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# ‘CONTRIBUTIONS AT ST PETERSBURG’: PATRIOTIC SUPPORT FOR PUBLIC MONUMENTS IN EDINBURGH IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Patricia R. Andrew

Sir Walter Scott, poet and novelist, revered patriot and promoter of Scotland to both Britain and the world, died on Friday, 21 September 1832. The suggestion of erecting a memorial was immediate and enthusiastic. On Monday, 24 September about thirty of Scott’s friends and admirers held a preliminary meeting in the rooms of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, two days before his funeral at Dryburgh Abbey. This was followed by a larger meeting in the Assembly Rooms on 5 October, an occasion impressive in both turnout and speeches. A General Committee of over 100 people was appointed to take the project forward, and on 9 October, a Sub-committee was created to solicit subscriptions both at home and abroad.<sup>1</sup>

At the head of the subscribers were Scott’s principal creditors, the Bank of Scotland and other institutions, which jointly subscribed £500 in appreciation of Scott’s efforts to pay off his debts; the King contributed £300.<sup>2</sup> Over £5,752 had been raised by the time a further meeting was held on 22 May 1833, this sum later rising to £7,000. Fundraising progressed far and wide: donations came in from around Britain, and from Paris, Vienna, St Petersburg (then the capital of Russia), and from cities in Spain.

The ledger recording donations from St Petersburg is held in Edinburgh Central Library, and is entitled ‘Contributions at St Petersburg’ (Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> Bound into it is other material relating to the funding of the Scott monument, and the ensemble provides an interesting study in the relationship between Scots abroad and their native land. The earliest document is a letter, in the form of a lithographed manuscript facsimile, dated 8 October 1832, which was circulated to those who might wish to serve on the committee; a further letter produced in the same form, dated 15 October 1832, solicited subscriptions:

Sir, At a Meeting of Friends and Admirers of the late Sir Walter Scott, held immediately after his decease, it was resolved to erect a Monument to his Memory in this his native city... The Committee being aware that admiration for the talents and Writings of this distinguished person, is not confined to the land of his birth, nor to readers of the English Language, but has been freely manifested wherever his works have become known, are induced to believe, that in other Countries they may find zealous friends to the undertaking, and that they may be met by an honourable emulation in their endeavours to raise such a Monument, as may be alike worthy of the object of their regret, and of this age, in which respect for eminent genius is no longer limited by national boundaries, nor the expression of it prevented by rivalships in arts or contention in arms. In this belief, and trusting that the above mentioned resolution may meet your approbation, I have been directed by the Committee to solicit your co-operation in forwarding these views, and to express their hope, that you will use your influence with your friends and Countrymen, to induce them to contribute towards conferring on this Monument the honourable distinction of having been raised by persons, who, although divided by Climate and by Language, have united in recording their respect for the Memory of a great Writer and an amiable man.

These particular examples of circular letters were addressed to Scott’s close friend Charles Kilpatrick Sharpe, artist and antiquary, who gathered together the contents of the present volume.

The residents of St Petersburg were remarkably quick off the mark. Their roubles were sent by July 1833, long before a decision had been taken on what form of memorial should be erected. Why were they so eager, especially as the actual amounts donated were not large? Considering the wealth of so many Scots in Russia, their 1,525 roubles was rather a modest sum, estimated on 18 July 1833 as only £68/11s/2d sterling. Perhaps the donors were as much – if not more – motivated by the memorialising sentiment of donation, and the chance to record their names as sponsors, than any real consideration of the likely future costs involved. The Scots of St Petersburg appear to have been content for the Scots

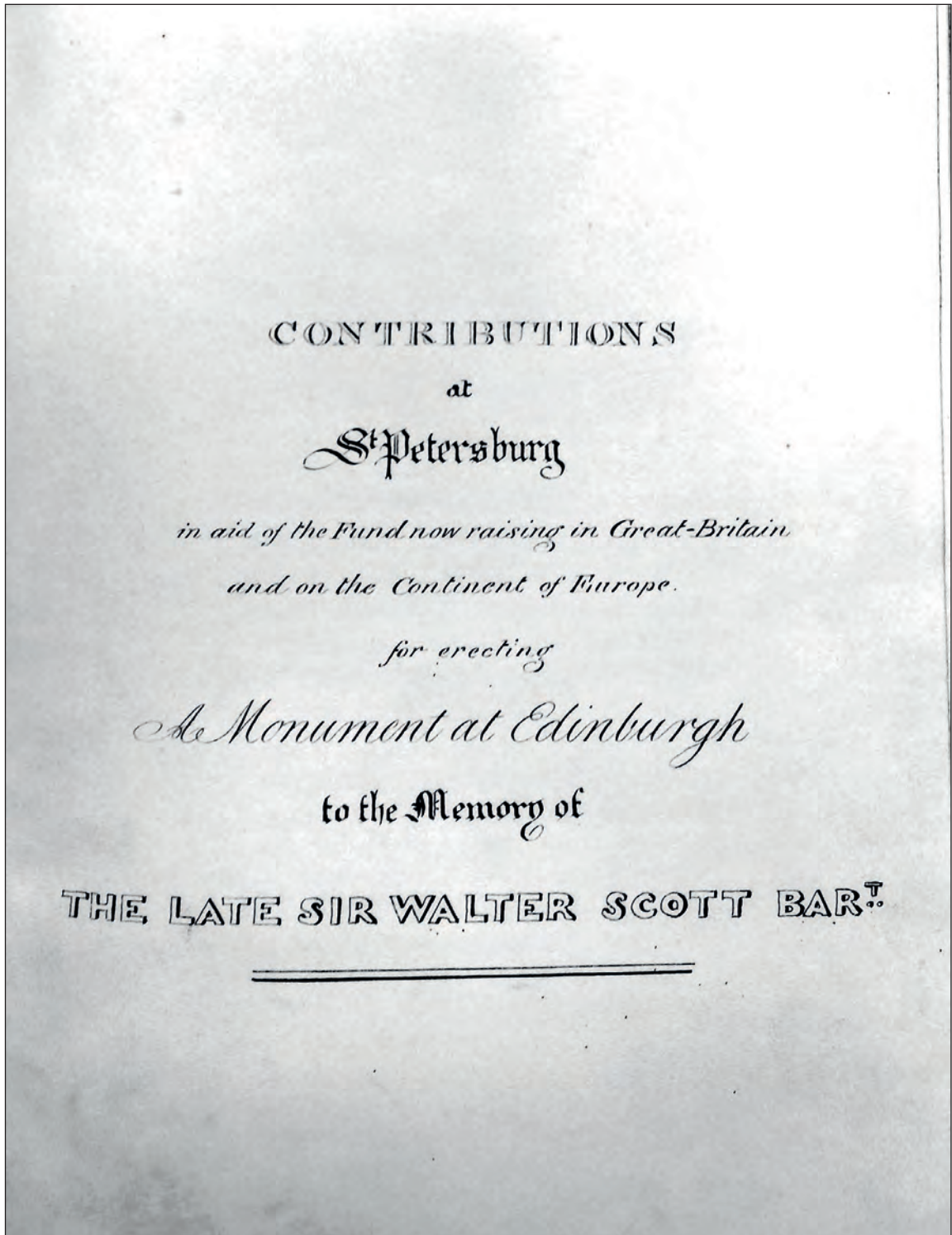


Fig. 1. Title page of 'Contributions at St Petersburg'. (City of Edinburgh – Libraries. Photo the author)

in Scotland to decide how their money should be spent.

Numerous suggestions for an appropriate memorial to Scott had been put forward in the months following his death. One idea was simply to pay off the great man's debts (which he had so famously worked hard to clear), though rather more popular were proposals for a statue, a monument, or both. Then there was considerable discussion about an appropriate site, suggestions ranging from Calton Hill to Crow Hill, part of the body of Arthur's Seat. John Ruskin even suggested a 'Mount Rushmore' set of figures carved on Salisbury Crags '...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]...' <sup>4</sup> Bound into the ledger is an anonymous undated lithographed three-page letter addressed 'To the Sub Committee for the Scott Monument' from 'Scotus' warning about the cost of both a statue and a building, repeating warnings already made by 'A subscriber'. It was written soon after 'the Obelisk is altogether abandoned' (a massive obelisk having been W. H. Playfair's suggestion for a memorial in 1835), noting that the fund was 'already scanty enough' and warning of the difficulty of introducing aspects of Scott's work:

in a field so wide as that of his Writings, where human nature is depicted in all its aspects, from the most lofty, to the most familiar and even ludicrous, no selection could be made that would not be open to endless cavils and objections', and 'from what has been well called the vicinity of the sublime to the ridiculous an imminent hazard would be incurred even in the ablest hands, of degenerating into puerility or burlesque.

I beg leave to add in conclusion the expression of a strong conviction that by abandoning altogether the Architectural part of the design, and adopting the Statue on a plain massive pedestal of granite, you will not only leave a more lasting and honourable memorial of the taste of the present Generation, in a way stamped by the verdict of Ages, as the appropriate and becoming tribute to departed worth and greatness, but will carry along with you the sympathies and approbation of a large proportion of the Subscribers, and of the Community, than any other application of the Funds under your administration can possibly command.

Some three years after Scott's death, the decision was taken to create a monument that would incorporate a statue. A design competition was launched in 1836 and won by George Meikle Kemp. The foundation stone was laid in 1840, on 15 August (Scott's birthday), and construction work began in 1841. A marble statue of Scott by John Steell, sited within the



Fig. 2. The Scott Monument, Edinburgh. (Photo the author)

protective enclosure of the memorial, was installed in 1846, and the largest monument in the world ever erected to any writer was inaugurated on 15 August 1846 (Fig. 2).

As so often the case with major building projects, initial cost estimates had proved inadequate, and further fundraising had been necessary to meet the eventual costs of over £16,000. In fact, in 1843, there was real concern that without additional funds the project might never be completed. With the example of the National Monument on Calton Hill (its construction halted through lack of funds in 1829) there were concerted efforts to avoid the embarrassment of another large monument being abandoned. The ledger contains a lithographed



circular letter of 31 January 1844, outlining the current financial situation and the need for more money: ‘a large unlooked for expense’, amounting to £1,500 had been assessed ‘in order to secure a proper foundation for the Structure’, plus another £1,500 for the structure itself, ‘renders it necessary for the Committee to make another appeal to the Subscribers and the Public, which is done with the hope that they will come cheerfully forward to make up the deficit of £3000 now required to complete the Work’. The letter emphasizes the wish

to prevent the untoward necessity of stopping the Work...and dismissing the very superior workmen who are now employed whom it would be difficult afterwards again to bring together, besides removing the very expensive scaffolding and other erections necessary for carrying on the Building.

The letter is signed by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, James Skene and Thomas Thomson (Keeper of the Records of Scotland), and addressed to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe. Annexed was a ‘Statement of Receipt and Expenditure ... to 1<sup>st</sup> January 1844’, with an ‘Abstract of the whole sums required to complete the Work’. This was a precursor to the ‘Waverley Balls’ and other such events held in Edinburgh and London to secure financial support. Eventually, the funds were found, and Scott was commemorated in a Monument of *national* style, a contrast to the National Monument inspired by ancient Greece, that was to have commemorated so many unnamed Scots who fell for their country abroad.

#### The Scots, Sir Walter Scott, and Russia

All educated Russians knew of Scotland, and many knew a number of Scots personally. Over several centuries, Russia had lacked a real professional class, and this gap had been filled by foreigners. A particularly high proportion were Scots, supplying Russia with many of its naval and military officers, doctors and engineers, and even a number of architects and garden designers.<sup>5</sup>

Sir Walter Scott’s own impressions of Russia, and the Russian influences on his work, have already been the subject of some research and publication.<sup>6</sup> Russians had visited Scotland for study and business for a long time.<sup>7</sup> Scott would also have known about life in Russia from personal acquaintances – it was a small

world. Two men serve to demonstrate the nature of such personal contacts: Sir James Wylie (1768–1854), who rose to become the chief medical officer of the Russian army (discussed in more detail below) studied at Edinburgh University, where one of his teachers was Daniel Rutherford, an uncle of Scott. In 1790 Wylie was invited to Russia by Dr John Rogerson (1740–1828), a Scotsman who had become court physician to Catherine the Great.<sup>8</sup> On one occasion, when Wylie visited to Tsarskoe Selo, home of Tsar Alexander I near St Petersburg, he noted the presence of Scott’s novels in the Tsar’s library.<sup>9</sup> Scott himself met Tsar Alexander I at a dinner in Paris given by Earl Cathcart, British ambassador to the Russian Imperial court at St Petersburg.<sup>10</sup> The next Tsar, Nicholas I, became a fervent admirer of Scott.<sup>11</sup> Scott also provided introductions for those going to Russia: in a letter of 1807, addressed to George Ellis, he requested a reference on behalf of ‘my friend Sir William Forbes...[whose]... brother George Forbes is going to spend a year or two at Petersburg [sic]’.<sup>12</sup> And naturally Scott knew of the various trading connections between Scotland and Russia too; he remarked in a letter of 1812 how ‘Our Leith people have close communications with Petersburg...’.<sup>13</sup>

Russians knew Scott’s writings well, reading them in French translation. His work first became popular and fashionable, then positively revered. In fact the 1830s have recently been dubbed ‘The epoch of Walter Scott’, for he was the most popular writer in Russia from the early 1820s, and Russian writers of the nineteenth century often referred to his works in their own novels.<sup>14</sup> His influence on Russia even went beyond literature, to architecture.<sup>15</sup>

But that does not, of course, quite explain why so many Scots in St Petersburg sent their roubles so promptly. It is possible that an awareness of Scott’s place in Russian culture may have played a part, but the overriding interest was more likely (as mentioned above) a combination of national patriotism, social and sentimental ties to a Scotland whose history and society were well expressed in Scott’s writing, and a wish to be seen to ‘do the right thing’ in the eyes of both Russians and Scots. It is interesting to compare their enthusiasm, and the progress of the project, with that of three earlier recent monuments erected in Edinburgh: the Robert Burns monument on the lower slopes of Calton Hill below Regent Road; the Melville monument in St Andrew Square; and the National Monument at the summit of Calton Hill.

## Precursor monuments in Edinburgh

The monument to Robert Burns (1759–1796), a building housing a statue of the poet, acts as a silhouetted landmark on the eastern approach to the city. It appeared many years after the death of the poet (Fig. 3).<sup>16</sup> The suggestion of erecting a monument – and specifically one located on Calton Hill – was first proposed in 1817 by John Forbes Mitchell, a merchant from Thainston, near Aberdeen. He began to gather subscriptions while serving in the East India Company in Bombay 1812–13, shortly before his return to Scotland, and he recorded a list of subscribers. Mitchell demonstrated both an interest in Burns as a poet, and also as a symbol of Scottish cultural identity within the developing British Empire.<sup>17</sup> His suggestion of a monument was followed by a meeting at the Freemasons' Tavern in London in 1819, with the Prince Regent in attendance. Opinions vacillated between a statue, a monument, or both, but eventually, a statue of Burns was commissioned from John Flaxman RA (1755–1826), completed after the sculptors' death by his brother-in-law Thomas Denman. The monument itself came afterwards, and its situation on a green slope of Calton Hill, just below Regent Road – which together with Waterloo Place had been opened in 1817 – incorporated it into part of the urban development of the city, the road now separating the site from the more rural Calton Hill. Thomas Hamilton, whose Burns monument at Alloway had been inaugurated in 1823, was appointed architect in 1828, just after the building of the National Monument (on the summit of Calton Hill) had stalled due to lack of funds for its continuation. Work on the Burns monument began in 1831, with the statue placed inside in 1833. By this time, the soubriquet 'Athens of the North' had long been applied to Edinburgh, and the ploughman poet was thus commemorated by a fashionable version of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates in Athens, the design of which Hamilton would have known from the measured drawing published in James Stuart and Nicholas Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* (1762); he would go on to design the nearby Royal High School in Greek style (part of it shown in Fig. 3).<sup>18</sup> Interestingly, funding for the Burns project necessitated repeated public requests for further subscriptions which – in contrast to requests for funding the National Monument – were in the end successful, though only just.



Fig. 3. The Burns Monument, Edinburgh. (Photo the author)

The Melville Monument in St Andrew Square was erected in 1823 in memory of the Tory statesman Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville (1742–1811).<sup>19</sup> It was designed in columnar form by William Burn, its inspiration being Trajan's column in Rome. After completion, the column was surmounted, as a separate 'added-on' project, by a 15-foot statue of Dundas carved by Robert Forrest from a design by Francis Chantrey, inaugurated in 1827 (Fig. 4). Perched atop the column, the statue changed the nature of the monument from a purely architectural memorial to a very personalized one. Like that of Burns, it was also significant as an assertion of Scottish national identity within a growing British Empire, and – in Melville's case alone – a recognition of the benefit of the Union of 1707. Visually, it also served to enhance and decorate the severely formal architectural style of the New Town. The official bronze plaque states that the statue was 'raised by members of the Royal Navy' (of which Melville had been Treasurer, not without criticism) and it was known for some years as the 'Naval Monument'. In February 1827, the managing committee had to make an appeal to the



Fig. 4. The Melville Monument, Edinburgh. (Photo the author)



general public to make up a shortfall in the estimated costs, largely caused by necessary additional work to the foundations advised by Robert Stevenson, and the membership of the General Subscribers Committee had to dig deep into their own pockets to find the full amount.

Plans for the National Monument on the summit of Calton Hill had a less successful outcome than the two already described (Fig. 5). In 1815 Parliament had voted for a monument in London to commemorate the wars with the French, but the government refused to pay for a separate monument for Scotland. In 1818 a Scottish committee was formed, and by late 1821 a meeting of the Subscribers agreed that it should take the form of a replica of the Parthenon at Athens.<sup>20</sup> It was intended to ‘commemorate the Naval and Military victories of the Late War and to incorporate a place of divine worship for use of the contributors and members of H. M. Forces stationed in the vicinity’, while its inscription states it to be ‘A Memorial of the

Past and Incentive to the Future Heroism of the Men of Scotland’.<sup>21</sup> As noted above, Edinburgh was now referred to as ‘the Athens of the North’, perceiving itself – and being perceived by others – as an inheritor of the learning and values of ancient Greece (in tandem with a perception of London as the modern Rome), and certain similarities of topography were also recognized.<sup>22</sup> The estimate was an enormous £42,000 – though oddly few commented on the fact that it would be considered complete without the sculpture that adorned the original Parthenon, much of which had recently been conveyed to Britain by the Earl of Elgin; George Cleghorn’s comment that without its original frieze it would be ‘A body without a soul’ went unheeded.<sup>23</sup> It was assumed that sufficient funds would be raised if donations could be drawn from all over Britain and from the colonies. A national appeal was launched, and the foundation stone laid in 1822 during George IV’s visit, but he declined to attend (staying at Dalkeith Palace that day



Fig. 5. The National Monument, Edinburgh. (Photo Iain Gordon Brown)



until he visited the theatre in Edinburgh that evening), perhaps in order to avoid any obligation to contribute towards the project.<sup>24</sup> In 1823, Charles Robert Cockerell, who had recently returned from Greece, was appointed principal architect, with William Henry Playfair as local associate. By this time, some funds had been accrued, including at least £1,000 from India. But the response was poorer than anticipated and delayed the start of work until 1826, when the contract for the first twelve columns was signed in the hope that once construction got underway more donations might appear. Alas, the strategy failed and the project soon stalled, initial public enthusiasm waning to indifference, with ambivalent views about the nature of the building itself.<sup>25</sup> The next two decades saw many repeated attempts to restart it, but support was never sufficient to raise the necessary funding, and the twelve columns were all that were built. Unlike the monuments to Burns and Melville, it was impersonal, and the fact that it was a facsimile may not have helped. While Edinburgh was happy to be known as ‘the Athens of the North’ this did not necessarily extend to a desire to replicate a very large historic building from ancient Greece; and there was, by this time, a growing interest in native, rather than classical styles.<sup>26</sup> After this embarrassing failure, there was a natural unwillingness to suggest any further monuments for Calton Hill. The Scott Monument and Sir John Steell’s statue in Princes Street Gardens became a precedent for numerous others, such as Steell’s statue of Allan Ramsay (also taking refuge from an unsuitable location) which was unveiled in 1865.<sup>27</sup>

#### ‘Contributions at St Petersburg’

The full title page of the silk-bound ledger reads ‘Contributions at St Petersburg in aid of the Fund now raising in Great-Britain and on the Continent of Europe for erecting A Monument at Edinburgh to the Memory of The late Sir Walter Scott Bart.’ (Fig. 1). A verse from Scott’s ‘Lay of the Last Minstrel’ is written facing the title page. The manuscript facsimile letter sent to potential donors and dated 15 October 1832, quoted above, was signed by James Skene, Secretary to the Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland, with the bankers of three cities named: in Edinburgh, Sir William Forbes & Co.; in

London, Coutts & Co.; and in St Petersburg, William Plincke and Robert Cattley. Resolutions adopted at the meeting are then tabulated.

Four pages of named donors in St Petersburg are listed together with the roubles each had given, the highest being 100 roubles, and the lowest five. Several related individuals gave separate contributions, listed contiguously in the ledger, for example Mr Robert Cattley and Mrs Robert Cattley (25 and 10 roubles respectively), and Mr A. Forbes Field, Mrs Field, Miss Field and Mr H. Forbes Field (who gave 25, 10, 10 and five roubles respectively). A few individuals chose to remain anonymous, identified only by their initials. The roubles totalled 1,555, with 30 deducted for ‘Expences of Book incurred Mr Cayley for Collection’, leaving 1,525 roubles for the memorial.

Who were these donors? Many names can be identified, and some are worthy of note here, as they indicate the nature and range of professional and personal interests of the British in St Petersburg. And some have an Edinburgh connection, in particular several listed on the first page within the ledger (Fig. 6).

‘Hon. J. D. Bligh’ appropriately heads the list, for John Duncan Bligh (1798–1872) was at the time serving as British Minister at St Petersburg. The writer and traveller George Borrow called on Bligh in St Petersburg in 1834, requesting assistance with Russian officialdom, and found him ‘a person of superb talents, kind disposition, and of much piety’.<sup>28</sup> The second name on the list is ‘Thos. John Gisborne Esq.’ who was the British Consul at St Petersburg.

‘Edward C. Bayley’ (1776–1841) was a merchant in St Petersburg, who had married a Margaret Fenton, so the ‘Miss Fenton’ that follows his name in the ledger was, no doubt, a relative. His son, also called Edward Clive Bayley (1821–1884), was born in St Petersburg and later knighted after he rose to eminence as an administrator in India, while being, moreover, well known for his antiquarian interests.<sup>29</sup>

The ‘Rev. Edward Law’ (1790–1868) served for 44 years as the British Embassy Chaplain at St Petersburg. While visiting London in 1827 he published *Sermons preached in the British Chapel at St Petersburg*, describing himself on the title page as ‘The Rev. Edward Law, A. M., late student of Christ Church Oxford; Chaplain to the Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells; to the Russian Company, and to the British Factory at St. Petersburg’. His

*Contributors.*

|                                 |      |      |
|---------------------------------|------|------|
| Mr. J. D. Bligh . . . . .       | 100. | -    |
| Mrs. John Gishorne Esq. . . . . | 25.  | -    |
| Edw. C. Bayley Esq. . . . .     | 25.  | -    |
| Miss D. Fenton . . . . .        | 10.  | -    |
| Rev. Edward Law . . . . .       | 25.  | -    |
| Sir James Wylie Bart. . . . .   | 100. | -    |
| Sir A. W.richton . . . . .      | 50.  | -    |
| Mr. Charles Baird . . . . .     | 50.  | -    |
| "    Will. Handy-side . . . . . | 25.  | -    |
| "    Robert Gattley . . . . .   | 25.  | -    |
| Mrs. Robert Gattley . . . . .   | 10.  | -    |
| Mr. J. D. prescott . . . . .    | 25.  | -    |
| "    A. M. . . . .              | 25.  | -    |
| "    John Anderson . . . . .    | 25.  | -    |
| "    Thomas Anderson . . . . .  | 25.  | -    |
| "    Alex. Forstmann . . . . .  | 25.  | -    |
| "    T. Harvey . . . . .        | 25.  | -    |
| "    G. Luder . . . . .         | 25.  | -    |
| <i>carried over</i>             |      | 620. |

Fig. 6. The first page of donors listed in 'Contributions at St Petersburg'. (City of Edinburgh – Libraries. Photo the author).

portrait, attributed to Timofey Andreyevich Neff, is held by The Stanley & Audrey Burton Gallery, University of Leeds.<sup>30</sup>

'Sir James Wylie Bart.' (1768–1854) was the only donor apart from Bligh to give 100 roubles. As noted above, he was one of the most eminent medical men in Russia. Born in Kincardine, he studied medicine at Edinburgh before being lured to Russia by Dr John Rogerson, physician to Catherine the Great. By 1794 he had risen to staff surgeon in the army, and after a period as personal physician to Count Boris Stroganov he became the Emperor's personal surgeon. By 1808 he was President of the Medico-Surgical Academy, and by 1811 had become Director of the Medical Department of the war ministry. He owed his swift professional and social ascent to his skilled, life-saving surgery on eminent men, and to shrewd political manoeuvring. Physically tough, he travelled widely, and saw a great deal of active service on the battlefield. His fame travelled too, both the Austrian and Prussian emperors making unsuccessful requests for him to reorganize the medical corps of their own armies; he was knighted on a visit to Britain. Though perhaps not fully recognized at the time, his greatest legacy to Russia was in ending its long dependence on foreign doctors: he trained native military surgeons, founded medical institutions, and wrote teaching manuals and a Russian military pharmacopoeia. Most of his considerable fortune was bequeathed to the building of a hospital in St Petersburg. His statue, erected at its entrance (relocated since the Revolution to a more modest site to the rear) describes him in Russian as 'Court Surgeon, Privy Councillor, Sir Vilie Bart.'<sup>31</sup>

'Sir A. W. Crichton' was another Scot who became eminent in world of Russian medicine, the physician Sir Alexander Crichton (1763–1856). Born in Newington, he attended the Canongate and Edinburgh High Schools, and studied at Edinburgh University.<sup>32</sup> He moved on to Leiden and Paris, worked in several European cities, and spent some years in London. In 1803 he was elected a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, then was invited to become the Tsar's physician-in-ordinary and by 1807 was physician-general to the Russian civil medical department. He developed wide cultural interests and connections, and accompanied the future Tsar Nicholas I (then Grand Duke Nicholas) to Edinburgh in 1816; it was almost certainly through Crichton's

agency that Nicholas became the first major patron of the young painter William Allan.<sup>33</sup> Despite receiving many Russian honours, he chose to retire to Britain in 1819, returning to Russia only briefly in 1820 to treat Nicholas's wife. He was knighted in 1821, and died in Kent.

'Mr Charles Baird' (1766–1843) was the elder of two Baird brothers in Russia. The son of the superintendent of the Firth and Clyde Canal, he was apprenticed at the Carron Company in 1782, being promoted so swiftly that, within three years, he was entrusted with the firm's production of cast-iron cannon. In 1786, he accompanied the Carron manager, Charles Gascoigne, to Russia to develop an ordnance factory there (a controversial matter for Britain), helping to set up both the gun factory at Petrozavodsk and the Koncherzersky foundry. In 1792 he joined a St Petersburg mill owner, Francis Morgan, in establishing a company which became known as the Baird Works. Baird was known for his business acumen as much as his technical expertise; he was rewarded with Russian honours, and in Britain, was elected to the Institution of Civil Engineers. He died in St Petersburg, his son Francis succeeding him as manager of the firm.<sup>34</sup> He was assisted by a number of talented engineers, including his nephew, the next name on the list.

'Mr Willm Handyside', that is William Handyside (1793–1850), was invited by Baird to St Petersburg in 1810. He rapidly demonstrated his ability as an engineer, playing an important role in many of the important projects in the Baird works. In 1815 he worked on the *Elizaveta*, the first Russian steamship, building many more in succeeding years; he became a specialist in steam-engine manufacture. He also developed sugar-refining processes, gasworks for lighting the factory, and the first Russian suspension bridges. For some years, he worked with the French architect Auguste de Montferrand on the building of the huge St Isaac's Cathedral; the two men also worked together on the column erected in memory of Tsar Alexander, Handyside casting the reliefs as well as arranging its erection. Handyside married a member of the British community in Russia, but after the death of Charles Baird he and his wife came to Britain, and he died in Edinburgh.<sup>35</sup>

Next on the list, 'Mr/Mrs Robert Cattley' are familiar names in various records of the British in St Petersburg. Robert Cattley was an English merchant



who traded with Cattley firms in England, including sawmills near York. His son Charles Robert Cattley (1816/17–1855), born in St Petersburg and educated in England, achieved eminence as a diplomatist and intelligence officer in the Crimea, where a brother Edward, described as a merchant, resided.<sup>36</sup>

'J. D. Prescott' was a merchant in St Petersburg, whose main interest was botany. In 1837 a notice appeared in Sir W. J. Hooker's *Companion to the Botanical Magazine* with news of Prescott's death and the sale of his Herbarium, said to comprise over 25,000 specimens:

Russia, and indeed all Europe, has lately had to deplore the sudden death of a very admirable Botanist, in the person of John Prescott, Esq. of St. Petersburg, one of the first merchants of that place. His leisure hours were devoted to the study of plants and the enriching [of] his Herbarium, which latter is perhaps exceeded but by few in Europe, especially that portion of it relating to the Russian Empire.<sup>37</sup>

'John Anderson' and 'Thomas Anderson' are difficult to identify due to the multiplicity of 'Andersons' in the record of the British in Russia, but they may have been members of the firm of Anderson, Brown & Moberly. The second page of the ledger includes 'Mr Moberly': this was Edward Moberly from Knutsford, Cheshire, who arrived to set up business in St Petersburg in 1780.<sup>38</sup>

'Mr G. Loder' was Giles Loder (1786–1871) from Wiltshire. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Higginbotham of St Petersburg, and their son Robert Loder (1823–1888) was born there; he inherited a considerable fortune from his father and held estates in England, Russia and Sweden, and despite this Russian background, became a well-known English landowner and Conservative politician, created a baronet in 1887.<sup>39</sup>

Looking further on in the donor list, there are four 'Plinke' names: 'William' who was one of the bankers administering the collection of funds from St Petersburg, 'Aug' [probably Auguste], 'Henry' and 'Frederick'. The firm of Nicholls and Plinke, British traders in St Petersburg, was run by Charles Nicholls and William Plinke from 1815 to 1898; from 1829 to 1854 they traded under the name of 'Nicholls & Plinke's English Shop'. In 1844 they were given hereditary honorary citizenship, the firm having become one of the most exclusive silver and jewellery shops in Russia. Their workshop made Christmas gifts for Tsar Nicholas I, sets

of silver for the dowries of the Tsar's daughters, and contributions to the London service of Tsar Alexander II, and the Orlov service. Eventually, however, they were eclipsed by the rise of the Fabergé workshop.<sup>40</sup>

Of greater relevance to this journal is the name of 'Mr Thos. Walker MD' – Dr Thomas Walker from Polmont (1784–1860). He attended the Royal High School and Edinburgh University, served in the British army, and then became Physician to the British Embassy in St Petersburg, where he married the daughter of a Russian merchant. They returned to live in Polmont by 1836, where Dr Walker chaired the Parish Board and became President of Polmont Horticultural Society.<sup>41</sup>

Many names in the donor list are familiar from frequent mentions in the letters and journals of British residents of St Petersburg, though actual details about them are often scarce. Most were business people, such as 'Messrs Thomas Barnes & Co', who was probably Thomas Barnes (1781–1868) from London, listed in the 1861 census as residing in London along with a daughter Ann who had been born in Russia.<sup>42</sup>

Better known is 'Mr Geo. Lefevre MD', later to become Sir George William Lefevre (1796–1846), a physician and traveller born in Berkhamstead. His father, of Jersey origin, was minister of the French church at Southampton and later Assistant Chaplain at the British Embassy in Paris. Lefevre studied medicine in Edinburgh and London, graduating MD at Aberdeen in 1819. He became physician to a Polish nobleman, with whom he travelled in Europe for nine years. In St Petersburg he became physician to the British Embassy and to the English hunt. In St Petersburg in 1831 he organized medical services for a local district during a cholera epidemic, subsequently publishing his views on treatment of the disease. In 1836–37 he wrote about the history and state of medicine in Russia for the *British and Foreign Medical Review*. Later settling in London, in 1842 he became a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and in 1843 he published in London (anonymously) *The Life of a Travelling Physician* in which he described his travels on the Continent and his residence in Poland and Russia. Sadly, he suffered from long-term mental ill-health, though his eventual suicide was kindly deemed by the coroner to be 'temporary insanity'.<sup>43</sup>

One contributor's name was added at the end in hurried handwriting – 'Edw Cayley' – probably one of the numerous Cayley family in St Petersburg. John Cayley (1730–1795) had served as Consul General in the city, and one of his sons was Henry Cayley (1768–1850), a Russia merchant, and father of the eminent mathematician Arthur Cayley (1821–1895).<sup>44</sup>

In conclusion, this 'cross-section' of Scottish and other British residents at St Petersburg is evidence of the culturally-binding nature of Scott's writing and influence. Whatever their personal motives in contributing to the building of the Monument, there is no doubt that Scott, as a man, represented Scotland as much as the literature he produced.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

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- 1 For a general summary of each monument discussed in this article, see John Gifford, Colin McWilliam & David Walker, *The Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh*, revised reprint (Harmondsworth 1991). For more detailed analysis, see the Public Monuments and Sculpture Association's Edinburgh volumes by Ray McKenzie, with research by Diane King and Tracy Smith, *Public Sculpture of Edinburgh*, 2 vols (Liverpool 2018); the Scott monument is discussed in vol. II, pp. 226–69. The standard booklet on the Scott Monument is by N. M. McQ. Holmes & Lyn M. Stubbs, *The Scott Monument: A History & Architectural Guide* (Edinburgh 1979).
- 2 McKenzie, II, p. 231.
- 3 Edinburgh Central Library (Special Collections), PR 5339 42905.
- 4 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* (hereafter, *BOEC*), New series, 10 (2014), pp. 1–16; p. 11, quoting Loudon's *Architectural Magazine*, January 1839, pp. 625–36.
- 5 Patricia R. Andrew, 'Reputation and Reality: Scots and Pseudo-Scots in 18th Century St Petersburg', *The Pleasance: Scotland's Garden and Landscape Heritage* (2016), pp. 9–11.
- 6 See Murray Pittock (ed.), *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe* (London & New York 2006); and two talks by Lieutenant Commander Diarmid Gunn to the Edinburgh Sir Walter Scott Club, 'Russia and Scotland: Russia's debt to Sir Walter' (15 May 2014), [https://www.scotland-russia.llc.ed.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Russias\\_debt\\_to\\_Sir\\_Walter.pdf](https://www.scotland-russia.llc.ed.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Russias_debt_to_Sir_Walter.pdf); and 'Sir Walter Scott's Impressions of Russia' (16 May 2019), <http://www.walterscottclub.com/blog/dairmid-gunn-sir-walter-scotts-impressions-of-russia>.
- 7 A local example is the Dashkova Centre of the University of Edinburgh, named after Princess Ekaterina Romanovna Dashkova, a leading figure of the Russian Enlightenment, who lived at the Palace of Holyroodhouse in 1776–1779 while her son attended the University; she mixed with Scotland's great Enlightenment thinkers, and on returning to Russia, was appointed Director of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg.
- 8 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004), online 2019 (hereafter *ODNB*), entry by John B. Wilson; and Mary McGrigor, *The Tsar's Doctor: The Life and Times of Sir James Wylie* (Edinburgh 2010), p. 8.
- 9 McGrigor, pp. 186–7.
- 10 H. J. C. Grierson (ed.), *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 vols (London 1932–7), XII, pp. 145–7 [late August] 1815; p. 145, Scott to his wife.
- 11 Jeremy Howard, 'Scott, Abbotsford and the Russian Gothic Revival: Influence and Coincidence', in Iain Gordon Brown, (ed.), *Abbotsford and Sir Walter Scott: The Image and the Influence* (Edinburgh 2003), pp. 136–60; pp. 142–3.
- 12 Grierson, XII, pp. 290–5, 1 July 1807, Scott to George Ellis; pp. 294–5.
- 13 Grierson, III, pp. 206–8, Scott to Miss Smith, 11 Dec 1812, p. 207.
- 14 Pittock, p. 204. Mark G. Altshuller, translated by Neil Stewart, 'The Rise and Fall of Walter Scott's Popularity in Russia', p. 205 & p. 208.
- 15 See n. 11 above.
- 16 The monument now holds a replica of the original statue, which is now in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. For a detailed history of both monument and sculpture, see McKenzie, II, pp. 385–96.
- 17 '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, GD113/5/144b/1. Discussed by Kirsten Carter McKee, 'Burns and the British Empire: Viewing a Scottish Monument from an Imperial Perspective', *Architectural Heritage*, XXIV (2013), pp. 21–39; also by Clarisse Godard Desmarest, 'The Melville Monument and the Shaping of the Scottish Metropolis', *Architectural History*, LXI (2018), pp. 105–30.
- 18 See Iain Gordon Brown, 'Edinburgh as Athens: New Evidence to Support a Topographical and Intellectual Idea Current in the Early Nineteenth Century', *BOEC*, New series, 15 (2019), pp. 1–12, passim.
- 19 For a detailed history of the monument and sculpture, see

- McKenzie, II, pp. 411–20, and Godard Desmarest.
- 20 John Gifford, 'The National Monument of Scotland', *Architectural Heritage*, XXV (2014), pp. 43–83; pp. 44–45.
- 21 Edinburgh New Town Conservation Committee, 'Proceedings of the Calton Conference on Saturday 5 November 1983', p. 3.
- 22 See n. 18.
- 23 Gifford, p. 62.
- 24 John Prebble, *The King's Jaunt* (London 1998), pp. 330–31; and Charles McKean, *Edinburgh: An Illustrated Architectural Guide* (Edinburgh 1992), p. 102.
- 25 Johnny Rodger, *The Hero Building: An Architecture of Scottish National Identity* (Farnham 1988), pp. 80–81.
- 26 See James Aikman's poem *The Cenotaph: a Poem* (1821) which criticized the replica, speaking in favour of native and original architecture. Noted by Gifford, p. 51; also Miles Glendinning and Aonghus MacKechnie, *Scotch Baronial: Architecture and National Identity in Scotland* (London 2019), p. 263, n. 14.
- 27 Patricia R. Andrew, 'Four Statues and a Landslip: Allan Ramsay, John Wilson, Thomas Guthrie and Charity', *BOEC*, New series, 12 (2016), pp. 65–82.
- 28 Herbert Jenkins, *The Life of George Borrow* (London 1912), p. 114, Letter to Rev. J. Joett, [20 January–1 February] 1834.
- 29 *ODNB* entry by Stanley Lane-Poole, revised by Katherine Prior.
- 30 Image online at <https://artuk.org/>
- 31 See n. 8 above.
- 32 *ODNB* entry by John H. Appleby.
- 33 Howard, pp. 139–40.
- 34 *ODNB* entry by Robert Thorne.
- 35 *ODNB* entry by Mike Chrimes. Historic Environment Scotland holds Handyside's drawings for the Alexander column.
- 36 *ODNB* entry by Roger T. Stearn.
- 37 Sir W. J. Hooker, *Companion to the Botanical Magazine*, two vols (1835–7), Vol II (1837), p. 342.
- 38 Anthony Cross, *By the banks of the Neva: Chapters from the Lives and Careers of the British in Eighteenth-Century Russia* (Cambridge 1997), p. 86.
- 39 'Find a grave' website, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/86226606> and Wikipedia article, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sir\\_Robert\\_Loder,\\_1st\\_Baronet](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sir_Robert_Loder,_1st_Baronet)
- 40 Website of Pushkin Antiques, London, accessed July 2019 – <https://www.pushkinantiques.com/nicholls-plincke> . Their wares still appear in auctions.
- 41 Website of Polmont Old Parish Church, <http://www.polmontold.org.uk/hist1845part06.html>
- 42 'Find a Grave' website, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/198340684/thomas-barnes>.
- 43 *ODNB* entry by Elizabeth Baigent.
- 44 *ODNB* entry by A. J. Crilly. See also the Cayley family history website, <https://cayleyfamilyhistory.wordpress.com/baronets-family/russia-merchant-line/>