CALTON HILL

AND THE PLANS
FOR EDINBURGH'S
THIRD NEW TOWN

Kirsten Carter McKee

Contents

Acknowledgements

Rural Urbanism to Urban Arcadia: the Evolution of Calton Hill

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 eighteenth-, nineteenth- and twentieth-century thought is less widely known. Much is a consequence of the previous research on Calton Hill, which has mainly focused 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 eighteenth and early nineteenth century.[1]

Previous study on the expansion of London and Britain during the early 1800s has engaged with this connection between government policy and the urban form.[2] 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 of British campaigns during the early years of the Empire.[3] 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 eighteenth- and nineteenth-century society, and an output of national government policy through local civic interpretation.

Calton Hill's changing relationship with the city of Edinburgh from the eighteenth-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 nineteenth 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 eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The chronological development of the site's cityscape 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.
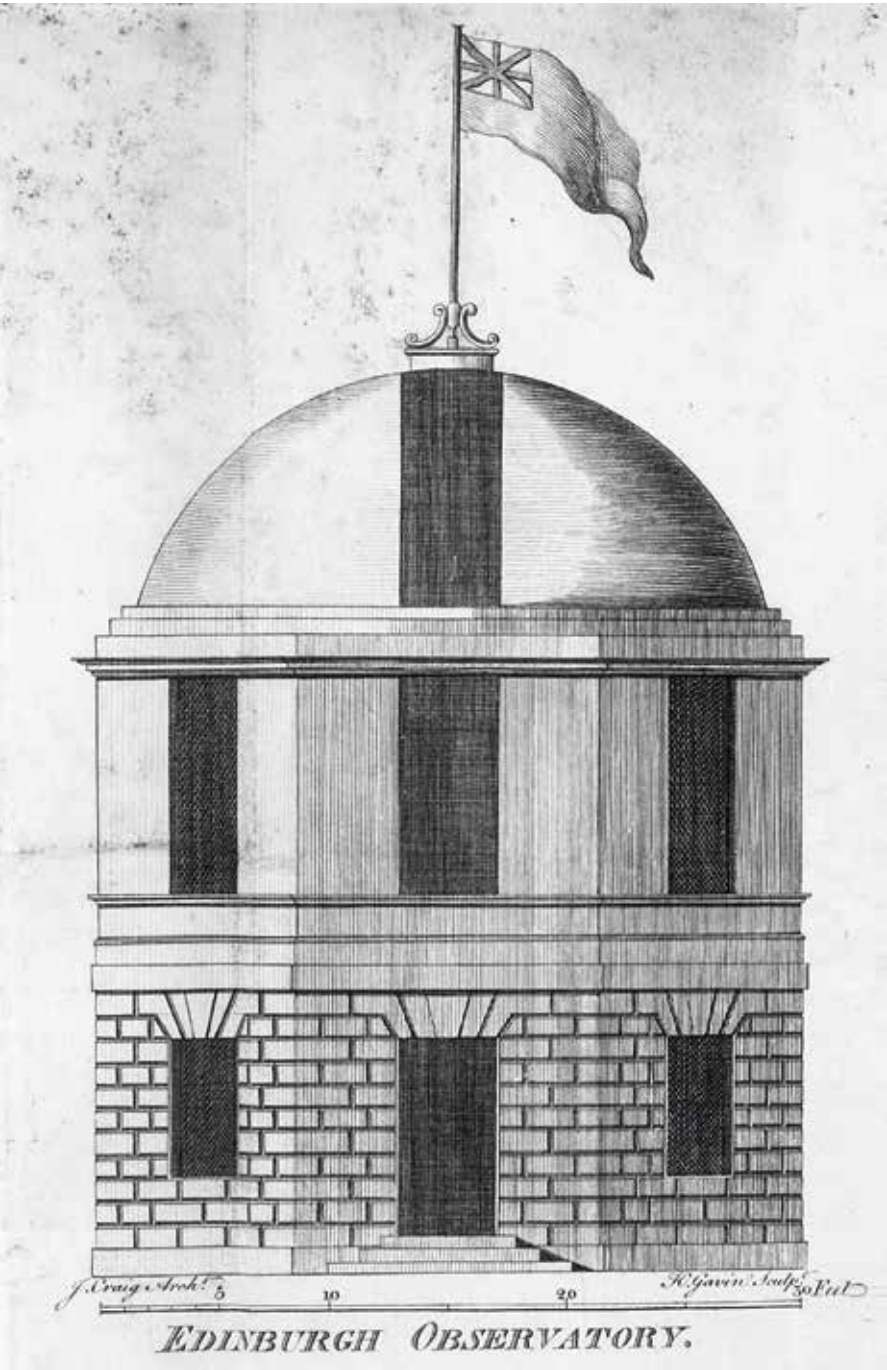
Plate 1.2—James Craig, *Proposal for the Edinburgh Observatory*, c. 1776.
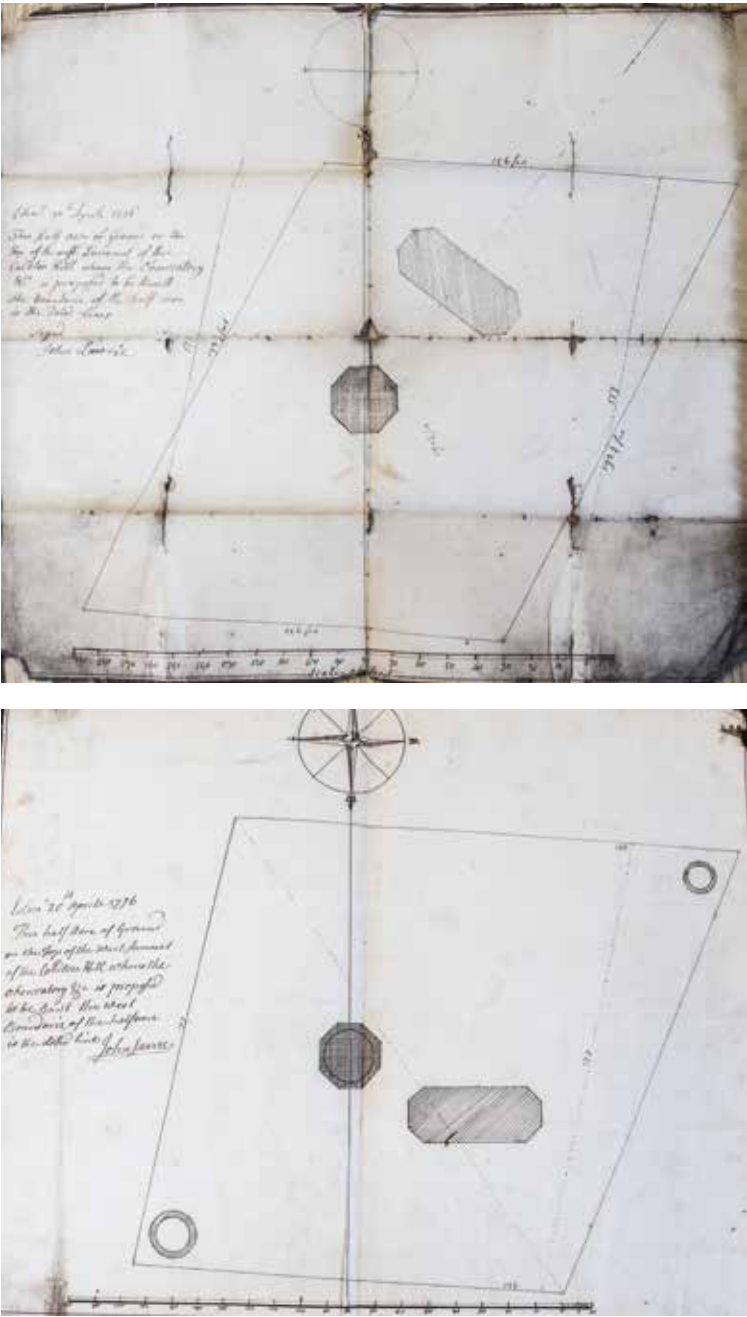Courtesy of the Bodleian Library

Plate 1.3a—John Laurie, *Plan of Half the Acre of Ground at the Top of Calton Hill—Site of the Observatory*, 1776.
© Edinburgh City Archives
Plate 1.3b—John Laurie, *Plan of Half the Acre of Ground at the Top of Calton Hill—Site of the Observatory*, 1776.
© Edinburgh City Archives.

Plate 1.4—J. and H. S. Storer, *The Old Observatory (Calton Hill)*, 1820.
© Courtesy of Historic Environment Scotland. (Taken from 'Views in Scotland')

had been cut short at his father's death in 1748 when he became more heavily involved in the family business.[28] 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 related 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 by 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 executed for pleasure or 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'.[29] 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 represented through his watercolours of similar views.[30] By the building of 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, Adam's idea of Calton Hill as a sublime rural landscape would have prevailed, since Craig's designs would have been completely hidden by the gothic fortifications.

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 curtilage. Building accounts for the observatory and the gothic tower at the southwestern corner[31] 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 in the lengthy litigation process that occurred in the 1780s and 1790s after the failure of the project.[32] 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 their relationship on this project.

Craig's final accounts, held in the Edinburgh City Archives, claim payment for a 'tower with wings.'[33] This may be his proposal for the octagonal observatory,[34] 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 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.[35] It is, then, possible that Adam's influence may have not only been responsible for the outer curtilage 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'.[36] 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'.[37]

Collaboration between Adam and Craig to romanticise the view of Calton Hill is possible. Scholars of the development of eighteenth-century Edinburgh are of the opinion that the Adam brothers were often extremely influential in the design of many of the buildings of the city during this period: 'Robert Adam influenced many of the new town builders who can be called the Adam Group . . . Even local Edinburgh

Plate 1.5—John Slezer, *The North Prospect of the City of Edinburgh*, 1693.
© Courtesy of National Library of Scotland

architects like James Craig . . . [were] dependent on John and Robert Adam at times.'[38]

Other structures in Edinburgh now known to be a product of Adam/Craig collaboration further strengthen the likelihood of this alliance. Examples include Botanic Cottage—previously attributed to James Craig, but now known to have been designed by John Adam,[39] and the monument to Linnaeus in the Botanic Garden in Edinburgh,[40] which was designed by Robert Adam and executed by James Craig. Both of these structures 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.

The above information and Arnot's account of the development of the gothic tower suggest 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.[41] Adam's appreciation
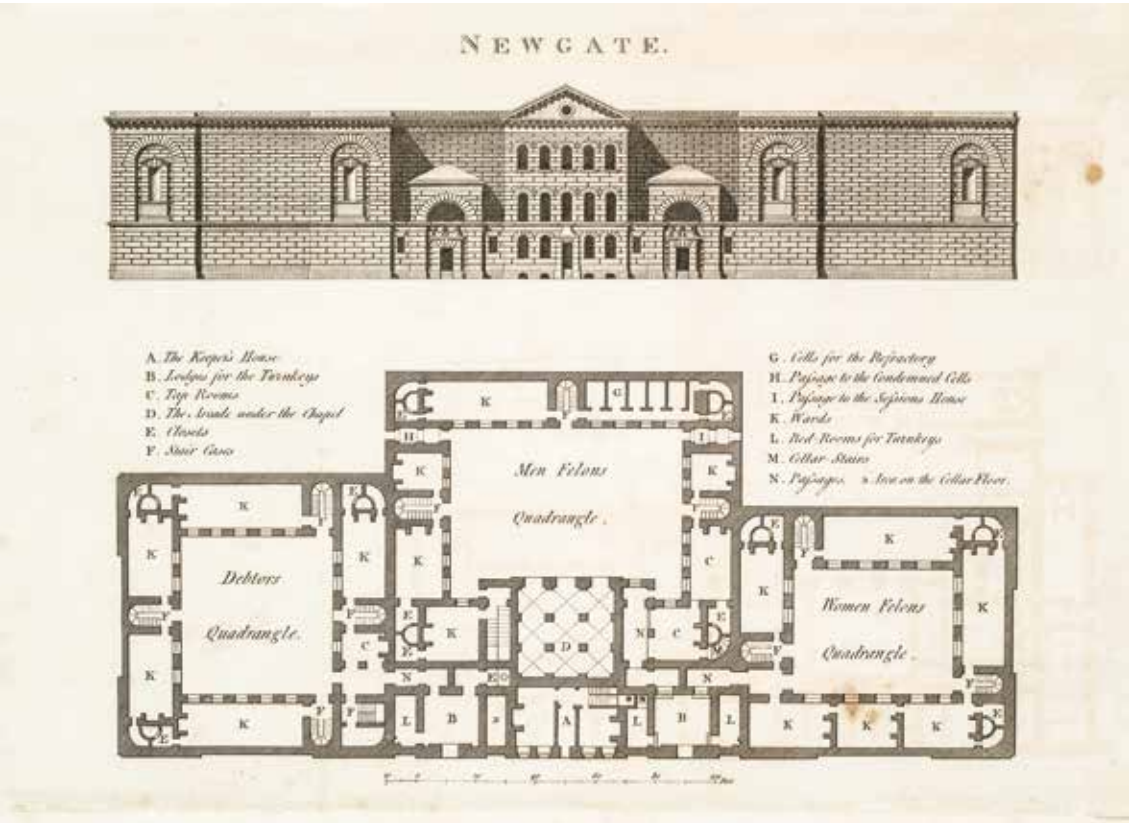
Plate 1.12 George Dance, *A Plan of Newgate Prison in London*, 1800.
© Courtesy of the British Library

Early competition proposals by Adam, Wardrup and Baxter all followed these courtyard-plan designs[60] (Plates 1.9–1.11a), and in Adam's and Baxter's cases in particular, were directly influenced by Blackburn's New Bailey prison in Manchester.[61] 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 1.12). This was fortified Palladianism, with heavily rusticated high walls and limited openings, that created an impenetrable air. Adam's second proposal (Plates 1.11b, c) includes references to this prison style, with dentilled decoration (small square block mouldings that are repeated to form a long horizontal set) on the cornices on the south side of the building, and an imposing near-impenetrable exterior wall on the the north side, with a rusticated central block defining the only access to the Bridewell through a porticoed entranceway flanked by Doric columns.

As Adam moves onto a more castellated style for the Bridewell, the layout for the building changes as dramatically as the the external style (Plates 1.13a–c and Plates 1.14a–f). Rustication
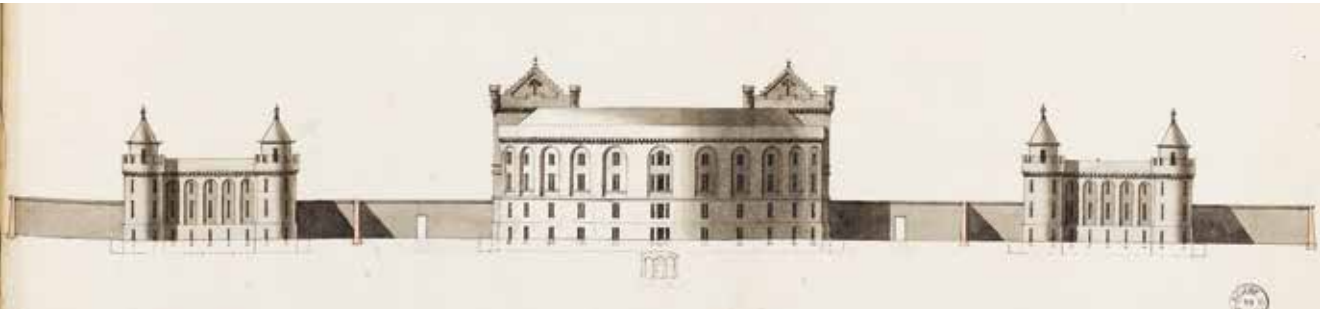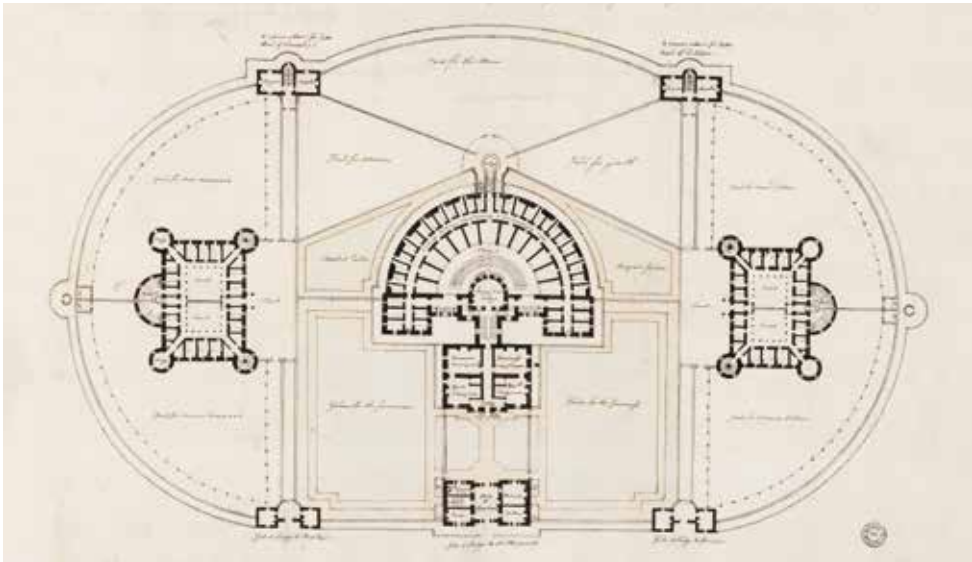
Plate 1.13a—Robert Adam, *Bridewell Design*: Castle Style 2—Plan, 1791.
© Sir John Soane's Museum, London. Photograph: Ardon Bar-Hama
Plate 1.13b—Robert Adam, *Bridewell Design*: Castle Style 2—North Elevation, 1791.
© Sir John Soane's Museum, London. Photograph: Ardon Bar-Hama
Plate 1.13c—Robert Adam, *Bridewell Design*: Castle Style 2—South Elevation, 1791.
© Sir John Soane's Museum, London. Photograph: Ardon Bar-Hama
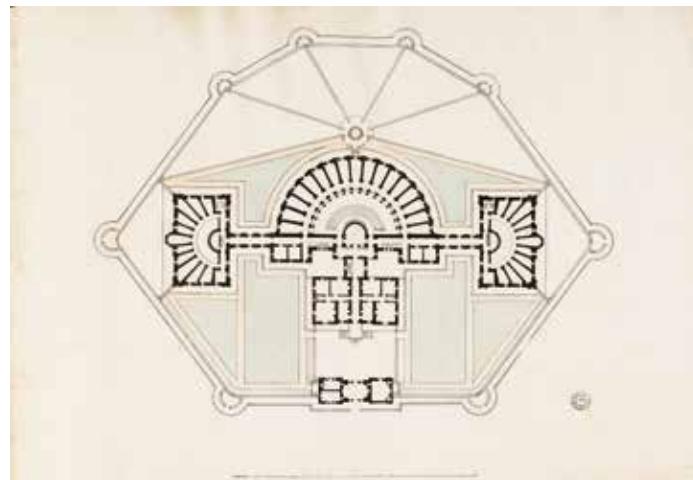
Plate 1.14a—Robert Adam, *Bridewell Design*: Castle Style 3 – Plan, 1791.
© Sir John Soane's Museum, London. Photograph: Ardon Bar-Hama
Plate 1.14b—Robert Adam, *Bridewell Design*: Castle Style 3—North Elevation, 1791.
© Sir John Soane's Museum, London. Photograph: Ardon Bar-Hama
Plate 1.14c—Robert Adam, *Bridewell Design*: Castle Style 3—South Elevation, 1791.
© Sir John Soane's Museum, London. Photograph: Ardon Bar-Hama

Plate 1.14d—Robert Adam, *Bridewell Design*. Castle Style 3—East–West Section looking North with detail of inspection lodge, 1791.
© Sir John Soane's Museum, London. Photograph: Ardon Bar-Hama
Plate 1.14e—Robert Adam, *Bridewell Design*. Castle Style 3—East–West Section looking South, 1791.
© Sir John Soane's Museum, London. Photograph: Ardon Bar-Hama
Plate 1.14 f—Robert Adam, *Bridewell Design*. Castle Style 3—North–South Section looking East, 1791.
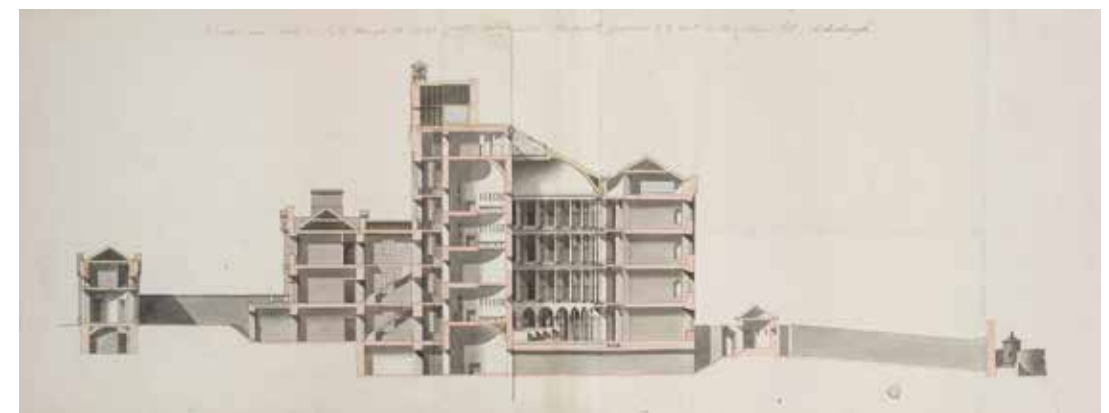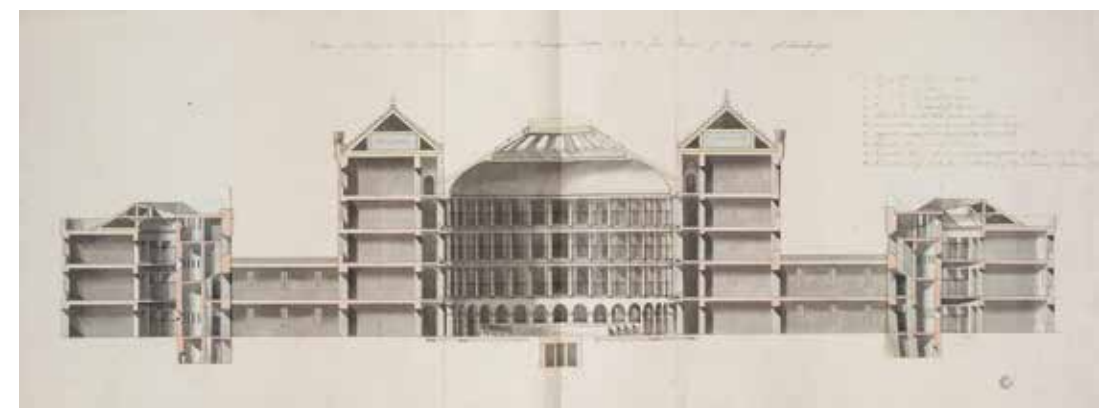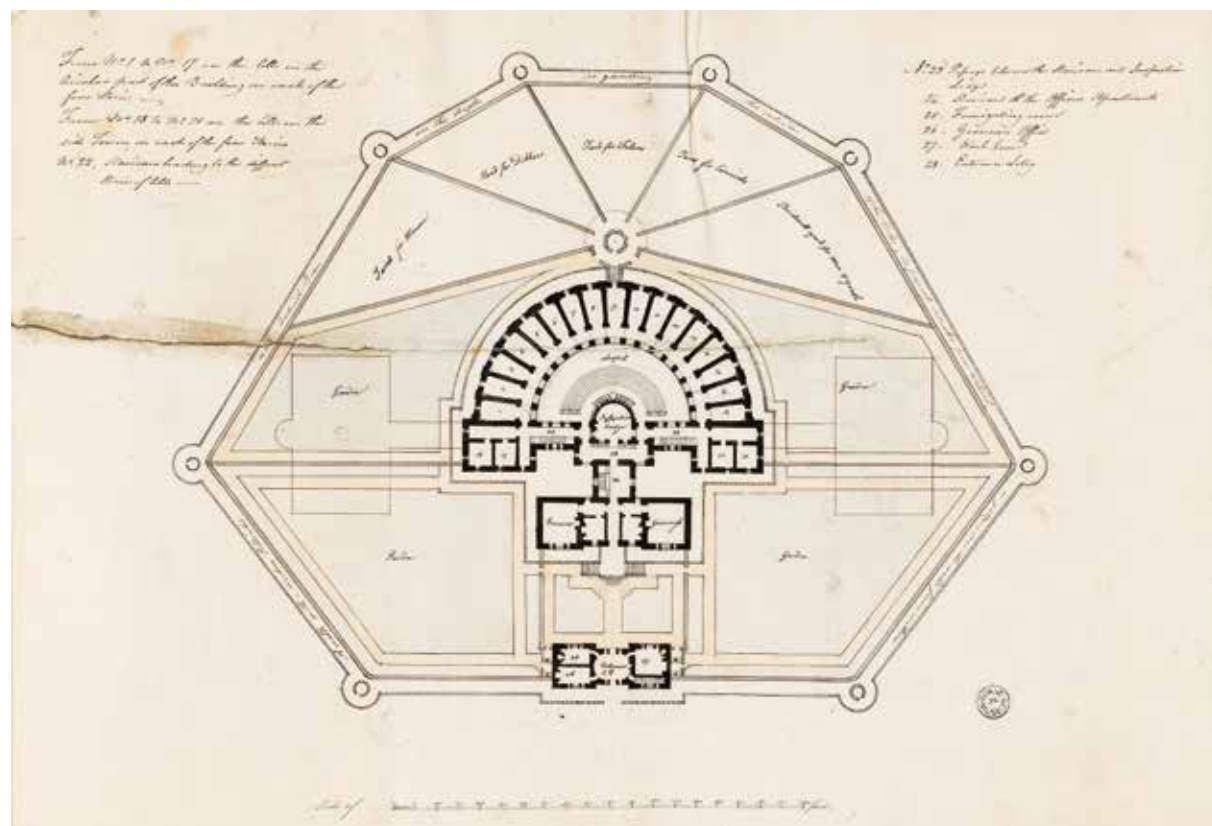© Sir John Soane's Museum, London. Photograph: Ardon Bar-Hama

Plate 1.15—Robert Adam, *Bridewell Design*: Castle Style 4—Plan, 1791.
© Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum

1787[63] suggested that his design could be adapted to a much greater 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 required only one central building, which kept material and construction costs down and a smaller area upon which to site it.[64]

As limited ground size was not a consideration for Adam (he had already demonstrated that a Bridewell in the Howard/Blackburn style could easily be accommodated on the site), it is likely that Bentham's ideas appealed to Adam on a visual level. Bentham's proposal was that the exterior of the structure should give the impression of a 'fortress'[65] or a military citadel, as he believed this would strike those who looked upon it as a secure and impenetrable institution.[66] 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 . . . 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'.[67] In addition, it appears that the design of a prison in the style of a fortress may have put to use the unfinished gothic structure on the summit.

> [B]uilding the Bridewell on the top of the Hill would give full room for finishing a plan partly designed,[68] & 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
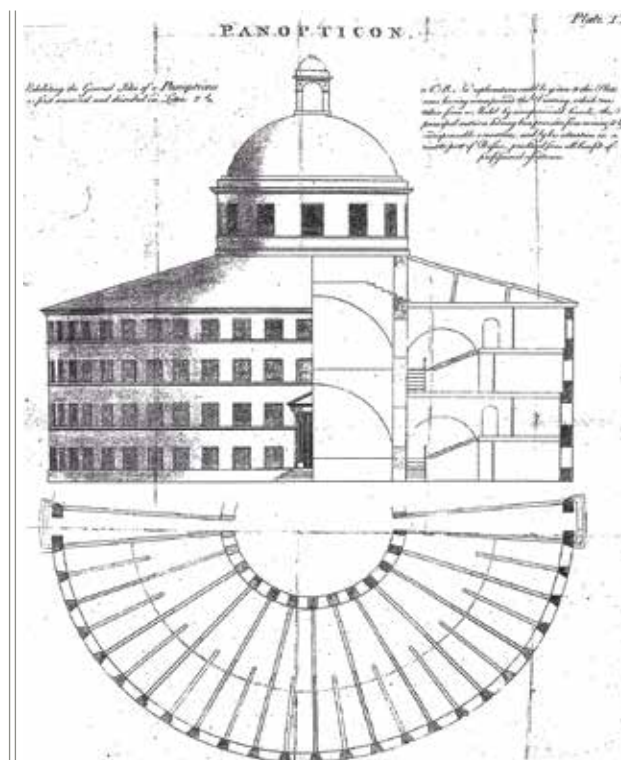
Plate 1.16—Jeremy Bentham, Panopticon, 1787. Taken from J. Bentham, *Panopticon: Or, the Inspection-House. Containing the Idea of a New Principle of Construction Applicable to Any Sort of Establishment, in which Persons . . . Are to Be Kept . . . and in Particular to Penitentiary-Houses, Prisons . . . in a Series of Letters, Written in . . . 1787, 1791*

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.[69]

The introduction of a new style of prison layout so dramatically different from the standard courtyard prison plans of Howard/Blackburn contrasted with other contemporaneous prisons

covers the lower storey and arched recesses are still included in the external facades, but the crow-stepped gables, turrets and slit windows give the building the air of a fortification, much more in keeping with Scottish castellated architecture.[62] The plan is also quite notably different. Rather than following the standard convention for penitentiary design in the late eighteenth 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 1.15).

Bentham's idea for a single structure that would provide constant surveillance of its inmates—the Panopticon (Plate 1.16)—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

and houses of correction that were being constructed throughout the country. Its panoptical layout allowed constant surveillance of inmates Plates 1.14d–f), while its exterior design also created a constant imposing presence overlooking the Old Town—from where most of its inmates would be. The duality of a structure that would both overlook the most 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,[70] 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).

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.[71] 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.[72] 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.[73]

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 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,[74] 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.[75] 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 under way from the south:

> I mentioned to the Provost that I thought
> if they made any purchases of houses

> on the Calton Hill it would be throwing away money on property that could not be improven 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 'tis true there is better property in the way if they convey'd the road by a bridge over the Calton Street in a straight line with Princes Street
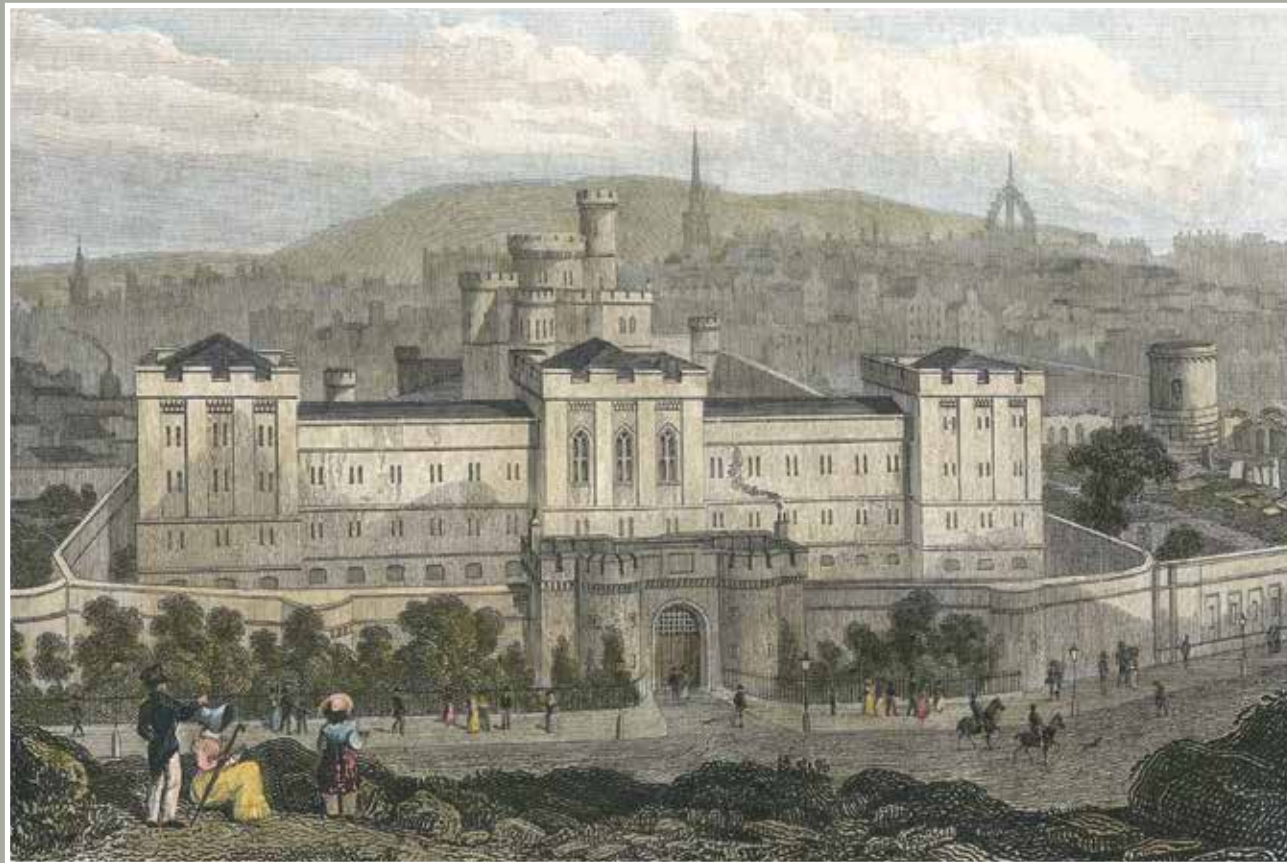
Plate 2.1—W. Tombleton after Thomas Shepherd, *The New Jail from Calton Hill*.
Taken from Thomas Shepherd and John Britton, *Modern Athens! Displayed in a Series of Views*, 1829

Linking Calton Hill to Edinburgh and Leith

Despite the integration of Calton Hill into the broader Lothian landscape in visual terms by the early nineteenth century, 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 where it is except for the [city] gaol'[1] which suggests that its original purpose was purely to provide access to the prison, rather than extending the New Town to the east, or providing an alternative route to and from the city, as it quickly became by the time it was developed.

Proposals for the city jail (Plate 2.1) (to replace the Tolbooth Jail situated on the High Street, to the west of St Giles' Kirk) had been the subject of an Act of Parliament in 1813.[2] It was first intended that this new prison would be relocated in the Old Town.[3] But in December 1813, a report by the Sheriff William Rae was published in the *Scots Magazine*, which discussed its needs in terms of layout and space, in comparison to a number of other similar institutions around

the country.[4] It concluded that a much greater area was required than the small patch of land allocated and that the only place large enough to accommodate it 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 prison and supplied plans in support.

This response argued that the jail would benefit from fresher air and better drainage than would 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 jail were to be sited on Princes Street.[5] Perhaps most significantly, the article provided a solution to Rae's concerns about access, which could easily be dealt with by building a bridge over 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 sit on the south side of Calton Hill, and would provide an eastern access route to and from the city.

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 . . .[6]

By March 1814, the council magistrates had petitioned the House of Commons to add the development of an access route to the 1813 Act.[7] A large amount of funding would be needed 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 jail. He concluded that 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 Princes 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.[8]

He took into account the benefits of easier access to Calton Hill as a pleasure ground, and in opening up the potential of the area for feuing,[9] as well as the practicalities of building the bridge and routing the road. It 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, and the relocation of part of the (Old) Calton burial ground (more about this in Part 2). These proposals were complicated and disruptive, but Stevenson also explained 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.[10]

[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.[11]

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 in 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, he ensured that this new intervention blended into the hill and became a part of the overall aesthetic enhancement of the site.[12]

The specifications for the layout of the roadway included another consideration. In 1813, the year before the Act permitting the construction of the new road was passed, a competition was held to design a third New Town that would stretch from the north side of Calton Hill to Leith.[13] The competition did not have a successful winning design, but the impact of this proposed development on the north side of the hill was significant, as by the time that Stevenson designed his plan of 1814, he understood that his road on the south side of the hill must tie in with it. 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.[14]

[T]his 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 . . . 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.[15]

Archibald Elliot's[16] designs for Waterloo Place, built on top of Stevenson's bridge spanning Low Calton, provided the 'elegant and striking effect' envisioned by Stevenson for the entrance to Calton Hill from Princes Street. He was also commissioned to design the new prison and governor's house.[17] 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. For example, he had screens designed as triumphal arches[18] on either side of the bridge (Plate 2.2), which complemented 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.[19] Where Nash et al.[20] had used surprise

Plate 2.2—Archibald Elliot's 'Triumphal Arch' Screens over R. Stevenson's Regent Bridge, as seen from Waterloo Place. © Kirsten Carter McKee.

and movement in the 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 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 in London from the Prince Regent's residence at Carlton House (Plate 2.3) was copied almost exactly for Elliot's key view from Princes Street for the entrance into Waterloo Place in Edinburgh (Plate 2.4).[21] Elliot designed an access that connected to the landscape, replicating the most fashionable and *urbane* project of its period. By making a direct connection between the Prince Regent, the triumphs of the Napoleonic wars, and the development of the classical urban streetscape, Nash and Elliot encapsulated the prevailing mood and exploited the notion of nationhood and loyalty to the Crown that was to become a prominent factor in early nineteenth-century thinking.[22]

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'.[23] Keeping these aims in mind, further similarities can be seen in the development of both these great cities from the eighteenth century onwards. After this point, Edinburgh 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 its planning.[24] The development of regulated and rational townscapes had sought to instil a message of uniformity and togetherness throughout Britain by building in an 'English Manner', after a period of nearly fifty years of unrest during the Jacobite rebellions. For example, in a 1752 pamphlet[25] it is clearly stated that works 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.[26]

The implementation of this plan had been advanced through the development of James Craig's first New Town of 1766[27] (Plate 2.5), and its access, with the building of 'North Bridge'

Plate 2.3 (top)—W. Tombleton after Thomas Shepherd, *Waterloo Place, London* (n.d.) © Courtesy of www.alamy.com
Plate 2.4—W. Tombleton after Thomas Shepherd, *Waterloo Place, The National & Nelson's Monument, Calton Hill &c. Edinburgh*. Taken from Thomas Shepherd and John Britton, *Modern Athens! Displayed in a Series of Views*, 1829
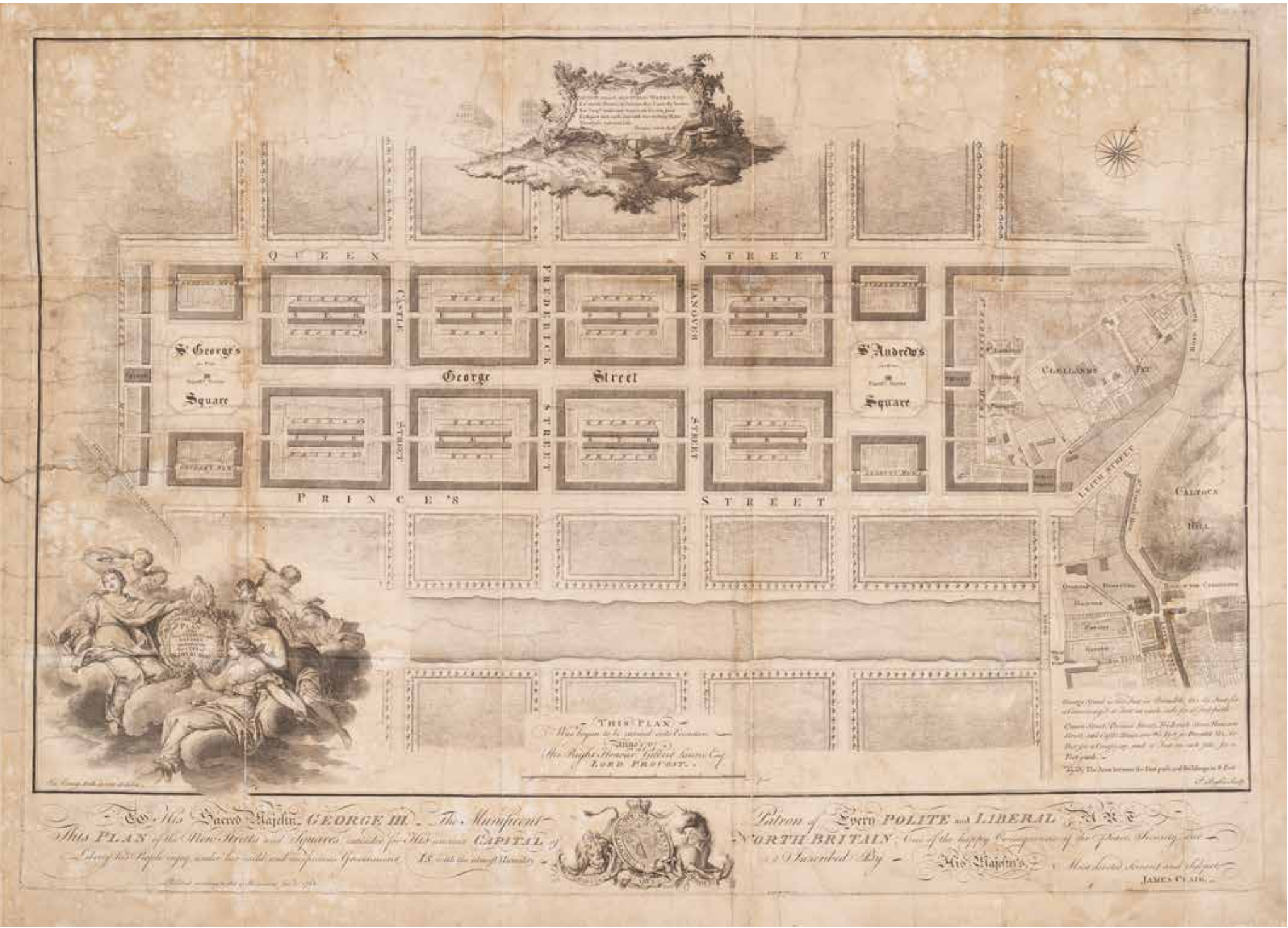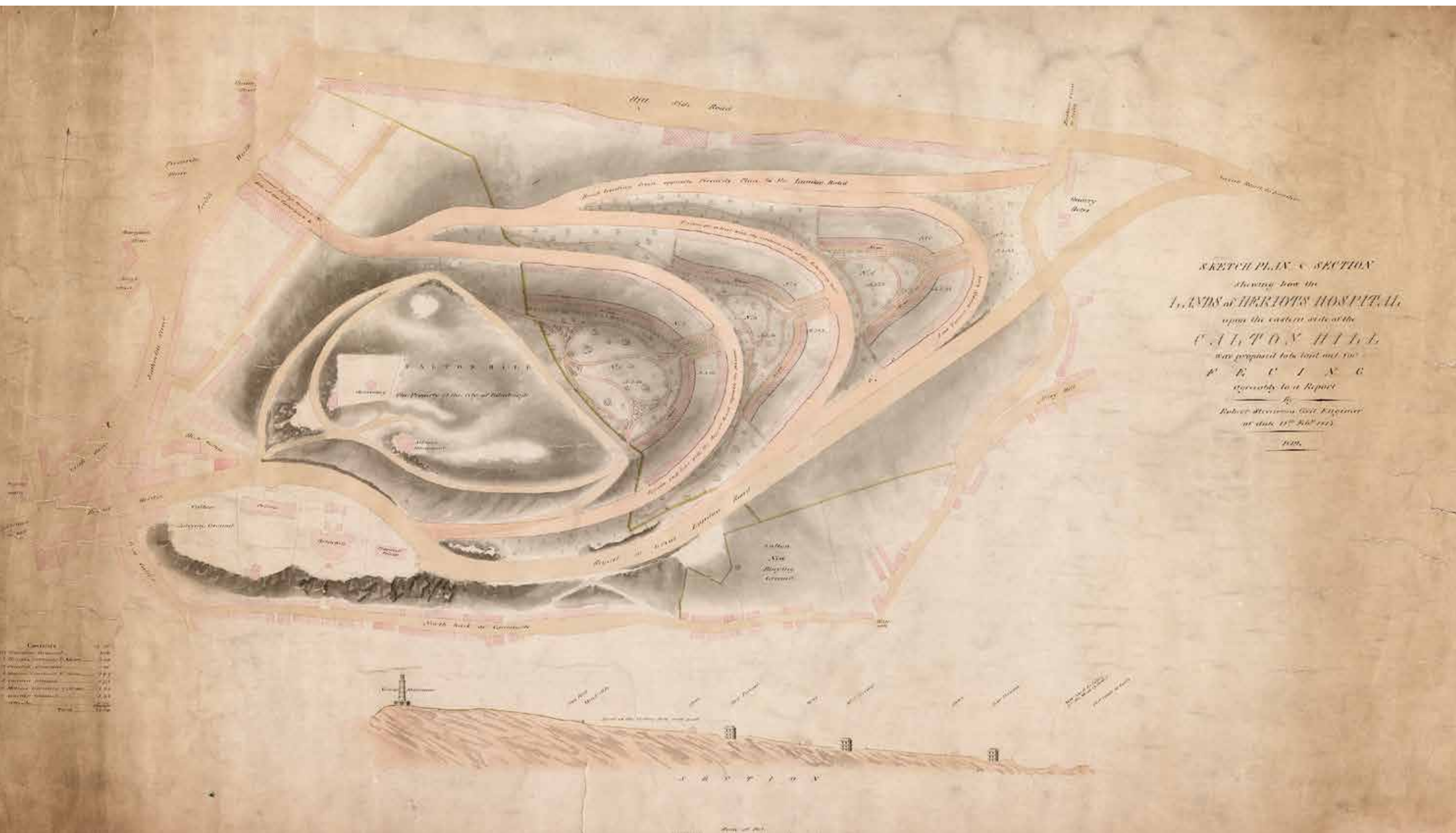
(1769).[28] However, the city's attempts to compete with its English counterparts could not consider its development in light of political events only.

Its reputation as a picturesque burgh, admired by genteel visitors when viewed as a distant landscape, was not so beautiful close up. 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 cities'.[29]

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.[30] 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 here 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.[31] This would be immediately followed by Adam's new university building[32] and classical South Bridge development.[33] His enclosed bridge design created a vista towards Adam's Register House building at the entrance to Craig's New Town. This was further emphasised by the meeting point between the North and South Bridge, which opened out to reveal the view of the Waverley Valley to the west, incorporating the distant view of the castle and the New Town

Plate 2.5—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 National Library of Scotland

A detail from Plate 3.1b—William H. Playfair, *Design for a New Town between Edinburgh and Leith*, December 1819.
© Courtesy of Historic Environment Scotland (George Heriot's Trust.)

Designing the Urban Layout

After the prize money for the 1813 competition was awarded to the chosen 'winners', the committee then proceeded to disregard all the submissions. Instead, it was decided to use William 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 rethinking of the layout of the city 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.[1] Playfair's first report to the Calton Hill committee[2] focused on the new road that was at that time being constructed to the north of Calton Hill. It would connect 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[3] was published along with a second, more detailed plan (Plate 3.1b) 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 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.'[4] 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 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'.[5] 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 nineteenth-century Britain.

Yet Playfair was 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'.[6] 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.[7]

While accommodating Stark's view on the treatment of the site's natural assets and the topography, Playfair's inclusion of the profitability of this development together with its purpose as a commemorative landscape also has similarities to Nash's 1809 proposals for Regent 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.[8] Playfair's proposals for the third Edinburgh New Town included 'Practicability' through its laying out in a manner that would allow extension further to the east if additional land was acquired.[9] '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 provide suitable housing more in keeping with a modern city of the Empire. However, it was in Playfair's 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, splendid circular terraces, squares and crescents embellished and terminated by commemorative monuments and key structures of architectural merit, showed he intended to give 'a magnificence that nothing else could impart'. These elements are all key components of both Regent Street and Regent's Park, where Nash had stated that vistas, grand circuses and monumental architecture would 'add to the beauty of the approach'.[10]

Playfair's plan for his residential development was essentially in two parts: the north end, where the majority of the dwellings were laid out; and the south end, which included Calton Hill, park and garden land and some high-er-end housing. 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 to be built following the contours of the hill. This was executed through the development of one continuous curving road around Calton Hill, but split into three different terraces, named Royal Terrace, Regent Terrace and—con-fusingly—*Carlton* Terrace.[11] This comparison with the contemporaneous developments in London further emphasises Playfair's ambition to con-nect his design within the general zeitgeist that

surrounded British urban development during this period, and specifically that of Regent 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 classical façade for the streetscape. His 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'.

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'.[12] Playfair's enthusiasm for these gardens was such that his instructions to the builders digging the foundations of the houses on Regent 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 (see Plate 3.2). 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 3.3) within the boundaries of the private gardens. It created the illusion of a far-reaching landscape when looking up towards the public area.[13]

Playfair also wanted to retain many of the natural assets that surrounded Calton Hill by easing the transition between the urban

Burial, Memorial and Commemorative Monuments

over the right to bury its dead in a proper and timely manner.

Part 2 explores this shift from private to public through an investigation of the development of the commemorative landscape of Calton Hill during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It looks at the idea 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 sixteenth 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.

In Lord Henry Cockburn's[1] famous 'Letter to the Lord Provost on the best ways of spoiling the beauty of Edinburgh',[2] Cockburn describes Calton Hill as the 'Glory of Edinburgh . . . adorned by beautiful buildings, dedicated . . . to the memory of distinguished men'.[3] 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 nineteenth 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

Plate 4.1—James Gordon. *Edinodunensis Tabulam*, 1647. Detail of Greyfriars Kirk and Kirkyard on the south side of Edinburgh. © Courtesy of National Library of Scotland.

Memorial, Monuments and the 'Athens of the North'

By the end of the sixteenth 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 seventeenth-century Scotland forbade statuary and imagery inside its ecclesiastical buildings as part of the Church of Scotland's dominant (Calvinist influenced) Protestant 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 new large spaces for burials outside churches, or outside of city walls.[1] In Scotland, a good example is Greyfriars burial ground,[2] established outside of the city walls to the south of the Old Town (Plate 4.1) in the late sixteenth century, to give relief to the graveyard of St Giles in the heart of the burgh. This (relatively large) expanse of new burial space resulted in the erection of opulent grave monuments, for those who could afford them, allowing inclusion of both images and text to mourn the deceased's passing and describing their contributions to society.[3] This practice of commemorating status provided

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'[95] would not have been lost on the appointing committee.[96]

The exploitation of the classical idea, therefore, not only 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, which 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 eighteenth-century work of James Macpherson's 'Ossian', where he transcribed Gaelic verse as a Grecian poetic cycle.[97] At the time of 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 regard to poetry and folk songs. This was further emphasised by David Allan's hellenised interpretations of traditional Scottish rural pastimes.[98] The eighteenth-century literary critic, Johan Herder (1744–1803), for example, makes this comparison 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"'.[99]

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 cultivating of this romantic idea during George IV's visit to Edinburgh perpetuated the assimilation of the Highlands and Greek culture; what was deemed 'the beginning of the Highland takeover of Scotland',[100] included 'Cockerell's uncompromisingly Greek temple'[101] as 'the back-cloth of the opening scene in [Scott's] romantic drama'. This is shown In John Wilson Ewbank's *The Entry of George IV into Edinburgh from the Calton Hill*, over the Bridewell and towards the Old Town and the castle (Plate 4.8). The image depicts numerous groups swathed in tartan lining Waterloo Place to welcome the king, who is sitting in an open-topped carriage to the right of the picture. Calton Hill forms the background to this mixture of Highland garb and medieval pageantry, as created by Scott.[102]

Scottish cultural identity after the Napoleonic wars therefore built on this romantic image of Scotland's fabled yesteryear and sought to dismantle the earlier eighteenth-century perception of the Highlands as a threatening savage wilderness full of Jacobean sympathisers. The rebranding of Scottish primitive life through an association with the primitive yet learned culture of Ancient Greece[103] allowed Scots to retain a Scottish identity within the union[104] that was not perceived as threatening to the political and financial integration of the 1707 Act of Union.[105] 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 connection with Ancient Greece and its culture continued to encourage the Greek style for public buildings in the early nineteenth century—a genre which was the dominant source of Greek Revival buildings until Alexander 'Greek' Thomson applied his own reimagining of Grecian architecture to Glasgow in the mid to late nineteenth century.[106]

Many scholars of Scottish culture and art history who consider the emergence of the Scottish Greek Revival[107] 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.[108] For example, in Thomas Shepherd and John Britton's *Modern Athens!* (1829),[109] the romantic era of medieval Scotland[110] 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 about 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,[111] a statement of cultural association is turned into one of political alliance that asserts Edinburgh's identity, if not superiority, within the British state. As Lowrey notes,

[B]y 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.[112]

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.[113] By displaying a message of strength and fortitude in alliance with the British government, Edinburgh was asserting itself as a stronghold of Northern Britain within its own cultural terms, as well as proclaiming to be a significant city of the Empire in its own right.[114] ❧

Plate 5.1 (opposite)—Public Parks Department,
Plan of Old Calton Burial Ground, 1928.
Detail of Playfair burial plot.
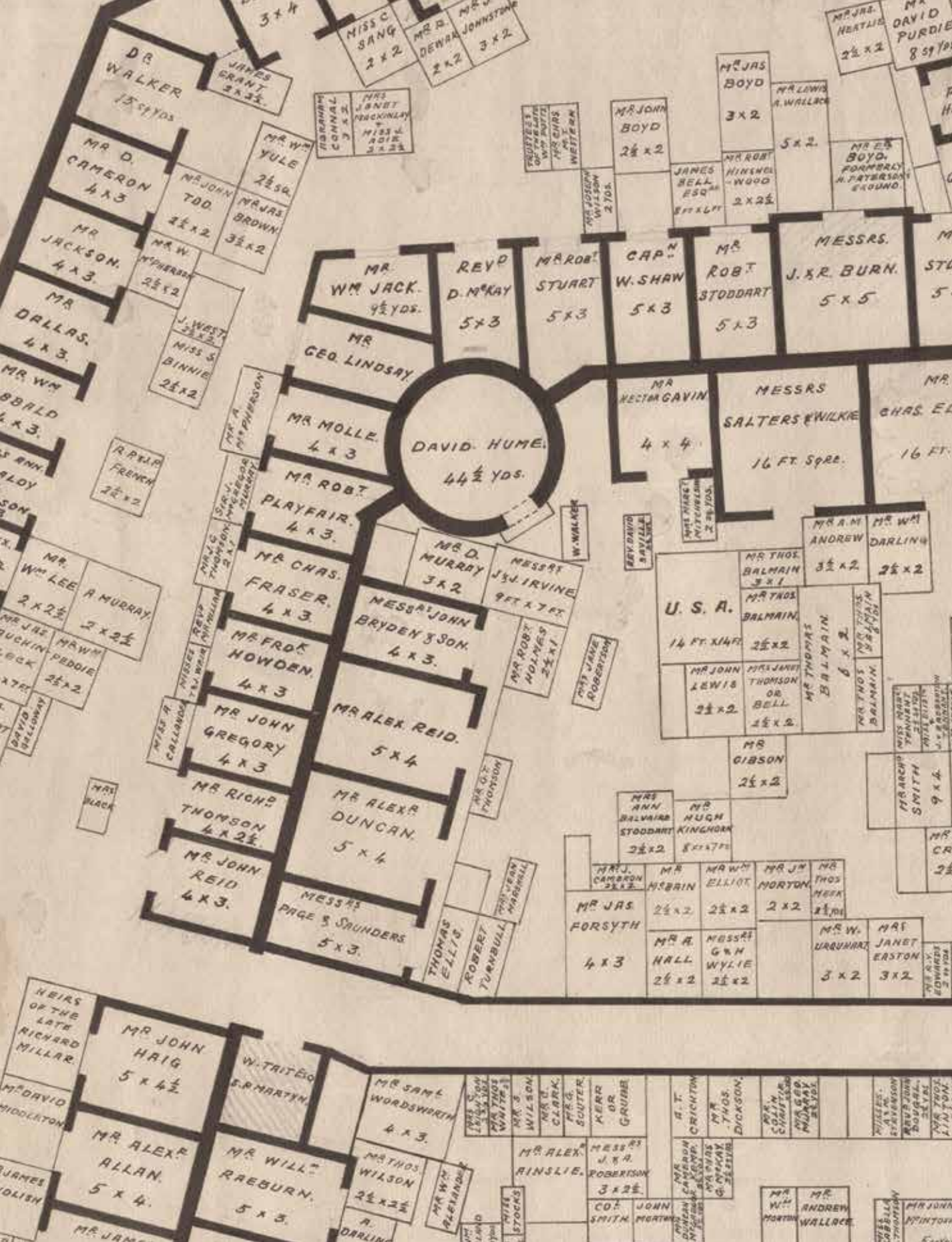© The City of Edinburgh Council

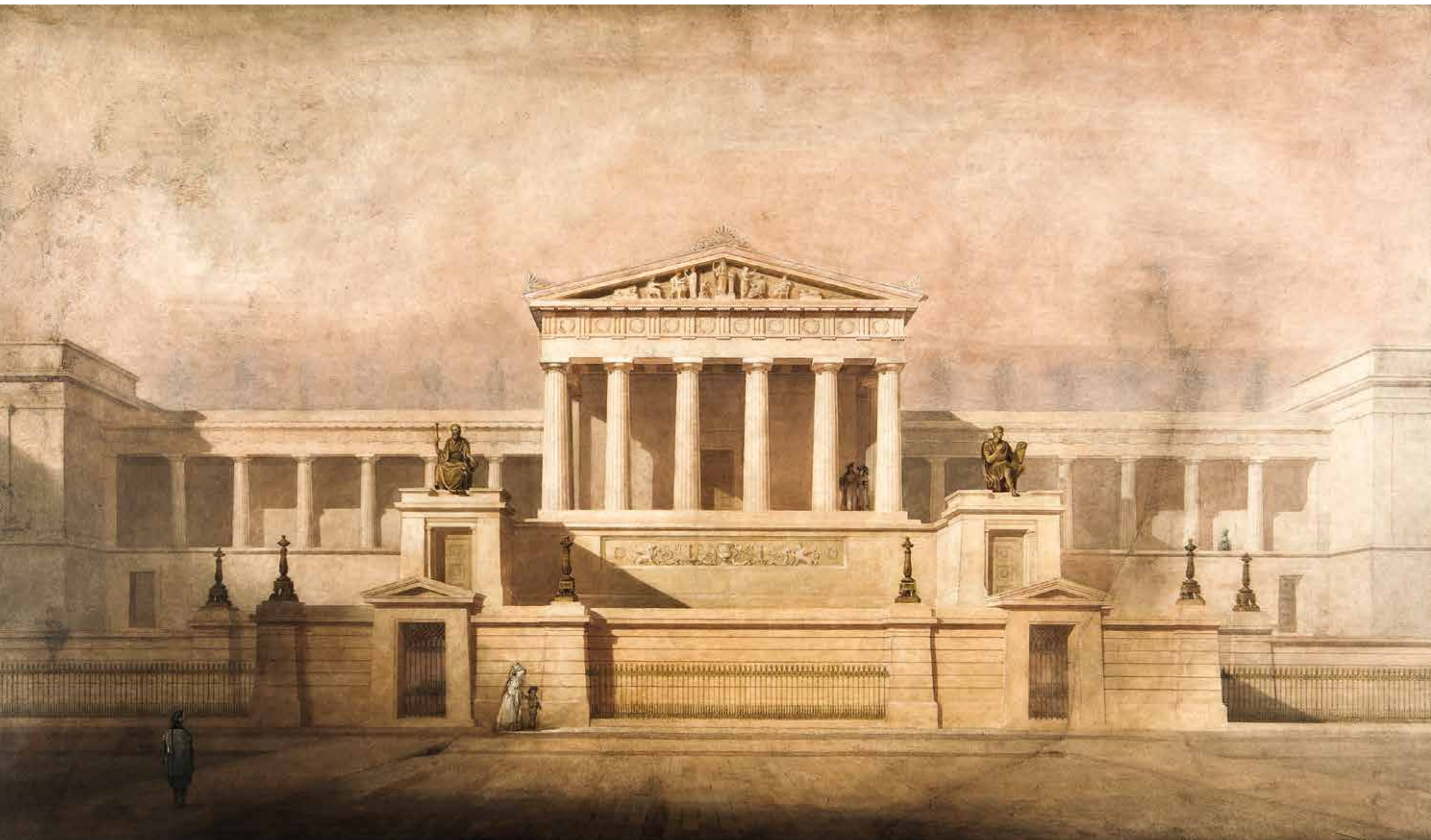# Private Burial and Public Commemoration in the Nineteenth Century

Both the Old and the New Calton burial grounds were developed during the first half of the nineteenth century, and the markers and those buried beneath them were seen as encouragements to passers-by to live good and worthy lives. The other monuments on the hill, deliberately placed outside these burial grounds, were designed to demonstrate the wider consequences of both mourning and admiring the heroes of the day.

The Old Calton burial ground had been established in the early eighteenth century, in response to the need for new burial space for the dead of the hamlet of Calton[1] and in particular, those associated with the Incorporated Trades of Calton.[2] It was not until Robert Adam's development of David Hume's tomb (built 1777) that the burial ground became much more than simply a place of interment for local Calton tradespeople.[3] 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 to the Nelson monument added interest to the pleasure walk around the

that Calton Hill should be the location for these structures, calling it 'a very magnificent point'[35] and stating that '[o]ur architect and artists to a man decidedly recommend that Burns' temple should be placed there',[36] the hill's status 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 5.7),[37] 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 5.8)[38] 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,[39] and with his idea of the architectural 'facsimile', most obviously the National Monument, Hamilton's monument to Burns is much more subtle and subversive,[40] and responded to the subject whom it was to commemorate, as well as to the landscape in which it was to be placed.[41]

Hamilton's request in 1831 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[42] (Plate 5.9) may have been an attempt by the architect to repeat the spatial relationship found between the Acropolis and the Lysicrates monument (Plate 5.10) in that of the National Monument and the Edinburgh

Plate 5.8—James Stewart and Nicholas Revett, *Measured Drawing of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates*. Taken from J. Stewart and N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, 1762.

Plate 5.9—James Kirkwood, *Kirkwood's New Plan of the City of Edinburgh*, 1821. Detail showing Millars Knowe, located on the curve of Calton Hill to the east of Calton Jail. © Courtesy of National Library of Scotland

Burns monument.[43] As his request failed, and the monument was sited opposite the Royal High School on a rocky precipice, Hamilton manipulated the visual connection between the site donated by the council and the rocky precipice beneath the Temple of Vesta (or Sybill) at Tivoli in Italy.[44] By alluding 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 reminiscent of Adam's work at the end of the previous century.

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 Thomas Allom's painting of the Burns monument and the Royal High School building (Plate 5.13), he contrasts 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 Allom'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 5.14)[45] depicts the structure within a fantastical exotic
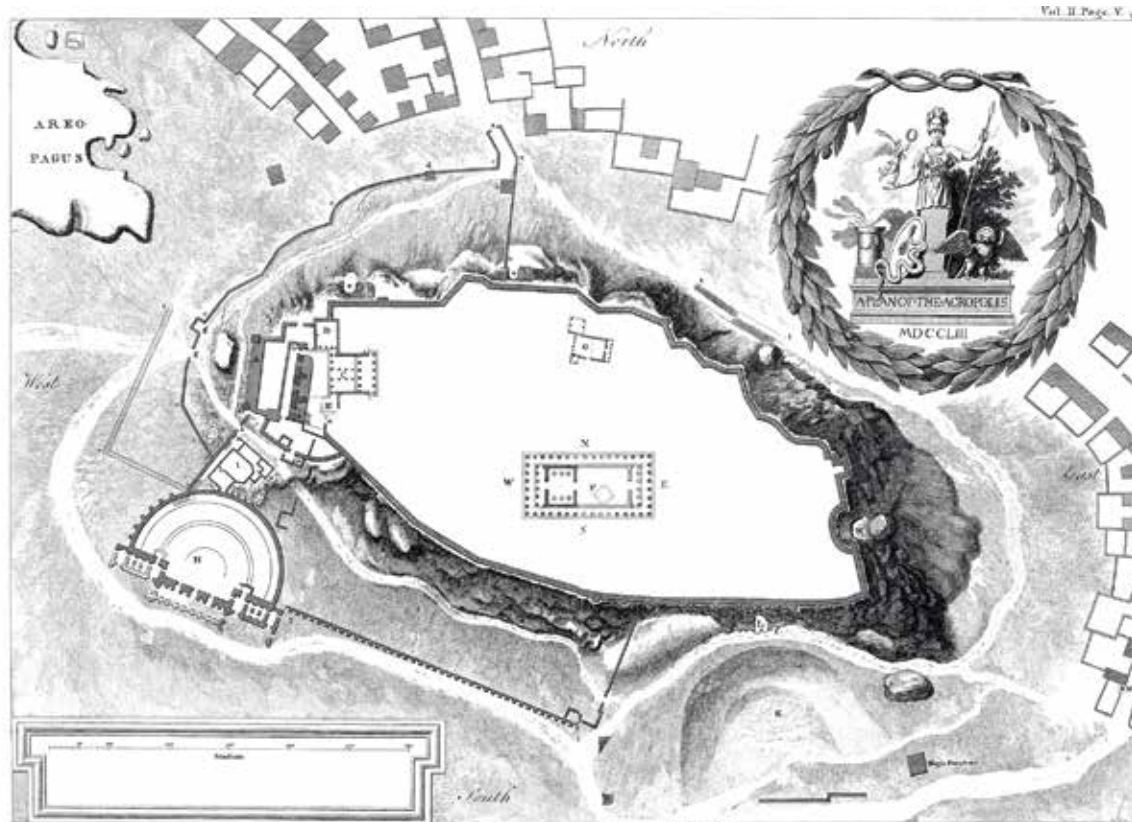
Plate 5.10 (above)—James Stewart
and Nicholas Revett,
*Plan of the Acropolis of Athens, showing Placement of the
Choragic Monument of Lysicrates.*
Taken from J. Stewart and N. Revett,
The Antiquities of Athens, 1762

Plate 5.11 (right)—Thomas Hamilton, *Framed Original
Design for the Burns Monument at Alloway*, 1818.
© Courtesy of the Trustees of Burns Monument and
Burns Cottage

Plate 5.12 (opposite)—*Design for the Burns Monument,
Calton Hill, Edinburgh*, 1832. Thomas Hamilton.
National Galleries of Scotland

Plate 5.13 (right)—Thomas Allom (1804–1872) [supervised by Thomas Hamilton RSA (1784–1858) & David Roberts RA HRSA (1796–1864)], *View of the Royal High School and Burns' Monument, Edinburgh*, watercolour and gouache on paper, c. 1830, 72.5 x 125cm, 1995.052. Royal Scottish Academy of Art & Architecture collections. Image credit: Chris Park

landscape of Playfair's imagination, with ruinous classical structures in the background, 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 Stewart monument in his later elevation of the Stewart monument, the astronomical observatory and John Playfair monument (Plate 5.15) further adds to the effect, as it suggests that Playfair wanted to establish a predominantly classical idiom on the summit, rather than play on the juxtaposition of the gothic and the classical as Allom does further down the south side of the hill. Although Playfair never managed to remove the Gothic observatory, it can also be no coincidence that Playfair's scale and placement of the Stuart monument on Calton Hill masks the observatory from prominent views to the hill on North Bridge (Plate 4.16). However, Playfair's 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 we have seen in the discussion of his 1819 plans in Chapter 3 (Plates 3.1a and b), he viewed the summit as separate from the contoured landscape further down the hill, which could explain why he thought it necessary to dislocate the hill's landscape in his

Unionism to Nationalism

of Scottish culture and Scotland as a nation.[1] As a result of this, the classical structures on Calton Hill were no longer being viewed as part of Scotland's role in the British state, but instead were believed to represent elite governance and control over Scottish affairs.

Despite Calton Hill being viewed largely as a pleasure ground throughout the nineteenth century. This aesthetic had been created by a laissez-faire governance system of local organisations that managed Scottish society, in the absence of a focus on specifically Scottish affairs at Westminster during the nineteenth century. The grandiose vision of Calton Hill as an exclusive space, by those in positions of

influence, was thwarted, however, by the site continuing to be used and populated by the lower tiers of Edinburgh society.[2] The conscious class divide between those with the decision-making powers and those who used Calton Hill on a daily basis exacerbated the sense of disjunction on the hill, as the existence of these lower-class pursuits alongside the classical architecture only served to highlight the extreme poverty and wretchedness of the poorer classes in nineteenth-century society. Rather than an area dedicated to the glorification of the British state, it instead highlighted the flaws in the governance of the Scottish populace at both a state and municipal level.

A round the early 1830s, Scottish society began to define Scottish nationhood through different cultural markers from those used in the immediate post-Napoleonic period. As the nineteenth century ended and the twentieth century progressed, a shift away from Classicism as the default style

of Scottish identity, sprung from collective unionist-nationalist pride in the early nineteenth century, became ever more prominent. While Scottish culture further separated itself from the collective culture of a unified British state that was displayed through neoclassical architecture, it instead looked to revivalist aesthetic styles that were more closely associated with a Scottish medieval 'golden age' as a better representation

Calton Hill as Utopia? The Urban Reality

In 1831, the monumental sculptor, Robert Forrest, was invited by Michael Linning as head of the National Monument Committee to open a 'public exhibition of statuary' at the site of the National Monument.[1] Forrest had gained recognition in Edinburgh in the late 1820s for his sculpture of Lord Melville (Henry Dundas) for William Burn's 1822 Melville monument in St Andrew Square,[2] and it was hoped that his exhibition would encourage interest and public support of the site's development as a national pantheon to house 'monumental busts and statues'.

Forrest's exhibition, which was mounted in 1832, consisted of four equestrian statues in grayish Lesmahagow sandstone, known as liver rock, placed in the area behind the completed columns.[3] The statues were a blend of Scottish cultural folklore and British political triumph,[4] fused together with classical references in the costume and composition of the subjects (see Plates 6.1 and 6.2).[5] The idea to place the statues 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 monument would be sustained through continued public interest, by a thematically relevant exhibition, while Forrest would have somewhere to display his work and boost his reputation as a sculptor. However, as the construction of the National Monument
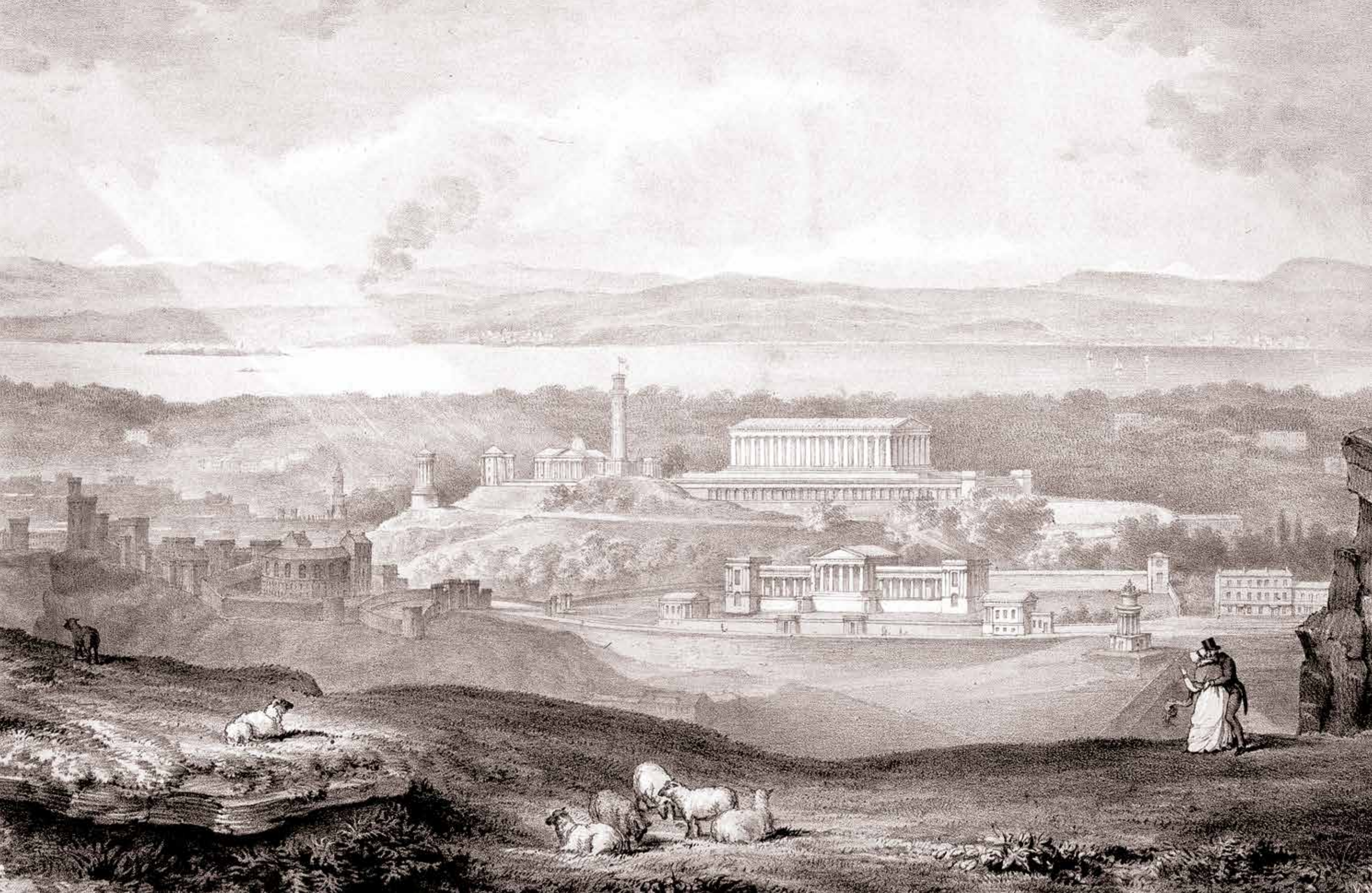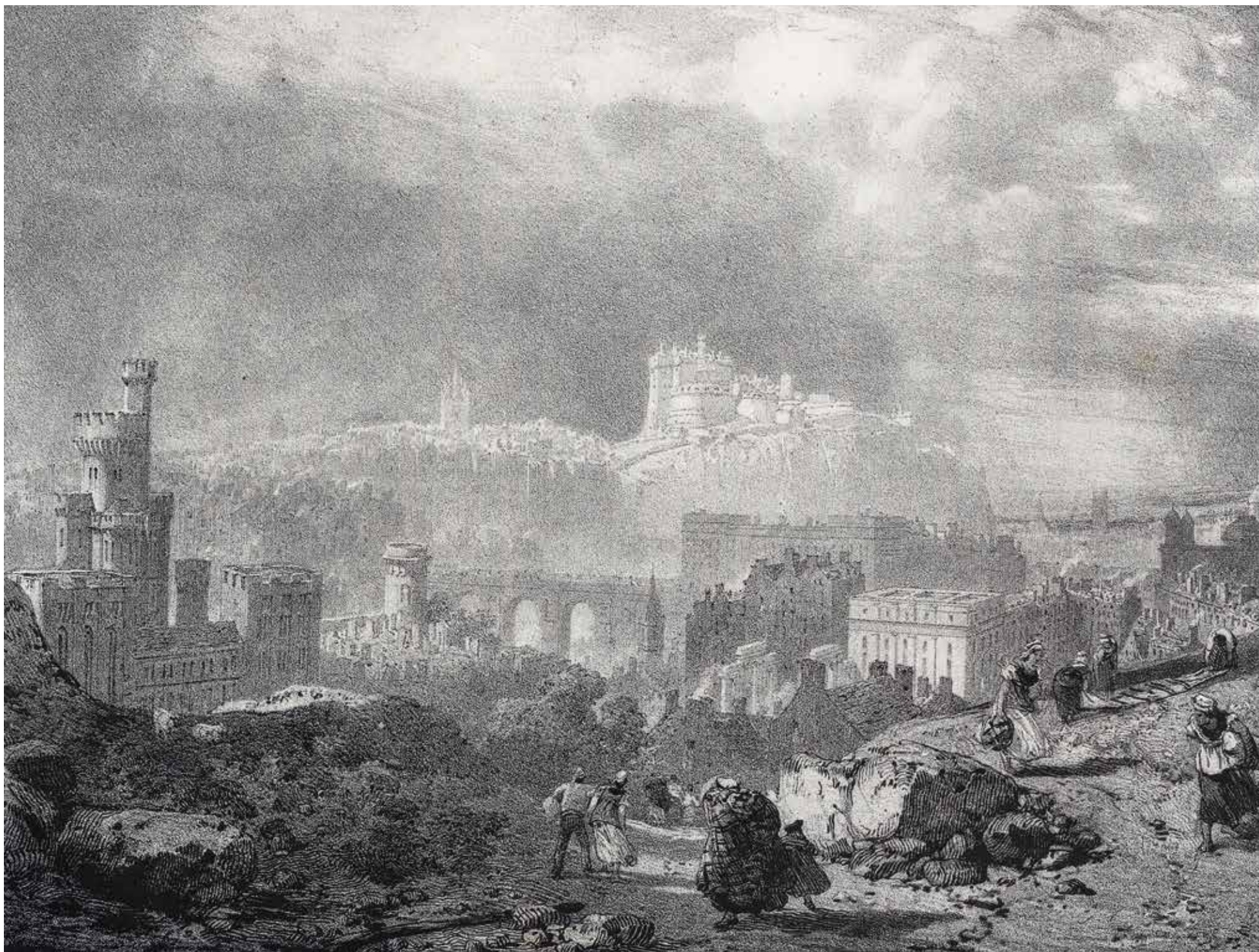
presence of these attractions, alongside the Nelson monument, further removed any serious opportunity for the development of national discourse. [67] Nevertheless, these two structures, demonstrate that even before the arrival of Maria Short's 'wooden showbox'[68]—as Lord Cockburn disparagingly called it[69]—there were two tiers operating on the site; one for the elite gentleman scholar, and one for the common populace.

This division of gentlemanly and populist pursuits was particularly represented in the establishment and use of the astronomical observatories on Calton Hill in the last quarter of the eighteenth 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 tower and advertising it as a popular observatory, or 'camera obscura' for public viewings, to pay for the upkeep of the structures.[70] When the area was handed over to the Astronomical Institution in 1812,[71] James Craig's octagon was demolished to make way for the Royal Observatory[72] by William H. Playfair (Plate 5.14), and the tower was retained as a popular observatory for the masses. However, the serious financial situation of the Astronomical Institution by the mid nineteenth century resulted in the camera obscura being

Idea for completing a National Monument at Edinburgh

Plate 7.1—Mr Fairholm, *Plan for Completing the National Monument at Edinburgh*, 1837.
© Edinburgh City Archives

Cultural Nationalism and the 'Municipal State'

Scots' sense of identity was further focused in the latter part of the nineteenth century after 1840s legislation establishing boards to monitor local services of poor relief, public health and mental welfare. Concern for the wretchedness and poverty of the lower classes[1] began to raise questions about 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.

Scottish National Identity of the late nineteenth 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 [sic] view of the nation, however, was becoming increasingly difficult to sustain as the gradual emergence of mass
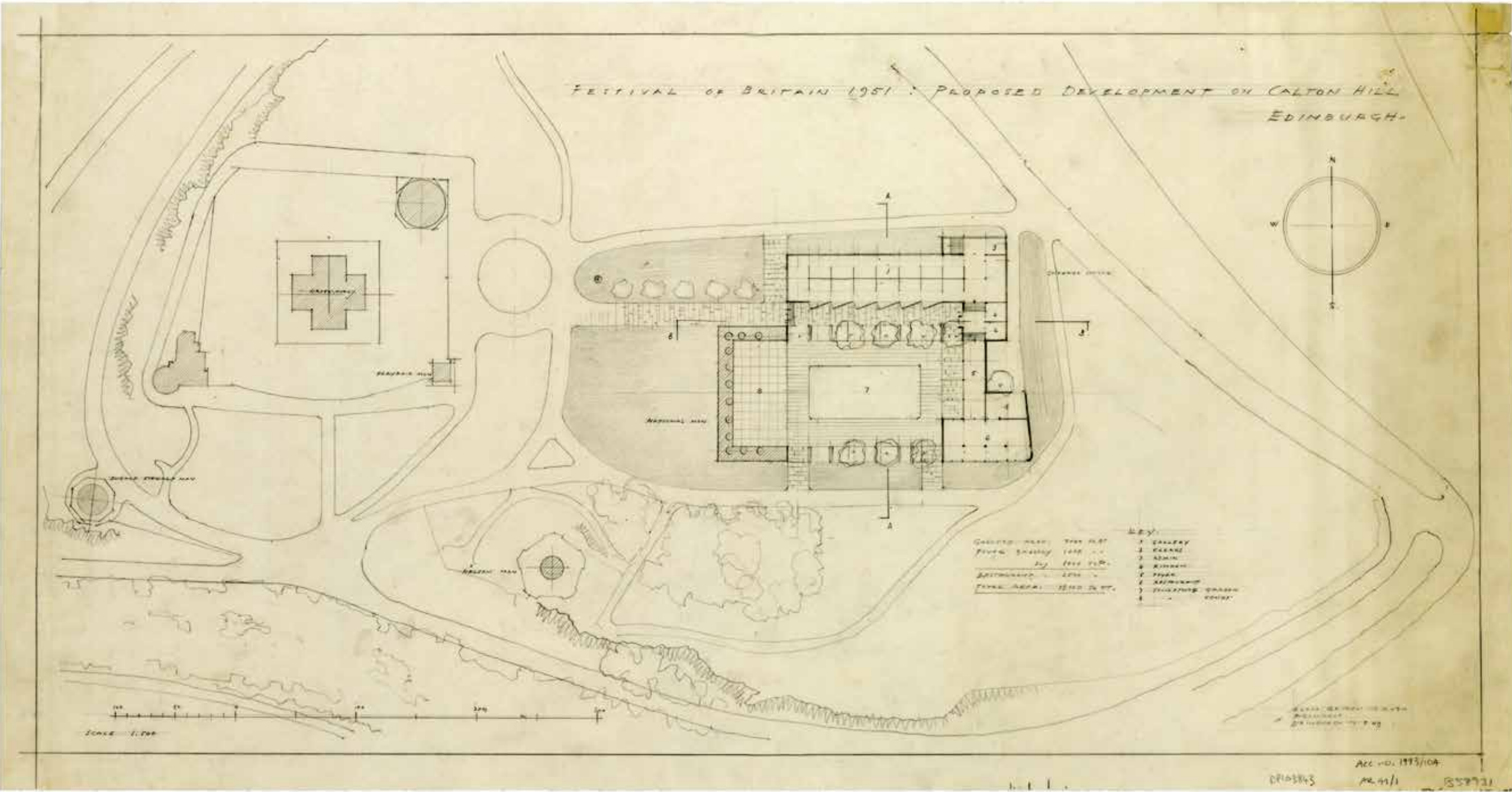
Plate 8.1—Alan Reiach, *Festival of Britain: Proposed Development on Calton Hill, Edinburgh*. 1949
© Courtesy of Historic Environment Scotland (Alan Reiach Collection)

Notes

Introduction

1   Approximate height above sea level provided by https://www.freemaptools.com/elevation-finder.htm

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): 33–78; Henry M. Paton, 'The Barony of Calton, Part II', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* XIX (1933): 92–141.

4   B. McQueen, 'Appendix 1—Archival and Documentary Research', in *Calton Hill Conservation Plan*, ed. LDN Architects for City of Edinburgh Council (1998). This mainly outlines the information held within the archives of Edinburgh City Council.

5   AOC Archaeology Group, 'Appendix 5—Archaeological Analysis', in *Calton Hill Conservation Plan* (1998).

6   Ibid. 25.

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 13 August 1456 for performing 'tournaments, sports and other warlike deeds'. Grant, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh*: 102.

8   John Slezer: Edinburgh—*The North Prospect of the City of Edenburgh* (National Library of Scotland, 1693) depicts sheep and shepherds on the summit of Calton Hill. See Plate 1.5.

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.

10 John Slezer, *The North Prospect of the City of Edenburgh*.

11 James Gordon, '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 3].

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'. See Note 19. See Paton, 'The Barony of Calton, Part I.' and Irvine, *The Calton of Caldtoun of Edinburgh*: 9.

15 Grant, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. 5: 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: HMSO,1951): lx–lxi. This kirk was a similar distance from

the church at Restalrig.

17 Paton, 'The Barony of Calton, Part II'.

18 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 be 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 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.

20 See Paton, 'The Barony of Calton, Part I' and Paton, 'The Barony of Calton, Part II'.

21 Irvine, *The Calton of Caldtoun of Edinburgh*.

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, 17 August 1722, 7 September 1722, 6 January 1725 and 3 February 1725, SL1, Edinburgh City Archives. Balmerino was a staunch Jacobite, who was beheaded in 1746 at the Tower of London for his support of Charles Stuart. It is possible that he had sold this land off to raise money for the Jacobite 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*, vol. 3: 102.

26 Hugo Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh, by Hugo Arnot, Esq; Advocate* (Edinburgh: 1779): 197. No trace of either the monastery or the hospital remains, although the sites of both are still noted on 1:500 Ordnance Survey maps and archaeological excavations in 2009 located a number of graves thought to hold the remains of the hospital's inhabitants. See Leith Walk Research Group, *Leith Walk and Greensid*; and Sorina Spanou, 'Edinburgh Trams Project: South Leith Parish Church Graveyard, Constitution Street', in *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland*, Volume 11 (2010): 69.

27 Irvine, *The Calton of Caldtoun of Edinburgh*.

28 Paton, 'The Barony of Calton, Part I' and Paton, '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).

32 Peter Reed, 'Form and Context: A Study of Georgian Edinburgh', in *Order in Space and Society*, ed. Thomas A. Markus (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1982): 115-53.

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): http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/ autumn05/207-a-building-from-which-derived-qall-that-is-goodq-observations-on-the-intended- reconstruction-of-the-parthenon-on-calton-hill and John Gifford, 'The National Monument of Scotland',

Architectural Heritage 25 (2014): 43–83.

34 David Myles Gavine, 'Astronomy in Scotland 1745–1900' (PhD thesis, Open University, 1982); D. J. Bryden, 'The Edinburgh Observatory 1736–1811: A Story of Failure', *Annals of Science* 47 (1990): 445–74.

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): 37-42.

36 Alison Yarrington, 'The Commemoration of the Hero 1800–1864: Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars' (Oxford: Garland, 1988). PhD thesis.

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): 25–114; 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; 25-56; David Walker, *St Andrew's House: An Edinburgh Controversy, 1912–1939* (Edinburgh: Historic Buildings 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 Iain Gordon Brown, 'David Hume's Tomb: A Roman Mausoleum by Robert Adam', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 121 (1991): 321–422; Betty Willsher, 'Midlothian and Edinburgh', in *Survey of Scottish Gravestones* (National Monuments Record for Scotland, c. 1985).

39 Michael T. R. B. Turnbull, *The Edinburgh Graveyard Guide* (Edinburgh: Scottish Cultural Press, 2006); John Smith, *Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions in Old Calton Burying Ground, Edinburgh* (handwritten and self-published, 1907); J. F. Mitchell, *Some Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions* ([Edinburgh]: self-published,1961); John F. Mitchell, *Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions (pre-1855). Vol. 1, Old Calton Burial Ground, New Calton Burial Ground*, ed. Stuart E. Fleming (Edinburgh: Scottish Genealogy Society, 2003).

40 Susan Buckham (ed.), *The Edinburgh Graveyards Project, 2013* (Edinburgh: World Monuments Fund, Edinburgh World Heritage, 2011).

41 John Smith, *The Calton Hill, Edinburgh and Its Monuments* (Edinburgh: 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: Edinburgh New Town Conservation Committee, 1983).

43 Law-Dunbar and Naismith (LDN) Architects, 'Calton Hill Conservation Plan' (Edinburgh, 1999).

44 John Lowrey's analysis of the urban design of Calton Hill is one of the few published sources to discuss Nash's contemporary 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 and 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 (London: The Historical Association, 1993): 13-18.

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 edn (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998): 3.

46 This is further considered in numerous discussions about Edinburgh's New Town development, such as Charles McKean's suggestion that James Craig's original Union Jack plan 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'.

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 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004): 81–105; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837*, 2nd edn (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2005); Yarrington, 'The Commemoration of the Hero 1800–1864; John M. MacKenzie, 'Empire and National Identities: The Case of Scotland', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1998): 215–31; Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 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, OH: University of Akron Press, 2001).

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

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*; Mary Cosh, *Edinburgh: The Golden Age* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2003); E. Patricia Dennison, *Holyrood and Canongate: A Thousand Years of History* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2005).

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

51 Such as Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*. Patrick Geddes' work on the re-introduction of university residences into the heart of the Old Town is one of the few urban redevelopments 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

Index

Entries in *italic* denote illustrations. Entries with an 'n' suffix, e.g. '185n', refer to the Notes at the end of the book.