

THE BOOK  
OF THE  
OLD EDINBURGH  
CLUB

---

The Journal for  
Edinburgh History



Patricia R. Andrew, 'A Venerable and Romantic Ruin: St Anthony's Chapel  
and Its Place in Edinburgh's Historical and Visual Image',  
*Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, New Series 10 (2014), pp. 1–16

~~~~~

This article is extracted from **The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, The Journal for  
Edinburgh History** ISSN 2634-2618

Content © The Old Edinburgh Club and contributors. All rights reserved.

For information about The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club (BOEC), including contents of  
previous issues and indexes, see <https://oldedinburghclub.org.uk/boec>.

**This article is made available for your personal research and private study only.**

For any further uses of BOEC material, please contact the Editor, The Book of the Old  
Edinburgh Club, at [editor@oldedinburghclub.org.uk](mailto:editor@oldedinburghclub.org.uk). The Club has a Take-Down Policy  
covering potential rights infringements. Please see [http://oldedinburghclub.org.uk/oec-  
take-down-policy](http://oldedinburghclub.org.uk/oec-take-down-policy).



*Digitised by the Centre for Research  
Collections, Edinburgh University  
Library from the copy in the Library  
Collection*



# ‘A VENERABLE AND ROMANTIC RUIN’: ST ANTHONY’S CHAPEL AND ITS PLACE IN EDINBURGH’S HISTORICAL AND VISUAL IMAGE

PATRICIA R. ANDREW

THIS PAPER EXAMINES aspects of the history of St Anthony’s Chapel since it became ruinous, charting its changing status and identity in the minds of both Edinburgh residents and visitors to the city.<sup>1</sup> The Chapel first caught my attention as a standard feature in artistic depictions of Edinburgh. Many views of the city have been made from Arthur’s Seat, with the Chapel in the foreground or to one side. The small, ruined building serves as a convenient point of picturesque interest, lending a sense of antiquity to the scene. Seen from the other direction, the Chapel stands out as the only piece of architecture on Arthur’s Seat itself, providing both scale and a point of reference (fig. 1). Few artists have concerned themselves with accuracy, either of the Chapel’s location or of the structure itself. Until archaeologists undertook methodical surveys in modern times, the antiquarians who provided both written and visual records also speculated – often rather wildly – on the origins of the ruins, their descriptions illustrating changing perceptions of architecture, historical interpretation and the varying fashions in art and taste. So numerous are the textual and visual references to the Chapel that only some of them can be included here.

## SITE AND HISTORY

St Anthony’s Chapel stands on a small rocky outcrop, beneath the north-west face of Whinny Hill adjoining Arthur’s Seat itself. It was founded when the Park was in the hands of the Kelso and Holyrood Abbeys, and lay in the part that probably belonged to Kelso Abbey.<sup>2</sup> The structural assemblage is listed formally as a burial ground, a chapel and a hermitage (which



Fig. 1. St Anthony’s Chapel viewed from the north, across St Margaret’s Loch. (Photo the author.)

may in fact have been a store). The fifteenth century chapel itself was oblong in plan, its west end rising two storeys above the rest of the square manse or house. Only the north wall remains, with the adjoining part of the west gable and the base of the other walls, all of which was consolidated in recent times (fig. 2). Several unlined, shallow graves have been found in the narrow strip of ground north of the building.

Although the precise date of its foundation is obscure, the Chapel was a place of pilgrimage during the fifteenth century, and in 1426 the Pope allocated



Fig. 2. St Anthony's Chapel viewed from the south.  
(Photo the author.)

funds for repairs. The last chaplain is recorded in 1581. The dedication to St Anthony suggests it may have had some connection with the Preceptory of St Anthony, a hospice in Leith, but there is no evidence to support this. Holyrood Abbey and the Chapel were linked by a stone track, of which kerbstones and other traces remain. Near the Chapel is a spring, with a carved stone bowl, known as St Anthony's Well; its huge capping stone above and behind the carved basin forms the outflow from the well. In the nineteenth century local people still believed in the Well's healing powers, and the ritual visits of May mornings have continued, these enjoying a revival in recent times.<sup>3</sup> An additional folk interest is found in nearby Whinny Hill, to the south-west of the well, the alternative name for which is Fairies Knowe.

It should be noted that the nomenclature of both Arthur's Seat and St Anthony's Chapel varies considerably. To some writers – for example John Wesley in 1766 – the name 'Arthur's Seat' meant only the very summit of the hill.<sup>4</sup> Other writers have confused the Chapel with the nearby Well, and the term 'St Anton' has frequently been used as a poetic version of the full name. Many writers have assumed that Arthur's Seat is a public place, in the sense of a common, apparently unaware that it lies within the royal park.

Given the location, the lack of any solid history of the Chapel is something of an oddity. Fred Coles, gathering all the evidence he could find in 1896, noted that it had been mentioned frequently in descriptions of Edinburgh over a long period of

time – but that a brief mention seems always to have sufficed: 'In the latest local guide-books, a Chapel of Saint Anthony is nominally well represented. But, strange to say, in no single sentence...do we light upon a vestige of authentic evidence for the date, the architect, or the dedication of this Chapel' and he found the lack of reference in any pre-Reformation records 'both surprising and unaccountable'; he summed up what knowledge was available, together with contemporary plans and a report on the ruins, conjectural plans and elevations.<sup>5</sup>

#### THE RUINED CHAPEL IN THE VISUAL AND VERBAL RECORD TO c.1800

In the earliest known image, the map-view of the Siege of Leith (1560), the assemblage of structures annotated as 'St. Anthonyes Chappell' appeared anything but ruinous, though this may have been a deliberate over-rendering in both scale and condition.<sup>6</sup> About 130 years later John Slezer showed only a tiny, unmarked structure in his detailed panoramic view, *The North Prospect of the City of Edinburgh*.<sup>7</sup> But William Maitland, in his *History of Edinburgh* of 1753, had examined the 'ruinous Chapel' in some detail, for he gave dimensions, and conjectured as to what might originally have existed.<sup>8</sup>

The traditional poem and song associated with the Chapel and the Well, known as 'Waly, Waly' (meaning 'Alas, Alas') exists in various forms. When J. W. Allen traced its history in 1954, he noted its presence in various collections of popular Scottish songs since the 1720s, regarded even then as old.<sup>9</sup> In fact it had appeared in the form of a broadsheet ballad by 1701.<sup>10</sup> An early example to be published in a book appeared in *A Choice Collection of Scotch and English Songs* (1764), where the title was given as 'Waly, waly, gin love be Bonny' and the first line reads 'O Waly, waly up the bank'. And two verses on:<sup>11</sup>

Now Arthur's Seat shall be my bed,  
The sheets shall ne'er be fyl'd by me,  
Saint Anton's well shall be my drink,  
Sin' my true-love's forsaken me.

Ten years later, Thomas Mercer's lengthy *Arthur's Seat: A Poem* was published, followed by notes in which the writer apparently mistook the Chapel for the Preceptory at Leith; he noted that the

Well, 'so celebrated of old for its miraculous, but probably fabulous, cures, has lately been filled up.' Mercer had absorbed some of the contemporary cultural 'romantic' view of ruins, as these three stanzas demonstrate:

SEE picturesque above the plain  
Where naked ruins still remain;  
Of antique chapel vestige rude;  
Retreat for Muse's hallow'd mood;  
For here the sainted reliques old  
No crowds, admiring, now behold;  
Nor frequent-passing pilgrim here  
Drops, with his beads, Devotion's tear.

RELENTLESS Time! And see the cell;  
And see below the crystal well,  
Where peaceful hermit daily went  
To fetch the simple element;  
With solemn pace, and hairy gown,  
And pensive eyes cast often down.

ADJOINING close to royal towers  
What dismal desolation lours!  
Where the tall cross erected high  
Expressive greets the gazer's eye;  
Where roofless stand, like Mansion vile,  
The Abbey's choir, and fluted ile [*sic*];  
In ruin venerable still.

Mercer prefaced his poem with an eloquent 'Advertisement' that made an important point about the topographical appeal of Arthur's Seat: <sup>12</sup>

The Scottish metropolis boasts of a peculiarity, known, perhaps, to no other capital in Europe: for there, after a short walk of a few minutes, the citizens can retire to solitudes as deep and sequestered, to scenes as wild and romantic, as the reverie of the pensive, or the imagination of the poet, could wish for in the most savage retreat; to prospects so extensive and beautiful as fail not to raise the admiration of the stranger.

The sheer cultural and social convenience of the location, its historic, romantic and rural aspects combining with the proximity to, and visibility from, the city, made for a valued retreat, and writer after writer extolled its interest and virtues. Typical was a letter from James Boswell, writing to John Johnston of Grange in 1763:<sup>13</sup>

Look up with awe to old Arthur's seat, with a sort of superstitious reverence to St. Anthony's Chappel, let the milkwite [*sic*] sheep feeding on the green mountain give you sweet notions of rural simplicity and innocence and think the little creatures happy who wander on our favourite hill...

And a cheerful poem by the short-lived Edinburgh poet Robert Fergusson, entitled *Good Eating*, included the lines:<sup>14</sup>

Ye, who for health, for exercise, for air,  
Oft saunter from Edina's smoke-capt spires,  
And, by the grassy hill or dimpl'd brook  
An appetite revive, should oft-times stray  
O'er Arthur's-seat's green pastures to the town.

Few dissented, though the curmudgeonly Tobias Smollett dismissed the royal park in 1768 as 'a bare piece of ground, without tree or shrub, bounded on one side by a steep hill, known by the name of Arthur's Seat; and about half way up this hill are the ruins of a chapel, dedicated to St. Anthony'.<sup>15</sup> And William Gilpin, visiting Scotland, complained that 'Arthur's Seat which is still the principal object, appears still as odd, misshapen, and uncouth as before...Arthur's Seat presents an unpleasing view from every situation. Some formal part stares you in the face in every corner of Edinburgh. You rarely meet even with a picturesque fragment.'<sup>16</sup> But these were exceptions to the rule. Most writers were impressed, and the Chapel only added to its value, enriching it with evidence of past human presence. Thomas Pennant, in his *Tour in Scotland* of 1769, noted that 'On one side of the park are the ruins of St Anthony's Chapel, once the resort of numberless votaries'.<sup>17</sup> Many writers waxed far more lyrical about it, such as Hugo Arnot in 1779: 'Seldom are human beings to be met in this lonely vale, or any creatures to be seen, but the sheep feeding on the mountain, and the hawks and ravens winging their flight among the rocks...the eye passes the ruins of St Anthony's chapel...'<sup>18</sup>

By this time, ascending Arthur's Seat was 'the' thing for local men (though not women) to undertake for exercise, and a standard experience for visitors to Edinburgh. The Reverend Stebbing Shaw walked up when on his tour of Scotland in 1787.<sup>19</sup> Thomas Campbell repeatedly walked up Arthur's Seat.<sup>20</sup> The number of people who remarked upon the solitude of Arthur's Seat might lead one to wonder just how solitary it actually was, so repeatedly did they all stride about it. Yet Sir John Stoddart, in his *Remarks on Local Scenery & Manners in Scotland* (1801), having quoted from Maitland's *History of Edinburgh* (1753), noted that of: <sup>21</sup>



Fig. 3. Detailed view of St Anthony's Chapel seen from the south east, drawn by Thomas Hearne and engraved by S. Smith, 1779. (Collection Iain Gordon Brown.)

St. Antony's [*sic*] Chapel, little now remains...It commands a good view of Edinburgh; and near it is 'St. Anton's Well', the spring celebrated in the pathetic song of 'O waly, waly!' Between this point and Salisbury Craigs [*sic*], which at a little distance appears to belong to the same mass, there is a wild hollow, so perfectly removed from all sight and sound of man, that though within twenty minutes walk of a populous city, you seem to be in the midst of a deserted mountain-solitude.

#### ARTISTS AND ANTIQUARIES

By the later eighteenth century, quite a few artists began to record St Anthony's Chapel. It appeared in the early, *plein-air* watercolour sketches of the Edinburgh landscape painter Jacob More in the late 1760s, and in numerous illustrations to antiquarian publications.<sup>22</sup> Thomas Hearne exhibited a drawing of the Chapel at the Society of Artists of Great Britain in London in 1780, probably the view translated into print for

his publication *The Antiquities of Great Britain*; it is an unusually detailed composition, showing the ruins and the city beyond, the foreground enlivened by an amorous cowherd and a young washerwoman using the site as a bleaching green (fig. 3).<sup>23</sup> By contrast, most late eighteenth century prints were rather more naïve productions, and delineation of the ruins varied considerably. Many engravers, in particular, were clearly working without any personal knowledge of the site, and depicted the ruins as if they were a row of standing stones on an otherwise bare and rounded hillside.

Francis Grose included the Chapel in his influential work *The Antiquities of Scotland* (figs 4 and 5).<sup>24</sup> He referred to it as a 'venerable and picturesque ruin', accompanying his description with engravings and embroidering history with imaginative human details: 'This situation was undoubtedly chosen with an

intention of attracting the notice of seamen coming up that Frith; who, in cases of danger, might be induced to make vows to its tutelar saint’ – though if this were the case, it could suggest heathen associations that pre-dated Christian ones. Grose also mentioned the putative hermitage a short distance from the chapel: ‘It was partly of masonry worked upon the natural rock. At the east end there are still two niches remaining; in one of which formerly stood a skull, a book, an hour-glass, and a lamp, which, with a mat for a bed, made the general furniture of the hermitage.’

In 1798 the writer of *The Traveller’s Guide to Scotland* also embroidered his account, this time with musings about those who had lived there:<sup>25</sup>

...the old ruin of the chapel and hermitage of St Anthony. The spot was well adapted for an hermitage: Although in the neighbourhood of a populous city, it bore the appearance, and possessed the properties of a desert [*sic*]. Sequestered from the rest of mankind, the holy hermits might there dedicate their lives to devotion: The

barrenness of the rock might teach them humility and mortification; the lofty site, and extensive prospect, would dispose the mind to contemplation; and, looking down upon the royal palace beneath, they might compare the tranquillity of their own situation, preparing their minds for the scene of everlasting serenity, which they expected hereafter, with the storms which assailed the court, amidst a tumultuous and barbarous people.

George Henry Hutton – no relation to the geologist James Hutton, but a professional soldier and amateur antiquary – amassed an extensive collection of material relating chiefly to ecclesiastical sites. Typical of his own hand is a small but accurate drawing annotated ‘Ruins of St Anthony’s Chapel near Edinburgh, from the Duke’s Walk’, made either 1781–92 or 1811–20.<sup>26</sup> One image of the ruins may have been designed for a stage set: a view by the artist Hugh William Williams, showing the Chapel from the south, has a very bare foreground enlivened only with a single figure sitting middle right, and a rock

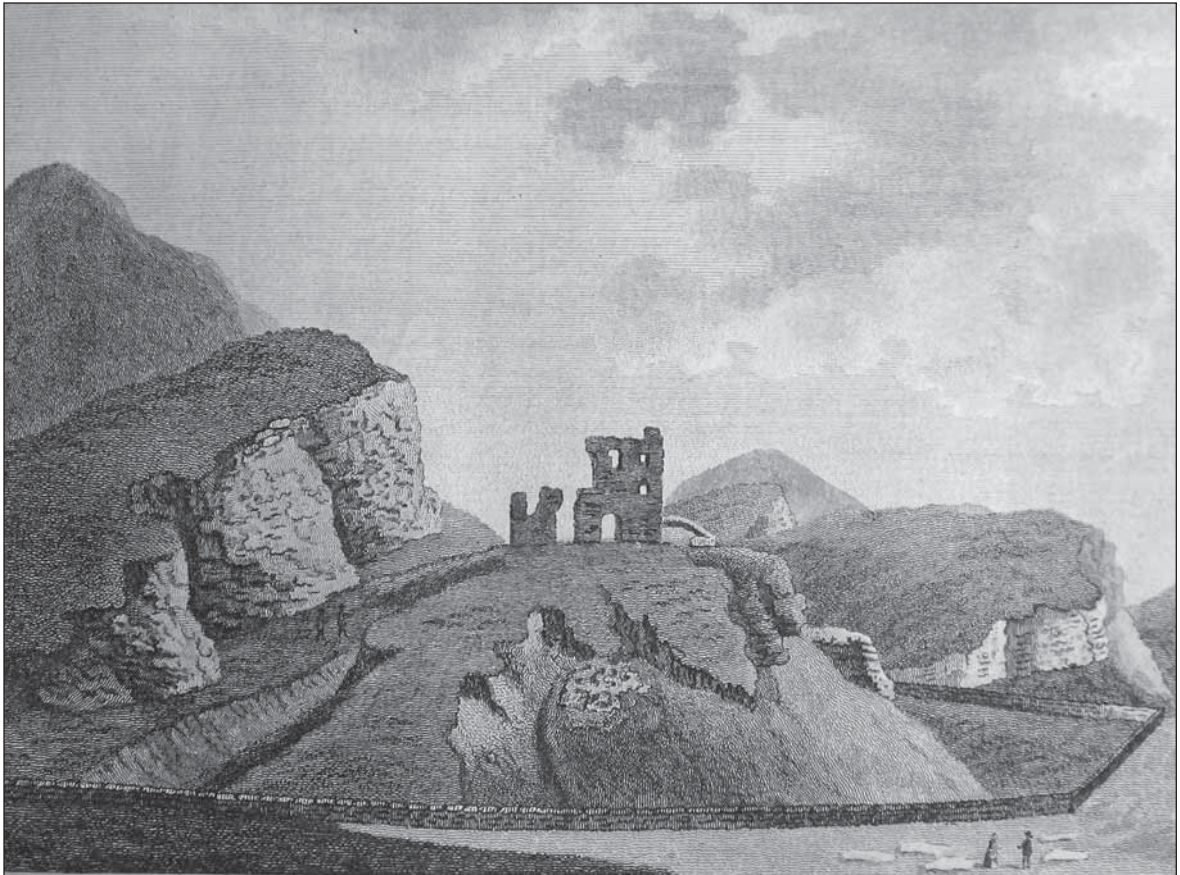


Fig. 4. St Anthony’s Chapel from the east, drawn by Francis Grose and engraved by Sparrow, 1789. (Courtesy of Andrew Fraser.)



Fig. 5. St Anthony's Chapel from the south, drawn by Francis Grose and engraved by J. Newton. (Courtesy of Andrew Fraser.)

down the right-hand side.<sup>27</sup> By the end of the century the Chapel certainly featured in Robert Barker's *Panorama of Edinburgh*, labelled on a legend as 'Chapel of St. Anthony in Ruins'.<sup>28</sup>

The ruins proved convenient for active as well as contemplative use, being ideal for all manner of trysts, a place that was easy to find, even for visitors who did not know Edinburgh well. The Chapel was only a short distance from the city, yet it formed a visual shield from which to hide from public view below. Thus the site became a favourite place for duels, such as the one reported in the press in February 1789: 'A duel was fought on Wednesday afternoon, behind St. Anthony's Chapel in the King's Park, Edinburgh, Between Mr. J. W. and Mr. C. H. Advocates.' After each firing twice, the matter was settled.<sup>29</sup> Despite this, the environs of the Chapel were generally considered safe to visit in daylight. Sarah Murray's very practical guide to Scotland (1799) noted that

while Calton Hill – *plus ça change* – was:<sup>30</sup>

the common, daily, and nightly lounge of all the vagabonds and loose tribe of the town...The view from Arthur's Seat is very extensive, and worth the trouble of a fatiguing walk to it...In going up Arthur's Seat, I passed by St. Anton's, or St. Anthony's well, of extremely pure water, also the ruins of St. Anthony's Chapel...

And Dorothy Wordsworth sat near the Chapel in a state of reverie in 1803:<sup>31</sup>

Overlooking a pastoral hollow as wild and solitary as any in the heart of the Highland mountains: there, instead of the roaring of the torrents, we listened to the noises of the city, which were blended in one loud indistinct buzz – a regular sound in the air, which in certain moods of feeling, and at certain times, might have a more tranquillizing effect upon the mind than those which we are accustomed to hear in such places. The castle rock looked exceedingly large through the misty air: a cloud of black smoke overhung the city, which combined with the rain and mist to conceal the shapes of the houses – an obscurity which added much to the grandeur of the sound that proceeded from it. It was impossible to think

of anything that was little or mean, the goings-on of trade, the strife of men, or every-day city business – the impression was one, and it was visionary; like the conceptions of our childhood of Bagdad or Balsora when we have been reading *The Arabian Nights*' Entertainments.

It might seem odd that, in view of all this interest, nobody appears to have thought of consolidating the ruin. The antiquary Adam Mansfeldt de Cardonnell noted that the 'walls of the Hermitage are quite demolished, and a few years will leave no trace of the ruins of the Chapel.'<sup>32</sup> This slow demise was equally accepted as an inevitability by James Forsyth, writing in his *Beauties of Scotland* of 'the Chapel and Hermitage of St Anthony. The hermitage was a beautiful Gothic building, well suited to the rugged sublimity of the sequestered spot on which it stands'; but despite taking sufficient interest to examine the ruins in detail and provide measurements for the reader, he concluded that: 'The whole, however, is passing rapidly into complete decay, though it still has the aspect of a venerable and romantic ruin'.<sup>33</sup> A possible reason for this lack of concern is hinted at in Logan Loveit's poem *Edinburgh* (1807), for after having been enraptured by the views from Arthur's Seat, Loveit proceeds to give full vent to his prejudices against Catholicism:<sup>34</sup>

Then down the hill we lightly tript,  
An' to Saint Anton's ruin skipt;  
Just took a peep o't in our way,  
An' thought upo' the gloomy day,  
Whan wedlock sweet was thought a sin,  
An' superstition reign'd therein;  
Whan it was fill'd wi' lazy friars  
Or nuns wha frae the warld retires,  
To count their beads at midnight bell  
To save their sauls frae fire o'hell.

A rather greater poet, Robert Burns, made only brief mention of Arthur's Seat. He climbed it on his first visit to Edinburgh in 1786, and included a reference to the Chapel in his poem *On the Death of Sir J. Hunter Blair* (1787), written in honour of the late Lord Provost of Edinburgh. In it, the writer meets a spectre who announces – at some length – the tragedy of Hunter Blair's untimely death:<sup>35</sup>

Lone as I wander'd by each cliff and dell,  
Once the lov'd haunts of Scotia's royal train;  
Or mus'd where limpid streams, once hallow'd, well;  
Or mouldering ruins mark the sacred Fane.

Both professional and amateur artists continued to produce views of the Chapel in the early 1800s.<sup>36</sup> The Edinburgh landscape artist Alexander Nasmyth conducted Burns around his favourite haunts in Edinburgh, Arthur's Seat among them.<sup>37</sup> Nasmyth included the Chapel in the foreground of several of his views of Edinburgh.<sup>38</sup> The example reproduced here, *Edinburgh from Duke's Walk* (painted in the 1820s), is the central portion of a scene taken from the same viewpoint (fig 6).<sup>39</sup> One of his wash drawings, which may have been a preliminary sketch for this painting, depicts an artist sketching just below the Chapel with a passing cowherd examining work in progress over his shoulder.<sup>40</sup> Nasmyth's design for a stage set, one of a group for Walter Scott's *Heart of Midlothian*, is entitled 'Ruins of St Anthony's Chapel and Muschat's Cairn – Moonlight'.<sup>41</sup>

#### THE WALTER SCOTT EFFECT

With its unwritten histories, ancient superstitions and contemporary trysts, Arthur's Seat was a compelling setting for a novelist. Washington Irving wrote to his brother of Edinburgh, when visiting Walter Scott in 1817: 'It seemed as if the rock and castle assumed a new aspect every time I looked at them; and Arthur's Seat was perfect witchcraft. I don't wonder that anyone residing in Edinburgh should write poetically.'<sup>42</sup> The sentiment was echoed in 1821 by Thomas Carlyle, hoping for better health so that he could soon be:<sup>43</sup>

breathing the air of Arthur's Seat, a mountain close beside us where the atmosphere is pure as a diamond, and the prospect grander than any you ever saw. The blue majestic, everlasting ocean, with the Fife hills swelling gradually into the Grampians behind it on the north; rough crags and rude precipices at our feet ('where not a hillock rears its head unsung') with Edinburgh at their base, clustering proudly over her rugged foundations, and covering with a vapoury mantle the jagged, black, venerable masses of stonework, that stretch far and wide and shew like a city of fairy-land—  
There's for you man!

Walter Scott had exercised his imagination on Arthur's Seat from boyhood, in the company of his school-friend John Irving:<sup>44</sup>

We...were wont, each of us, to compose a romance for the other's amusement. These legends in which the martial and the miraculous always predominated we rehearsed to each other during our walks, which were usually directed to the most solitary spots about





Fig. 6. Alexander Nasmyth's oil painting of Edinburgh from Duke's Walk, oil on canvas, showing St Anthony's Chapel to the left. (Collection Iain Gordon Brown.)

Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags ...Whole holidays were spent in this singular pastime which continued for two or three years, and had, I believe, no small effect in directing the turn of my imagination to the chivalrous and romantic in poetry and prose.

In 1818, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, the seventh of Walter Scott's Waverley novels, was published in four volumes (as *Tales of My Landlord, Second Series*), and although the author's name was given as Jedediah Cleishbotham – himself printing the manuscript of Peter Pattieson – it was already an open secret that the author was Scott. It came out less than a year after *Rob Roy*, and proved equally popular, mixing the reality of history with fictional accounts and characters. Arthur's Seat, with its heights and hollows, St Anthony's Chapel and Well, and Muschat's Cairn, all feature in the novel. The Chapel was a place of assignation:<sup>45</sup>

A better site for such a building could hardly have been selected; for the chapel, situated among the rude and pathless cliffs, lies in a desert, even in the immediate vicinity of a rich, populous, and tumultuous capital: and the hum of the metropolis might mingle with the orisons of the recluses, conveying as little of worldly interest as if it had been the roar of the distant ocean.

When the poet George Crabbe visited in August

1822, he found Scott busy organising the visit to Edinburgh of George IV, but Scott managed to make time for just one excursion. Writing some years later to Crabbe's son, Scott's son-in-law and biographer recollected that 'Sir Walter himself, I think, took only one walk with Mr. Crabbe: it was to the ruins of St. Anthony's Chapel, at the foot of Arthur's Seat, which your father wished to see, as connected with part of the Heart of Mid-Lothian.<sup>46</sup> James Hogg also chose the site for an episode in *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824). His main character 'went by the back of St. Anthony's gardens, and found his way into that little romantic glade adjoining to the Saint's chapel and well'; he experienced a positively beatific scene in the early morning light as he made his way to the top of Arthur's Seat – but then an unpleasant apparition appeared.'<sup>47</sup>

However, it was the popularity of Scott's *Heart of Mid-Lothian* that stimulated the creation of so many images of the Chapel over the following century. Numerous prints were created specifically to illustrate the text, while many more, created independently, were made in the knowledge that most people would

know of the Chapel’s place in Scott’s novel. Some were simple if schematic, such as the print published by Charles Heath after Peter de Wint.<sup>48</sup> Equally simple and undramatic was the view by W. H. Lizars (1760–1812) after a drawing by John Ewbank, from



Fig. 7. St Anthony’s Chapel drawn by J. Ewbank and engraved by W. H. Lizars, 1825. (Courtesy of Andrew Fraser.)

*Picturesque Views of Edinburgh* (1825), which shows a peopled landscape with a woman sitting on the nearby rock and a man pointing with a stick (fig. 7).<sup>49</sup>

The artistic approach of J. M. W. Turner was far more dramatic. He had made sketches on his first visit to Edinburgh in 1801, some of them now used for compositions to illustrate Scott. One of the best examples of prints made from Turner’s work is the engraving by James Miller, *Edinburgh from St Anthony’s Chapel* (1836), in which the Chapel appears as a dark, brooding presence viewed against the moonlight, two small figures in the immediate foreground providing human drama. An almost ethereal Edinburgh is set out beyond, the city’s topography skewed to include as many monuments and public buildings as possible.<sup>50</sup> Even more dramatic, if simpler in design, was a print by Edward Finden after George Barret, also featuring the Chapel against the moonlight; this composition concentrated on the Chapel itself, omitting the city altogether.<sup>51</sup>

Some artists produced *plein-air* sketches referring to Scott, for example a pencil drawing by Daniel Somerville, dated 1828, of ‘St Anthony’s Chapel from Nicol Muschett’s Cairn’.<sup>52</sup> Henry Winkles, visiting from London, produced a detailed series of on-the-spot drawings for his projected *Edinburgh, illustrated in a Series of Views* ... the second image

in his series being a detailed study of the Chapel with a view of the Firth of Forth beyond.<sup>53</sup> Another visitor, John Britton, dedicated his *Modern Athens!* (1829), with its celebrated plates by Thomas H. Shepherd, to Sir Walter Scott, yet chose a very prosaic rendering of the Chapel, looking up towards it with a foreground busy with human figures and sheep (fig. 8).<sup>54</sup>

As Scott’s popularity spread across Europe, a Scott-based ‘tourist trail’ developed, with publications (often in French) which generally featured the Chapel. A typical Scott-obsessed Frenchman was Amédée Pichot, who gave a full account of his travels and his meetings with Scott in his *Historical and Literary Tour of a Foreigner in England and Scotland*, written in imperfect English and published in London in 1825. Arriving in Scotland, he felt he was treading on almost hallowed ground: ‘At length we set foot in that country, which the genius of Walter Scott has diademed [*sic*] with the halo of poetical glory’ and ‘from the moment of quitting Coldstream, I felt myself to be on that Scottish soil which the wizard had touched with his wand’.<sup>55</sup> He failed to discuss St Anthony’s Chapel specifically in his descriptions of Edinburgh, though he did make the observation that ‘Arthur’s Seat is an eminence, almost as familiar to any reader of Sir Walter Scott, as Montmartre is to Parisiens’.<sup>56</sup> Another French publication was the *Vues Pittoresques de l’Ecosse dessinées d’après Nature par F. A. Pernot... Avec un texte explicatif extrait en grande partie des ouvrages de Sir Walter Scott par Am. Pichot* (Paris 1826, and Brussels 1827). The book’s lithograph of *Chapelle St Antoine* shows a distinctly top-heavy ruin and odd perspective which enables the artist to show the new monuments on Calton Hill.<sup>57</sup> Léon de Buzonnière, in his *Touriste Écossais* (1830), commenced his chapter on ‘Promenades dans les environs d’Edinburgh’ with ‘Les ruines de la chapelle de Saint-Antoine (St-Anthony’s Chapel)’.<sup>58</sup> Mendelssohn’s short – and very wet – visit to Scotland in 1829 included sojourns in both Edinburgh and Abbotsford; his sketch from Arthur’s Seat is amateur in skill, but very atmospheric, and he wrote that ‘Few of my Switzerland reminiscences can compare to this; everything here looks so stern and robust, half enveloped in haze or smoke or fog’.<sup>59</sup>

It was, however, still rare for anyone to suggest preservation of the ruins, though an occasional writer did voice concern, for example in the *Scotsman* in 1823:<sup>60</sup>

We observe that what remained of the east side of St Anthony's Chapel has lately come to the ground, whether owing to the dilapidations of mischievous boys or the late boisterous weather we cannot determine. It would be a matter of serious regret were the whole of that venerable ruin to disappear from the landscape of which it is so beautiful a feature. Were it as much the duty of the *Keeper* of the King's Park to *preserve*, as it seems to be his prerogative to *destroy*, the public might confidently expect, that some fraction of the profits derived from the quarry on Salisbury Crags would be expended in upholding the Chapel. As it is, we cannot indulge the hope, that works of ancient art will survive, when the more noble works of nature are destined to perish.

Fifteen years later the young architectural critic John Ruskin had a great deal more to say, his opinions prompted by discussions about a proposed monument to Sir Walter Scott. Only a fortnight after Scott's death in 1832, a meeting had been convened by the Lord Provost to consider how Scott should be commemorated publicly; four years later, an open competition was launched.<sup>61</sup> Ruskin visited Edinburgh

in 1838, by which time the Chapel was one of the sites under consideration for a memorial monument. In 1839 he published his views in Loudon's *Architectural Magazine*, under the pseudonym of Kata Phusin. His article was titled 'Whether Works of Art may, with Propriety, be combined with the Sublimity of Nature; and what would be the most appropriate Situation for the proposed Monument to the Memory of Sir Walter Scott, in Edinburgh?', and the piece was a long one, with various diversions from the main theme. But his views on the proposed monument and its location were argued clearly:<sup>62</sup>

Arthur's Seat, though fine in form, and clean, which is saying a good deal, is a mere heap of black cinders, Vesuvius without its vigour or its vines...it is vain to hope that any new erection could exist, without utterly destroying the effect of the ruins. These are only beautiful from their situation, but that situation is particularly good... [a Scott monument would be] rather too close, indeed, for the comfort of either monument; both would be utterly spoiled. Nothing in the way of elevated architecture will harmonise with



Fig. 8. An unusual viewpoint of the Ruins of St Anthony's Chapel, drawn by Thomas H. Shepherd and engraved by Lacey, 1829. (Courtesy of Andrew Fraser.)

ruin, but ruin; evidence of present humble life, a cottage or a pigsty, for instance, built up against the old wall, is often excellent by way of contrast, but the addition or association of high architecture is total destruction.

But suppose we were to throw the old chapel down, would the site be fit for Scott. Not by any means. It is conspicuous, certainly but only conspicuous to the London road, and the Leith glass-houses. It is visible, certainly, from the Calton and the Castle: but, from the first, barely distinguishable from the huge, black, overwhelming cliff behind; and, from the second, the glimpse of it is slight and unimportant, for it merely peeps out from behind the rise to Salisbury Crags, and the bold mound on which it stands is altogether concealed; while, from St. Leonard's and the south approaches, it is quite invisible. Then for the site itself, it is a piece of perfect desolation... This is, indeed, a scene well adapted for the grey and shattered ruins, but altogether unfit for the pale colours and proportioned form of any modern monument... Lastly, supposing that even the actual site were well chosen, the huge and shapeless cliff immediately above would crush almost any mass of good proportion. The ruins themselves provoke no comparison, for they do not pretend to size, but any colossal figure or column, or any fully proportioned architectural form, would be either crushed by the cliff, or would be totally out of proportion with the mound on which it would stand. These considerations are sufficient to show that the site of St. Anthony's Chapel is not a good one.

The only idea which strikes us as in the least degree tolerable is this; where the range of Salisbury Crags gets low and broken, towards the north, at about the point of equal elevation with St. Anthony's Chapel, let a bold and solid mass of mason-work be built out from the cliff... At the foot of this, let a group of figures, not more than five in number [be carved]...

One of Ruskin's drawings of the Chapel and surrounding area – showing the scene as it was, not with his proposed 'Mount Rushmore' style of sculptures – was included in the article as a woodcut illustration.<sup>63</sup> What Ruskin completely failed to mention was that royalty might have an opinion on the matter, given that the site lay within what was then known as The Queen's Park. Like many other writers both then and now, Ruskin seems to have disregarded the royal status of the Park altogether. But he should have been aware of it, for at the time it was still a formal Sanctuary, and people were living in it to avoid their creditors.<sup>64</sup> Ruskin was only nineteen when he wrote the passages quoted above; forty years later, commenting on Turner's *Edinburgh, from St. Anthony's Chapel*, he wrote that 'St Anthony's chapel and Holyrood, and the fields where Jeanie's cows fed – they are his monument.'<sup>65</sup>

#### INTO THE MODERN AGE

As the nineteenth century progressed, an increasing number of visual records were made of events and military reviews below Arthur's Seat. Many of these

featured St Anthony's Chapel, generally placed either in the extreme foreground or background, or to one side of the image. Notable among these is a long horizontal image, printed for the *Scotsman* in 1832, entitled *View of the Great Reform Meeting at the King's Park Edinburgh. April 24th 1832*. The crowd of some 60,000 people are shown below Salisbury Crags in the centre, with the Chapel shown to the extreme left, and the city to the right.<sup>66</sup> The Chapel also continued to appear as a local feature in the various guide-books to the city, such as the many editions of John Stark's *Picture of Edinburgh*.

Prints made of the Chapel now tended to include the Calton Hill monuments in the background, in order to form a visual contrast between architecture old and new, native and classical, ruinous and in course of construction. A particularly fine example is Robert Billings's *St Anthony's Chapel and Holyrood House* (c. 1848), included in his majestic *Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* (fig. 9).<sup>67</sup> By contrast, David Roberts, in his *View of Edinburgh from St Anthony's Chapel* (c. 1850), omits much of the city, emphasising instead the rocky foreground of the Chapel, creating a terrain more reminiscent of his Middle Eastern views than of Scotland.<sup>68</sup>

By the mid-century fireworks were becoming a norm for royal occasions, combined with bonfires on Arthur's Seat.<sup>69</sup> Queen Victoria's arrival from Balmoral in 1850 was celebrated by:<sup>70</sup>

a great bonfire which blazed on Arthur's Seat, and illuminated the romantic scenery and the neighbourhood of Holyrood. The scene was still further varied by the brilliant and variegated flames of the fireworks, displayed from the heights at St. Anthony's Chapel, and upon the rising grounds towards Salisbury Crags.

When the Queen was at Holyrood in 1876 the *Scotsman* noted that she undertook some sketching: 'A capital view of the picturesque ruin of St Anthony's Chapel being obtainable from the garden' – and again there were fireworks that evening:<sup>71</sup>

The park was now ablaze and as the lights danced from crag to crag rising higher and higher... The weird effects which were produced, as the lights changed colour from green to red, were exceedingly striking, and nothing could well have been finer in its way than the appearance of the fine old ruin of St Anthony's Chapel, as it stood out in relief against the background of weather beaten cliffs. The darkness of the night helped out the effect, which was farther heightened by the picturesque grouping of clusters of people among the cliffs.



Fig. 9. R. W. Billings, St Anthony's Chapel and Holyrood House, engraved by Redaway, c. 1848. (Collection the author.)

One of the great events of the 1880s was the famously 'Wet Review', the Royal Review of the Volunteers in pelting rain on 25 August 1881. Nearly 40,000 men gathered to mark the twenty-first anniversary of the British volunteer forces, and it was reputed to have been the largest military assembly in Scotland since the Battle of Bannockburn. Many people attempted to climb the slopes of Arthur's Seat to get a good view, but conditions made this difficult. This unpublished account, from a letter written the following morning, relates a typical experience:<sup>72</sup>

You have no idea of the state of the ground, sinking inches in the mud, sometimes we had a hard struggle to get along in the rain, which I think if it had tried couldn't have poured much heavier. Nearly all the way along Hunters Bog we walked on the side of the hill and it took us all our time to keep from falling...It really was most ludicrous, floods of people hurrying along as hard as they could, each one in a more bedraggled and miserable state than another...

All artistic depictions of the occasion record it as

appallingly wet (as did the notoriously bad poet William McGonagall, in equally appalling poetry).<sup>73</sup> Typical was a view by William Baird, who showed the Chapel peeping in at the left of his composition, balancing a view of the monuments on Calton Hill to the extreme right.<sup>74</sup>

Photography could render St Anthony's Chapel both more ordinary or more dramatic. A view by John Patrick shows the ruin silhouetted centrally above skaters on St Margaret's Loch, an ancient immovable structure looking down on the busy human scene below.<sup>75</sup> George Washington Wilson (1853–1908) took several photographs featuring the Chapel, at least one of which was used for a stereoscopic view; Thomas Begbie took a very detailed photograph of the Chapel, also used for a stereoscopic view, c. 1860.<sup>76</sup> Possibly influenced by photography, artists became increasingly prosaic in their views. A small watercolour by the English artist John Chessell Buckler (1793–1894) showed part of the Chapel,

looking down over a city where factory chimneys dominate, a contrast to the monuments on Calton Hill above.<sup>77</sup> A similar view by Sam Bough also showed a smoky city, though he made rather less of the monuments.<sup>78</sup> James Grant, in *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh* (1880–83), provided the reader with 'then' and 'now' views of the Chapel, Grant's own reconstruction of its appearance in 1544 contrasting with its ruinous state in 1854, plus a contemporary view looking north taken from a photograph by Alexander Inglis.<sup>79</sup> By this time the Chapel had been repaired, at least to some degree. Sir Daniel Wilson wrote:<sup>80</sup>

The wanton destruction of this picturesque and interesting ruin proceeded within our own recollection; but its further decay has at length been retarded for a time by repairs which were unfortunately delayed till a mere fragment of the ancient hermitage remained.

#### THE STORY CONTINUES

Modern archaeological investigations and reports, together with consolidation of the stonework, have largely de-mystified the site, a change formalised by the official notice that stands at the ruins today. But it still inspires artists and writers.

In Chiang Yee's *The Silent Traveller in Edinburgh* (1948), the author includes two drawings of the Chapel in his characteristic Chinese style: a colour illustration looking up the path from St Margaret's Loch, and a simple line drawing of children clambering over the rocks around the ruin.<sup>81</sup> He perceived it as mere masonry, but writers of fiction, influenced by past superstitions and human presence, have kept alive the mysterious side of Arthur's Seat and St Anthony's Chapel. Jules Verne's climb up Arthur's Seat on his first visit to Scotland was one of the highlights of his stay.<sup>82</sup> An early tale by Arthur Conan Doyle, entitled *John Barrington Coles* and published in 1884, tells the story of an innocent man lured by a woman who destroys her lovers with apparently psychic powers: there is Uncle Anthony (black sheep of the family) and several victims, including one William Prescott whose 'body was found floating in St. Margaret's Loch, under St. Anthony's Chapel'.<sup>83</sup> More recently, writers such as Ian Rankin have been inspired by local legends and by objects found on Arthur's Seat. And in Alanna Knight's *Dangerous Pursuits* of 2002 (one of her Rose McQuinn mysteries) the heroine, walking on Arthur's Seat, comes across a woman's body in the ruins of St Anthony's Chapel; her subsequent investigations lead her into danger. The story of St Anthony's Chapel continues...

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

Thanks are due to Dr Iain Gordon Brown, for reading and commenting on a draft of this article, and for bringing various Chapel-related items to my attention; also to Alison Campbell, David Patterson, and Dr Joe Rock.

- 1 The quotation in the title is from James Forsyth, *The Beauties of Scotland*, 5 vols (Edinburgh 1805-08), I, p. 124.
- 2 The principal recent publications on the Chapel are: John Gifford, Colin McWilliam and David Walker, *The Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh*, revised reprint (Harmondsworth 1991), pp. 35-36 and 148 (where it is described as 'a shattered ruin perched on a crag'); C. R. Wickham-Jones, *Arthur's Seat and Holyrood Park: A Visitor's Guide* (Edinburgh 1996); and, for folk traditions, F. Marian McNeill, *The Silver Bough*, 3 vols (1957-61), II (Glasgow 1959), p. 65.
- 3 Ruth and Frank Morris, *Scottish Healing Wells: Healing, Holy, Wishing and Fairy Wells of the Mainland of Scotland* (Sandy 1982), p. 94.
- 4 [John Wesley], *Wesley in Scotland: The Journeys of the Rev. John Wesley A.M. Illustrated with Maps*, compiled by George W. Davis (Arbroath 1999), p. 22, Monday 16 June 1766: 'What is called Arthur's Seat: a small, rocky eminence, six or seven yards across, on the top of an exceeding [*sic*] high mountain, not far from Edinburgh. The prospect from the top of the Castle is large, but it is nothing in comparison of this.'
- 5 Fred. R. Coles, 'Notes on Saint Anthony's Chapel; with views and plans', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. 30 (1895-96), 9 March 1896, pp. 225-247, p. 225. Coles noted (pp. 226-227) three payments relating to the Chapel in the 'Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer', 1473-96. He also mentioned a simple sketch in the Cottonian MSS, assigned by David Laing to 1544, which showed roofing still in place but some elements of the buildings already ruinous.
- 6 Siege of Leith map, 1560 (archive of Petworth House; the Museum of Edinburgh holds a copy). For details see Gordon Donaldson, 'Map of the Siege of Leith, 1560', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, XXXII (1966), pp. 4-7.
- 7 Slezer probably drafted the view around 1690, though it was not included in his *Theatrum Scotiae* until the 1719 edition. The Chapel is not mentioned in Robert Sibbald's accompanying text.
- 8 William Maitland, *The History of Edinburgh, from its Foundation to the Present Time* (Edinburgh 1753), pp. 152-153, p. 152.
- 9 J. W. Allen, 'Some Notes on "O Waly Waly"', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, vol. 7, No. 3 (December 1954), pp. 161-171; pp. 165-166.
- 10 National Library of Scotland, Ry.III.a.10(056).
- 11 *A Choice Collection of Scotch and English Songs. Taken from Amaryllys, Phoenix, Orpheus, Charmer, Tea-Table, &c.*

- &c. &c. (Glasgow 1764), p. 307. The poem also appeared as 'Arthur's Seat' in *The Scots Nightingale: or, Edinburgh Vocal Miscellany. A New and Select Collection of the Best Scots and English Songs* (Edinburgh 1779), p. 60.
- 12 Thomas Mercer, *Poems. By the Author of The Sentimental Sailor* (Edinburgh 1774), pp. 4-5 and p. 44.
  - 13 Ralph S. Walker (ed.), *The Correspondence of James Boswell and John Johnston of Grange* (London 1966), pp. 48-49, 22 February 1763.
  - 14 *Weekly Magazine or Edinburgh Amusement*, 18, 17 December 1772, pp. 369-370.
  - 15 Tobias Smollett, *The Present State of All Nations... 8 vols* (London 1768-69), II (1768), p. 121.
  - 16 William Gilpin, *Observations relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, made in the year 1776, on several parts of Great Britain*, 2 vols (London 1789), I, pp. 59-60, and p. 66.
  - 17 Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland 1769* (Chester 1771), p. 52: this edn intro. Brian D. Osborne (Edinburgh 2000), p. 39.
  - 18 Hugo Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1779), p. 310.
  - 19 The Reverend Stebbing Shaw (1762-1802), *A Tour, in 1787, from London, to the Western Highlands of Scotland* (London 1788), p. 191.
  - 20 Harold William Thompson, *A Scottish Man of Feeling; Some Account of Henry Mackenzie Esq. of Edinburgh and of the Golden Age of Burns and Scott* (Oxford 1931), p. 336, wrote of Thomas Campbell (1777-1844) that 'Day after day, he climbed Arthur's Seat...' Laurence Hutton, *Literary Landmarks of Edinburgh* (London 1891), p. 60, quoting Campbell, 'I took long walks about Arthur's Seat, conning over my own (as I thought them) magnificent lines...'
  - 21 Sir John Stoddart, *Remarks on Local Scenery & Manners in Scotland during the years 1799 and 1800*, 2 vols (London 1801), I, p. 81.
  - 22 For More's biography, see Patricia R. Andrew, 'More, Jacob', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004, and hereafter *ODNB*). The depictions of Arthur's Seat are now in the National Gallery of Scotland, catalogued with notes in Patricia Andrew, 'Jacob More: Biography and a Checklist of Works', *Walpole Society*, vol. 55 (1990), pp. 105-196; cat A.1.i *Salisbury Crags and St Anthony's Chapel, Edinburgh* (NGS D285), A.1.ii *A Rocky Landscape: Arthur's Seat, Edinburgh* (NGS D286), and A.1.iii *St Anthony's Chapel, Edinburgh* (NGS D290).
  - 23 Society of Artists of Great Britain, *A Catalogue of the Pictures, Sculptures, Models, Designs in Architecture, Prints, &c. Exhibited by the Society of Artists of Great Britain...* (London [1780]), p. 9, Thomas Hearne, no. 121, *View of St. Anthony's Chapel at Edinburgh*. Hearne also exhibited views of Edinburgh Castle, Roslin and other locations, most or all of these being preliminary drawings for prints included in *The Antiquities of Great Britain*, published in a series 1778-1806, and subsequently in two volumes. This engraving is inscribed 'To the Lord Provost and Corporation of Edinburgh/ this View of St Anthony's Chapel, is Inscribed/ by their most obedient Servants Thomas Hearne and William Byrne'./ Drawn by T. Hearne/ Engraved by S. Smith', and published in London by Hearne and Byrne, 1779.
  - 24 Francis Grose, *The Antiquities of Scotland*, 2 vols (London 1789-91), I (1789), p. 41.
  - 25 *The Traveller's Guide; or, a Topographical Description of Scotland, and of the Islands belonging to it* (Edinburgh 1798), pp. 24 -25.
  - 26 Drawing, 38.0 x 23.5 cm, National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS.30.5.23 (reproduced by SCRAN).
  - 27 Signed lower left, probably 1790s -1802, with pink highlights that may have been added later; private collection. Possible productions for which the design might have been used were *Harlequin Highlander* (1798) or *Halloween or the Castle of Athlin and Dunbayne*. Information kindly communicated by Dr Joe Rock.
  - 28 A published advertisement for Robert Barker's *Panorama of Edinburgh*, Leicester Square, 1805, bears numbered features on a circular image, including no. 49, 'Chapel of St. Anthony In Ruins'. See also the aquatint by J. Wells after Robert Barker, *Panorama of Edinburgh from the Calton Hill*, c. 1800, on six sheets, 42.5 x 331.5 cm; an example is held by the Museum of Edinburgh, and it is reproduced in Bernard Comment, *The Panorama* (London 1999), p. 184, no. 103.
  - 29 *Times*, London, 5 February 1789. The story was repeated in the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, London, on 6 February 1789. The *Public Advertiser* (London) reported another duel 10 September 1789.
  - 30 Sarah Murray, *A Companion, and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland, to the Lakes of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire* (London 1799), p. 123.
  - 31 Dorothy Wordsworth, *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland*, introduction, notes and photographs by Carol Kyros Walker (New Haven and London 1977), p. 197, 16 September 1803.
  - 32 Adam Mansfeldt de Cardonnel, *Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland*, first published 1788, this edn 1802, n.p.
  - 33 Forsyth, *Beauties of Scotland* (note 1), I, p. 124. His words are repeated exactly by William Paterson in his *Scenery and Antiquities of Mid-Lothian, drawn and etched by An Amateur* (Edinburgh 1819), p. 10; Paterson also provides a simple etching of the Chapel.
  - 34 [Logan Loveit], *Edinburgh: A Poem, in the Scottish Dialect. By a Native* (Edinburgh [1807]), p. 19.
  - 35 *Burns: Poems and Songs*, ed. James Kinsley (Oxford 1969), p. 272, poem 160.
  - 36 A typical example is one from a set of good amateur etchings, drawn and etched by Westgarth, showing the Chapel with the Firth of Forth beyond (Edinburgh City Libraries, EPL 1829.9).
  - 37 Samuel Smiles (ed.), *James Nasmyth Engineer: an Autobiography* (London 1883), pp. 34-35; and John Gibson Lockhart, *The Life of Burns* (first pub. 1828), 2 vols (Liverpool 1914, ed. William Scott Douglas), I, p. 202, 'In the spring mornings he walked sometimes to the top of Arthur's Seat, and lying prostrate on the turf, surveyed the rising of the sun out of the sea, in silent admiration; his chosen companion on such occasions being that ardent lover of nature, and learned artist, Mr. Alexander Nasmyth.'
  - 38 For a brief biography of Nasmyth, see J. C. B. Cooksey, 'Nasmyth, Alexander', *ODNB*. A fuller account is given in Cooksey's monograph, *Alexander Nasmyth HRSA, 1758-1840: A Man of the Scottish Renaissance* (Whittinghame 1991), though not all of the currently-known works are listed. A typical example is his *Edinburgh from St Anthony's Chapel*, oil on canvas, 85 x 115 cm, coll. Earl of Rosebery, in which the ruins are shown prominently in the foreground, repro. Cooksey, 1991, cat. O24.
  - 39 Sight size 64 x 108 cm. This image shows the central area of the painting.
  - 40 National Gallery of Scotland, *Edinburgh from Arthur's Seat*, black wash on paper, 33.9 x 54.5 cm (D5383).
  - 41 One of six small pen sketches for stage sets, on a sheet 16 x 12 cm, inscribed 'For the Play of the Heart of Mid-Lothian', and a note that they were begun in December 1819 and finished

- February 1820 (NGS D3727/C), repro. Cooksey, 1991, p. 45, cat. J5.
- 42 *Washington Irving: Letters*, ed. Ralph M. Aderman, Herbert L. Kleinfield and Jenifer S. Banks, 4 vols (Boston 1978-82), I, 1802-23 (1978), pp. 490-494, letter 198, Washington Irving to Peter Irving, Edinburgh, 26 August 1817, p. 492.
- 43 *The Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, 38 vols at present in print (Duke-Edinburgh edn, Durham, North Carolina 1970-), I, pp. 338-340; pp. 338-339, Thomas Carlyle to John A. Carlyle, Edinburgh, 9 March 1821.
- 44 *Scott on Himself: A Selection of the Autobiographical Writings of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. David Hewitt (Edinburgh 1981), p. 33. The passage is taken from the Ashestiel fragment of autobiography.
- 45 Walter Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, ed. David Hewitt and Alison Lumsden (Edinburgh 2004), p. 137. Muschat's Cairn, at the foot of Arthur's Seat, had been created as a memorial to a woman murdered nearby; in the novel it became the clandestine meeting place of Jeanie Deans and her lover, the outlawed George Robertson. The site of the cairn was very boggy, and it was later moved eastwards to a dryer location, where it survives today.
- 46 George Crabbe, *The Life of George Crabbe, by his Son*, with an introduction by E. M. Forster (London 1932), p. 267. The son of the poet George Crabbe (1754-1832) had asked Lockhart for information about his father's visit to Edinburgh.
- 47 James Hogg, *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, ed. P. D. Garside (Edinburgh 2002), pp. 28-29.
- 48 *Heart of Mid-Lothian*, inscribed 'P. De Wint Del./ C. Heath Sc./ London, J. McCormick, 147 Strand.'
- 49 *Views of the Principal Buildings, Streets and Picturesque Scenery of the Scottish Metropolis* (Edinburgh and London, [1825]). Inscribed 'St. Anthony's Chapel/ Drawn by J. Ewbank/ Engraved by W. H. Lizars'.
- 50 *Edinburgh. From St. Anthony's Chapel*. Inscribed 'J. M. W. Turner, R. A./ W. Miller.' Turner's sketchbooks are in Tate Britain, with all the images now searchable online.
- 51 Inscribed 'St. Anthony's Chapel./ Drawn by G. Barret. Engraved by E. Finden/ Heart of Mid-Lothian' and published 1830.
- 52 Edinburgh City Libraries (ECL), 1829.9 (826) / G4872, f.15. Inscribed on image 'St Anthony's Chapel from Nicol Muschett's Cairn/ Daniel Somerville Edin. 1828.'
- 53 ECL, collection of 120 drawings, with prints made from some of them, by Henry Winkles, for his *Edinburgh, Illustrated in a Series of Views...Drawn & Engraved by Henry Winkles, with Historical and Descriptive Notices by Alexander Bower* (London, Hurst, Chance and Co, 1829). The book has not been traced, and it may not in fact have reached publication. Winkles was based in London, his reputation resting on *Winkles's Architectural and Picturesque Illustrations of the Cathedral Churches of England and Wales*, 3 vols (London 1836-42).
- 54 *Modern Athens! Displayed in a Series of Views ...* (London 1829), p. 79, entitled 'Ruins of St. Anthony's Chapel, Edinburgh. Drawn by T. H. Shepherd. Engraved by S. Lacey.' The drawing from which the engraving was taken is held in the British Museum, 1871,0812.1798, inscribed: 'Tho. H. Shepherd 1830'.
- 55 Amédée Pichot, *Historical and Literary Tour of a Foreigner in England and Scotland*, 2 vols (London 1825), II, p. 267 and p. 270. Pichot also imagined people he saw in Edinburgh playing the role of Scott characters, e.g. p. 269, 'A modest young female peasant was going to church with her bible; that was Jeannie Deans, about to pray for her sister.'
- 56 *Ibid.*, p. 273.
- 57 *Edimbourg. Vue de la Chapelle St Antoine*, dated 1827. Printed by P. Lauters after drawings by Pernot, 'extrait en grande partie des ouvrages de Sir Walter Scott'.
- 58 Léon de Buzonnière, *Le Touriste Écossais, ou Itinéraire général de l'Écosse ... précédé de Souvenirs d'un Voyage en Écosse* (Paris 1830), p. 195.
- 59 David Jenkins and Mark Visconti, *Mendelssohn in Scotland* (London 1978), pp. 43-44, 28 July 1829.
- 60 *Scotsman*, 16 April 1823.
- 61 Stuart Kelly, *Scott-land: The Man Who Invented a Nation* (Edinburgh 2012), pp. 34-35.
- 62 Loudon's *Architectural Magazine*, January 1839, pp. 625-636; 632-635.
- 63 Details of the drawings, made July 1838, are to be found in Keith Hanley, *John Ruskin's Romantic Tours, 1837-1838: Travelling North* (New York 2007), pp. 159-160, cats 45 and 46.
- 64 One debtor who sought sanctuary there was the writer Thomas de Quincey (1785-1859). Wickham-Jones, *Arthur's Seat and Holyrood Park* (note 2), p. 31, comments that the sanctuary rights appear never to have been repealed. Various other monuments have been proposed for Arthur's Seat from time to time, e.g. 'a pillar or obelisk' as a memorial to Prince Albert, the idea being described by Lord Cockburn as 'a brutal obelisk': John Hay Athole Macdonald, *Life Jottings of an Old Edinburgh Citizen* (London 1915), pp. 357-358.
- 65 Keith Hanley, *Ruskin's Romantic Tours 1837-1838* (Lancaster 2003), p. 35.
- 66 Reproduced in Wickham-Jones, *Arthur's Seat and Holyrood Park*, p. 55.
- 67 Robert William Billings, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland: illustrated by Robert William Billings*, 4 vols (Edinburgh 1845-1852), III, p. 8. Inscribed 'St. Anthony's Chapel & Holyrood House, Edinburgh/ Drawn by R. W. Billings/ Engraved by J. Redaway/ after a picture by R. W. Billings.'
- 68 *Edinburgh from St Anthony's Chapel*, R. Carrick after David Roberts, from John Parker Lawson, *Scotland Delineated in a Series of Views*, 2 vols (London 1847-54).
- 69 Pichot, *Historical and Literary Tour* (note 54), p. 437, watched the fireworks for George IV's visit in 1822, 'which I shall not describe, I have seen better at Tivoli. The bonfire lighted on Arthur's Seat, produced a very different impression on my imagination. I have already compared the hills of Edinburgh to volcanoes. Arthur's Seat reminded me still more at midnight of an eruption of Vesuvius.'
- 70 *John Bull* (London), 12 October 1850, p. 652, under 'Court & Fashionable'.
- 71 *Scotsman*, 19 August 1876.
- 72 Letter from 18-year-old Lizzie Ronaldson to her elder brother James, at University in Liège, 26 August 1881. Private collection, kindly communicated by Alison Campbell.
- 73 Extract from William McGonagall's poem, *The Royal Review, August 25th 1881*:  
 And to the Volunteers it was no lark,  
 Because they were ankle deep in mud in the Queen's Park,  
 Which proved to the Queen they were loyal and true,  
 To endure such hardships at the Royal Review.
- 74 William Baird, *The Wet Review*, signed and dated 25 August 1881, watercolour, 34.5 x 50 cm, Bonham's, Edinburgh, 16 October 2008, lot 304.
- 75 Scottish National Portrait Gallery, John Patrick (1830-1923), *Skating, St Margaret's Loch*, albumen print (PGPR 1649).
- 76 Aberdeen University, Special Libraries and Archives, George Washington Wilson collection, for example the *View*



BOOK OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

- over *St Margaret's Loch* (GB 0231 MS 3792/C2237), and a stereoscopic view of the Chapel looking east (GB 0231 MS 3792/F3116). Begbie's image is reproduced in *Thomas Begbie's Edinburgh: A Mid-Victorian Portrait: Photographs Printed from Original Glass Negatives* by Joe Rock, introduced by David Patterson and Joe Rock (Edinburgh 1992), no. 77.
- 77 *View of Edinburgh from St Mary's [sic] Chapel*, signed, pen and ink and watercolour, 24 cm x 33 cm, undated. Lyon & Turnbull, Edinburgh, 29 November 2012, lot 42.
- 78 *Edinburgh from St. Anthony's Chapel*, signed and inscribed verso, oil on board, 38 x 51 cm. Lyon & Turnbull sale, Edinburgh, 9 November 2012, sale 367, lot 136, undated, but likely to have been painted after Bough's move to Edinburgh in 1855.
- 79 James Grant, *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh*, 3 vols (1881-83), II, p. 320 (current appearance), and p. 322 (the contrasting appearance).
- 80 Daniel Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London 1848), II, p. 193.
- 81 Chiang Yee, *The Silent Traveller in Edinburgh* (London 1948); colour illustration between pp. 70 and 71; children around Chapel p. 97.
- 82 Ian Bentley, *Jules Verne's Scotland in Fact and Fiction* (Edinburgh 2011), p. 28.
- 83 Published in *Cassell's Saturday Journal* 1884; details in Owen Dudley Edwards, *The Edinburgh Stories of Arthur Conan Doyle* (Edinburgh 1981), pp. 19-40; quotation p. 23.