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The Melville Monument and the Shaping of the Scottish Metropolis

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The Melville Monument, which stands at the centre of St Andrew's Square in Edinburgh, one of the earliest and most prestigious parts of the New Town under construction from 1767, was erected between 1821 and 1823 in memory of the Tory statesman Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville (1742–1811). Built in the form of a commemorative column, the monument was soon drawn by Thomas H. Shepherd and engraved for publication in the 1829 volume *Modern Athens, Displayed in a Series of Views: Or, Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century* (Fig. 1), which featured, per the subtitle, 'the whole of the new buildings, modern improvements, antiquities, and picturesque scenery of the Scottish metropolis'.[1] The monument, built of local Cullalo sandstone, is 152 ft tall in total. The design was provided by William Burn (1789–1870), a prominent and prolific architect in Edinburgh during the first half of the nineteenth century. His design, a simplified version of Trajan's victory column in Rome (completed *c.* 113 CE), takes the form of a large Doric pillar on a pedestal, with fluting in place of the original's encircling sculptural frieze. The 15 ft statue of Dundas that stands on top (Fig. 2) was added in 1827 and comprises fifteen pieces weighing eighteen tons, riveted together by gunmetal bolts.[2] Robert Forrest (1789–1852), a Scottish sculptor from Lanarkshire, carved the figure from a design by Francis Chantrey (1781–1841), the Derbyshire-born sculptor whose works were displayed throughout Britain and in the empire, from London to Madras.

The Melville Monument is imperial in character and context. Dundas was an imperial statesman, as well as British parliamentarian and Scottish politician, and his memorial is one of a series of highly visible monuments built in Edinburgh during the early nineteenth century to celebrate such figures as Horatio Nelson, Robert Burns, William Pitt and King George IV, as well as the dead soldiers and sailors of the Napoleonic wars (the Parthenon-inspired National Monument, left unfinished in 1829). In the post-Union era, the British constructed many monuments to celebrate their heroes. Between 1794 and 1823, for example, thirty-six monuments to military leaders and statesmen were raised in St Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey in London on the initiative of the House of Commons, sanctioned by the monarch and funded by

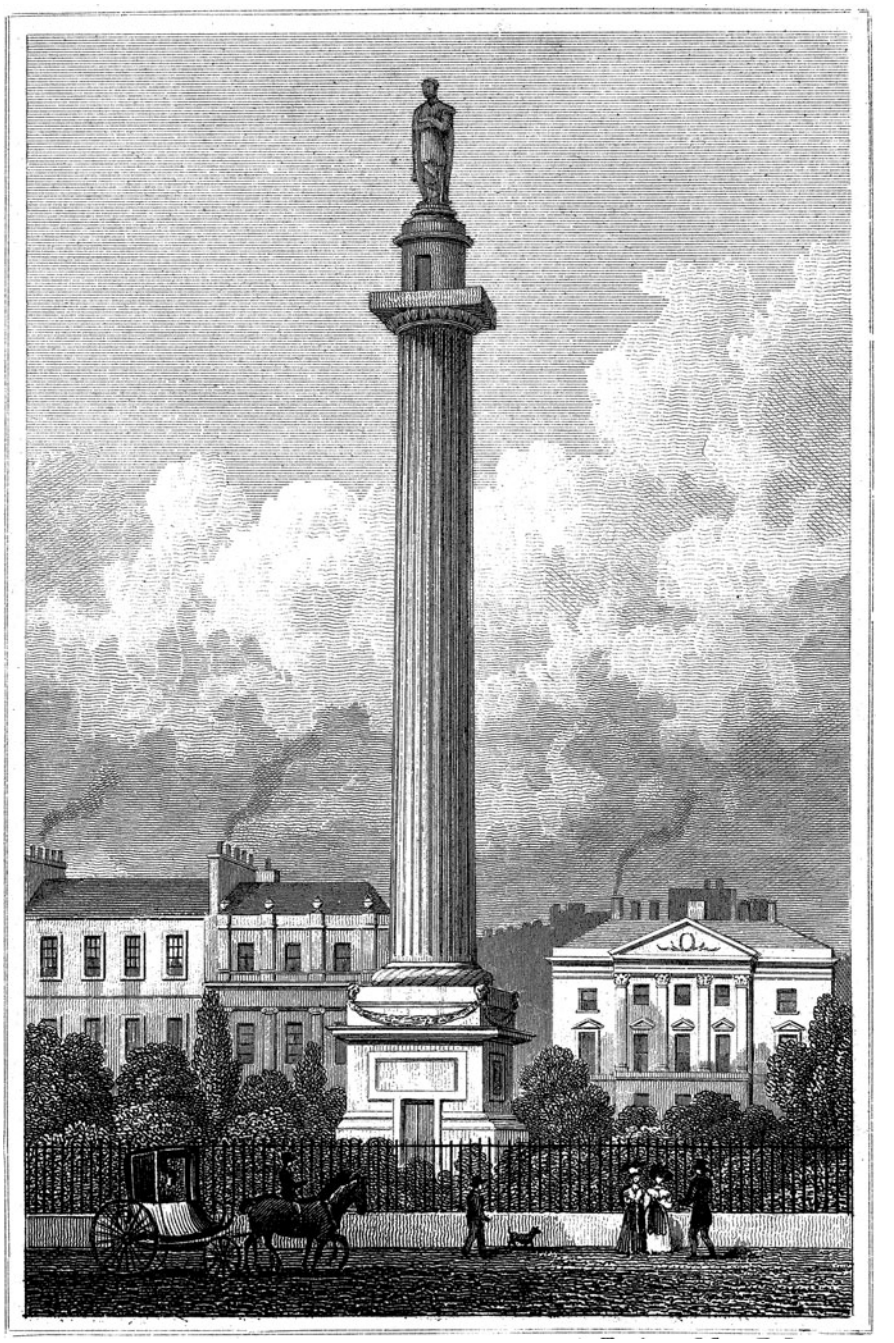

Fig. 1. *Engraving of the Melville Monument in St Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, from* Modern Athens, Displayed in a Series of Views: Or, Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century, *1829 (University of Edinburgh Main Library)*

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Fig. 2. *Statue of Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville (1742–1811), carved by Robert Forrest from a design by Francis Chantrey and added to the Melville Monument, Edinburgh, in 1827 (author's photograph)*

parliament.[3] In Scotland, however, the tradition of 'hero building' constitutes a very special national case, as Johnny Rodger has argued.[4] Distinct from other European countries, Scotland was a stateless nation and therefore celebrated different types of heroes. Few monuments were dedicated to recent political leaders, and many more commemorated literary or historical figures.[5] According to Rodger, these monuments were intended to demonstrate a degree of national independence and pride, and to negotiate Scotland's place within the United Kingdom. This motivation prompted the project to build a Scottish national monument to the war dead in 1819, four years after the Battle of Waterloo. The nationalism invoked in raising these architectural monuments appears to have been an 'antiquarian nationalism' rather than a 'liberational nationalism'.[6] Such nationalism recognised the historical past of Scotland without posing a challenge to the United Kingdom or the empire. Graeme Morton has defined an analogous 'Unionist nationalism' — the elite's positive assertion of Scottish nationalism within the Union — as a characteristic stance of the years 1830–60.[7] The valorisation of heroes such as Burns, William Wallace, Robert Bruce and Walter Scott was part of this cultural nationalism, aimed at asserting Scotland's difference.

Dundas was a defender of the notion that Scotland was not a colony, but an equal partner in the Union. In his time, he was one of the few statesmen who successfully played the double role of Scottish and British politician, and his own career reflected the expansion of the British state. Born into one of the most influential families in eighteenth-century Scotland, which dominated politics in Midlothian and exercised considerable influence in Westminster, he was representative of an emergent class in law and commerce that acquired the confidence to enter public affairs and establish its own authority, independent of the old aristocracy. Appointed solicitor general for Scotland in 1766, in which role he was painted by the Fife-born artist David Martin (see Fig. 3), he later became lord advocate (1775–83), serving as Scotland's 'manager', then held increasingly powerful posts in the British government as Pitt's lieutenant, including home secretary (1791–94) and secretary of state for war (1794–1801). Despite his deepening involvement in and identification with greater British affairs, he remained a Scottish

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Fig. 3. *David Martin, portrait of Henry Dundas, 1770, oil on canvas (National Galleries of Scotland)*

MP (representing Midlothian from 1774 to 1790 and Edinburgh from 1790 to 1802), and continued to exercise general authority over Scottish patronage. As commissioner on the Board of Control for India from 1784 to 1793, then president until 1801, he ensured that the sons of good Scottish families were appointed to important positions in the East India Company.[8] In James Gillray's depiction of him as a shah, or bashaw, of the Indies (Fig. 4), Dundas straddles the ocean between London's East India House and Bengal wearing a mix of Scottish and Indian dress, tartan and turban, and it became a commonplace that 'Scotland and India Dundas ruled and fed the one with the other'.[9]

The life of this imposing figure, pejoratively nicknamed Harry the Ninth, 'the uncrowned king of Scotland', has been well studied. Having risen to the position of first lord of the Admiralty in 1804, his political career ended abruptly two years later when he was impeached for alleged financial misconduct during his tenure as treasurer of the navy (1782–1800). Although he was eventually acquitted of that charge, early historians criticised him for electoral corruption, for obstructing the abolition of the slave trade, and for embodying a conservative approach to politics in an age of growing demands for reform — such that Michael Fry, in his more recent and nuanced study, dubbed his influence 'Dundas despotism'.[10] The controversy surrounding him makes the story behind his posthumous monument and its setting, which have received little attention, all the more compelling.

This article examines the commission and construction of the Melville Monument, showing how Dundas's damaged reputation, and more broadly the political tensions between Tories and Whigs, were reflected in its difficult completion. The account

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Fig. 4. *James Gillray*, Dun-Shaw, *depicting Henry Dundas straddling the ocean between East India House in Leadenhall Street and Bengal in India, 1788, hand-coloured etching (British Museum)*

provided here draws on minutes of the Melville Monument Committee and Edinburgh Town Council, alongside contemporary correspondence and journals.[11] Research for this study also uncovered Burn's design drawing for the monument, published here for the first time (Fig. 5).[12] The article proposes that the Melville Monument should be seen within a colonial context, in which Scottish cities were shaped by the conditions and concerns of empire. Records show, for example, that expatriates in Bombay raised a subscription in 1812 for the Burns Monument to be built on Calton Hill in Edinburgh.[13] Within this national and imperial context, I focus on the choice and significance of St Andrew's Square as a locus for commemoration. The wrangles over siting the monument tell the story of the development of the New Town and highlight some of the practical issues at stake. The east end was the first part of the New Town to be completed, and by the early nineteenth century the Melville Monument filled a gap in the townscape by closing the view from the west along George Street, the central axis of the first New Town. James Craig's plan (Fig. 6) anticipated an equestrian statue at the centre of St Andrew's Square where the monument to Dundas would eventually stand. If, as Dana Arnold has argued, a city projects itself through its monuments, how might the architecture and urban experience of the Melville Monument be read with regard to Edinburgh's broader urban landscape, and what do they tell us about the city's identity through the early decades of the nineteenth century?[14] The monument will be discussed as part of an emerging commitment to enhance the more picturesque qualities of the city, a reaction against the exaggerated formality of the first New Town, built to the gridded masterplan by Craig.

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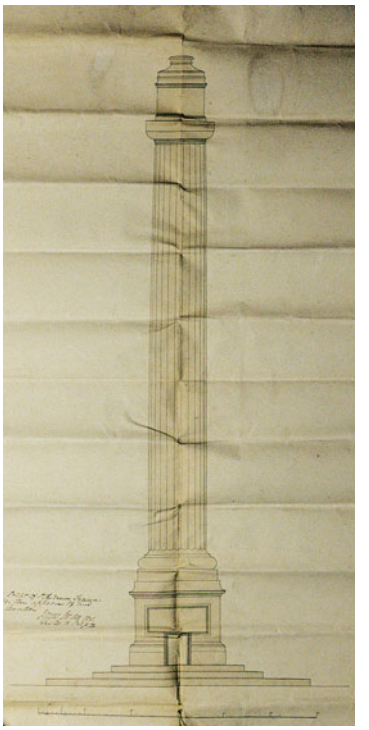

Fig. 5. *Elevation of the Melville Monument by William Burn as approved by the Dean of Guild of Edinburgh on 5 April 1821 (Edinburgh City Archives; author's photograph)*

EARLY PROJECTS FOR THE MELVILLE MONUMENT

The financial scandal that tarnished Dundas's reputation did not prevent efforts immediately following his death in 1811 to erect a memorial to him in Edinburgh. In a letter the same year to Dundas's son, Robert, second Viscount Melville (1771–1851), the lord provost William Calder mentioned a 'committee of subscribers for erecting a statue to the late Lord Melville'.[15] Initial discussions over the location of the statue centred on the east side of Parliament House, near the life-sized equestrian lead statue of King Charles II as Caesar (supplied in 1685 by James Smith, surveyor of the King's Works). In the end, the statue was sited inside Parliament Hall, where it still stands against the north wall (Fig. 7).

The placement inside Parliament House, home to the Supreme Courts of Scotland, was important in view of Robert Dundas's efforts, like those of his father, in tying Scottish politics to Westminster and maintaining Scottish loyalty to the Union. He had taken on the role of keeper of the signet for Scotland from 1800. This was also a prime location in the Old Town, the site of considerable new building. The new law courts, including the façade to Parliament Square, were built from 1804 to 1810 by Robert Reid (1774–1856), king's architect and surveyor in Scotland. The Signet Library, too, with its classical front to the square, was constructed from 1812 to 1816.[16]

The fine white marble statue of Dundas was completed by Chantrey in 1818. The commission, in 1812, came one year after Chantrey's design was selected for a statue of King

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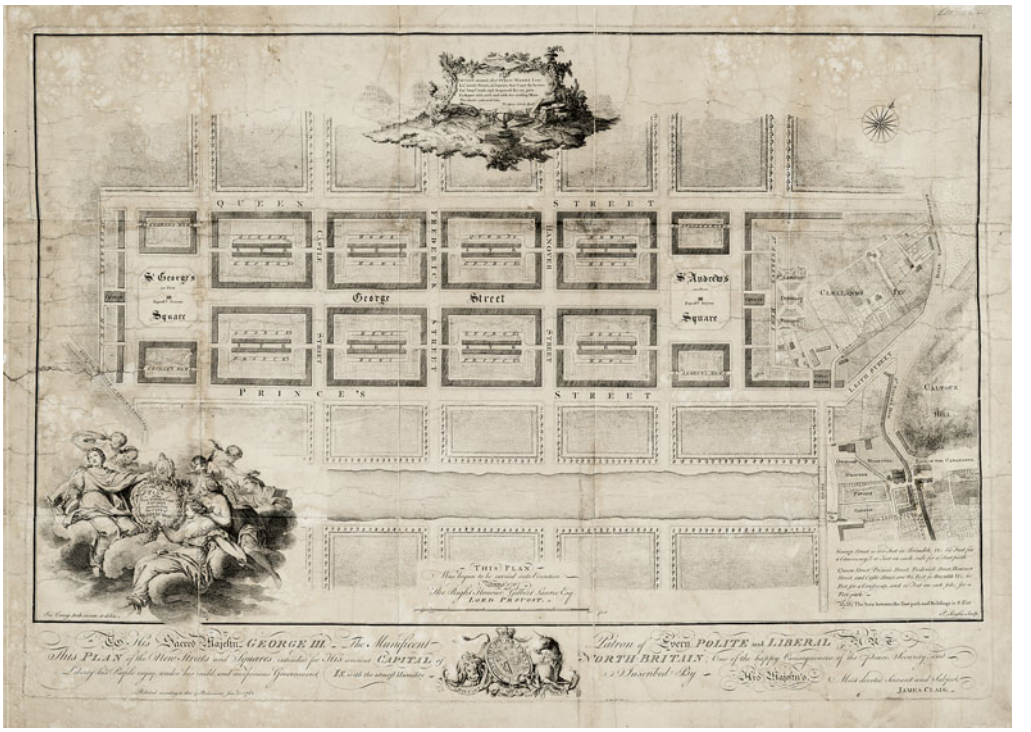

Fig. 6. *James Craig's plan for the New Town of Edinburgh, 1768 (National Library of Scotland)*

George III to be placed in the Council Chamber in London's Guildhall, and the sculptor was recommended by the former lord mayor Sir William Curtis, who had chaired the committee for the Guildhall statue (irretrievably damaged by bombing in 1940).[17] Both commissions were for standing statues. Whereas the king was represented in his royal robes, with his right hand extended as if in the act of answering an address, Dundas appears in the robes of a peer, his right hand resting on a book.

In addition to the municipal memorial to Dundas placed indoors, a national one was to be built outdoors in the same city. In February 1817, the Melville Monument Committee was established to raise funds for a monument to be situated in the Scottish capital, Dundas's native city, and almost £3500 was collected by February 1821.[18] Contemporary documents demonstrate the committee's determination to carry out the project despite early legal and financial difficulties. The project also faced public opposition. In March 1821, a correspondent in the *Scotsman* expressed the opinion that the public services of Lord Melville had already been sufficiently commemorated by the 'erection of the colossal statue placed in the hall of the Parliament House', which made it 'almost unnecessary to see another memorial raised in the *same City*, and to the *same individual*'.[19] Although the newspaper noted the strong political influence of Lord Melville's family in the drive to erect an additional monument, the money came from a different source.

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Fig. 7. *Marble statue of Henry Dundas by Francis Chantrey, completed and installed in Parliament House in Edinburgh in 1818 (author's photograph)*

Significant public sculptures in Britain were usually financed through an appeal to the public made by an organising committee in charge of fundraising. By comparison, the Melville Monument was largely a private, and specifically naval, enterprise. The subscription was raised primarily by navy officers as a tribute to Dundas for his services towards the protection and well-being of British sailors. His patriotic exertions on their behalf had won him the title 'Seaman's Friend'. Under his leadership as treasurer of the navy, an act of 1786 protected sailors from fraud by requiring the presence of an officer as witness to any will; an act of 1792 similarly protected dependants in the case of a seaman's death; and an act of 1795 allowed provision to be made for families while officers were at sea.[20] This last measure saved from destitution many families of seamen during their frequent absences.[21] To emphasise the project's naval character, the Melville Monument Committee's chair, Vice-Admiral Sir William Johnstone Hope (1766–1831), was adamant that subscriptions should be taken only from officers and ships' companies, rather than from among Edinburgh residents, which later proved a serious constraint on funds. Although the committee included representatives of the legal profession and municipal authorities, the city was not (unlike on the National Monument Committee) systematically represented.[22]

The city was involved, however, in discussion over where to situate the monument. Edinburgh Town Council's minutes of 1817 reported on the committee's search for the most suitable location. The committee first considered placing it in the north-east corner of Calton Hill, immediately to the east of Nelson's Monument as it appears on

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Fig. 8. *Detail of Robert Kirkwood's* Plan of the City of Edinburgh and its Environs, *1817, showing Nelson's Monument and the proposed observatory on Calton Hill (National Library of Scotland)*

Robert Kirkwood's 1817 *Plan of the City of Edinburgh and its Environs* (see the detail in Fig. 8). In a letter to the council on 19 March 1817, Johnstone Hope wrote:

> I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship for the information of the Magistrates and Town Council of the City of Edinburgh that the committee are unanimously of the opinion that the most eligible site that can be chosen is the North East corner of the Calton Hill, as upon that spot a structure may be raised nearly in the line of George Street, so as to appear over the Excise office, while it would at the same time prove highly ornamental to the whole of the surrounding country.[23]

The ideals expressed in this letter — that the monument might be erected in line with George Street and be seen rising above the excise office, as well as 'prove highly ornamental' across a great distance — underline the importance of sight and visibility in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century experience of the city, a fascination with which was exemplified in panoramas and panopticons.[24] In 1785, when the Irish artist Robert Barker visited Edinburgh, he was inspired by a walk on Calton Hill to produce a large-scale painting that would offer a 360-degree view, giving audiences the impression that they were actually present at the scene depicted. Barker patented his panorama in 1787 and the first panoramic painting was of Edinburgh from Calton Hill. It was an important moment for Calton Hill. Up to that point, it had been a marginal and disreputable place, but the idea of it as a central point from which to view

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and understand the city — an idea inherent in the concept of the panorama — connected it with the emerging idea of recentring the city with the hill both as the new acropolis (replacing the castle rock in the Old Town) and as the focal point of extensive urban development, beginning with an eastern or third New Town between the hill and the port of Leith (the second New Town was built north of Queen Street Gardens towards the Water of Leith, mostly between 1800 and 1830).[25] The intention that the Melville Monument in Edinburgh would be visible from a distance echoed an essential aspect of the Melville Monument built on Dunmore Hill, near Comrie, Perthshire, a few years earlier. This granite obelisk, funded by public subscription, was erected in 1812 near Dunira, an estate acquired by Dundas in 1782 (hence his second title of Baron Dunira when elevated to the peerage in 1802).

From Calton Hill, the spectator would have seen the towering Edinburgh castle, Arthur's Seat, Salisbury Crags and Firth of Forth in the distance, as well as the nearby scenery of the New Town under construction, thereby connecting city, country and sea. The only structures then standing on Calton Hill were the Old Observatory, the Bridewell prison, erected in 1791 after a design by Robert Adam, and the Nelson Monument, an inverted telescope built between 1807 and 1815 after a design by William Burn's architect father, Robert (1752–1815), but the city was about to build Thomas Hamilton's Burns Monument and, on the hill's west summit, William Henry Playfair's New Observatory.[26] Johnstone Hope's request to place the Edinburgh Melville Monument on Calton Hill, made on behalf of the committee, was granted by the city's lord provost.[27] It would be the second naval monument located on the hill, memorialising Dundas alongside Nelson. The Nelson Monument was designed to be seen from the expanding naval and commercial port of Leith, and clearly so was the Melville Monument. The observatory, however, opposed the location of the monument on this site on the grounds that it would obstruct astronomical observations. The institution took this argument to court, forcing the Melville Monument Committee to abandon its favoured location.[28] This failed project was an early attempt to increase the monumental presence on the hill, just before this really started to happen with the National Monument, begun in 1826, and the Burns Monument, begun in 1831.

In December 1818, a subcommittee of the Melville Monument Committee proposed two other eligible sites: the centre of St Andrew's Square and the head of Leith Walk at the termination of Picardy Place, immediately to the west of Calton Hill. The latter position was important, because Leith Walk was then being developed as the main thoroughfare connecting Edinburgh to its harbour at Leith.[29] Playfair's plan for laying out the third New Town between city and port placed a focus on this 'great line of communication between the two cities', and by 1819 had the National Monument located here too.[30] The Dundas monument would have been a prominent feature of this major new route to and from the city. Meanwhile, the committee briefly considered the site of St Andrew's Square, but abandoned it because of the residents' objections that the monument might disturb the tranquillity of the place by drawing more visitors.

Before the committee ultimately returned to St Andrew's Square, several other locations were examined. A draft letter for a committee meeting dated December 1818 suggested that the monument should take the form of a pyramid atop Arthur's Seat.[31] Such a scheme, the author believed, would distinguish Edinburgh from other capitals:

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> When it is considered that no monument of the form exists in the empire, and but one in Europe (that of C: Caestus at Rome) it may not be unworthy of our distinguished capital to be in profusion of another. The forming a termination to George Street is a good idea but a spire column or obelisk surmounting the Excise Office will not do, besides the Calton Hill is so studded with such trophies, as to have the appearance of a chess board, at the middle of the game. The dimension of the Roman Pyramid is a square base of 80 feet & 100 ft high.[32]

Forms such as pyramids, columns, obelisks and triumphal arches had their roots in classical antiquity and an established iconography popularised in prints and engravings.[33] By this point, such monuments were familiar in British imperial landscapes, for instance in the colonial cemeteries of Madras and Calcutta. Etchings by Giovanni Battista Piranesi representing the pyramid of Caius Cestius in Rome were well known in Britain. This Roman interpretation of the Egyptian pyramid was an important sight for those who undertook the Grand Tour and was greatly admired by architects who used it as a model for their own work. It was also a source of inspiration for poets such as Percy Bysshe Shelley, who described it as 'one keen pyramid with wedge sublime'.[34] A pyramid on Arthur's Seat, rising 250 m above the city, would have had such a presence. Nevertheless, this scheme was not pursued.

The committee considered other sites in the west end of the New Town, on land owned by Sir Patrick Walker (the property, taking the name of Coates, had been acquired for Patrick by his father, William, a friend of Dundas's).[35] These sites were located next to land owned by Heriot's Hospital, which was one of the greatest property-holders in Edinburgh at the time. According to Walker's account, the committee had been looking for a suitable site for the monument for two years and he 'relieved them from the difficulty by finding a site for it in connection with the new buildings at Coates'.[36] In a committee meeting in December 1818, negotiations were opened for the erection of a pillar on Walker's land. Although the area was slow to be developed because of economic decline in the last years of the Napoleonic wars, the centre of the New Town was moving westward, which made this land increasingly appealing.[37]

A landmark judgement that year by the House of Lords, which protected the interests of property owners and trusts, provided Walker with an additional incentive for land development. Thanks to this judgement, feu charters became the instruments by which to regulate the future use of land, restrict certain types of undesirable development and ensure the social exclusivity of specific areas. The prospect of generating income from property was therefore secured for owners like Patrick Walker, and as a result property investments and feuing accelerated in Edinburgh until the financial crisis in 1825–26.[38] In 1819, Walker suggested two sites to choose from: 'the middle of Coates Crescent', or the plot at 'the intersection of Melville Street and the street from the centre of the crescent [Walker Street]'.[39] Kirkwood's 1819 plan of Edinburgh depicts the west end of the New Town and shows several houses standing on Melville Street, designed in 1814 by Robert Brown (d. 1832), proving that Walker was then feuing his property. That spacious street, 366 m long and 33 m wide, became the central axis of the Walker estate development and the grandest part of the residential scheme shown on the *Plan of the City of Edinburgh* published by Thomas Brown in

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Fig. 9. Plan of the City of Edinburgh, Including All the Latest and Intended Improvements, *1823 (National Library of Scotland)*

1823 (Figs 9 and 10), which includes the two locations suggested by Walker. The Walker family built their own house on the same street.[40]

Walker's account of the transaction notes that the members of the committee preferred the Melville Street site because of 'its superior sea effect'.[41] A view of the sea would have been a reminder of the services Dundas had rendered to the navy, although in reality it is unlikely such a view would have been possible due to the growing urbanisation of the area. At this stage, the committee and Walker agreed on Melville Street as the best site, on the name 'Melville Forum' for the spacious square Walker proposed for the placement of the pillar, and on Burn as the architect.[42] In March 1819, Brown executed a sketch of the ground plan with perspective elevations of the monument and adjacent buildings, which was submitted by Walker to the members of the committee and to the lord advocate in April 1819. The plans, which unfortunately appear not to have survived, were sent to Melville Castle outside Dalkeith and were approved by Lord Melville.[43]

By September 1819, Edinburgh newspapers announced the committee's decision to place the monument at 'the junction of four streets of elegant buildings' which were then 'feuing on the beautiful grounds of Coats [*sic*], at the west end of the town'.[44] The area was then compared to Place Vendôme in Paris and the Forum of Trajan in Rome. Trajan's column had recently provided a model for the Glenfinnan Monument

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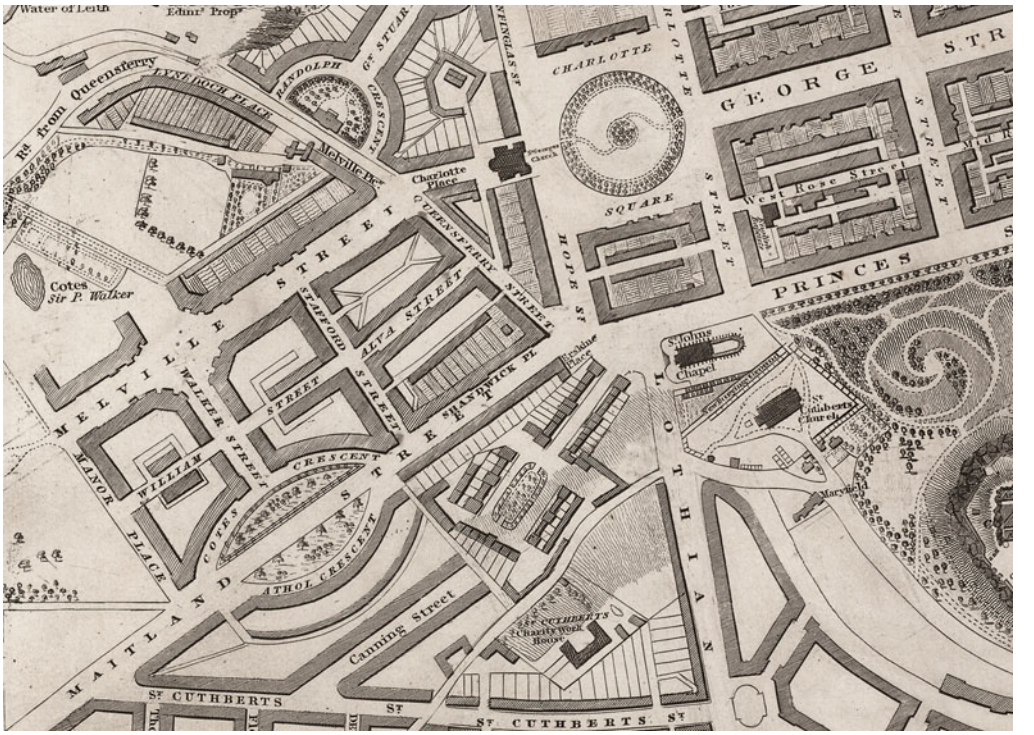

Fig. 10. *Detail of the* Plan of the City of Edinburgh, *1823 (National Library of Scotland)*

(Fig. 11), a tower situated at the head of Loch Shiel and completed in 1815.[45] Set against the picturesque backdrop of the Highlands, the monument designed by James Gillespie Graham was commissioned by Jacobite nobility to commemorate the raising of the Royal Banner in support for Charles Edward Stuart in July 1745 and features a Highlander in belted plaid, an 1834 addition to the tower. This monument commemorated a Gaelic, romantic past which, at that point, no longer posed a threat to the Union. References to the Roman empire were common among Scots who were proud members of the British empire. According to Richard Finlay, such monuments 'diverted Scotland away from internal division' and fostered loyalty that 'could now be put to good use in the service of the British state and the empire'.[46] This loyalty allowed some Scots to express their 'Scottishness' within a wider British imperial identification. An early, unsuccessful proposal for the National Monument, for instance, was a Pantheon at the head of the Mound.[47]

The National Monument met problems similar to those faced by the builders of the Melville Monument, including issues of site, cost and patronage, as well as uncertainty over the best style for expressing patriotic fervour.[48] After fruitless attempts to suggest an appropriate design for the Melville Monument, the stylistic form adopted by Burn and agreed in 1821 was inspired by Rome.[49] The same year, the Pantheon project for

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Fig. 11. *Glenfinnan Monument, Loch Shiel, designed by James Gillespie Graham and completed in 1815 (author's photograph)*

the National Monument was abandoned in favour of a replica of the Parthenon on top of Calton Hill. References to Greece were becoming increasingly common in Edinburgh, and the proposed Parthenon replica better corresponded to the city's emerging ambition to become the Athens of the British empire to counter London as Rome.[50] Archibald Alison, a member of the committee responsible for overseeing the construction of the National Monument, alluded to Scotland's position: 'the human mind arrives at its greatest perfection' in small states.[51] Contending that small states, even those subsumed within larger entities, could retain their vibrancy, he cited the Roman author Horace: 'Captured Greece defeated her rough conqueror and brought the arts into rustic Latium.'[52] By having its own Greek-style National Monument, the counterpart to the memorials in Westminster Abbey in London, Edinburgh could commemorate its dead and stake a claim to cultural superiority over the British military and political centre.

THE SITE MOVES FROM EAST TO WEST

In April 1820, while the Melville Street site was excavated and a foundation prepared, a charter was elaborated which Walker, as feudal superior, was to grant. However, the committee and Walker disagreed over the charter's terms. Walker insisted on supervising and maintaining the monument after it was built, perhaps as a means of being sure of winning the contract with the Melville Monument Committee. He claimed a desire to guarantee the preservation of the monument this way, since subscribers would not create a fund for its maintenance.[53] It is understandable that he was concerned with keeping the site in good order, as the monument could otherwise become a nuisance.[54] Yet, by insisting on this stipulation, he made the committee members sceptical about his true intentions. For Michael Linning, on behalf of the Melville Monument Committee, Walker's demand that he remain the guardian of the monument was 'very singular,

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unexpected, and inadmissible', and justified putting a stop to the digging of the foundation and all the operations connected to the monument.[55] However, at a meeting on 29 April 1820 it was decided that discussions would resume with Walker, once the legal issues were adjusted in a manner satisfactory to all parties and approved by the lord advocate and the solicitor general of Scotland, the committee's legal advisers.[56]

Nevertheless, distrust of Walker's conditions seems to have driven the committee to resume negotiations with the proprietors of St Andrew's Square at the east end of George Street. Opposition to the Melville Street project, mainly over Walker's proposal to retain full control of the site, appeared among the public when the scheme was published in the press. John Manderston, lord provost from 1819 to 1821, promised Johnstone Hope that the city would take charge of the monument's supervision once built, rather than entrust Walker with such a responsibility.[57] In conveying this letter to Lord Melville, Manderston asked him for support in securing the alternative site at St Andrew's Square, arguing that the monument should be within the city boundaries and fully visible in the New Town, which the Melville Street location would not allow.

By January 1821, the naval monument committee (a reduced version of the Melville Monument Committee) spoke with a united voice, reflecting the choice of the subscribers and the public at large, and approved the monument's location in St Andrew's Square.[58] The lord advocate's argument against the Coates site was that it would be better to 'erect the monument within the Royalty' (within the city's boundaries) and to have 'magistrates of Edinburgh the guardians of it, rather than an individual because they are a corporation that never die'.[59] Walker wrote his version of the story in a pamphlet addressed to the subscribers of the Melville Monument.[60] He argued that the part of Melville Street considered for the monument was within the royalty.[61] In fact, the proposed location for the monument was beyond the limits of the royalty by about 800 ft. In Kirkwood's *New Plan of the City of Edinburgh* (1821), for example, Heriot's Hospital land, the Coates development and the Moray estate are clearly outside the city boundaries, with Queensferry Street marking the eastern limit to the Coates development.[62] In response to Walker's pamphlet, Linning advised the subscribers and members of the public to suspend their opinion until the affair was brought before the court.[63] Walker did not believe that entrusting the monument to the city would offer greater security — heavy investments in infrastructure had landed Edinburgh in financial straits. For him, it was unlikely that the inhabitants of Edinburgh would ever agree to cover the cost of rebuilding the monument if it happened to be damaged in the future.[64] For Linning, however, the durability of the pillar precluded the probability of its requiring repair for many years and therefore the additional responsibility was not a burden for the city. Indeed, he wrote,

> And the public in general, and the City of Edinburgh in particular, must ever feel an interest in the preservation of so great an architectural ornament, raised by the Navy and Marine, as a Memorial of gratitude to an Illustrious Scotsman, to whom the service justly conceives itself to be under great and indelible obligations.[65]

Linning's gesture of thanks to Walker for his 'patriotism and disinterestedness' in helping to find the most appropriate site for the monument on his land did not prevent litigation. In January 1821, Walker sued for breach of contract and unilateral

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withdrawal from an arrangement that could reasonably be regarded as settled. The *Walker v Milne* case remains of significant importance in Scots contract law, and in pre-contractual liability.[66] According to Walker, he and the committee were bound by an unwritten contract because the committee had taken 'possession of the ground, removed enclosures, laid waste and exposed the fields, dug the foundation'.[67] These preparatory actions disrupted the feuing plans on Walker's estate. Admiral Sir David Milne, acting for the subscribers to the monument, claimed that he was not bound by a contract and so could not be liable, but the court held (on 10 June 1823) that Walker was entitled to recover any expenditure wasted as a result of the change in site for the Melville Monument.[68] Since it was likely to face heavy damages, the committee agreed on settling by compromise and paid Walker £408 in compensation. This was the first financial setback that the committee experienced.[69] Meanwhile, the *Scotsman* bitterly noted that sailors were obliged to subscribe towards the cost of the monument, for fear of losing all prospect of advancement in the navy.[70]

ST ANDREW'S SQUARE

Between 1770 and 1800, St Andrew's Square was one of the most fashionable places in the New Town, but by the 1820s its residences were gradually giving way to commercial enterprises. On Kirkwood's map of 1819 the square appears fully built, with back gardens for every house (see the detail in Fig. 12). At that date, no provision had been made for a monument in the centre of the square, which was occupied by a private garden, the outer border of which had been planted with trees, the footpath made circular and the centre planted with grass.[71] The former mansion of Sir Lawrence Dundas (a distant family connection of Henry's) appears at the east end of the square. A plate of the house is included in *Modern Athens* (Fig. 13).[72] Designed by William Chambers in 1771 on the model of Marble Hill, the mansion was bought by the government and used as the excise office from 1794.[73]

The process of obtaining the St Andrew's Square site was marked by negotiations with landowners who were worried about the stability of a large monument so close to their properties around the square.[74] The committee thus had to strengthen the foundation and fill the entire thickness of the foundation walls with stones instead of rubble, which increased the cost by nearly £1000.[75] In the reports of meetings held with the proprietors to analyse the proposals made by the naval committee, several suggestions were made, such as building a stair inside the pillar to make it stronger and easier to repair.[76] The proprietors were concerned to limit access to the stair, the door of which was to be locked and never opened without the consent of the proprietors. Other recommendations included gas lights for ornamental and functional purposes, and a rod conductor to prevent harm from lightning.[77]

Having raised funds for the erection of the monument and applied to the proprietors of St Andrew's Square, Linning, on behalf of the Melville Monument Committee, submitted Burn's elevation of the column (Fig. 5) for approval by the Dean of Guild in Edinburgh on 28 February 1821.[78] After a site visit, a warrant was granted for the plan on 5 April 1821. Constructed between 1821 and 1823 by William Armstrong, an Edinburgh builder, the Melville Monument appeared on Kirkwood's 1821 plan of the

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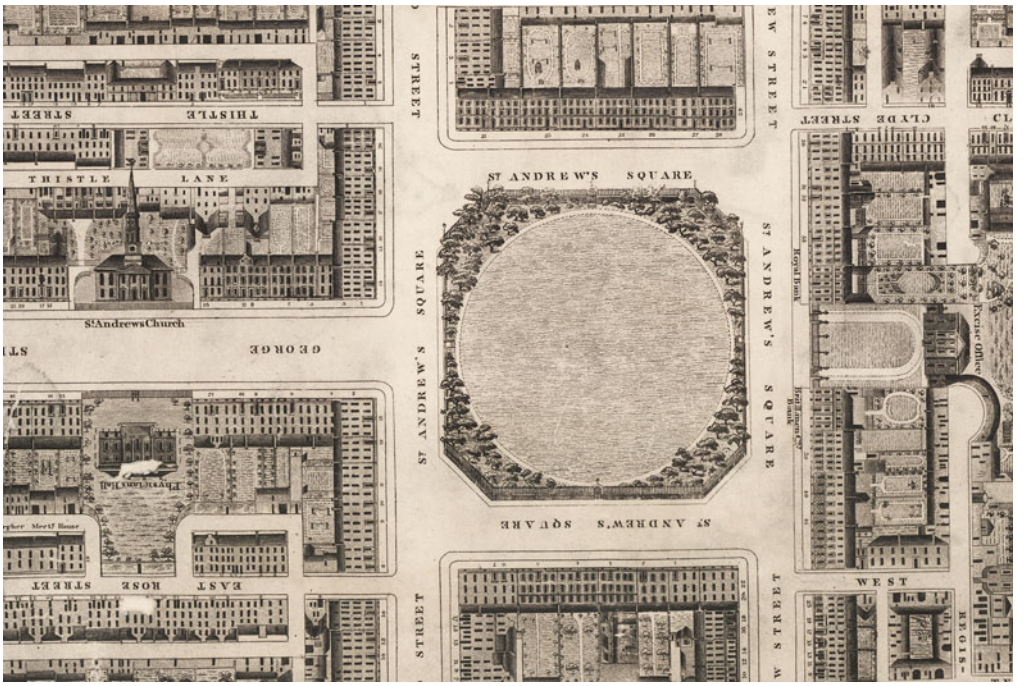

Fig. 12. *Detail showing St Andrew's Square from Robert Kirkwood's* Plan and Elevation of the New Town of Edinburgh, *1819 (National Library of Scotland)*

city (Fig. 14). Terminating the axis of George Street, it obstructs the view of a site intended for a church devoted to St Andrew. Sir Lawrence Dundas had feued the plot and erected his grandiose mansion, thereby compromising the plans of the city. The church was instead built on George Street (between 1782 and 1784). The original intentions can be seen on Craig's plan for the New Town of 1768 (Fig. 6), which features a pair of symmetrical parish churches facing each other across their squares and along the axis of George Street. At the west end of George Street, St George's Church in Charlotte Square, designed by George Reid in 1811 and completed in 1814, offered a termination to the axis.[79] With its imposing dome, which effectively closed the vista as a grand piece of urban scenery, the church shows a new approach to architecture in the early nineteenth century. Without the focal point of a church at the east end, the Melville Monument in the 1820s filled a gap in the townscape and terminated the incomplete axis. A projected memorial to Pitt in the form of a column in the centre of Charlotte Square, had it been built, would have enhanced the formal symmetry of the larger scheme. The Melville Monument therefore needs to be read in the context of a deeply formal urban landscape, planned mostly in the eighteenth century, but finished in the nineteenth century when control of urban vistas, in both formal and more picturesque ways, was a major concern for architects and urban designers. By finishing the vista of George Street, the column provided a focal point that could be seen from a distance,

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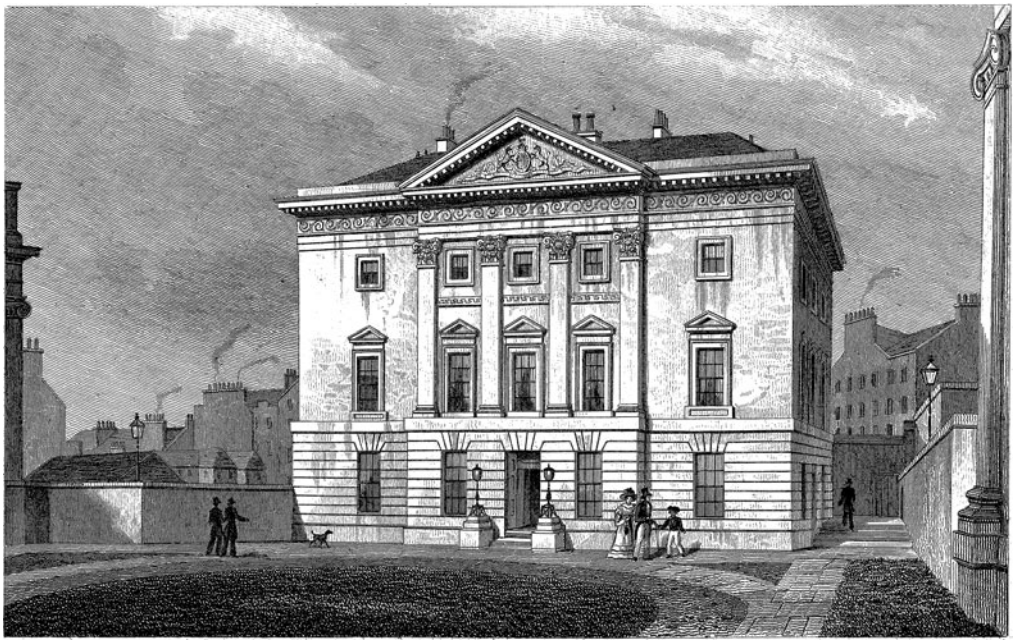

Fig. 13. *Engraving of Sir Lawrence Dundas's House in St Andrew's Square from* Modern Athens, Displayed in a Series of Views: Or, Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century, *1829 (University of Edinburgh Main Library)*

as shown in a view from George Street towards the Melville Monument by Thomas Shepherd (Fig. 15) and a view from the Scott Monument looking north by Joseph Woodfall Ebsworth (Fig. 16). Every sailor was to be entitled to a view of this monument from the Firth of Forth and when he came up Leith Walk from the harbour.[80] The wet docks of Leith had, in fact, been considered for the monument, but the depressed location, dominated by the spire of North Leith, had been judged unfavourable.

The Melville Monument simultaneously emphasised the formality of the urban landscape (in place of the equestrian statue projected in Craig's plan) as well as the picturesque character of nearby Calton Hill, a scenic site with space for the construction of new civic monuments. When Playfair provided a plan for the laying out of the New Town between Edinburgh and Leith, on the east side of Leith Walk, he insisted on the necessity to preserve the picturesque quality of the area.[81] The first appeal for a more picturesque approach to urban planning was made by William Stark (1770–1813), when he reported on the competition plans submitted for the east side of Leith Walk in 1814.[82] Stark was particularly critical of Craig's grid for ignoring the characteristics of the site, arguing that the architect should take every opportunity the site afforded for creating surprising effects, but that above all his plan must be sensitive to the nature of the terrain. He cautioned against straight streets on steep slopes and suggested instead that streets should be laid out on a bending alignment. His report alluded to Claude and Poussin, and linked painted and physical landscape. In his treatment of

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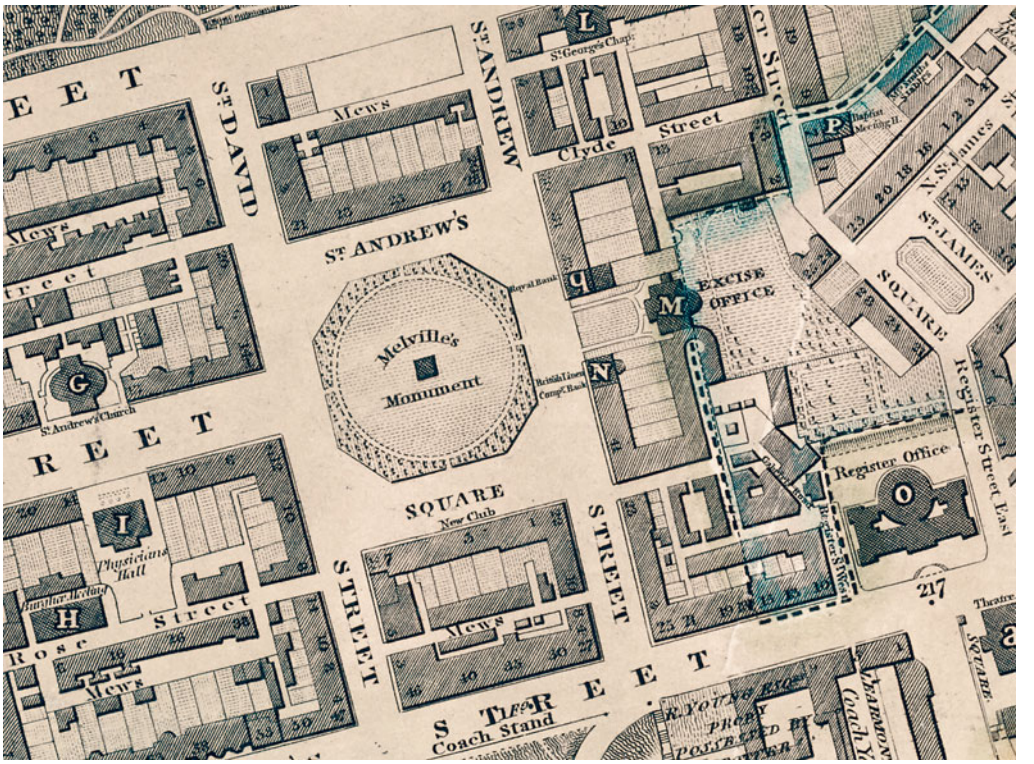

Fig. 14. *Detail showing St Andrew's Square from Robert Kirkwood's* New Plan of the City of Edinburgh, *1821 (National Library of Scotland)*

Calton Hill, Playfair, who produced reports of his own in 1818 and 1819, closely followed Stark.

In 1822, the naval committee decided, despite growing expenses, to commission a statue for the monument. King George IV's visit to Edinburgh took place that year, and the committee used the occasion to pay proper tribute to Dundas.[83] In October 1824, the Whig *Scotsman*, which promoted the work of the 'self-taught' Forrest, praised the figure of Lord Melville while it was still in the sculptor's quarry near Crossford.[84] It was unveiled to the public in 1827. In April 1820, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* celebrated Chantrey's talent as that of an artist who could capture the character of a sitter in an hour's work.[85] His design for the Melville Monument statue is very similar to his 1818 marble of the same subject (see Figs 2 and 7). The St Andrew's Square statue presents Dundas in the robes of a peer, his left hand across his chest as he looks west towards Charlotte Square. The installation of the statue at the top of the Melville Monument column was reported by the *Scotsman* in August 1827.[86] By 1830, the naval committee had amassed a debt of £1500 due to the Bank of Scotland and £100 to the committee secretary. The committee appealed to the city government, but the city was heavily indebted and declared insolvent on 1 January 1833.[87]

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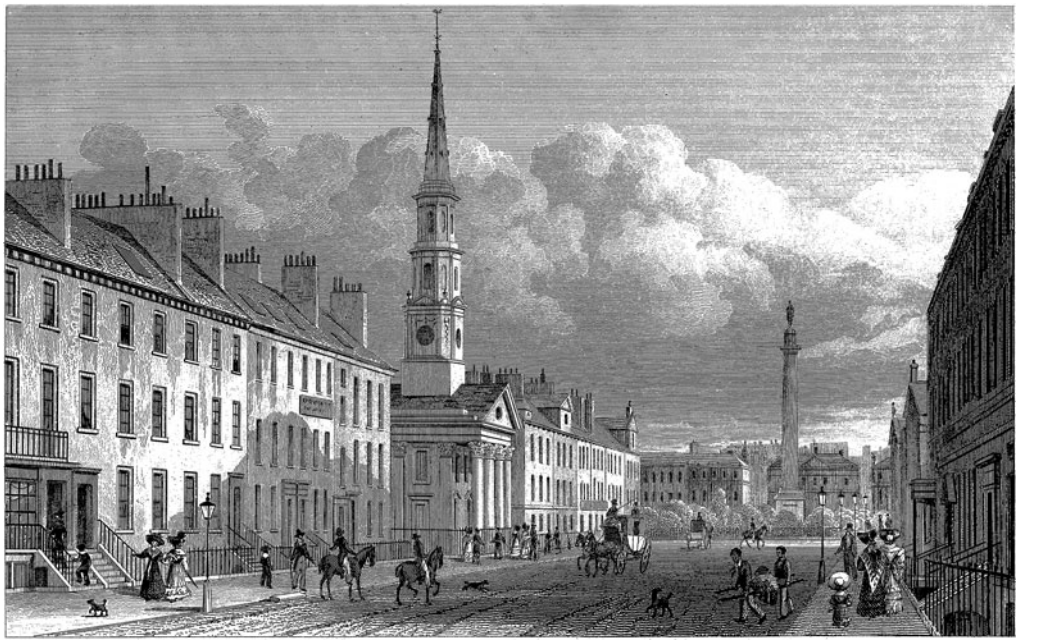

Fig. 15. *View of George Street looking towards the Melville Monument, engraving from* Modern Athens, Displayed in a Series of Views: Or, Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century, *1829 (University of Edinburgh Main Library)*

THE MELVILLE MONUMENT AS HERO BUILDING

The Melville Monument belongs to Scotland's tradition of buildings and monuments devoted to heroes. Such monuments, which are contemporary with a boom in Scottish architecture in the nineteenth century, serve the functions of public commemoration and, in many cases, the expression of a distinct Scottish national identity. The choice of native artists for the Melville Monument, Burn for the column and Forrest (albeit after a design by Chantrey) for the statue, epitomised a new assertion of Scottish nationality. For Scottish moneyed elites, whose role expanded under the Dundas regime, raising subscriptions to monuments was a way of celebrating their own cultural and national participation in (as they saw it) a heroic age of progress and recognising the advantages they gained under the Union of 1707. As a Scottish Tory politician involved in Westminster colonial administration, Henry Dundas embodied a particular type of Scottish nationalism and imperial triumphalism. A Unionist and imperialist, he was emblematic of a generation of politicians who broke free from a mercantilist approach to economics and from the tradition of Whig politics by favouring free trade and efficient government (he corresponded with and promoted the ideas of Adam Smith). In this view, he raised Scotland from subordination by allowing its interest to be heard in London and for legislation to be shaped in its favour. Dundas therefore succeeded in making Scotland a semi-independent entity and a

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Fig. 16. *Joseph Woodfall Ebsworth, view from the Scott Monument looking north, with the Melville Monument in St Andrew's Square to the east, 1845, watercolour (Edinburgh Town Council)*

partner of England. The Melville Monument, initiated by sailors who held Dundas in high esteem, is a recognition of his reforms of the navy.

The celebration of such a man, considered a tyrant by Whigs, reflected a Tory approach to national identity based on the promotion of cultural nationalism. The struggle between Tories and Whigs over the form of later national monuments, including the National Wallace Monument in Stirling, and the way they conceived concentric identities (Scottish, British and imperial) was already at stake in the Melville Monument project.[88] The shortage of funding and its delayed completion show that, by the late 1820s, the monument lacked strong public support, when debates over the extension of the franchise dominated politics in Edinburgh. By then, Dundas was a polarising figure who came to express the dominant and repressive Tory administration in London. In the early 1830s, residents in Edinburgh voiced their opposition to city funds being used for what were seen as private purposes, to celebrate a man who remained 'unpopular' and whose policies had been 'unwise and offensive'.[89] No words of tribute were attached to the monument until 2003, when a plaque was set

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into stone inside the west entrance to the garden of St Andrew's Square bearing the short, factual inscription:

> *THE MELVILLE / MONUMENT / ERECTED IN 1823 IN MEMORY / OF HENRY DUNDAS (1742–1811) / FIRST VISCOUNT MELVILLE AND / A DOMINANT FIGURE IN POLITICS / FOR OVER FOUR DECADES. BESIDES / BEING TREASURER FOR THE NAVY HE / WAS LORD ADVOCATE & KEEPER OF THE / SCOTTISH SIGNET. THE SUBSCRIPTION / FOR THE MONUMENT WAS RAISED BY / MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL NAVY. / IT WAS DESIGNED BY WILLIAM BURN / AND THE STATUE IS BY CHANTREY.*

The inscription on the plaque, placed by the Institution of Civil Engineers and thereby celebrating the monument more than the man, brings to the fore Dundas's political role. Yet when the Melville Monument project was carried out, Edinburgh was promoting itself as a new capital whose prestige rested on cultural productions, including monuments, and not on politics or finance. In the 'Athens of the North', primacy was given to buildings of culture and intellect, as exemplified in Playfair's scheme for the university (1817) and in Hamilton's Royal High School (1825). The New Town was an invitation to build monuments and statues, and the Melville Monument is emblematic of the general willingness to enhance the ornamental character of the Scottish metropolis. Dundas himself had been supportive of the city's embellishment in the 1790s, when he allocated funds for the building of the university, designed by Adam and now called Old College.

The statue of Dundas standing aloof on the column mirrors the career of a politician in whose hands patronage for Scotland was concentrated. It tells the story of Britain's success and belief in its own supremacy, as well as Scotland's strengthened place in the British empire, which then encompassed almost a quarter of the world's population. Edinburgh's monument to Melville, commemorating him as first lord of the Admiralty within sight of the monument to Admiral Nelson, who would soon have his own fluted column in London's Trafalgar Square, stands for Scotland's active involvement in the British empire.

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BIOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT

The Melville Monument, which stands at the centre of St Andrew's Square in Edinburgh, was erected between 1821 and 1823 in memory of the Tory statesman Henry Dundas, first Viscount

Melville (1742–1811). The design for the monument, more than 150 ft tall, was provided by William Burn (1789–1870). The 15 ft statue of Dundas that stands on top, added in 1827, was carved by Robert Forrest (1789–1852), a Scottish sculptor from Lanarkshire, from a design by Francis Chantrey (1781–1841). The Melville Monument, imperial in character and context, is part of a series of highly visible monuments built in Edinburgh in the early nineteenth century to celebrate such figures as Horatio Nelson, Robert Burns, William Pitt, King George IV and the dead of the Napoleonic wars (National Monument). This article examines the commission and construction of the Melville Monument, and analyses the choice and significance of St Andrew's Square as a locus for commemoration. The monument is shown to be part of an emerging commitment to enhance the more picturesque qualities of the city, a reaction against the exaggerated formality of the first New Town and its grid pattern.

NOTES

1 *Modern Athens, Displayed in a Series of Views: Or, Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1829).

2 The scaffolding and machinery needed to place the statue on top were constructed on a new and improved principle by J. and J. Rutherford from a model furnished by the civil engineer Robert Stevenson. See https://canmore.org.uk/site/52413/edinburgh-st-andrew-square-melvilles-monument (accessed 28 May 2018).

3 Matthew Craske, 'Westminster Abbey 1720–70: A Public Pantheon Built upon Private Interest', and 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, 2004), pp. 57–79, 81–105.

4 Johnny Rodger, *The Hero Building: An Architecture of Scottish National Identity* (Burlington, VT, 2015).

5 Ibid., pp. 10, 17.

6 Ibid., p. 18.

7 Graeme Morton, *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830–1860* (East Linton, 1999), pp. 22–48, 189–200. The foundation of the Scottish Home Rule Association (SHRA) in 1886 marked a shift away from this attitude. The SHRA, however, was devolutionist rather than separatist in its aims. It demanded greater powers for Scotland, not independence.

8 In 1784, Dundas helped to pass Pitt's India Act, removing political power from the East India Company. He made extensive use of patronage, as did the Argylls before him. See Richard B. Sher, 'Scotland Transformed: The Eighteenth Century', in *Scotland: A History*, ed. Jenny Wormald (Oxford, 2005), pp. 183–91.

9 Sydney Smith cited in Michael Fry, *The Dundas Despotism* (Edinburgh, 1992), p. 111.

10 A critical approach was adopted by Henry Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time* (Edinburgh, 1856), Holden Furber, *Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville, 1742–1811: Political Manager of Scotland, Statesman, Administrator of British India* (Oxford, 1931), and Cyril Matheson, *The Life of Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville, 1742–1811* (London, 1933). Fry, *Dundas Despotism* (on the charges of fraud, see pp. 110, 262).

11 Volume three of the Melville Monument Committee minutes (Subscribers Minute Book) is in Edinburgh City Archives. Unfortunately the first two volumes went missing as early as March 1834, when advertisements were placed in the *Courant*, the *Scotsman*, the *Mercury* and the *North British Advertiser* offering a reward for their return.

12 Edinburgh City Archives [hereafter ECA], MYBN L14E Box 136.

13 'List of subscriptions collected at Bombay for the erection of a monument to the memory of Robert Burns, poet, 13 November 1818', Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland [hereafter NRS], GD113/5/144b/1.

14 Dana Arnold, *Re-presenting the Metropolis: Architecture, Urban Experience and Social Life in London, 1800–1840* (Aldershot, 2000), p. xix.

15 William Calder to Robert Dundas, 24 June 1811, NRS, GD51/5/72.

16 Reid originally designed interiors for the Signet and Advocates Library, but the Writers of the Signet and the Faculty of Advocates commissioned William Stark to provide new designs and Reid, as the government architect, supervised their execution.

17 John Wauchope to Robert Dundas, 6 October 1812, NRS, GD51/5/74 (Wauchope was Dundas's agent). William Curtis to Robert Dundas, 8 May 1812, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland [hereafter NLS], MS 3834, ff. 61–62. In his response, Lord Melville insisted that the most adequate artist would have to be chosen by the committee of the subscribers at Edinburgh and their chair, the lord provost (Robert Dundas

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to William Curtis, 8 May 1812, NLS, MS 3834, f. 63). Chantrey sent a marble bust of the late Lord Melville to the incumbent Lord Melville to thank him for the generous praise of his talent (Chantrey to Robert Dundas, 20 February 1813, NLS, MS 3834, ff. 65–66).

18 William Forbes Gray, 'The Melville Monument', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. 15, pp. 207–13.

19 'Monument to Lord Melville, from A Correspondent', *Scotsman* (Edinburgh), 17 March 1821, p. 86.

20 This concern was maintained by his son Robert, who organised a reliable supply of timber and victuals for the navy during his tenure as first lord of the Admiralty (1812–27). The Melville Building in the Royal William Victualling Yard in Stonehouse (outside Plymouth) was built in 1828–32 as a general store for clothing and food, and as offices for the officers and clerks of the yard.

21 Moneylenders commonly preyed on drunken sailors and persuaded them to sign away their future pay. The act of 1792 directed that every claim on a dead sailor's estate should be handled by a clergyman or officer of the revenue. Fry, *Dundas Despotism*, p. 110.

22 Hope insisted in February 1820 that the committee should not receive assistance from any other source but navy officers and marines, and therefore that the memorial be unconnected to the city. Patrick Walker, *Sir Patrick Walker to the Subscribers to the Melville Monument* (Edinburgh, 1821), p. 10. William Allan, lord provost of Edinburgh (1829–31), was part of a subcommittee of the naval committee (a reduced version of the Melville Monument Committee) in 1830. ECA, Melville Monument Committee, Subscribers Minute Book, vol. 3, p. 3.

23 ECA, Edinburgh Town Council Minutes, vol. 173, pp. 284–86. Johnstone Hope to the lord provost, Edinburgh, 15 March 1817, ECA, Item 4/19 (U15 3D Box 4/1 to 4/29).

24 Andrew Hemingway, *Landscape Imagery and Urban Culture in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, 1992). Bernard Comment, *Le XIXe Siècle des Panoramas* (Paris, 1993).

25 John Lowrey, 'From Caesarea to Athens: Greek Revival Edinburgh and the Question of Scottish Identity within the Unionist State', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 60.2 (2001), pp. 136–57 (p. 138).

26 An act of 1790 provided for the building of a Bridewell and House of Correction on Calton Hill: A.J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1966), p. 135. Playfair's New Observatory was begun in 1818. Hamilton's Burns Monument was completed in 1831.

27 Johnstone Hope to the lord provost, Edinburgh, 15 March 1817, ECA, Item 4/19 (U15 3D Box 4/1 to 4/29).

28 'General Report of the Proceedings of the Naval Committee, Relative to the Site and Design of the Monument to the Memory of the late Lord Viscount Melville. Printed and circulated by the Committee', NLS, Advocates Library, *Sir P. Walker v Sir D. Milne*, General Collection of Session Papers 1823, no. 360, p. 1.

29 Previously Easter Road was the great line of communication between Edinburgh and Leith. Leith Walk was part of King George IV's entrance route into Edinburgh in 1822.

30 William Henry Playfair, *Report to the Right Honourable the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council of the City of Edinburgh, and the Governors of Heriot's Hospital, &c. &c. on a Plan for Laying out the New Town between Edinburgh and Leith* (Edinburgh, 1819), p. 3. This plan was only partially carried out.

31 Draft letter by 'Fifensis', 5 December 1818, NRS, GD26/15/79.

32 Ibid. The second and third sentences of this paragraph are crossed through in the original manuscript. The author's assumption that no such form existed in the empire is wrong.

33 Alexander Nasmyth proposed a huge obelisk for the Nelson Monument before the upturned telescope was preferred (mainly on cost grounds). An early proposal for a National Monument to commemorate Scots killed in the Napoleonic wars took the form of a triumphal arch with three passages connecting Waterloo Place to Great London Road. Designed by James Gillespie Graham in 1816, it was never built, but appears on Kirkwood's *Plan and Elevation of the New Town of Edinburgh* (1819).

34 Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Adonais, An Elegy on the Death of John Keats* (1821; London, 1886), p. 23.

35 The estate of Easter Coates was advertised for sale in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 20 May 1786 as 'very commodious for feuing to build on'.

36 Walker, *To the Subscribers*, p. 2.

37 In Scotland, land was feued, so was 'sold outright by the vendor who relinquished all title to it, subject to the receipt of a fixed annual levy (feu-duty) in perpetuity, and other occasional payments (casualties).' See Richard Rodger, *The Transformation of Edinburgh: Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 69–71.

38 The city of Edinburgh developed by allowing private landowners to feu their own land for building. Rodger, *The Transformation of Edinburgh*, pp. 26–27.

39 Walker, *To the Subscribers*, p. 2.

40 Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, pp. 215–16. John Gifford, Colin McWilliam, David Walker and Christopher Wilson, *The Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh* (London, 1984), p. 375.
41 Walker, *To the Subscribers*, p. 4.
42 Ibid., p. 6. 'Petition of Sir P. Walker against Lord Meadowbank (Court of Session), 30 November 1822', NLS, Advocates Library, *Sir P. Walker v Sir D. Milne*, General Collection of Session Papers 1823, no. 360, p. 11.
43 Melville Street was named after Robert Dundas. In 1857 a statue of him by the Scottish sculptor Sir John Steell was placed in the middle of the street. NRS, GD224/511/13/28.
44 Cited by Walker, *To the Subscribers*, p. 8.
45 Rodger, *Hero Building*, p. 39.
46 Richard J. Finlay, *A Partnership for Good? Scottish Politics and the Union Since 1880* (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 9, 22.
47 John Gifford, 'The National Monument of Scotland', *Architectural Heritage*, 25.1 (2014), pp. 43–83.
48 Rodger, *Hero Building*, p. 85.
49 Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*.
50 See 'On the Proposed National Monument at Edinburgh', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 5.28 (July 1819), cited by Gifford in 'The National Monument of Scotland', p. 50. Lowrey, 'From Caesarea to Athens', p. 150.
51 *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 5.28 (July 1819), pp. 377–87.
52 Horace, *Epistles*, 2.1.156.
53 Walker, *To the Subscribers*, appendix, pp. 13–19.
54 Walker, *To the Subscribers*, appendix, pp. 19–20. Alex Goldie to Michael Linning, 28 April 1820.
55 Walker, *To the Subscribers*, appendix, p. 16. Linning to Goldie, 19 April 1820. Linning was also the secretary of the National Monument Committee.
56 'Minute of a Meeting of the Committee on the Naval Monument to the Memory […] Held at Oman's Hotel, Edinburgh, 29 April 1820', in Walker, *To the Subscribers*, appendix, pp. 21–23.
57 At the same time, Johnstone Hope reassured Walker in a letter dated 22 February 1820 that the committee had not changed its mind: 'with regard to the Monument being out of the Royalty, it is nothing. […] As to what is written in the newspapers I care not about'. Walker, *To the Subscribers*, appendix, p. 3.
58 'Minute of a Meeting of the Committee on the Naval Monument to the Memory […] Held at Oman's Hotel, Edinburgh, 13 January 1821', in Walker, *To the Subscribers*, appendix, p. 24.
59 Walker, *To the Subscribers*, p. 24.
60 His text is signed Drumseugh, 24 January 1821. Ibid., p. 31.
61 Ibid., p. 25. NLS, Kirkwood's Map, 1821.
62 In the first half of the nineteenth century, the city boundaries were extended in 1809, 1832, 1833 and 1856.
63 'Minute of a Meeting of the Sub-Committee on the Naval Monument […] Held at Edinburgh on 19th February 1821', in Walker, *To the Subscribers* (n.p.).
64 Ibid., pp. 29–31.
65 Linning to the lord provost, Edinburgh, 16 January 1821, ECA, Item 4/29 (U15 3D Box 4/1 to 4/29).
66 Linning to Walker, 23 January 1821, in Walker, *To the Subscribers*, appendix, p. 24. Hector L. MacQueen and Joe Thomson, *Contract Law in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2000), p. 86. Walker claimed £10,000 damages for breach of agreement. Gray, *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. 15, p. 209.
67 Walker, *To the Subscribers*, p. 28.
68 NLS, Advocates Library, *Sir P. Walker v Sir D. Milne*, General Collection of Session Papers 1823, no. 360. The case upheld the principle of indemnification against expenditure incurred on the faith of a non-contractual agreement. In a number of subsequent cases, however, the courts declared that the *Walker v Milne* case did not establish a principle of general application because agreements were not binding contracts. MacQueen and Thomson, *Contract Law in Scotland*, p. 86.
69 'Melville Monument', *Scotsman*, 16 December 1826, p. 1.
70 'Melville Monument', *Scotsman*, 27 December 1826, p. 824.
71 St Andrew's Square garden, levelled and enclosed in 1770, was the first of all the pleasure gardens in the New Town (most of which was were private), and was not opened to the public until 2008. Hence the Melville Monument was a public monument in a private garden (a common property of the several feuars around the square).
72 Sir Lawrence Dundas of Arniston (1710–81) was dubbed the 'Nabob of the North' by William Petty, second Earl of Shelburne. He made a fortune from military contracts by equipping field armies in 1745–46 and was seen as a wartime profiteer. G.E. Bannerman, 'The "Nabob of the North": Sir Lawrence Dundas as Government Contractor', *Historical Research* 83, no. 219 (2010), pp. 102–23.

73 The building was taken over by the Royal Bank of Scotland in 1825. An equestrian statue of the fourth Earl of Hopetoun, Governor of the Bank (1820–23), was erected outside in 1834. Gifford *et al*., *Edinburgh*, p. 326.
74 'General Meeting of Proprietors of St Andrew's Square held in Oman's Tavern, 6 January 1821', ECA, MYBN L14E Box 136. The monument in St Andrew's Square was approved in this minute.
75 Gray, *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. 15, p. 210.
76 'Letter, from a proprietor of St Andrew's Square, relative to the proposed monument for Lord Melville', *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine*, 7 (April, 1820), p. 59.
77 *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 7 (April, 1820), p. 60.
78 'General Meeting of Proprietors of St Andrew's Square held in Oman's Tavern, 6 January 1821', ECA, MYBN L14E Box 136. The elevation as approved by the proprietors of St Andrew's Square and James Swan, their secretary, is signed Edinburgh, 2 April 1821.
79 Robert Adam's refined design proposal for a church on the west side of the square was abandoned by the city, which commissioned a new design from Robert Reid. Soane Museum, Adam Collection, vol. 32, drawings 1–7.
80 'General Report of the Proceedings of the Naval Committee, Relative to the Site and Design of the Monument to the Memory of the late Lord Viscount Melville. Printed and circulated by the Committee', NLS, Advocates Library, *Sir P. Walker v Sir D. Milne*, General Collection of Session Papers 1823, no. 360, p. 3.
81 'Report by Mr. H. Playfair Architect at Submitting his Proposed Plan for Buildings on the Grounds East of the Calton Hill, to the Joint Committees, Edinburgh, 12 April 1819' and 'Report by Mr. H. Playfair Architect to the Right Honourable the Committee for laying out the New Towns between Edinburgh and Leith', in 'Minutes of Committee for Feuing Calton Hill Grounds, 1811–1824', ECA, 9/41 32 U, pp. 133, 142–44.
82 'Minutes of a Meeting of the Joint Committee for Examining the Competition Plans for New Buildings Proposed to be Erected on the East Side of Leith Walk held 1 July 1815', in 'Minutes of Committee for Feuing Calton Hill Grounds, 1811–1824', ECA, 9/41 32 U, pp. 63–76. William Stark, *Report to the Right Honourable the Lord Provost* […] *on the Plans for Laying out the Grounds for Buildings between Edinburgh and Leith* (Edinburgh, 1814).
83 See Mark Dorrian, 'The King and the City: On the Iconology of George IV in Edinburgh', *Architectural Research*, 30 (2006), pp. 32–36.
84 Forrest had received some training in Glasgow and Edinburgh and became known for his life-sized figures present in many Scottish gardens and in the cityscapes of Falkirk, Haddington and Glasgow. Joe Rock, '"An Ingenious Self-taught Sculptor": Robert Forrest (1789–1852)', *Sculpture Journal*, 9 (2003), p. 67.
85 Chantrey began his career as a painter, exhibiting at the Royal Academy in 1804, before turning chiefly to sculpture. When George Street began to be punctuated with statuary, it was Chantrey who designed the figures, including Baron Robert Dundas, the bronze statue of Pitt and later King George IV. See Mary Cosh, *Edinburgh: The Golden Age* (Edinburgh, 2003), p. 558.
86 'Melville Monument', *Scotsman*, 4 August 1827.
87 'A Bankrupt City. Edinburgh a Century Ago', *Scotsman*, 13 October 1936. The city's financial difficulties were explained by the extensive building operations undertaken by the Town Council in the early nineteenth century. ECA, MYBN L269D Box 1.
88 See Rodger, *Hero Building*, p. 108.
89 ECA, Edinburgh Town Council Minutes, vol. 200, pp. 323–24.