian frieze and pediment, topped with acroteria angularia (Plates 3.26 – 3.27). A smaller entrance hall, with a Doric portico would have sat to the south, and a funicular railway would have served as access for the gallery and to the hill.

However, the 1906 National Gallery of Scotland Act[562] specified a change of use to the Royal Institution building in front of the National Gallery on The Mound as the preferred option for the Royal Academy building, which essentially put to rest any plans for the National Monument as a gallery. This did not deter Mitchell from his mission to develop Calton Hill, as a second copy of his proposal was produced in a 'deluxe edition',[563] which included a proposal to use half of the £100,000 Usher Bequest to develop a national gallery on Calton Hill alongside a concert music, creating a cultural 'hub' on the top of the hill. Kerr's 1907 amendments (Plate 3.28) therefore include access from the east, a semicircular bay to the north of the main building of the National Monument,[564] and a domed concert hall building to the south, close to where the entrance hall had been placed on the 1906 proposals.

By 1909, Kerr gave up on the development of the National Monument, instead focusing his vision for the whole hill as a 'Cultural Valhalla,'

[560] Morris and Morton, "The Re-Making of Scotland:A Nation within a Nation, 1850-1920." 11.
[561] "The idea of the Monument being at last completed …evoked an enthusiastic response by many men of taste in the sister country. One of them…predicted that the reproduction of the Parthenon might make the school of sculpture…" Mitchell 1911
[562] http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Edw7/6/50/contents.
[563]William Mitchell, *The National Monument to Be Completed for the Scottish National Gallery on the Model of the Parthenon at Athens : An Appeal to the Scottish People* (London: A. and C. Black, 1907).
[564] Shown in plan as an insert on the perspective drawings.

including delineation of the footprint of the Parthenon by tree planting (Plate 3.29). However, the ever-determined Mitchell continued with his vision for the monument's completion. In 1911, he again proposed that the monument be built, but this time as a memorial to Queen Victoria – a proposal he had previously suggested in 1900.[565] This was to include ample room in the interior to pay tribute to the country's *"gallant and illustrious sons as a memorial of the past and incentive of the future heroism of the men of Scotland."*

When taken in context with the other designs for the National Monument over the previous century, Mitchell's proposals further demonstrate Graeme Morton's argument that since its establishment within the British state, *"Scotland* [has been] *forced to re-invent its national identity again and again."*[566] In particular, Mitchell attempted to place Scottish identity within a nationalist ideology that defined a separate relationship between Scotland and Europe than that found between Britain and Europe. This suggests that by the early 20th century, Scottish identity was not only considered to co-exist alongside other national identities of the British state but was also seen (in the eyes of the Scots at least) as belonging to a separate functioning nation within a European context.[567] Mitchell's proposals for the site to become, if not a Scottish national gallery, then a memorial to Queen Victoria also placed Scottish identity at the core of the monument's development. In celebrating the Imperial monarch, rather than the achievements of the governing state, Scottish identity would be celebrated in a similar vein to that of a colonial nation of the Commonwealth and would re-assert itself as a separate entity from England.[568]

---

[565] William Mitchell and C. I. Lacock, *A New National Patriotic Poem or Song Entitled "The Royal Standard of Our Queen"* (London,1900).
[566] Graeme Morton, "Scotland's Missing Nationalism," in *Image and Identity : The Making and Re-Making of Scotland Throught the Ages*, ed. Dauvit Broun, Richard J. Finlay, and Michael Lynch (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998). 160.
[567] Ibid. 163.
[568] *"The key components of British Identity in Scotland had a distinctive tartan complexion. Monarchism was associated with the tartan clad George IV or the Balmoralised Queen Victoria."* Finlay, "Caledonia or North Britiain?." 153.

Yet, where Mitchell sought to re-assert Scottish identity and significance within early 20th century polities, Frank Mears and Ramsay Traquair's proposals considered Scottish identity to be linked to its geographical and social context. Their article for Geddes' Magazine, *The Blue Blanket,* in 1912 provided a critique of Mitchell's interpretation and use of the National Monument.[569] They state that great men should be commemorated in or near the places that they are most closely associated with. Mears and Traquair believed that the development of the 1820s classical suburb of the New Town and particularly Calton Hill had resulted in an abandonment of the Edinburgh's true history, as it had no connection with the people or events it sought to commemorate in the Old Town. The placement of memorials in the city, they argued, should be in areas that had direct associations with whom they were to memorialise - for instance; memorials to lawyers should be situated near the law courts, memorials to Professors near the university, and memorials to military men should be placed near the castle. Yet, they also believed that monuments to great men had a purpose in the urban realm, in that the placement of commemorative memorials provided commentary to those in the position of governance.

> *The commemoration of famous men by statues or buildings is a proper part of civic life. In such activities, a higher ideal of corporate unity is reached than in the routine of administration, or even schemes of philanthropy. Here some degree of beauty and of idealism can still penetrate the practical armour of a municipal government, and the community would be dead which had so lost the spirit of reverence that it could no longer rise to enshrine the memory of its great men.* [570]

Mears and Traquair's own proposals for the National Monument (Plate 3.30), which were displayed in the Royal Scottish Academy annual show of 1912, therefore, continued the dialogue started by Mitchell on the relationship between the National Monument and the question of Scottish national

[569] Frank Mears and Ramsay Traquair, "Proposals for the National Monument, Edinburgh," *The Blue Blanket* (1912).
[570] Ibid. 69.

identity. Mears and Traquair had considered that *"The Calton Hill, in time, will become historical, and we may make it truly so by raising there monuments to modern men, and by using it for modern functions."*[571] Their fantastical design of an open courtyard, with small niches for medieval and romantic sculpture surrounding a rectilinear water feature, gave the effect of a takeover by classicism on the site by a Celtic art nouveau, further substantiating Scottish identity within a cultural European context. The placement of a bronze statue of seated Caledonia, defiantly facing westwards towards the Doric columns of the 1820 classical development, appears to show the spirit of the Scots nation challenging the previous dominance of the symbolism of the British unionist state on the site. Yet, the columns' incorporation in the design, rather than thier disregard also serves a purpose in acknowledging the presence of this part of history. Mears and Traquair's comments on the suitability of Calton Hill as a place for memorial had expanded to not only include the tangible connections with Scotland's past, but also to Scotland as a nation in its present. The part-completed 19th-century structure in the overall affect of the site left Mears and Traquair's interpretation of Scottish identity as a dominant feature, with the unionist facet a small part of the whole. This representation of state as a peripheral part of the design therefore served as a reminder to those in the governing elite that its priorities should place its people, or nation above the State.

It is in this context that Robert Lorimer's built memorial at Edinburgh Castle can be better understood. Proposals by George Washington Browne for the Scottish National War Memorial (SNWM) to be established on Calton Hill[572] (Plate 3.31) came under criticism as somewhat old-fashioned in its classical adaptation of the existing structure. The frieze and level cornice of Brown's proposal therefore, which were to be added to the completed columns along

[571] Graeme A. S. Purves, "The Life and Work of Sir Frank Mears : Planning with a Cultural Perspective " (Heriot-Watt University, 1987). 268-270.
[572] This was exhibited at the RSA in 1918. Anon, "The Royal Scottish Academy", *Builder*, 5th July 1918.

with a great quadriga in the centre of the open screen[573] is a million miles away from this interpretation of Scottish identity within the Union, which those erecting a specifically Scottish National War Memorial, sought to assert.[574] In particular, as the memorial was to be funded by Scots from the whole country, the monument had to be considered as 'National' and not another Edinburgh monument organised by and for Edinburgh people. [575] With the strong tradition of the Scots Baronial in the work of the likes of Sir Robert Rowand Anderson in Scotland by this point, and the emergence of work by those in the 'Glasgow School' at the *fin de siècle* and into the early 20th century, Classicism as a genre no longer had an identity within Scottish Culture anywhere outside of the Edinburgh New Town and so would no longer fit a specifically 'Scottish' remit for the memorial.

Nationalism therefore became a very strong theme in the erection of the SNWM, finally completed in 1927. Lorimer's design of a low vaulted porch leading to an octagonal shrine with an internal diameter of 32 ft and a height of 45 ft[576] (Plate 3.32a and b) was executed by a number of skilled Scottish craftsmen. His representation of national identity for the SNWM on the Castle Rock took pains to separate Scots identity within the Union by expressing its role as a separate contributor to Imperial expansion, to demonstrate that Scotland, had "willingly answered the call to arms and

---

[573] "A dinner was held to discuss the matter at the invitation of Ewart in 1917." Katharine Marjory Murray, *Working Partnership. Being the Lives of John George, 8th Duke of Atholl ... And of His Wife Katharine Marjory Ramsay. [with Portraits.]* (London,1958). 106-7.

[574] For example, the Duke of Atholl on hearing that a National War Memorial to be erected in London could house Highland and other Scottish regiment's trophies he *"…wrote to Sir Alfred Mond that he could talk about his own nation, but that he had no right to speak for the Scottish nation, and that if the Scottish nation wanted their own memorial, they would put it up with their own hands, in their own country, and with their own money." Scotsman*, 19th January 1834.

[575] Ann Petrie, "Scottish Culture and the First World War, 1914-1939" (University of Dundee, 2006).

[576] "*Lorimer's original designs… proposed in 1918… involved the demolition of the 'Billings Building'. This was heavily critiqued after the Ancient Monuments Board requested a temporary full sized model at the castle of wooden poles and canvas, which was, bombasted in the Scotsman. Lorimer redesigned the building four times, but it was his second design that was adopted."* Ibid. 176, Footnote.

proudly played her part in the war."[577] This idea can be identified in the entranceway of the SNWM, which depicts Scotland on equal terms within the Union, by placing a unicorn holding a shield engraved with the St Andrews cross on the left of the front steps and a lion brandishing a union jack on the right. Every image placed within the memorial had direct connection with Scotland and the history of its military, from William Wallace to those who had served in Scottish regiments during WWI. These sat alongside a depiction of the "tree of empire," which dominated the back wall of the shrine entrance.[578]

The location of the monument at Edinburgh Castle as *"the very focus of Scottish Traditions and Memories"*[579] was also noted as being particularly important in maintaining a Scottish identity for the memorial. The Earl of Rosebery's commentary on Browne's proposal not only rejected the stylistic choice of the design, but also the choice of site, stating that: "*Edinburgh Castle is National property, and not Edinburgh property. Glasgow will never give a penny to help on a thing like the Calton Hill.*" [580]

This opinion is particularly significant for understanding the perspective that some, if not many had with regard to the role that Calton Hill held by this time. By specifying Calton Hill as *Edinburgh property*, the hill and its monuments were not considered *Scottish,* or even *British Property*. The hill and its structures were therefore not considered as being representative of Nation, or State *per se*, but rather, the municipality of Edinburgh- the

[577] Ibid. 219.
[578] Ibid. 220.
[579] Ian Hay, *Their Name Liveth : The Book of the Scottish National War Memorial* (London: J. Lane, The Bodley Head, 1931). 13.
[580] *"The Glasgow and Edinburgh difficulty is fully appreciated by me, but I think if they will meet on any common ground, it will be that Edinburgh Castle is National property, and not Edinburgh property. Glasgow will never give a penny to help on a thing like the Calton Hill. With all due respect, I think, and hope, that I am not over sanguine in this matter , and I am not altogether without having made some careful enquiries."* Letter from the Duke of Atholl to Lord Roseberry, 16th August 1917, 980, Bundle 162, Blair Castle Archive, National Archives, Kew, London. See also Murray, *Working Partnership. Being the Lives of John George, 8th Duke of Atholl ... And of His Wife Katharine Marjory Ramsay. [with Portraits.]*. 106-7.

achievement of an elite, and particularly one involved with state governance. This became, in the subsequent decade, a prominent factor in the fate of the site's development.

During the 19th-century, there had been little interest in the idea of home rule in Scotland.[581] Municipal affairs regarding the management of the urban realm, policing, education and health continued to be administered through the numerous organisations sustained within Scottish Civil Society, which were bolstered by local Town Councils, the Kirk and the Scottish legal system, as well as (after poor law of 1845) the Parochial Boards.[582] However, the lack of political control over these Boards - and the management of Scottish concerns in general - led to a feeling that ministerial powers were needed within Westminster to represent and promote specifically Scottish affairs.[583] This resulted instead in the re-establishment of a Secretary for Scotland in 1885,[584] to support the Boards by providing more access to parliamentary time in order to ensure that Scottish affairs were appropriately considered in draft legislation. However, the post was a largely symbolic role that left the management of many affairs to the Parochial Boards. As a form of Scottish Administrative devolution it barely succeeded, while the grisly realities of first The Boer War, and then WWI further *"undermined the*

[581] There had been some interest in Scotland with regards to the First Irish Home Rule bill in the mid-1880s, but had been to do with the economic implications to the Clyde as an Imperial port. See William Miller, "Politics in the Scottish City," in *Perspectives of the Scottish City*, ed. George Gordon ([Aberdeen]: Aberdeen University Press, 1985).187.

[582] Levitt, "Scottish Sentiment, Administrative Devolution and Westminster, 1885-1964." The Edinburgh Boards mentioned in Levitt's work were the local Parochial Board for the Edinburgh area. The Parochial Boards were set up to focus on the administration of local services related to the Poor Law reform of 1845. This allowed local taxes to be raised to cover the costs of Poor Relief, rather than the poor being placed in the workhouse. In Edinburgh, the board also commissioned reports on issues that directly affected those in poverty, such as overcrowding. See Footnote 543.

[583] *"Scotland's* [Cultural] *nationalism was sustained primarily through civil society, it was not state created- therefore, as long as civil society was sustained and managed the everyday affairs, then no demand for a Scottish parliament was made."* Morton, "Scotland's Missing Nationalism." 167.

[584] A post which had been abolished in the British government after the Jacobite rebellion in 1746.

ideological foundations of laissez-faire in social policy" that had kept Scotland running up to this point.[585] The starving, little educated nature of the majority of local recruits to Imperial wars, and the manner by which whole communities were recruited throughout Britain as a whole left many questioning the priorities of government decisions and the nature of State management in Scotland, as many key social issues in Scotland, as well as in the rest of Britain were still largely underrepresented.[586]

As in the surge of local monuments to national heroes in the early 19th century,[587] the role that local pride played in fuelling national identity in the became ever more prominent after the First World War. This duality of local allegiance perpetuating interest in national issues therefore became prominent in the nationalist dialogue after WWI throughout Britain,[588] which in Scotland had played a part in fixing upon the need for a separate Scottish National War Memorial.

> *The Englishman does not concern itself with the affairs of its neighbours. He is proud of his native county; he holds in affectionate remembrance the village or street where he was born, and the garden or green where he played as a child. But, if he was born in Lancashire, he is not particularly interested say, in Middlesex, or for that matter, in London itself, and vice versa…The County is the unit, not the country…But Scotland has a different way of ordering these matters, for she is...small enough to be acutely conscious of herself as a whole…certain sentences (from the first hundred thousand)…were written during the…progress of the war…never a Scottish regiment comes under fire but the whole of Scotland feels it. Scotland is small enough to know all her sons by heart. You may live in Berwickshire, and the man who died may have come from Skye; but his name is*

[585] Finlay, "Scottish Nationalism and Scottish Politics 1900-1979." 20.
[586] Levitt, "Scottish Sentiment, Administrative Devolution and Westminster, 1885-1964."
[587] See Section 2
[588] Brad Beaven, *Visions of Empire : Patriotism, Popular Culture and the City, 1870-1939*.

quite familiar to you. Big England's mourning is local; little Scotland's is national.[589]

This perpetuation of nationalist sentiment was further effected by Parliamentary discussion concerning the establishment of separate nations under the Imperial umbrella, such as had been proposed for Ireland and India.[590] As Finlay has stated, "Scottish national identity of the late nineteenth century was largely founded on a vision of the Scots as an 'Imperial race'." The acknowledged importance of the Scottish role in Imperial campaigns, sat alongside a discontent over the mismanagement, or ignoring of, Scottish concerns that had resulted from the poverty of the Great Depression of the 1920s.[591] Home rule, as it was being debated for other countries of the Empire, was an option that would enable an active government to look after Scottish concerns and the promotion and improvement of social policies, such as health, education and housing. Between 1892 and 1928, a *Government for Scotland* Bill was discussed in Parliament over 35 times.[592] It was argued that self-governing rights that were being given to Ireland should also be given to Scotland.[593] In the Bill, it is also made clear that, since the 1890s, it had been *"desirable, while retaining intact the power and supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, to establish a Legislature in Scotland for dealing with purely Scottish*

[589] Hay, *Their Name Liveth : The Book of the Scottish National War Memorial*. 5-6.
[590] *"The first war was scarcely over before the first of nine Nationalist bills or motions to be placed before the commons within the next eight years was presented. Inspired by the notion of National Independence within a wider British Empire, such as was being discussed for Ireland and India, the proposal reflected the status of Scotland at the time, which, with its own partial administration and legal system, was that of a Crown colony. Of the early bills, all but one of the Scots MPs voting were in favour, and the concept of "Scottish national self-determination" was supported by Lords Alness, and shelbourne, austen chamberlain and the duke of Montrose."* McKean, *The Scottish Thirties an Architectural Introduction*.15. Also quotes in this paragraph George Malcolm Thomson Scotland that distressed area 1935 and A M Mackenzie: Scotland in Modern Times 1942.
[591] Finlay, "Scottish Nationalism and Scottish Politics 1900-1979." 20
[592] http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/bills/government-of-scotland-bill
[593] http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/bills/government-of-scotland-bill "That in the opinion of this House, the measure providing for the delegation of Parliamentary powers to Ireland should be followed in this Parliament by the granting of similar powers of self-government to Scotland as part of a general scheme of devolution." Quoting Dr Chappel 1912 resolution.

affairs."[594] By 1927, the notion of a Bill granting home ruling powers had been dismissed, and instead, in 1928, on the advice of John Buchan[595] Westminster decided to convert proposals for the centralisation of department offices, mainly made up of the now subsumed Edinburgh Boards,[596] into one administrative building, to appease nationalist sentiment by providing an "outward and visible sign of Scottish nationhood."[597] The Scottish Office would be built on Calton Hill in Edinburgh. In what has been described as a 'sop' to national identity, this structure would *bring government closer to people, without compromising the existing constitutional setup,* by providing a symbol of the Scottish nation under State control.

The story of the development of the Scottish Office building, known as St Andrews House, is discussed in detail in David Walker's comprehensive study of the structure.[598] Walker details the struggle between the London Government, and the Scottish populace - led by a number of Scottish peers - for control over the design of a structure to house administrative government offices alongside the Sheriff Court and the National Library of Scotland. The first proposal was drawn up by an in-house architect within the London administration, and was put on exhibition in model form, but did not include any contextual illustrations as to how its perspective related to the landscape of Calton Hill. Pat Ronaldson, then a student at Edinburgh College of Art, produced the missing perspective designs on the instruction of his lecturer, John Summerson. These were subsequently published in the Scotsman in 1930 (Plate 3.33).[599] The sheer scale and mass of these proposals, placed on such a prominent site caused public furore. In good Scottish tradition, a civil

[594] http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1913/may/30/government-of-scotland-bill. Quoting Sir H Dalziel 1894 resolution.
[595] 1st Baron Tweedsmuir, (26 August 1875 – 11 February 1940) Scottish novelist, historian and Unionist–Nationalist politician.
[596] I. Levitt, ed. *The Scottish Office : Depression and Reconstruction, 1919-1959*, vol. 5, Scottish History Society (Edinburgh: Pillans & Wilson,1992). 6.
[597] Charles McKean, *Edinburgh : Portrait of a City* (London: Century, 1991). 214
[598] Walker, Great Britain. Scottish Development Department. Historic Buildings and Monuments., and Great Britain. Scottish Office., *St Andrew's House : An Edinburgh Controversy, 1912-1939*.
[599] Image taken from McKean, *The Scottish Thirties an Architectural Introduction*.16

committee of the great and the good of the country, including the Kirk, nobility, and influential members and organisations in Scottish society banded together to form a Scottish national committee to voice their strong objection to the proposals.[600] Despite attempts to reduce the size of the monolithic structure by finding alternative sites for the Sheriff Court and the National Library, the proposals were finally withdrawn by the end of 1930, and in 1933, a competition for a new design for a department for the Scottish Secretary of State was held. The resulting complex (Plate 3.34), designed by the Scottish architect, Thomas S. Tait, is described by McKean as one of the *"finest Thirties buildings in Scotland."*[601] Facing onto Regent Road, it consists of a large hollow square of building, with two long wings extending east and west, terminated by flat- topped stair towers. Walker identifies the style as "American Beaux Arts Modern,"[602] which may be partially down to the flat overhanging roofs, thought to have been influenced by Tait's acquaintance with Frank-Lloyd Wright.[603] However, its style also recalls Henri Paul Nenot's 1927 design for the League of Nations building, and in particular, Tait's own competition designs for Norwich Municipal Buildings and for a block of flats on the Brook House site of London's Park Lane.[604]

Its resonance with these buildings and the materials and design in its construction, created a dialogue that linked the structure both to the roots of its history and to the aspirations for its future use. Tait's modernised classicism made a distant connection with the classical structures already

---

[600] *"The issue welded together disparate people who would never have supported the Scottish Renaissance, nationalism, or even the revivication of Edinburgh. A Scottish National Committee, led by the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, with the Dukes of Atholl and Montrose, Lord Elphinstone, the Marquess of Aberdeen, and half of the Scottish nobility and gentry with industrial magnates, institutions, associations, Provosts and writers in tow, raised the fiery cross. Driven by invisible forces, the natives of Edinburgh disdained to accept the desecration of Calton Hill by bureaucratic offices."* ——, *Edinburgh : Portrait of a City*. 214.

[601] Pers. Comm., Professor Charles McKean.

[602] Walker, Great Britain. Scottish Development Department. Historic Buildings and Monuments., and Great Britain. Scottish Office., *St Andrew's House : An Edinburgh Controversy, 1912-1939*. 52.

[603] This may have also been influenced by Francis Lorne, who was in the Burnet, Tait and Lorne practice and was American.

[604] http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=200729

found in the New Town. The use of Darney Stone was a close and sympathetic match to Craigleith sandstone,[605] whilst also giving the building a distinctively separate air to others found in the city. In addition, elements of international modernism also ensured that St Andrew's House did not wholly appear as a representation of Westminster governance. Rather, it provided a new chapter in Scottish government administration, bridging Scottish governance under the Unionist flag within the wider world.

Its decoration follows the example of the SNWM in its use of Scottish sculptors and heraldic artists, albeit to a much more restrained extent than Lorimer's structure.[606] On the northern, Regent Road side, the building's relationship with government administration is acknowledged through the half-length figures by W. Reid Dick that are placed atop mullions that rise from the first floor representing Architecture, Statecraft, Health, Agriculture, Fisheries and Education.[607] However, it is the south side of the building that has received greatest praise by architectural critics. No doubt keeping in mind the comments of Queen Mary, who in 1930 had helped the campaign against the earlier proposals by stating that she "hope[d] that nothing unsightly would be built on the flank of Calton Hill that might spoil the outlook from her palace at Holyrood,"[608] Tait's design is commended as

[605] Darney sandstone is favoured in Edinburgh because of its pale colour, quartz-rich nature and fine-grained texture, as it is considered a good match for the Craigleith stone from which much of Edinburgh was built, but which is no longer available. Darney stone was used in the construction of the Usher Hall (1910-14) and the City Chambers extension (1930-34) in Cockburn Street. http://geoscenic.bgs.ac.uk/asset-bank/action/viewAsset;jsessionid=D17C45A3BA940B19D10FD6E7071624A4?id=97034&index=365&total=64262&collection=Unsorted%20Images&categoryId=2&categoryTypeId=1&filterId=0&sortAttributeId=1025&sortDescending=true&movedBr=null

[606] Such as the Thistle decoration flanking the bronze relief doors by Walter Gilbert, the Royal Arms on top of the doors by Alexander Carrick, the lion and the Unicorn reliefs by Phyllis Bone. Gifford et al., *Edinburgh*. 441.

[607] The association of the structure with Calton Hill, and government administration has also been discussed in Dawn Caswell, "The Economy of Style: Thomas S. Tait and the Interior of St Andrews House," *Architectural History* 10, no. 1 (1999).

[608] McKean, *Edinburgh : Portrait of a City*. 214.

having "real imagination and grandeur" which merits "comparison with [Hamilton's] Royal High School."[609]

As McKean stated, Tait had developed"…[T]he seat of the secretary of State for Scotland and his administration, with a dignity and quality never originally envisaged."[610] Both the manner in which this building was constructed, and the structure itself reflected the mood of the Scottish nation in gaining recognition and governance over Scottish affairs within the Unionist State. Its placement on the demolished site of the Calton Gaol,[611] halfway up the southern side of Calton Hill had been fortuitous, in that it was already the proposed location for a new administrative hub of government offices in the city. Although chosen for its central location and generous space, a site that was already seen as an area controlled by municipal government for the purpose of the State would also have provided a somewhat muted commentary on the role of the building, and the significance of its work within a wider government construct. A proposal for plain administrative State offices had therefore developed into a building with a demonstrative expression of the importance to Scots of national identity over state control, in cultural terms at least. Where Scotland lacked control over its political autonomy, its Civil Society had ensured the mainstay of control over its cultural environment.

[609] Gifford et al., *Edinburgh*.
[610] McKean, *Edinburgh : Portrait of a City*.214-215.
[611] The Bridewell had already been demolished in 1881.

Section 3: Conclusion

The role of the Scottish elite in the urban development of Calton Hill, and the manner in which the site and its structures were to be used, provide an example of how civic and municipal affairs were managed by Scottish Civil Society in the 19th-century. Through these examples, it is possible to understand how decisions were made based on the perceived benefit to those in the upper classes, which at times was to the detriment of those in the lower classes. Both the proposed and the executed structures on the hill reflected the interests of the Scottish elite in boosting Scottish interests on an Imperial stage for both economic and political gain, which resulted in a heightened national consciousness and a call for greater Scottish autonomy over its national affairs by the end of the long 19th-century.

However, despite the efforts of the elite to take control of the hill and its structures, it is evident that people from the many different tiers of society continued to frequent and use the hill throughout and after its development. This created a friction between the classical architecture on the hill and the residents of Edinburgh's slum dwellings in the Old Town, as the structures' symbolism of elite power and influence further heightened the abject poverty of those in the lower classes of society. This dialogue was captured in both painted and photographic mediums during this period, serving to prove that the grandiose ambitions of the Scottish elite were never fully realised on the hill.

However, the architecture of Calton Hill did retain its association with the elite who fronted Scottish civil society. Being those who were involved in the governance and management of local municipal affairs on behalf of the State, this resulted in the hill, and its structures, representing the British State. This was further supported by the classical style of architecture favoured on the hill, which was viewed as a representation of British State identity, rather than of Scottish culture.

Reaction to the site in the 20th century therefore either built on the idea of

Calton Hill as being representative of the State, or sought to dismiss it outright. This can be seen in proposals for the National Monument before WWI, and during discussions for the Scottish National War Memorial, as well as during the establishment of the Scottish Office in the 1930s. The establishment of Tait's St Andrew's House, although considered an architectural triumph for the architect, and those who had objected to earlier government designs for the structure, was viewed as a political failing by those who supported the idea of Scottish home rule. Considered a building housing the old managerial order under the administrative arm of State, St Andrews House was a focal point for State Government, participating in Calton Hill's reputation as a representation of State control over Scottish Affairs. It was therefore only a matter of time before those who objected to British State autonomy restored a sense of Scottish national identity to Calton Hill, as an act of provocation and defiance towards the existing government setup of British Parliamentary control over the Scottish nation.

Conclusion

As the three sections of this thesis have discussed, during the long 19th-century, Calton Hill and its monuments represented Scotland's identity within the British State and Imperial idea of the British governing system. By encompassing both cultural and political elements of Scottish society, the architectural output also varied in its rhetoric, message and resonance that have had to be contextualised within wider frameworks in order to be fully understood. This architectural output materialised in the early 19th-century through the establishment of commemorative monuments to heroes of State, and an architectural rhetoric which celebrated Scottish contributions to the glory of State and Empire. During the mid 19th-century, this was reflected in the strong sense of national identity that manifested itself through cultural proposals for sculptural art galleries and the re-siting of pre-reformation structures. By the early 20th century, this was echoed in the hill's role in the debate concerning Scottish political autonomy within State and Empire, and a need to better address societal issues within Scotland through the establishment of its own government departments.

Throughout the rest of the 20th century, there are numerous further examples of the hill reflecting contemporaneous notions of Scottish identity, which become more acutely focused as Scottish identity achieves greater synonymity with Scottish nationalism. Both the proposed re-development of the site as a war memorial after WWII,[612] and Alan Reiach Architects (Plate 4.1), proposals for developing the National Monument during the Festival of Britain in 1949[613] are the last known proposals for the site that are synonymous with the British State as a whole. After WWII, as support for the

[612] This proposed that the twelve pillars should be swept away and a completely new establishment housing a Scottish national military and naval museum and library should be placed on the site instead. Anon, *Scotsman*, 26th December 1944.
[613] The 1949 Festival of Britain proposals by although keeping the twelve columns of the National Monument proposed an area for leisure and pleasure, to be carried out in modern materials and to a simple yet modern design.

Scottish National Party (SNP) grew (Plate 4.2),[614] the latter part of the 20th century demonstrates a resurgence in overtly Scottish cultural output, that is reflective in art works, music and literature, as well as political discourse. For example, cultural associations as statement of national identity are found in Kate Whiteford's installation on Calton Hill in 1987 (Plates 4.3a-b), which used the ground space on the site in between in front of the National Monument to create works associated with 'Scottishness' through Scotland's Celtic past. Jane Brettle's installation *Allegorical Blueprint*, for the 1995 Fotofeis exhibition (Plate 4.4),[615] on the other hand, removed cultural dialogue deliberately from state imagery on the site representing the disengagement between cultural identity and political national control that existed in the mid 1990s.

Calton Hill's largest contribution to Scottish national identity during the 20th century, was to have been in 1979 through the establishment of a debating chamber in the Royal High School for the proposed Scottish Assembly. As the School had outgrown Hamilton's structure by the 1950s and had moved to a new site at Barnton at the end of the 1960s, the building's vacant status and proximity to St Andrew's House highlighted it as a logical and sensible option for the proposed devolved parliament.[616] However, in the end, it was the failure of the 1979 referendum – that would have established the Assembly on the site - that brought further focus to the hill as a representation of nationalist politics. After the fourth conservative victory at Westminster in 1992, a vigil by members of the Democracy for Scotland campaign group (Plate 4.5),[617] was held adjacent to the vacant 'home' of the non-existent Scottish assembly at the Royal High School (Plate 4.6), which

[614] Finlay, "Scottish Nationalism and Scottish Politics 1900-1979." 23.
[615] The prominence of Whiteford's artworks rendered the neoclassical British structures 'redundant' as their over-scaled size dominated the site, Brettle's adaptation of the National Monument, was to take focus away from the neoclassical elements and instead emphasise the space in between the dominant masculine columns.
[616] House of Commons Debates, 27th April 1977 http://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=1977-04-27a.1204.3#g1205.2.
[617] Further information on this can be found at http://www.scottishpoliticalarchive.org.uk/wb/pages/exhibition.php.

continued until the devolution referendum after 1997 achieved Scottish parliamentary home rule.[618] It was this use of the hill as a place of protest against Westminster government that resulted in the hill being allegedly perceived as a "Nationalist Shibboleth," by 1997,[619] and its rejection as the site for the new Scottish parliament in favour of the development at Holyrood (Plate 4.8).[620]

The cultural significance of Calton Hill, therefore is in its continual representation of, and dialogue with the definition of Scottish national identity throughout the last 250 years. Whether creating interpretations of the Scottish sublime, defining the Scottish nation within the British State, or exploring Scottish cultural identity within 20th century Scottish nationalism, the architectural rhetoric on the site has been integral in defining the overall consciousness of Scottish identity throughout its history.

In Roger Kennedy's 1989 publication on the Greek Revival in America, he states that;

> *Though Edinburgh delighted in calling itself "The Athens of the North" throughout the revolutionary age, Scotsmen, including scholars, are apt to look baffled or even annoyed when asked about the political implications of Greek forms…The filaments of ideas tying the American Greek Revival to that of Scotland – the only nation in which it was as empathetic, conspicuous and long lasting in the United States- were not political.*[621]

This thesis has explored the impact of the Greek Revival architecture found on Calton Hill, and, in better understanding its role in the hill's development refutes Kennedy's view that political resonance did not exist in the Scottish

---

[618] This vigil was commemorated in 1998 by the erection of a Democracy Cairn on Calton Hill (Plate 4.7).
[619] http://www.holyroodinquiry.org/FINAL_report/chapter%2003.pdf, 45.
[620] Alan Balfour, Creating a Scottish Parliament (2004). 7.
[621] Roger G. Kennedy and John M. Hall, Greek Revival America (New York: Stewart Distributed in the U.S. by Workman Pub., 1989). 5.

Greek revival. Its presence on Calton Hill was rather more indirect than in structures in Washington or Virgina; but that was because political statements regarding Scottish national identity during the early 19th-century were much more acquiescent in the organisation of the governing setup within the British State. However, the discounting of the hill's classical form as a representation of national identity in the mid 19th-century, and the rejection of the dominance of the classical Structures in later 20th century show that some resonance exists within the architectural style found on Calton Hill which is connected with the dialogue between the understanding of the British State, and how the concept and understanding of Scotland as a nation sits both within, and out with this. This dialogue is not only historical in its construct, but also present in its concept, as demonstrated by the upcoming vote on Scottish Independence, to be held later on this year.[622]

[622] http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2013/11/9348/0.

Bibliography

"A Letter to the Lord Provost on the Mischevous Tendency of a Scheme for Abolishing the High School of Edinburgh." Edinburgh, 1822.

Aberdeen, George Hamilton Gordon Earl of. *An Inquiry into the Principles of Beauty in Grecian Architecture; with an Historical View of the Rise and Progress of the Art in Greece*: pp. 217. J. Murray: London, 1822.

Academy, Committee of Contributors to the Edinburgh. "Report by Committee." Edinburgh April 1823.

Adam and Charles Black (Firm), and Charles Black. *Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland. With ... Map; Engraved Charts and Views ... Plans of Edinburgh and Glasgow and a Copious Intinerary*. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1840.

Ainslie, John. "Old and New Town of Edinburgh and Leith with the Proposed Docks.", 1 map : col. ; 1117 x 787 mm., on sheet 41 x 794 mm., 1804.

Alison, Sir Archibald. "On the Proposed National Monument at Edinburgh." *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 5, no. 28*, July 1819, 377-87.

"An Act for Enlarging and Improving the Harbour at Leith; for Making a New Bason, Quays, Wharfs or Docks,; for Building Warehouses; for Making New Roads and Widening Others; Leading to and from the Said Harbour; and for Empowering the Lord Provost , Magistrates and Council of the City of Edinburgh to Purchase Lands , Houses and Areas; and to Borrow Money for These Purposes.". 1788.

Anderson, William Pitcairn. *Silences That Speak. Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds, with Biographical Sketches of the Notables Who Rest There*. Edinburgh,1931.

Andrews, Malcolm. *The Search for the Picturesque : Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain 1760-1800*: Stanford University Press, 1989.

Anno 3 George IV c.100. "An Act to Incorporate the Contributors for the Erection of a National Monument in Scotland to Commemorate the Naval and Military Victories Obtained During the Late War. ." 1822.

Anno 53 George III c.77. "An Act for Erecting and Maintaining a New Gaol and Other Buildings for the County and City of Edinburgh." 21st May 1813.

Anno 54 George III c.53. "An Act for Erecting and Amintaining a New Gaol and Other Buildings for the County and City of Edinburgh." 1814.

AOC Archaeology Group. "Appendix 5 - Archaeological Analysis " In *Calton Hill Conservation Plan*, edited by LDN Architects for City of Edinburgh Council, 1998.

APC Archaeology Group. "Appendix 5 - Archaeological Analysis " In *Calton Hill Conservation Plan*, edited by LDN Architects for City of Edinburgh Council, 1998.

Armstrong, Mostyn John, Andrew Armstrong, and Thomas Kitchin. "To the Nobility, Gentry & Clergy of the Counties of Haddington, Edinburgh and Linlithgow This Map of the Three Lothians Is." 1 map on 6 sheets. [Edinburgh],, 1773.

Arnold, Dana, ed. *Cultural Identities and the Aesthetics of Britishness*, Studies in Imperialism. Manchester ; New York: Manchester University Press, 2004.

———. *Re-Presenting the Metropolis : Architecture, Urban Experience and Social Life in London 1800-1840*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000.

———. *Rural Urbanism: London Landscapes in the Early Nineteenth Century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

———. *The Metropolis and Its Image : Constructing Identities for London, C.1750-1950*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.

Arnot, Hugo. *The History of Edinburgh, by Hugo Arnot, Esq; Advocate.* EdinburghMDCCLXXIX [1779].

Astley, Stephen. *Robert Adam's Castles*. [London]: Soane Gallery, 2000.

Balfour, Alan. *Creating a Scottish Parliament*2004.

Baronet Minto, Sir Gilbert Elliot. "Proposals for Carrying on Certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh..". Edinburgh, 1752.

Beaven, Brad *Visions of Empire : Patriotism, Popular Culture and the City, 1870-1939*.

Bentham, Jeremy. *Panopticon: Or, the Inspection-House. Containing the Idea of a New Principle of Construction Applicable to Any Sort of Establishment, in Which Persons ... Are to Be Kept ... And in Particular to Penitentiary-Houses, Prisons, ... In a Series of Letters, Written In ... 1787, ... By Jeremy Bentham*. Dublin: Thomas Byrne, 1791.

Berlin, Isaiah. *Vico and Herder : Two Studies in the History of Ideas*. London: Hogarth Press, 1980.

Billings, Robert William. *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1852.

Blondel, Jacques François. *Cours D'architecture; Ou, Traité De La Décoration, Distribution & Construction Des Bâtiments*. 2 vols. Paris,1771.

Boyle, Anne, Colin Dickson, Alasdair McEwan, and Colin MacLean. *Ruins and Remains : Edinburgh's Neglected Heritage*. Edinburgh: Scotland's Cultural Heritage, 1985.

Brodie, Allan, Jane Croom, James O. Davies, and English Heritage. *English Prisons : An Architectural History*. Swindon: English Heritage, 2002.

Brown, Alice, David McCrone, and Lindsay Paterson. *Politics and Society in Scotland*. 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.

Brown, Ian Gordon. "David Hume's Tomb: A Roman Mausoleum by Robert Adam." *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 121, (1991): 321-422.

Brown, James. *The Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh.* : J Moodie Miller, Edinburgh, 1867.

Bryden, D.J. "James Craig's Original Design for the Observatory on Calton Hill, May 1776." *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 7 (New Edition), (2008).

———. "The Edinburgh Observatory 1736-1811: A Story of Failure." *Annals of Science* 47, (1990): 445-74.

Buchan, James. *Capital of the Mind : How Edinburgh Changed the World*. London: John Murray, 2003.

Burke, Edmund. "A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful." London: printed for R. and J. Dodsley, 1757.

Burns, Robert. "Epistle to J. Lapraik." 1785.

"Burns' Monument." *Caledonian Mercury*, 26th February 1824

Byrom, Connie. *The Edinburgh New Town Gardens : 'Blessings as Well as Beauties'*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2005.

Campbell, Ian, and Margaret Stewart. "The Evolution of the Medieval and Renaissance City." In *Edinburgh : The Making of a Capital City*, edited by Brian Edwards and Paul Jenkins, x, 255 p., [8] p. of col. plates. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005.

Campbell, John. "Prospectus of an Educational Institution, on Christian Principles, Proposed to Be Established in Edinburgh.", 1825.

Carter McKee, Kirsten. "Historical Analysis For "Edinburgh's Graveyards Project'." In *The Edinburgh Graveyards Project, 2013*, edited by Susan Buckham. Edinburgh: World Monuments Fund, Edinburgh World Heritage, 2011.

Caswell, Dawn. "The Economy of Style: Thomas S. Tait and the Interior of St Andrews House." *Architectural History* 10, no. 1 (1999): 74-89.

Clarke, Edward Daniel. *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa, (Vol. 6)* London: London, 1818.

Cleghorn, George, and Architectural Institute of Scotland. *Essay on the National Monument of Scotland*. [Edinburgh?: Architectural Institute of Scotland, 1852.

Cockburn Association., Secretary Honorary, and William Mitchell. *The Cockburn Association. A Short Account of Its Objects and Its Work, 1875 to 1897*. Edinburgh,1897.

Cockburn, Henry Cockburn. *A Letter to the Lord Provost on the Best Ways of Spoiling the Beauty of Edinburgh*. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1849.

———. *Journal of Henry Cockburn; Being a Continuation of the Memorials of His Time. 1831-1854*. Edinburgh,: Edmonston and Douglas, 1874.

———. *Memorials of His Time*. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, North Bridge, 1856.

Colley, Linda. *Britons : Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*. 2nd ed, Yale Nota Bene.

New Haven, Conn. ; London: Yale University Press, 2005.

Colvin, Howard. "A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840." Yale University Press, 1995.

Committee, Lord Provosts. "Report by the Lord Provosts Committee Regarding Trinity College Church." 25th January 1853.

Committee of Subscribers for the erection of a Monument to Professor Playfair. "Proceedings Relative to the Erection of a Monument to the Late John Playfair, Esq., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Printed for the Information of the Subscribers." Edinburgh City Archives, 1820-1822.

Committee, University of Edinburgh. Department of Extra-Mural Studies; Edinburgh New Town Conservation. "The Calton Conference: National Shrine, City Park and Outstanding Vantage Point: Does Edinburgh Make the Most of This National Asset?", Edinburgh, 1983.

Cookson, J.E. . "The Edinburgh and Glasgow Duke of Wellington Statues: Early 19th Century Unionist Nationalism as a Tory Project." *The Scottish Historical Review* LXXXIII, 1, no. 215 (2004): 23-40.

Cosh, Mary. *Edinburgh : The Golden Age*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 2003.

Council, Edinburgh Town.

Craig, James. *Plan for a General Bridewell*. [Edinburgh?,1780.

Craske, Matthew. *The Silent Rhetoric of the Body : A History of Monumental Sculpture and Contemporary Art in England, 1720-1770*. New Haven, [Conn.] ; London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2007.

———. "Westminster Abbey 1720-1770: A Public Pantheon Built Upon Private Interest." In *Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea.*, edited by Richard Wrigley and Matthew Craske, 57-79, 2004.

Crook, J. Mordaunt. *The Greek Revival : Neo-Classical Attitudes in British Architecture, 1760-1870*. London: J. Murray, 1972.

Cruft, Kitty, and Andrew G. Fraser. *"The Ingenious Architect of the New Town of Edinburgh" : James Craig 1744-1795*. Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1995.

Cullen, Fintain. "The Art of Assimilation: Scotland and Its Heroes." *Art*

History 16, no. 4 (1993): 600-18.

———. "Union and Display in Nineteenth Century Ireland." In *Cultural Identities and the Aesthetics of Britishness*, edited by Dana Arnold, xi, 205 p., 2004.

Curl, James Stevens. *Death and Architecture : An Introduction to Funerary and Commemorative Buildings in the Western European Tradition, with Some Consideration of Their Settings*. New rev. ed. Stroud: Sutton, 2002.

———. "John Claudius Loudon and the Garden Cemetery Movement." *Garden History* 11, no. 2 (1983): 133-56.

Davis, Terence. *John Nash. The Prince Regent's Architect. [Illustrated.]*. London,1966.

Dennison., E. Patricia. *Holyrood and Canongate : A Thousand Years of History*2005.

Edinburgh Town Council. "Address from the Town Council of Edinburgh on the Subject of the New Buildings for the High School, of Which the Foundation Was Laid on 28th July 1825." 1825.

———. "Edinburgh Town Council Minutes." In *Vol 175*, 140. Edinburgh: Edinburgh City Archives, 1817.

Fehlmann, Marc. "A Building from Which Derived "All That Is Good": Observations on the Intended Reconstruction of the Parthenon on Calton Hill." *Nineteenth Century Art Worldwide* 4, no. 3 (Autumn, 2005).

———. "As Greek as It Gets: British Attempts to Recreate the Parthenon." *Rethinking History* 11, no. No. 3 (September 2007): 353-77.

"Festival in Commemoration of Robert Burns; and to Promote a Subscription to Erect a National Monument to His Memory at Edinburgh: Held at the Freemasons' Tavern, in London. With an Appendix, Containing the Resolutions of the General Meeting, April 24, 1819, Together with a List of the Subscribers.". London, 5th June 1819.

Finlay, R.J. "Scottish Nationalism and Scottish Politics 1900-1979." In *Scotland, 1850-1979: Society, Politics and the Union*, edited by Michael Lynch, 1993.

Finlay, Richard J. "Caledonia or North Britiain?" In *Image and Identity : The*

Making and Re-Making of Scotland Throught the Ages, edited by Dauvit Broun, Richard J. Finlay and Michael Lynch, iv, 236 p. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998.

Fisher, Ian. "Thomas Hamilton." In *Scottish Pioneers of the Greek Revival*, edited by David Walker and Scottish Georgian Society. [Edinburgh]: Scottish Georgian Society, 1984.

Forrest, Robert. *Descriptive Account of the Exhibition of Statuary, National Monument, Calton Hill, Edinburgh, by Robert Forrest, Sculptor*. [Edinburgh: s.n.], 1846.

———. "Descriptive Catalogue of Statuary from the Chisel of Mr Robert Forrest." Edinburgh: Thomas Allan & co. , 1835.

———. *Forrest's Statuary, within Area of National Monument, Calton Hill, Edinburgh ... Catalogue of Statues*. [Edinburgh?,1850.

Fraser, Andrew G. *The Building of Old College : Adam, Playfair & the University of Edinburgh*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989.

Fry, Michael. *The Scottish Empire*. East Linton, Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press; Birlinn, 2001.

Gavine, David. "The Calton Hill Observatories." *Journal of the Astronomical Society of Edinburgh*, 3, (October 1981): v.

Gavine, David, and Laurence Hunter. *A Caledonian Acropolis the Story of Calton Hill*. Edinburgh: Scotland's Cultural Heritage, 1982.

Gavine, David Myles. "Astronomy in Scotland 1745-1900." Thesis for the degreee of Doctor of Philosophy, Open University, 1982.

Gifford, John, Colin McWilliam, David Walker, and Christopher Wilson. *Edinburgh*, The Buildings of Scotland: Pevsner Architectural Guides: London : Penguin, 1991.

Gilpin, William. "Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: To Which Is Added a Poem, on Landscape Painting. By William Gilpin." London: printed for R. Blamire, 1792.

Gilpin, William Prebendary of Salisbury. *Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales ... Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty;*

Made in the Summer Of ... 1770: London, 1782.

Godwin, William. *Essay on Sepulchres: Or, a Proposal for Erecting Some Memorial of the Illustrious Dead in All Ages on the Spot Where Their Remains Have Been Interred*: London, 1809.

Gordon, James. "Edinodunensis Tabulam." Amsterdam?: National Library of Scotland 1647.

———. "Edinodunensis Tabulam." 1647(?).

Government of Great Britain. "Journal of the House of Commons." 4th November 1813-1st november 1814.

Gow, Ian. "C.R. Cockerell's Design for the Northern Athenian Parthenon." *Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland* 16, (1989): 20-25.

Grant, James. *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh : Its History, Its People, and Its Places*. London ; New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., 1881.

Groseclose, Barbara S. *British Sculpture and the Company Raj : Church Monuments and Public Statuary in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay to 1858*. Newark

London: University of Delaware Press ; Associated University Presses, 1995.

Guidicini, Giovanna. " A Scottish Triumphal Path of Learning at George Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh." *International Review of Scottish Studies* 35 (2010).

Hadden, James Cuthbert. *George Thomson the Friend of Burns. His Life & Correspondence*. London,1898.

Hansard, T.C. "Parliamentary Debates."

Hay, Ian. *Their Name Liveth : The Book of the Scottish National War Memorial*. London: J. Lane, The Bodley Head, 1931.

Holloway, James, Lindsay Errington, and National Gallery of Scotland. *The Discovery of Scotland : The Appreciation of Scottish Scenery through Two Centuries of Painting*. Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1978.

Hoock, Holger. "The British Military Pantheon in St Paul's Cathedral: The State, Cultural Patriotism, and the Politics of National Monuments, C.1790-1820." In *Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea.*, edited by Richard Wrigley and Matthew Craske, 81-105, 2004.

Howard, John *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, with Preliminary Observations, and on Account of Some Foreign Prisons.* : Warrington, 1777.

Howard, John the Philanthropist. *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, with Preliminary Observations, and on Account of Some Foreign Prisons. (Appendix.)*: Warrington, 1777.

Hunter, Thomas, and Robert Porter. "Report on the Common Good of the City of Edinburgh." Edinburgh, 1905.

Irvine, Malcolm Sinclair. *The Calton of Caldtoun of Edinburgh 1631-1887*. [Edinburgh: s.n.], 1887.

Jackson, Gordon. *The History and Archaeology of Ports*. Tadworth: World's Work, 1983.

Jenkyns, Richard. *Westminster Abbey*, Wonders of the World. London: Profile Books, 2004.

Johnson, Jim, and Louis Stanley Rosenburg. *Renewing Old Edinburgh: The Enduring Legacy of Patrick Geddes*. Glendaruel [Edinburgh]: Argyll Publishing ;Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies, 2011.

Kay, William. "Robert Adam: Some Responses to a Scottish Background " *Architectural Heritage: the journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland* iv, (1993): 23-38.

Kennedy, Roger G., and John M. Hall. *Greek Revival America*. New York: Stewart Distributed in the U.S. by Workman Pub., 1989.

Kornmeier, Uta. "Madame Tussaud's as a Popular Pantheon." In *Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea.*, edited by Richard Wrigley and Matthew Craske, 81-105, 2004.

Lamont, Stewart. *When Scotland Ruled the World : The Story of the Golden Age of Genius, Creativity and Exploration*. London: HarperCollins, 2001.

Law-Dunbar and Naismith (LDN) Architects. "Calton Hill Conservation Plan." Edinburgh, 1999.

Le Roy, Julien - David. *Les Ruines Des Plus Beaux Monuments De La Grèce*. Paris: H. L. Guerin & L. F. Delatour, 1758

Leith Walk Research Group. *Leith Walk and Greenside : A Social History*.

[Edinburgh]: [The Group], 1979.

Levitt, I. "Scottish Sentiment, Administrative Devolution and Westminster, 1885-1964." In *Scotland, 1850-1979: Society, Politics and the Union*, edited by Michael Lynch, 1993.

———, ed. *The Scottish Office : Depression and Reconstruction, 1919-1959*. Vol. 5, Scottish History Society. Edinburgh: Pillans & Wilson, 1992.

Lewis, A.R. "The Builders of Edinburgh's New Town 1767-1795." University of Edinburgh, 2006.

Linning, M. *Memoranda Publica*. [Edinburgh: s.n.], 1834.

Littlejohn, Henry J. . "Report on the City Cemeteries." Edinburgh, 1883.

———. "Report on the Sanitary Condition of the City of Edinburgh." Edinburgh, 1863.

Llewellyn, Nigel, and Victoria and Albert Museum. *The Art of Death : Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual C.1500-C.1800*. London: Published in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum by Reaktion, 1991.

Loudon, John Claudius. "The Principles of Landscape-Gardening and of Landscape-Architecture Applied to the Laying out of Public Cemeteries and the Improvement of Churchyards; Including Observations on the Working and General Management of Cemeteries and Burial-Grounds." *The Gardners Magazine and register of rural and domestic improvement*, 1843.

Lowrey, John. "Architect's Monuments at Greyfriars " In *Death, Commemoration and Memory Conference*. University of Edinburgh 2010.

———. "From Caesarea to Athens Greek Revival Edinburgh and the Question of Scottish Identity within the Unionist State " *JSAH* 60: 2, (2001).

———. "Robert Adam and Edinburgh." *Rassegna* 64, (1994?).

———. "Robert Adam and Edinburgh." *Rassegna* 64, (1996).

———. "The Polis and the Portico: The High School of the Athens of the North." In *Cast Collection Conference*. Edinburgh College of Art 2010.

———. "The Urban Design of Edinburgh's Calton Hill." Paper presented at the St Andrews studies in the history of Scottish architecture & design;

The new town phenomenon : the second generation, [St. Andrews], 2000.

Lowrey, John , and Anthony Lewis. "James Craig: Architect of the First New Town of Edinburgh." *Architectural Heritage v : the journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland* (1994): 39-50.

MacClintock, Lucy. "Monumentality Versus Suitability: Viollet-Le-Duc's Saint Gimer at Carcassonne." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 40, no. 3 (1981): 218-35.

MacFarlane, Dana "The Fishwives of Newhaven." In *The National Galleries of Scotland Research Conference* Edinburgh 2013.

MacInnes, Ranald. "Robert Adam's Public Buildings." *Architectural Heritage iv : the journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland* (1994): 10-22.

Macintyre, Gordon. *Dugald Stewart: The Pride and Ornament of Scotland*: Sussex Academic Press, 2003.

MacKenzie, John M. "Empire and National Identities the Case of Scotland." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8, (1998): 215-31.

Markus, Thomas A. *Buildings & Power : Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types*. London: Routledge, 1993.

———. "Buildings for the Sad, the Bad and the Mad in Urban Scotland 1780-1830." In *Order in Space and Society*, edited by Thomas A. Markus, 25-114: Mainstream, 1982.

———, ed. *Order in Space and Society*: Mainstream, 1982.

McKean, Charles. *Edinburgh : Portrait of a City*. London: Century, 1991.

———. "Improvement and Modernisation in Everyday Enlightenment Scotland " In *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600 to 1800*, edited by Elizabeth A. Foyster and Christopher A. Whatley, xviii, 334 p. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010.

———. "The Incivility of Edinburgh's New Town." In *The Neo-Classical Town : Scottish Contributions to Urban Design since 1750*, edited by W. A. Brogden, 155p. Edinburgh: Rutland, 1996.

———. *The Scottish Thirties an Architectural Introduction*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1987.

———. "Twinning Cities: Modernisation Versus Improvement." In *Edinburgh : The Making of a Capital City*, edited by Brian Edwards and Paul Jenkins, x, 255 p., [8] p. of col. plates. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005.

McLaren, Martha. *British India & British Scotland, 1780-1830 : Career Building, Empire Building, and a Scottish School of Thought on Indian Governance*, Series on International, Political, and Economic History. Akron, Ohio: University of Akron Press, 2001.

McQueen, B. "Appendix 1 - Archival and Documentary Research " In *Calton Hill Conservation Plan*, edited by LDN Architects for City of Edinburgh Council, 1998.

Mears, Frank , and Ramsay Traquair. "Proposals for the National Monument, Edinburgh." *The Blue Blanket* (1912).

Mein, Robert. *The City Cleaned, and Country Improven. By Following out This Proposed Method, for Paying Only One Penny Per Week, for an 8l. Rent, and So Proportionally by the Possessors of Each Bounds, Consisting of 800l. Of Yearly Rent, Which Is 50 Houses, at 16l. Rent*. Edinburgh,1760.

———. *The Edinburgh Paradise Regain'd, on the City Set at Liberty, to Propagate and Improve Her Trade and Commerce. ... By a Merchant-Citizen, ...* Edinburgh,1764.

Miller, Hugh. "Trinity College Church Versus the Burns Monument." *The Witness*, 5th March 1856.

Miller, William. "Politics in the Scottish City." In *Perspectives of the Scottish City*, edited by George Gordon, x,314p. [Aberdeen]: Aberdeen University Press, 1985.

Mitchell, Ann K. *The People of Calton Hill*. Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1993.

Mitchell, J F. *Some Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions*1961.

Mitchell, John F. *Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions (Pre 1855). Vol. 1, Old Calton Burial Ground, New Calton Burial Ground*. Edited by Stuart E. Fleming.2003.

Mitchell, William. *The National Monument to Be Completed for the Scottish National Gallery on the Model of the Parthenon at Athens : An Appeal to the*

Scottish People. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1906.

———. *The National Monument to Be Completed for the Scottish National Gallery on the Model of the Parthenon at Athens : An Appeal to the Scottish People*. London: A. and C. Black, 1907.

Mitchell, William, and C. I. Lacock. *A New National Patriotic Poem or Song Entitled "The Royal Standard of Our Queen"*. London,1900.

Monteith, Robert. *An Theatre of Mortality: Or, the Illustrious Inscriptions Extant Upon the Several Monuments Erected over Dead Bodies ,(of the Sometime Honourable Persons) Buried within the Greyfriars Church-Yard; and Other Churches within the City of Edinburgh and Suburbs:*1704.

Morris, Richard J. "Civil Society and the Nature of Urbanism: Britian 1750-1850." *Urban History* 25, no. 3 (1998): 289-301.

Morris, Richard J., and Graeme Morton. "The Re-Making of Scotland:A Nation within a Nation, 1850-1920." In *Scotland, 1850-1979: Society, Politics and the Union*, edited by Michael Lynch, 1993.

Morton, Graeme. "Civil Society, Municipal Government and the State:Enshrinement, Empowerment and Legitimacy. Scotland 1800-1929." *Urban History* 25, no. 3 (1998): 348-67.

———. "Scotland's Missing Nationalism." In *Image and Identity : The Making and Re-Making of Scotland Throught the Ages*, edited by Dauvit Broun, Richard J. Finlay and Michael Lynch, iv, 236 p. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998.

———. *Unionist Nationalism : Governing Urban Scotland, 1830-1860*. East Linton: Tuckwell, 1999.

Mudie, Robert. *The Modern Athens : A Dissection and Demonstration of Men and Things in the Scotch Capital*. The second edition. ed. London: Printed for Knight and Lacey, 1825.

Murray, Katharine Marjory. *Working Partnership. Being the Lives of John George, 8th Duke of Atholl ... And of His Wife Katharine Marjory Ramsay. [with Portraits.]*. London,1958.

Naik, Anuradha S., and Margaret C. H. Stewart. "The Hellenization of Edinburgh : Cityscape, Architecture, and the Athenian Cast Collection

" *JSAH* 66:3 (2007): 366-89.

Nash, John. "1st Report to H.M Commissioners of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues ", 1809.

Nasmyth, James, and Samuel Smiles. *James Nasmyth, Engineer an Autobiography*. Popular ed. London: John Murray, 1897.

Niven, Lord Henry Cockburn to Mr. Edinburgh City Archives, 2nd May 1822.

Noble, Andrew. "Versions of the Scottish Pastoral: The Literati and the Tradition 1780-1830." In *Order in Space and Society*, edited by Thomas A. Markus, 263-310: Mainstream, 1982.

"Obituary- Mr Robert Forrest, Sculptor." *The Gentleman's Magazine* March 1853.

P.A.R., O.D.E. &. "Account of the Observatory on Calton Hill." *Scots Magazine* 50, (December 1788): 605-06 & 33-34.

Parliament., Great Britain. "An Act for Building and Maintaining a Bridewell and Correction-House, in and for the City and County of Edinburgh.". Edinburgh, 1791.

Paton, Henry M. "The Barony of Calton, Part I." *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* XVIII (1932): 33-78.

———. "The Barony of Calton, Part Ii." *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* XIX (1933): 92-141.

Paton, Joseph Noel. *National Memorial of the War of Independence under Wallace and Bruce and of Its Results in the Union of England and Scotland, to Be Erected in the Scottish Metropolis*. Edinburgh,1859.

Paxton, Roland, J. Shipway, and Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland. *Scotland - Lowlands and Borders*, Civil Engineering Heritage. London: Thomas Telford, 2007.

Peter McGowan Associates. "064 New Calton Burial Ground." In *Edinburgh: Survey of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*: City of Edinburgh Council, 2007.

Petrie, Ann. "Scottish Culture and the First World War, 1914-1939."

University of Dundee, 2006.

Phillipson, N.T. "Nationalism and Ideology." In *Government and Nationalism in Scotland an Enquiry by Members of the University of Edinburgh*, edited by J. N. Wolfe, iii-vii,205p. Edinburgh: Edinburgh U.P, 1969.

Playfair, William. *Report to the Right Honourable the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City of Edinburgh ... On a Plan for Laying out the New Town between Edinburgh and Leith, Etc*. Edinburgh,1819.

Port, M. H. *600 New Churches : The Church Building Commission, 1818-1856*. [New ed.]. ed. Reading: Spire Books, 2006.

Poulot, Dominique. "Pantheons in Eighteenth-Century France: Temple, Museum, Pyramid. ." In *Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea.*, edited by Richard Wrigley and Matthew Craske, 123-45, 2004.

Price, John Valdimir "Ossian and the Canon in the Scottish Enlightenment." In *Ossian Revisited*, edited by Howard Gaskill, viii,250p. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991.

Price, Uvedale Sir Bart. *An Essay on the Picturesque as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful: And on the Use of Studying Pictures for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape*: 2 vol. London, Hereford, 1794.

"Proposed Monument to the Memory of Robert Burns- List of Subscribers ".

Purves, Graeme A. S. "The Life and Work of Sir Frank Mears : Planning with a Cultural Perspective ", Heriot-Watt University, 1987.

Reed, Peter. "Form and Context : A Study of Georgian Edinburgh." In *Order in Space and Society*, edited by Thomas A. Markus: Mainstream, 1982.

———. "Georgian Edinburgh " In *Order in Space and Society*, edited by Thomas A. Markus: Mainstream, 1982.

Repton, Humphry, and Uvedale Sir Bart An Essay on the Picturesque etc Price. *A Letter to Uvedale Price, Esq. [Commenting on His "Essay on the Picturesque," Etc.]*: London, 1794.

Rhind, David. "Documents and Correspondence Relative to Trinity College Church." Edinburgh Thomas Constable, 1848.

Richardson, Harriet, and Ian H. Goodall. *English Hospitals 1660-1948 : A Survey of Their Architecture and Design*. Swindon: Royal Commission

on the Historical Monuments of England, 1998.

Robertson, Andrew. *The Parthenon Adapted to the Purpose of a National Monument to Commemorate the Victories of the Late War; Proposed to Be Erected in Trafalgar Square or Hyde Park [with Plans]*1838.

Rock, Joe. "Robert Forrest (1789-1852) and His Exhibition on the Calton Hill." *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 7 (New Series), (2008): 127-38.

———. *Thomas Hamilton Architect 1784-1858*. [Edinburgh?]: J. Rock, 1984.

Rodger, John, and Gerard Carruthers. *Fickle Man : Robert Burns in the 21st Century*. Dingwall: Sandstone, 2009.

Rodger, Richard. *The Transformation of Edinburgh : Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Ross, William C. A. *The Royal High School*. Edinburgh,1934.

Rowan, Alistair John. *Vaulting Ambition : The Adam Brothers : Contractors to the Metropolis in the Reign of George Iii*. London: Sir John Soane's Museum, 2007.

Rowan, Alistair, and Soane Gallery. *'Bob the Roman' : Heroic Antiquity & the Architecture of Robert Adam*. Great Britain: The Soane Gallery, 2003.

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland. *An Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of the City of Edinburgh, with the Thirteenth Report of the Commission*. Edinburgh, H. M. Stationery Off.,1951.

Scott, Walter. *Hints Addressed to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh, and Others, in Prospect of His Majesty's Visit*. Edinburgh: Printed for Bell and Bradfute, Manners and Miller, Archibald Constable and Co., William Blackwood, Waugh and Innes, and John Robertson, 1822.

Shepherd, Thomas H., and John Britton. *Modern Athens! Displayed in a Series of Views: Or Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century: Exhibiting the Whole of the New Buildings, Modern Improvements, Antiquities, and Picturesque Scenery, of the Scottish Metropolis and Its Environs*. London: published by Jones & Co. Temple of the Muses, Finsbury Square., 1829.

Sleazer, John. "The North Prospect of the City of Edenburgh." National Library of Scotland 1693.

Smith, John. *Epitaphs and Monumental Inscritions in Old Calton Burying Ground, Edinburgh*1907.

———. *The Calton Hill, Edinburgh and Its Monuments*n.d.

Stark, William. *Report to the Right Honourable the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City of Edinburgh, and the Governors of George Heriot's Hospital ... On the Plans for Laying out the Grounds for Buildings between Edinburgh and Leith*. Edinburgh: Printed by A. Smellie, 1814.

Stechow, Wolfgang. *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century*. [London]: Phaidon, 1966.

Steuart, D., and A. Cockburn. "General Heads of a Plan for Erecting a New Prison and Bridewell in the City of Edinburgh." 1782.

Stevenson, David. *Life of Robert Stevenson, Civil Engineer. [Illustrated.]*. Edinburgh,1878.

Stevenson, Sara, David Octavius Hill, Robert Adamson, and Scottish National Portrait Gallery. *Hill and Adamson's the Fishermen and Women of the Firth of Forth*. Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1991.

Stuart, James, and Nicholas Revett. *The Antiquities of Athens Measured and Delineated by James Stuart F.R.S. And F.S.A. And Nicholas Revett Painters and Architects*. 4 vols. Vol. I. London: John Haberkorn, 1762.

Summerson, John. *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830*. 9th ed. ed. New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1993.

———. *The Life and Work of John Nash, Architect*: George Allen & Unwin, London, 1980.

Summerson, John, and John Nash. *John Nash. Architect to King George Iv. (Second Edition.)*: pp. 299. pl. XVI. George Allen & Unwin: London, 1949.

The Lincoln Monument in Memory of the Scottish-American Soldiers. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1893.

"The Panorama, with Memoirs of Its Inventor, Rober Barker, and His Late Son, Henry Aston Barker." *The art-journal* 3, (1857): 46.

Treasury, Committee for the National Monument of Scotland and Parliamentary Commissioners for Improvement in the City of

Edinburgh to Lords of. "Request for Financial Aid."

Turnbull, Michael T R B. *The Edinburgh Graveyard Guide*2006.

Tyrrell, Alex, and Michael T. Davis. "Bearding the Tories: The Commemoration of the Scottish Political Martyrs of 1793-94." In *Contested Sites : Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain*, edited by Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrrell, xvi, 176 p. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

Walker, David, ed. *Scottish Pioneers of the Greek Revival*. [Edinburgh]: Scottish Georgian Society, 1984.

Walker, David, Great Britain. Scottish Development Department. Historic Buildings and Monuments., and Great Britain. Scottish Office. *St Andrew's House : An Edinburgh Controversy, 1912-1939*. Edinburgh: Historic building and Monuments, Development Department for the Secretary of State for Scotland, 1989.

Walker, Frank. "National Romanticism and the Architecture of the City." In *Perspectives of the Scottish City*, edited by George Gordon, x,314p. [Aberdeen]: Aberdeen University Press, 1985.

Watkin, David. *The Life and Work of C.R. Cockerell*, Studies in Architecture. London: Zwemmer, 1974.

Whinney, Margaret Dickens. *Sculpture in Britain, 1530-1830*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964.

Wilcox, Scott Barnes. "The Panorama and Related Exhibitions in London." Thesis (M Litt), University of Edinburgh, 1976.

Willsher, Betty. "Midlothian and Edinburgh " In *Survey of Scottish Gravestones*: National Monuments Record for Scotland c.1985.

———. "Midlothian and Edinburgh " In *Survey of Scottish Gravestones*: National Monuments Record for Scotland c.1990s?

Wood, William. *An Essay on National and Sepulchral Monuments*. London: William Miller, 1808.

Yarrington, Alison. "The Commemoration of the Hero 1800-1864 : Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars." Garland, 1988.

Youngson, A. J. *The Making of Classical Edinburgh, 1750-1840*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988.