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# QUEEN VICTORIA, EDINBURGH, AND A SENSE OF PLACE

Richard Rodger

Edinburgh, observed the young Queen Victoria on her first visit to Edinburgh is ‘a thing to dream of ...’.<sup>1</sup> She continued, ‘Edinburgh made a great impression upon us; it is quite beautiful & totally unlike anything I have seen.’ She confirmed her positive opinion in a letter to her uncle King Leopold of Belgium stating ‘how much pleased we were with Edinburgh’.<sup>2</sup> First impressions can be misleading but during almost a fortnight spent in and around the city in September 1842 the Queen commented at length on the character and ‘feel’ of the place, and openly described in her Journal the sights, sounds and historical scenes in the city, often in emotional terms.<sup>3</sup>

Unsurprisingly perhaps, the regularity of the town with ‘everything built of massive stone (not a brick to be seen)’ made an immediate impact on Queen Victoria. So, too, did the Castle which ‘situated on that perpendicular rock, in the centre of the town, is most striking’, as were the ‘splendid buildings’ on Calton Hill ‘with Arthur’s Seat, in the background, overtopping the whole’.<sup>4</sup> As with her grandfather’s, George IV’s, entry to the city twenty years earlier the young Queen also experienced a boisterous reception: ‘The enthusiasm was very great, & the people very friendly and kind.’<sup>5</sup> The crowds were so numerous that the bodyguard of Royal Archers were ‘dreadfully pushed about’ in the congested streets. Eventually the royal carriage was escorted along Pitt, Dundas, Hanover and Princes Streets to the Mound and on by way of Waterloo Place to Norton Place, Piershill and Portobello. To evade the risk of scarlet fever in the Old Town the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch’s Dalkeith Palace was preferred to Holyrood Palace. (Fig.1).

After breakfasting on ‘oatmeal porridge’, which the Queen thought ‘very good’, and ‘Finham’ (Finnan) haddock, the royal party encountered the population of Dalkeith ‘full of people, all running & cheering’

and then approached Edinburgh and ‘entered the town under Arthur’s Seat ... (where) the crowd began to be very great’.<sup>6</sup> The royal family were entertained ‘generously’ at Dalkeith Palace and over dinner Queen Victoria was able to meet prominent political figures from Scotland’s influential aristocratic families – Lord and Lady Dalkeith, and Dukes and Duchesses of Argyll, Hamilton, Hopetoun, Rosebery, Abercorn, and Roxburgh, amongst others.<sup>7</sup>

Excursions provided another means to explore the city and its surroundings. On 4 September 1842, an outing to the River South Esk and Lord Lothian’s property at New Battle was followed by a visit to Lord Dalhousie’s castle at Cockpen.<sup>8</sup> Two days later the royal party left Dalkeith by carriage and ‘passed through a back part of Edinburgh & close to Herriot’s Hospital and changed horses at Craig Leith.’ From there the Queen went to Dalmeny, was met and escorted by Lord Hopetoun to take a ‘small steamer’ from the ‘Scotch Queen’s Ferry a little way up the Forth to Hopetoun house before returning to Dalkeith’.<sup>9</sup> It was a demanding day – a round trip of fifty miles – and full of local interest.

As the visit progressed Queen Victoria expressed a growing, and glowing, appreciation of the Edinburgh landscape: ‘The Pentland Hills looked quite beautiful’; ‘Salisbury Craigs ... so bold and high.’ One of the ‘Seven Hills’ of Edinburgh, Arthur’s Seat, attracted particular attention and, on a later visit, the Queen described it in some detail. ‘On a very fine day [30 August 1850], but very cold’ she and four children took their carriage along the new drive around Arthur’s Seat.

[W]hen we had gone some little way, we got out, & walked right to the top, a good height, which was quite hard work after a year’s disuse of climbing. But it is nothing to the Highland climbing, the ground being so smooth. The view at the top is very rewarding.<sup>10</sup>



Fig. 1. Dalkeith Palace. Reproduced with permission of Historic Environment Scotland.

From the summit of Arthur's Seat the Queen summarised a vista memorable to thousands of twenty-first century visitors and Edinburgh residents alike:

The beautiful town, with the Calton Hill, the Bay stretching out before it, with the Island of Inchquill, & the Bass Rock, quite in the distance, rising behind the coast line lay before us. Unfortunately, it was a little foggy & hazy. Coming down we had a small crowd following us. The view, when we rejoined the carriage near the small Dunsappie Loch, overhung by a Craig, with the sea in the distance was extremely pretty. Got home quite hot & stiff from our exertions, but the air was delicious.<sup>11</sup>

Though Queen Victoria made few direct references to geology in her Journal it is inconceivable that during the numerous family walks she was unaware of the significance of Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags for the development of the subject. These were the very volcanic rocks upon which in 1785 James Hutton's empirical research founded the modern discipline of geology and which explained that the earth was not

just 6,000 years old but 'immeasurably old'.<sup>12</sup> With her own considerable accomplishments of sketching and music, and her extensive reading of English literature, including Walter Scott's novels,<sup>13</sup> Queen Victoria was keenly aware of the city's reputation at the heart of the Scottish Enlightenment with its Philosophical Society (later the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, 1780) and a vigorous and varied culture of scientific associations and clubs in the capital.<sup>14</sup>

Arguably, early exposure to Lowland landscapes, and those of Edinburgh in particular, contributed to a royal fixation with the Highlands, reinforced no doubt by a short visit also in 1842 to Perth, Scone, and Dunkeld hosted by Lord Breadalbane. There the Queen was clearly enchanted by Highlanders who 'danced reels by torchlight, to the bagpipes, which was very wild and pretty'.<sup>15</sup> She continued in her letter to Lord Viscount Melbourne, 'The Highlands and the mountains are too beautiful, and we *must* come back for longer another time.' Indeed, Victoria

and Albert did return to Blair Castle (Blair Atholl) in 1844 and, with their eight children, to Ardverikie (Loch Laggan) for a summer month in 1847. There they were advised by the Queen's doctor, Sir James Clerk – 'a Scotchman and a Physician and therefore neither by Country nor by Profession very religious'<sup>16</sup> – to seek property on the east side of the drier Grampian mountains. No doubt Prince Albert's knowledge of Bavaria and Thuringia and the Queen's patronage of Sir Edwin Landseer's work<sup>17</sup> – she commissioned portraits of herself and of her children – increased royal interest in and knowledge of the Highlands. This eventually resulted first in a short lease (1848) from Lord Aberdeen<sup>18</sup> and then the purchase of the Balmoral estate in 1852 (Fig.2) by Prince Albert and the establishment of a private family residence on Deeside.<sup>19</sup>

Far from creating an interest in the Highlands, the royals were following an established 'branding' of Scotland.<sup>20</sup> Though Scotland – and Edinburgh – experienced the most fundamental socio-economic changes in the first half of the

nineteenth century through rapid industrialisation and urbanisation, paradoxically it simultaneously reinforced an imagined, somewhat synthetic, rural past. Interest in druidic and Celtic antiquities, as presented by James Macpherson in 1761, captured the essence of primitive society and elevated the pre-Christian 'principles of valour, honour and loyalty'.<sup>21</sup> The literary furore associated with 'authenticity' and the cult of Ossian stimulated English visitors, most notably Dr Samuel Johnson<sup>22</sup> to venture into highland Scotland which, though difficult, was assisted in the post-Culloden era by military roads and the mapping surveys of 1747–55 by William Roy.<sup>23</sup> Initially, tourists to the Highlands were 'a few moneyed and culturally motivated' individuals 'well defined by education and class'.<sup>24</sup> Over 150 of these tourists published accounts of their travels in the period 1760 to 1810.<sup>25</sup> The Highlands were by no means a foreign country.

Many of Walter Scott's novels, all but one of which were concerned with the period before 1800, created a highly romanticised and fictitious picture of



Fig. 2. Balmoral 1848: 'A pretty little castle'

Source: Queen Victoria's Journal, 8 September 1848, vol.26, p.49.

Note: The appearance of Balmoral Castle in this sketch (1848) by the Queen is fundamentally different to her painting (1852) of the redesigned Balmoral by Prince Albert and influenced by the Germanic castles with which he was familiar.

the Scottish past. Elements of nostalgia and myth can also be attributed to artists, including Queen Victoria's favoured Edwin Landseer.<sup>26</sup> Walter Scott built on this preoccupation with the Highlands when he acted as 'stage manager' for the fifteen day visit of King George IV in 1822 during which the 'entire country adopted a Highland persona. Scott's invented national identity was calculated and purposeful.' The 'plaided panorama' was very successful and contributed considerably to the promotion of Highlandism as 'the definitive Scottish signifier'.<sup>27</sup> Only in the eighteenth century, Lowenthal has claimed, did Europeans begin to conceive the past as a foreign realm. Endowed with unique histories and personalities,

The new past gradually ceased to provide comparative lessons, but came to be cherished as a heritage that validated and exalted the present, and the new role heightened concern to save relics and restore monuments as emblems of communal identity, continuity, and aspiration.<sup>28</sup>

The past became a key to the present. Cumulative layering of previous events and eras contributed to defining place, whether at the scale of the village, city or nation.

The relationship between past and present illuminates the position of Queen Victoria and the visits of the royal family to Edinburgh and the Highlands. Though signed up through the Act of Union in 1707 to the nation state administered by the British parliament in London, Scots retained a distinctive identity in social and cultural terms which was managed politically by local civil administrations (burghs and counties). The Act of Union, therefore, constituted a partnership, not assimilation. Scots could welcome the Queen as sovereign yet retain administrative independence to a considerable degree, safe in the knowledge that the institutions of Scotland – the legal system, worship, banking, tenure, and poor relief – were administratively distinctive and, coincidentally, only partially understood in England. Thus Scottish 'unionist-nationalism' could co-exist and have a particular meaning and leverage within the British state.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, Queen Victoria's Journals captured the nature of the British-Scottish relationship. She met and dined with powerful members of the Scottish aristocracy and civic authorities while corresponding frequently with the British prime minister and government officials regarding current

issues of state.

At a level of national politics the royal visit to Scotland's capital city in 1842 was highly significant.<sup>30</sup> Twenty years earlier Queen Victoria's grandfather, George IV, had been the first reigning monarch to visit Scotland for almost two hundred years.<sup>31</sup> His faintly ridiculous appearance in 'a mini-kilt and pink stockings' might be considered by some as the beginning of 'Highlandism', that is, of the conflation of Scotland with the Highlands, but 'the reality is that it was a one-off event that had little long-term impact.'<sup>32</sup> However, in 1842 in what was Queen Victoria's first and perhaps one of the monarch's longest visits to a single British city, a relationship of enormous significance was cemented. The relationship between the British state and the Scottish nation was complicated but the Queen's evident enthusiasm for Edinburgh, and Scotland more generally, gave no reason to believe that an independent Scottish legal system or religious integrity or cultural distinctiveness were at risk from the incorporation of Scotland into the British state.<sup>33</sup> Unionist-nationalism was a sustainable political state in mid-Victorian Scotland which co-existed with the United Kingdom.

### City tours and royal tourism

As for the built environment as opposed to the natural landscape the Queen's references were mainly confined to Edinburgh streets, buildings, architects, and churches with occasional observations about the public. 'Edinburgh' figured almost 300 times in the course of the Queen's daily Journal entries with a number of references mostly relating to crowds and local reactions to the visitors. During her visit to Edinburgh in 1850, Queen Victoria described one of her excursions in some detail:

We drove through Prince's Street, admiring again the numbers of fine classical buildings, which this noble City Contains: the High School, Gaol, Burns' & Walter Scott's monuments, the latter completed, since we were here 8 years ago, & really very beautiful, — the Academy, &c —. The streets full of people, who ran & cheered, causing a great confusion. We drove to Donaldson's Hospital, just outside the town. It is a school, the money for which has been left by a M<sup>r</sup> Donaldson, a book seller, who left £130,000, which was allowed to accumulate till it was increased to £200,000. The Building is one of the finest imaginable. It is (as M<sup>r</sup> Playfair, the architect himself said) in the Hampton Court style of Architecture, built round

a quadrangle, with small turrets, of that beautiful local sandstone, of such a rich colour & texture.<sup>34</sup>

There is sense of drama, of movement, excitement and of local colour and the Journal entry conveys something out of the ordinary. Of course, this was the royal tour from a carriage, long before the walk-about approach of the twentieth century royals. As for the routes themselves the Queen wrote freely and accurately. No doubt she had guides and coachmen but she was either a very good listener, or she had developed a sense of the spatial organisation in the city – or both. For example, one wet August day after some shopping for ‘stuffs and jewellery’ she went to Princes Street – ‘always so animated & full of people – over the Dean Bridge’ which ‘commands such a beautiful view, alas! Obscured by the pelting rain’ and ‘past Stewart’s Assylum, a fine new building, Fettes College, only built within the last few years, on to Granton, driving close to the sea & past the Pier where we landed in 42’.<sup>35</sup> Here memory and movement were combined in the Queen’s account of change in the urban milieu. Along with Princess Beatrice and two ladies, the royal party then passed through Trinity, commented on the quality of its housing, and reached New Haven where there were many fishwives though ‘not in their smartest dress.’ However, ‘in spite of dreadful rain ... poor people turned out & were most loyal ... & so grateful for my coming there’, according to the Provost of Leith. After passing the ‘new & very splendid Albert Docks’ the party made their way along the Shore, by Leith Links, the London road, the Cavalry Barracks [Piershill], and by way of her favourite St Margaret’s station<sup>36</sup> where she and Prince Albert had always arrived in Edinburgh from the south, and ‘home’, as she described Holyrood House, through the Queen’s Park.<sup>37</sup> The Queen’s attention to detail and her ability to reproduce the sequence of the visit around the outer areas of Edinburgh was impressive.

On another excursion the Queen remarked that ‘the town of Dalkeith is very pretty.’ While this might seem questionable to modern eyes, her observational skills were acute in noting that amongst ‘country people’ (in Midlothian) ‘The old women wear close fitting white caps & all the girls & children are barefooted, & have long, floating hair, & one sees many with red hair.’<sup>38</sup> The look of the place, and the appearance of the inhabitants were not exempt, therefore, from her

observant eye, nor was she reticent in her critique. After Melville Park the carriage passed ‘through an unpleasant little mining village, (of which there are numbers round about Dalkeith) called Loanhead.’ On another occasion the Queen and her party ‘drove through part of the High Street, the curious old part of the town, where the population is very low & they were rather drunk & excited, 2 people trying to shake hands with Bertie.’ The Queen seemed unconcerned about such colourful encounters, and sufficiently relaxed to record that ‘The Children went with their people, incognito to the Castle.’<sup>39</sup>

During her first visit to Edinburgh Queen Victoria made an excursion – arguably a pilgrimage – to the ruins of Craigmillar Castle where Mary Queen of Scots had lived. In 1842, Queen Victoria offered little by way of commentary but on her return in 1850 she was better informed and considerably more expansive. This confidence drew on memory and information acquired from a variety of sources, oral and written. From the newly refurbished Holyrood Palace in 1850 she explored the Abbey ruins acting as knowledgeable guide to her three daughters and pointing out such historical details as ‘poor Queen Mary’s’ initials and those of King Charles I carved on a sundial. She understood the buildings sufficiently to identify an old white-washed building which served as a bathroom for Queen Mary and from which Lord Darnley supposedly emerged after the murder of Rizzio. Historical episodes and locations were linked sometimes in long descriptive passages.<sup>40</sup> In this respect Queen Victoria conformed to an antiquarian trait relating to reverence for artefacts, and an oral tradition recounting significant local stories. The Queen underlines Lowenthal’s contention that the layers of the past construct heritage for the present.

Descriptive Journal accounts of Edinburgh and surrounding areas provide useful perspectives for a variety of reasons. Firstly, this was a single voice which visited and re-visited places and people, and replayed events. Secondly, few individuals could make as many excursions or travel to so many distant places, both at home and abroad and offer comparative insights. Thirdly, the Queen had unparalleled access to expert knowledge and local information. And fourthly, frequent often daily letters to and from her London ministers and advisors elevated the place of Scotland and its capital south of the border. Against such perspectives it is unclear whether the Queen

had access to contrary opinions, and inevitably her engagement with her 'ordinary' subjects was as a voyeur.

Despite this, her private Journals contain occasional trenchant personal views and meaningful insights. For example, the Queen showed disdain for Mr Steell's sculpture of Prince Albert: 'I am sorry to say it is not good, the horse very stumpy & the figure heavy, unlike dearest Albert & too small for the horse.'<sup>41</sup> On a different emotional register, and in what seems a thoroughly modern format – a visit to the newly opened Royal Infirmary – a compassionate monarch remarked on 'some very sad cases':

Saw one poor woman, who had had dreadful operation for cancer, & one little child, whose face I patted, who had virtually been already dead, & was brought to life again, by mechanical means for resuscitation. They had also performed tracheotomy which had helped to save its life. The poor little child was sitting up in bed, unable to speak, but appeared very pleased to see me. There were also other children, nice little things, who had all met with severe accidents.<sup>42</sup>

The Queen's emotional response to the hospital patients in Edinburgh carried over to an affection for Edinburgh as a place. There was a warmth and an intimation of what would prove to be an enduring relationship with Edinburgh and Scotland. The Queen's Journal entries were unambiguously positive: 'This is our last day in Scotland – a really delightful country', and again, as she commented on the day of her departure from Leith: 'As the fine shores of Scotland receded more & more, we felt quite sad, that this very pleasant & interesting tour was over, but we shall never forget it.'<sup>43</sup>

Nor did they forget it. A pattern was established whereby the royal family stopped or passed through Edinburgh bound for Balmoral on 'royal' Deeside. Routinely the party migrated north in late August or early September and south in mid-October. It is a pattern that, generally speaking, still prevails. Whereas the first visit in 1842 was by sea to Granton, thereafter it was by rail to St Margaret's station, the closest to Holyrood Palace. In 1872, in making a return to the Highlands after an interval of eleven years following Prince Albert's death, the Queen recalled St Margaret's poignantly from her annual journeys in the 1850s: 'We stopped at the small private station, outside Edinburgh, the very one where for 11 years my beloved Albert & I had always arrived at. There it was all unaltered, & yet, all so altered!'<sup>44</sup> For Queen Victoria the city

of Edinburgh was emotionally charged through its landscape and local memories through its connections with Prince Albert.

### Spatial perspectives of a royal traveller

Queen Victoria's Journals are not only informative at the local level of the city of Edinburgh but are indicative of wider issues. Rail travel, for example, quickly became the norm for the royals. The Queen continued her daily practice of Journal entries while travelling by train, and more than two-thirds of these involved journeys to and from Scotland. Some involved what now appear as ambitious or impossible routes: Windsor to Aboyne; Edinburgh to Gosport; Renfrew to Ballater. Over 60% of the rail journeys involved Windsor–Ballater–Windsor, and so Edinburgh's new Waverley Station (1846) became more a way-station than a terminus for the royal party. Journey times also gave a sense of an expedition, as the following entry for 28 August 1857 in the Queen's Journal records:

After a very early breakfast, were off at ½ p. 7 to Euston Station, Jane Churchill, Flora M<sup>c</sup> Donald, the 3 Governesses, Gen: Grey, Col: Phipps, L<sup>d</sup> Clarendon & Sir J. Clark, in attendance. The 2 girls went with us in the train. Very hot & dusty. Stopped at York, for luncheon. The country in great beauty, & the harvest very forward. Saw the Duke of Newcastle, & L<sup>d</sup> Fitzwilliam, L<sup>d</sup> Grey, & M<sup>rs</sup> Grey, were also at the stations. Reached Edinburgh at ¼ to 7. The 5<sup>th</sup> Dragoon Guards & our dear friends, the Rifles (1<sup>st</sup> Batt.) were there.<sup>45</sup>

The London-Edinburgh route, whether by the east or west coast lines, took about eleven hours, and usually included a 'luncheon' stop. Nor, as in modern times, was the royal train exempt from mechanical failure and breakdown, and a degree of exasperation amongst its royal passengers. On a return journey from Stonehaven a pipe broke 'within 9 miles of Edinburgh' at Kirkliston 'letting an immense deal of smoke escape. We were cold ... We waited ¾ of an hour without being able to move, but at last got off.'<sup>46</sup> On another occasion the Queen's account conveyed a little more sense of urgency:

At ½ p. 7 we started with all our Party for Edinburgh, L<sup>d</sup> Granville joining us at the G<sup>r</sup> Northern Station. Vicky & Alice were with us in our saloon. We reached York at ¼ to 1, stopping, to have some luncheon at the Hotel. For some time there was a nasty smell of grease & burning, & finally at Darlington, the next station after York, we were obliged to

change the carriage, the axle having become heated, & literally having begun to burn! At ½ p. 6 we reached Edinburgh, where we were received by the Duke of Buccleuch & L<sup>d</sup> Melville.<sup>47</sup>

The Journal entries (Fig.3) were handwritten by the Queen while travelling widely by rail, and informative though they are, they constituted just 0.9% of all 24,540 entries in 141 volumes containing 43,765 pages. Her mother had encouraged the discipline of daily entries and the young Victoria, aged 13, recorded this on the title page of her first Journal: ‘This book, Mamma gave me, that I might write the journal of my journey to Wales.’

The nightly account of Princess Victoria’s activities, which were initially read by her ‘Mamma’, provides a detailed breakdown of the places visited by the Queen, and with what frequency. It was only to be expected that her London bases and favourite haunts figured most. The three London palaces (Windsor,

Buckingham and Kensington) collectively accounted for 11,869 or 48% of her Journal entries, and her holiday bases, Osborne House and Balmoral Castle, contributed 23% and 19% respectively (Table 1). Thus 90% of Queen Victoria’s Journal entries relate to the five places where she spent most of her life.

Queen Victoria’s Journal provides a commentary on 27 other locations where she stayed overnight in Scotland (Table 2). These included another one hundred occasions in properties on the Balmoral Estate, though not actually part of the Castle itself. Thus almost one in five of all the Queen’s Journal entries over the space of her entire reign were written from Balmoral. Others, as at Dalkeith and Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh were mostly associated with the initial forays into Scotland in 1842. The remainder were short stays mostly as a result of hospitality offered by members of the Scottish nobility.<sup>48</sup> Very few were at hotels.

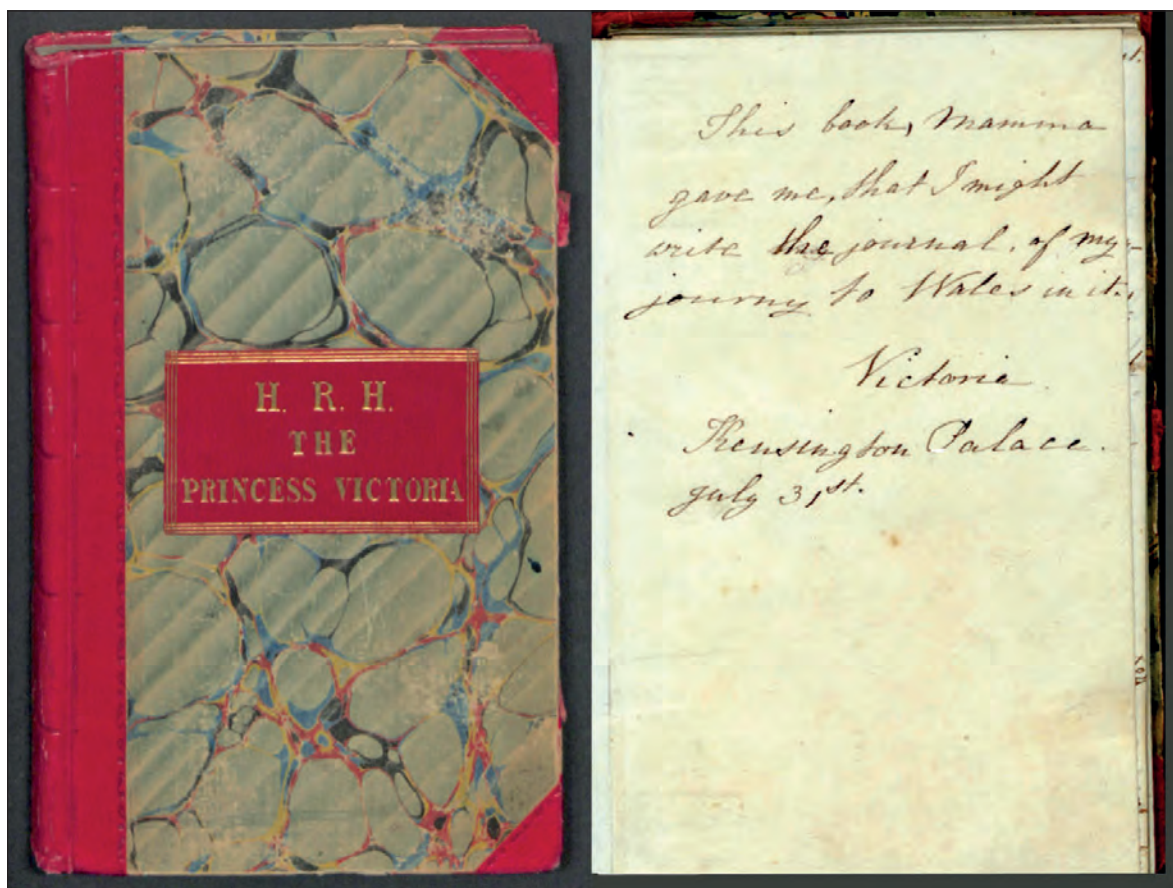


Fig. 3. Princess Victoria’s Journal  
Source: ‘This book, Mamma gave me, that I might write the journal of my journey to Wales.’ Victoria, Kensington Palace, 31 July (1832).



**Table 1: Locations where Queen Victoria’s Journals were written (1831–1901)**

| Place of writing   | Number of Journal entries | %    |
|--------------------|---------------------------|------|
| Windsor Castle     | 7,582                     | 30.9 |
| Osborne House      | 5,604                     | 22.8 |
| Balmoral Castle    | 4,576                     | 18.6 |
| Buckingham Palace  | 3,238                     | 13.2 |
| Kensington Palace  | 1,049                     | 4.3  |
| Total (166 places) | 24,540                    | 100  |

Source: Queen Victoria’s Journals, 1832–1901

Geographically the Scottish overnight accommodation was mainly in the Highlands (Fig.4) and the Journal entries reveal a familiarity with the country unlikely to have been matched, if at all, by more than a small percentage of Scots. Attachments were strong, as when leaving Balmoral which was a particularly emotional experience for the royal family and for their local staff: ‘At ½ p. 8, with heavy hearts, poor Vicky, much upset, we left dear Balmoral. The good people were all drawn up outside the porch, Keepers, Gillies, & women & children, Many cried, as we drove off.’<sup>49</sup>

Frequent railway travel contributed to the development of the Queen’s observational skills and

her delight in the passing countryside. For example, writing one night from Floors Castle in the Borders after a railway journey earlier in the day, Queen Victoria recalled the

very pretty country ... through Eskdale, past Netherby & leaving the Esk entered Liddesdale, the railway running along the Liddel Water to Riccarton station ... we next came to Hawick, entered Teviotdale, & descending it came into the valley of the Tweed at St Boswell’s.

Before they were met at Kelso station the Queen observed that ‘The country everywhere, extremely pretty, finely wooded & rich cultivation.’<sup>50</sup>

Though Queen Victoria was the British monarch from 1837 to 1901, and Empress of India from 1877, she did not stray far from her United Kingdom and her European connections in view of the fact that she was the overall ruler of one quarter of the world.<sup>51</sup> As a result 76% of her time was spent in England and 20% in Scotland and reflected her disinclination to explore elsewhere. There were no imperial visits. In seventy years, only the equivalent of one week was spent in Wales and just over two months in Ireland. By contrast, she spent the nights of almost thirteen and a half years in Scotland. The Queen spent 875 nights in France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland and Belgium in her period as monarch – equivalent to almost two and a half years and this too provided her with perspectives on the picturesque and also a comparative context for her sojourns in Scotland, and Edinburgh in particular.<sup>52</sup> She favoured the hilly district of Cimiez, on the edge of Nice and known as a site of antiquity. With Nice and Aix-les-Bains, a spa resort for the wealthy, and the high-status resorts of Grasse and Hyères it was France that figured prominently in the Queen’s European journeys (Table 3).



Fig. 4. Queen Victoria’s overnight locations in Scotland, 1842–1900  
Source: Table 2, OpenStreetMap contributors, and Mapping Edinburgh.org

**Table 2: Queen Victoria’s overnight locations, Scotland, 1842– 1900**

| <b>Place of writing</b>    | <b>Number of entries</b> | <b>%</b> |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|----------|
| Glassalt Shiel*            | 95                       | 36.7     |
| Holyroodhouse              | 37                       | 14.3     |
| Ardverikie, Kinloch Laggan | 27                       | 10.4     |
| Blair Castle               | 20                       | 7.7      |
| Dunkeld                    | 9                        | 3.5      |
| Invertrossachs             | 9                        | 3.5      |
| Dalkeith Palace            | 7                        | 2.7      |
| Inverary Castle            | 7                        | 2.7      |
| Inverlochy Castle          | 7                        | 2.7      |
| Alltnaguibhsaich*          | 6                        | 2.3      |
| Loch Maree (Hotel)         | 6                        | 2.3      |
| Dunrobin                   | 5                        | 1.9      |
| Drummond Castle            | 3                        | 1.2      |
| Glen Fiddich               | 3                        | 1.2      |
| Taymouth Castle            | 3                        | 1.2      |
| Blythswood                 | 2                        | 0.8      |
| Floors Castle              | 2                        | 0.8      |
| Perth (George Inn)         | 2                        | 0.8      |
| Dalwhinnie (Inn)           | 1                        | 0.4      |
| Fettercairn (Ramsay Arms)  | 1                        | 0.4      |
| Fort William               | 1                        | 0.4      |
| Grantown-on-Spey (inn)     | 1                        | 0.4      |
| Haddo House                | 1                        | 0.4      |
| Auchronie, Invermark Lodge | 1                        | 0.4      |
| Loch Ryan                  | 1                        | 0.4      |
| Rosneath Bay, Gare Loch    | 1                        | 0.4      |
| Scone Palace               | 1                        | 0.4      |

Note: \* refers to properties on the Balmoral Estate

Source: Queen Victoria’s Journals, 1832–1901

Since her husband and first cousin Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha was German, and her uncle, King Leopold, Belgian, it was to be expected that the couple would make journeys to these countries and to visit family members there. Consequently, Darmstadt and a number of cities on the Rhine were also places Queen Victoria visited and because of the length of her reign and the geographical extent of

her travelling, the Queen had an unrivalled degree of familiarity with European places and nobility.

#### ‘Beauty’ and Edinburgh

During her long reign Queen Victoria travelled extensively in Britain and in Europe, and invariably

**Table 3: European destinations visited by Queen Victoria, 1832–1901**

| <b>Overnight location</b>          | <b>Number of nights</b> |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Nice (Hotel Regina, Cimiez)        | 144                     |
| Nice (Grand Hotel, Cimiez)         | 88                      |
| Aix-les-Bains (Hotel de l'Europe)  | 70                      |
| Florence (Villa Palmieri)          | 65                      |
| Coburg (Rosenau)                   | 56                      |
| Coburg (The Palace)                | 39                      |
| Darmstadt (Neues Palais)           | 38                      |
| Grasse (Grand Hotel)               | 35                      |
| Hyères (Grand Hotel de Costebelle) | 35                      |
| Florence (Villa Fabbriotti)        | 31                      |
| Lucerne (Pension Wallis)           | 31                      |
| Baden-Baden (Villa Hohenlohe)      | 29                      |
| Reinhardsbrunn Castle              | 28                      |
| Biarritz (Villa La Rochefoucauld)  | 26                      |
| Mentone (Chalet de Rosiers)        | 26                      |
| Baveno (Villa Clara)               | 24                      |
| Babelsberg                         | 16                      |
| Brussels (Château de Laeken)       | 13                      |
| Cherbourg                          | 13                      |
| Baden-Baden                        | 12                      |
| Coburg (Schloss Ehrenburg)         | 11                      |

Note: Other locations with fewer than ten nights visiting included Antwerp, Bruhl Castle, Brussels (Royal Palace), Cannes (Villa Edelweiss), Charlottenburg (The Palace), Cherbourg Harbour, Coblenz (The Palace), Cologne (Hotel Bellevue), Darmstadt (Altes Palais), Darmstadt (Schloss), Dartmouth Harbour, Deutz (Hotel), Düsseldorf (Breidenbacherhof), Eu, Château d', Frankfurt (Hotel d'Angleterre), Fulda (Kurfurst Hotel), Furca (Hotel), Gotha (Friedrichsthal), Mainz (Hotel de l'Europe), Mainz (Rheinischehof Hotel), Méridon, Ostend, Paris (British Embassy), Reinhardsbrunn, Scheldt (River), St Cloud, Stolzenfels (Castle), Würzburg (Palace).

Source: Queen Victoria's Journals, 1832–1901

made positive observations about the city of Edinburgh commenting frequently and at length on the splendour of the setting and referring to the coastal views and especially to the hills. Excursions made by Queen Victoria enriched her sense of place by providing further points of comparison to add precision to what her guides and advisors judged would facilitate a greater understanding of their place, Edinburgh. The acquisition of this spatial and topographical knowledge then intersected with historical and cultural information acquired by other means to inform the monarch about her peoples and places.

Royal visits were partly public relations exercises, and none was more important than for an Englishwoman and ruler to visit those who, just a century before, were vanquished on the battlefield by her Hanoverian forbears. The royal embrace of Highlandism recognised and recast a former internal division within Scotland and acknowledged its distinctiveness in a modernising Scotland as part of Great Britain. To meet the Scottish political elite, worship, and pay homage to significant sites and local memorials was part of the respect accorded by the monarch to Edinburgh and its people. The sovereign displayed courtesy towards local people,

and observations about fishwives and miners, Loanhead and Leith, were descriptive rather than judgmental. Explanations and information imparted to and absorbed by the Queen were a means to understand people and personalities through landscapes of memory both geographical and historical. Understanding these elements provided a unique character to place – what might be considered the DNA of Edinburgh. Instantly recognisable once seen, the perspective of Edinburgh was lodged in the memory to form a sense of place.

It was the recognisable markers in an urban landscape that anchored individuals geographically, spatially, culturally, psychologically and in terms of basic navigational skills in a place poorly lit and susceptible to impenetrable fog and smoke. After all, Edinburgh's soubriquet 'Auld Reekie' was not acquired by accident. It was inevitable that the Queen's experience of the city was partial and her markers were mostly significant sites. Security and the micro-management of the sovereign alone dictated the logistics of routes taken and sites visited. Also, as a perennially insanitary city with serious cholera outbreaks in 1832 and 1847 certain parts of Edinburgh were perceived as dangerous to health.<sup>53</sup> The worst were closest to Holyrood Palace – the Canongate, Tron, Grassmarket and Abbey districts had the highest mortality rates in mid-century Edinburgh – and through which the royal family travelled, though rarely lingered. There were, therefore, many Edinburghs, and inevitably the gaze of the royal family, like that of so many visitors, was directed more to the architectural splendours than towards the human condition of the areas traversed.

Queen Victoria's frequent Journal references to 'beauty' were associated, therefore, both with the natural landscape and the picturesque settings of specific structures in the built environment in Edinburgh. On the back of international interest in science, medicine, and the Scottish Enlightenment generally, lured by the romanticism associated with Walter Scott's novels, and stimulated by the royal visits of King George IV in 1822 and Queen Victoria in 1842, visitors, almost inevitably, replicated this very partial visual impression of the city of Edinburgh. The Castle and the geometric New Town streets of James Craig's Plan of 1766 became the city's trademark, a recognisable logo. Elegant buildings and open spaces from which to behold them were presented as

synonymous with the city.

This comfortable complacency about the city's aesthetic self-image was the result of civic initiatives though delivery depended almost exclusively on the role of landowners and the speculative appetite of builders to make profits.<sup>54</sup> Significantly, civic intervention was also legitimated, and the public purse raided for further capital projects to enhance beauty and the distinctive Edinburgh cityscape. Six bridges, each a major civil engineering project, were publicly funded between 1772 and 1834. These transported the traveller and visitor above the mire of everyday Edinburgh life in the valleys to enjoy the visual appeal of the city from an elevated perspective.<sup>55</sup> The gaze of the visitor was enriched to such an extent that the distinguished law lord Henry Cockburn observed that 'there is probably not one stranger out of each hundred of the many who visit us, who is attracted by anything but the beauty of the city and its vicinity.'<sup>56</sup> Even so, Cockburn warned, 'The 'beauty of the city', and the enjoyment and pleasure it afforded were taken very much for granted.'<sup>57</sup> The 'matchless' picturesque city depended heavily on prospects and backdrops. '[E]xtinguish these', Cockburn stated, 'and the rest would leave it a very inferior place.'<sup>58</sup> Congestion and cultural tourism had a price, then as now.

By 1850, the New Town skyline and street perspectives that greeted Queen Victoria on her second visit to Edinburgh were increasingly compromised, Cockburn claimed, as 'Heavy uniform lines are breaking rapidly into variety; scarcely a street is contented without its ornamental edifice.'<sup>59</sup> Georgian design simplicity was under pressure. The commercialisation of the main thoroughfares to which Cockburn referred meant companies vied with one another for prime sites and greater visibility through distinctive architectural features which were digressions from the discipline of the undecorated original streetscape. Classical and neo-Gothic were in tension. Property redevelopment also caused consternation to such an extent that already by 1820 the eastern portion of Princes Street from the North Bridge to Frederick Street was colonised by 80 businesses (Fig.5). By 1850 private homes had been reduced by two-thirds and largely confined to properties west of Castle Street as shops and workshops gained a foothold.<sup>60</sup> Behind it, there were 330 lodging houses in New Town streets in 1825 – a quadrupling from the number in 1800

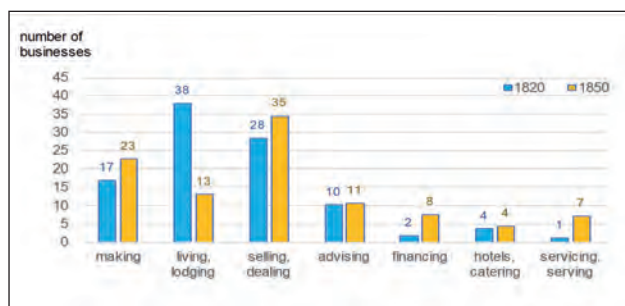


Fig. 5. Princes Street addresses by type of use, 1820 and 1850  
Source: Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directories 1820 and 1850

(Table 4). In an open letter to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh Cockburn challenged him to accept his responsibilities ‘to protect us from hurtful projects, and from hurtful indifference’.<sup>61</sup> Lord Cockburn concluded that: ‘Edinburgh has so much beauty, and depends so entirely upon it, we might have expected that there would be a strong general resolution among the inhabitants to protect it.’<sup>62</sup> ‘Making a “place”’, he argued, required taste and was the most creative and progressive of pursuits.<sup>63</sup> It was, therefore, tasteless – born of ignorance – to demolish ancient Edinburgh buildings such as the medieval Trinity Church to facilitate the building of a railway station. This uncritical loss of the historic past was of particular concern and Cockburn’s perceptiveness as a High Court circuit judge (1837–54) in Scotland meant his travels allowed him to study instances of ancient and threatened buildings around Scotland which then influenced his ideas about building preservation with particular reference to Edinburgh.<sup>64</sup>

Recognising and protecting beauty in the built environment of Edinburgh was central to Cockburn’s pointed but polite letter to the Lord Provost in 1856 which was founded on observation and rooted in the locality. Though there was never any advocacy on the part of Queen Victoria whose views of Edinburgh as ‘a thing to dream of’, John Ruskin admonished local residents by stressing they had done little to enhance the appearance of the city whose beauty was almost exclusively attributable to the natural environment of the city. In his ‘Lecture on Architecture’ in Edinburgh in 1853 Ruskin commented: ‘Of all the cities in the British Islands, Edinburgh is the one which presents most advantages for the display of a noble building; and ... sustains most injury in the erection of a commonplace or unworthy one.’<sup>65</sup> Edinburgh

citizens stood indicted. With little sign of humility, Ruskin preached to his Edinburgh audience: ‘It does not matter how many beautiful public buildings you possess, if they are not supported by, and in harmony with, the private houses of the town.’<sup>66</sup>

There were many Edinburghs? Cockburn, Ruskin, Queen Victoria and others each were blinkered to some extent? By juxtaposing New and Old Towns as though this was a sufficient identifier for the city of Edinburgh and by focusing on building types and architectural styles, they missed the real polarity of Edinburgh – of wealth and poverty, or perhaps in modern terms, of affordable and unaffordable housing. To Hugh Miller, a stonemason, geologist and editor of the Free Church newspaper *The Witness*, a different, more sophisticated, polarity existed. This was one of the mindset. Of the 1820s he commented:

I felt I had seen, not one, but two cities – a city of the past and of the present – set down side by side, as if for the purpose of comparison, with a picturesque valley drawn like a deep score between them, to mark off the line of division.<sup>67</sup>

Miller provided a combined spatial and temporal polarity which, based in the 1820s, reflected the passing of the retrospective and romanticised aspects of Scotland’s and Edinburgh’s history and a transition to a modern city with a pace of physical and socio-economic change which left many behind.

Implicitly or explicitly, these and many other commentators developed a simplified antithesis: New Town/Old Town; good/bad; ancient/modern; civilised/uncouth; safe/dangerous; mainstream/marginal, and so on. But what contemporaries, and particularly Queen Victoria and the governing classes missed, were the variations and social complexities that coexisted within the same street, and in the case of Edinburgh, in both Old Town and the New Town

**Table 4: Expansion of New Town lodging houses, 1800–25**

| Address in                      | 1800 | 1825 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|
| Rose Street                     | 22   | 77   |
| Thistle Street                  | 13   | 30   |
| James Square, Place, and Street | 10   | 26   |
| Jamaica Street                  | 0    | 23   |
| George Street                   | 4    | 16   |
| Hanover Street                  | 2    | 14   |
| Frederick Street                | 3    | 11   |
| St David, St Andrews Streets    | 9    | 11   |
| Broughton Place, Street         | 0    | 10   |
| Howe Street                     | 0    | 9    |
| Castle Street                   | 0    | 8    |
| Princes Street                  | 4    | 5    |

Source: *Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory*, 1800, 1825.

streets. In 1860, West Richmond Street (Old Town, 156 properties, average rent £6.84) included grocers, shoemakers, a soda maker manufacturer, typefounder and compositor as neighbours alongside owners living on rental income; Jamaica Street (New Town, 324 properties, average rent £6.69) housed a butler, cabman, two painters, greengrocer, cabinetmaker, and a number of women who had either a small pension or rental income. The average rents in the two streets were almost identical; so, too was the variation in the extent of rental diversity. Much the same can be identified in numerous other pairs of Old Town and New Town streets.<sup>68</sup> The extent of social differentiation, if rents are any guide, was pronounced on both sides of the Nor’ Loch valley though ‘beauty’ might not have been a frequent descriptor in parts of Edinburgh most prone to high mortality, numerous fires, and collapsed tenements.

By extolling the virtues of Edinburgh as a place of beauty on a par with, and often on a plane

above, many other British and European towns and cities, Queen Victoria provided it with her royal imprimatur. In modern parlance this might be akin to the insignia awarded to suppliers of the royal household ‘By appointment to Her Majesty’ as a sign of approbation – a commendation of excellence. Within a few years of the Queen’s second visit in 1850 Edinburgh had become a unitary authority (1856) with a consolidated, coherent boundary, and Scotland as a whole experienced for the first time new levels of administrative coherence.<sup>69</sup> None of these administrative developments can be attributed directly to Queen Victoria’s visits but the frequency of her letters from Edinburgh and Balmoral repositioned both city and country in the minds of the government in London, and it was not long before the frequency of ‘(Scotland) Act’ in legislation recognised the northern part of her kingdom as fundamentally different.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 Queen Victoria’s Journals, (subsequently ‘*Journal*’) 1 August 1832 to 31 December 1901. Victoria was thirteen when her mother gave her a book, the entries in which she inspected every day. The Journals filled 121 volumes over 69 years, are stored in the Royal Archives, and are

available online at <http://www.queenvictoriasjournals.org/> With 2000 words per day the Queen wrote some 60 million words. There are 268 instances references to ‘Edinburgh’, including mis-spellings, in the Journals, and 47 references to Holyrood Palace; and a further twelve

- references to Leith.
- 2 A. C. Benson and Viscount Esher, (eds.), *Letters of Queen Victoria 1837–61* (London 1908), vol. I, p. 429, Victoria to the King of the Belgians, 8 September 1842, from Taymouth. This visit to Perth, Scone, and Dunkeld was hosted by Lord Breadalbane and provided a short break from Edinburgh.
  - 3 A. Helps, (ed.), *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands from 1848 to 1861* (London 1868), pp. 21-31, 51-2. Also available as Cambridge University Press print edition (2010) edition, and online 2011 <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511756399.002>. Such was the popularity of this publication that ‘More Leaves’ were published in 1883. For further bibliographical references on Victorian and the royal family see [http://www.queenvictoriasjournals.org/info/reading\\_list.do](http://www.queenvictoriasjournals.org/info/reading_list.do)
  - 4 The early arrival of the royal party and its squadron of ships wrong-footed the Council and the triumphal entry to the city was aborted and rescheduled a few days later not at the boundary of the city but in the middle of the High Street! See G. Guidicini, ‘Royal Welcomes in Edinburgh New Town: Portraying Civic Identity in 1822 and 1842’, in C. Godard Desmarest, (ed.), *The New Town of Edinburgh: An Architectural Celebration* (Edinburgh 2019), pp. 99-113; M. Noble, ‘The Common Good and the Reform of Local Government: Edinburgh 1820–56’, University of Edinburgh PhD thesis, 2016, pp. 158-65; B. C. Skinner, ‘A Contemporary Account of the Royal Visit to Edinburgh 1822’, *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, XXXI, 1962, p. 108.
  - 5 *Journal*, 1 September 1842.
  - 6 *Journal*, 1-3 September 1842.
  - 7 Holyrood House underwent renovations from 1824–34, and again in 1850 in anticipation of another visit by the Queen.
  - 8 Lord Dalhousie was a distinguished soldier and served as Governor General of British North America and as Commander-in-Chief of India. In 1815 he was created Baron Dalhousie, of Dalhousie Castle, Cockpen, near Bonnyrigg.
  - 9 *Journal*, 6 September 1842. The ‘back part of Edinburgh’ was probably Causewayside and Potterrow.
  - 10 *Journal*, 30 August 1850; see I. Levitt, *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, New series, vol. 15 (2019) for two maps of Holyrood Park.
  - 11 *Journal*, 30 August 1850. See J. Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1880), vol. 4, pp. 303-14 for a description. Also <http://www.oldandnewedinburgh.co.uk/volume4/page123.html>
  - 12 *James Hutton*: Geologist <http://bufvc.ac.uk/dvdfind/index.php/title/11454> For discussion of the relationship between the city’s development and the area’s broader geology and topography see J. Stuart-Murray, ‘Landscape, Topography and Hydrology’, in B. Edwards and P. Jenkins, (eds.), *Edinburgh: the Making of a Capital City* (Edinburgh 2005), pp. 64-80.
  - 13 By the date of the purchase of the Balmoral estate in 1852 there were thirty journal references to various novels by Walter Scott.
  - 14 R. Sweet, *Antiquaries: the Discovery of the Past in Britain* (London 2004), pp. 111-14; M. Pittock, ‘Edinburgh: Smart City of 1700’, in C. Godard Desmarest, (ed.), *The New Town of Edinburgh: An Architectural Celebration* (Edinburgh 2019), pp. 19-38. See also A. J. Popiel, *A Capital View: the Art of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 2014); C. Jones, ‘Collectors of Natural Knowledge: the Edinburgh Medical Society and the Associational Culture of Scotland and the North Atlantic World in the 18th Century’, *The Journal of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh*, 48:2 (2018), pp. 155-64; H. M. Dingwall, *A History of Scottish Medicine* (Edinburgh 2003), pp. 108-48.
  - 15 *Letters of Queen Victoria 1837–61*, vol. I, pp. 429-30, 8 and 10 September 1842. See also R. J. Morris, *Scotland 1907: the Many Scotlands of Valentine and Sons Photographers* (Edinburgh 2007), pp. 13-25, 51-66.
  - 16 *Journal*, 8 September 1848.
  - 17 There were 130 *Journal* entries in which Edwin Landseer’s name figured before Balmoral was leased or purchased. On 22 August 1849 the Queen recorded that she had ‘hung up 11 fruits after Landseer’s finest paintings, mostly highland scenes, – in our sitting room where they look beautiful ...’ Edwin Landseer (1802–73) visited the Highlands in 1824 and was noted for his paintings of Scottish subjects. In 1828 he was commissioned to illustrate Sir Walter Scott’s Waverley novels. His well-known study of a stag, *The Monarch of the Glen* (1851) was completed at precisely the time Victoria and Albert were searching for a highland estate. Landseer was knighted by the Queen in 1850.
  - 18 Lord Aberdeen was Prime Minister, 1852–55.
  - 19 A. D. Farr, *The Royal Deeside Line* (Newton Abbot 1968). The Deeside railway line used by the royal family opened in September 1853 with stations at Aberdeen, Aboyne (1859) and Ballater (1866).
  - 20 D. McCrone, A. Morris and R. Kiely, *Scotland – the Brand: The Making of Scottish Heritage* (Edinburgh 1995), pp. 49-92. Attention is paid both the ‘tartanising Scotland’ and ‘kailyard Scotland’ which focused on small town characters. Both literary traditions, it is argued (p. 61), blighted ‘Scottish consciousness with narrow minded parochialism’. See also D. McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: the Sociology of a Stateless Nation* (London 1992), pp. 16-32.
  - 21 R. Sweet, *Antiquaries*, 134-37; J. Macpherson, *An Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (London 1773).
  - 22 S. Johnston, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775). See also P. Rogers, (ed.), *Johnson and Boswell in Scotland* (New Haven 1993); C. W. J. Withers, ‘The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands’, in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley, (eds.), *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh 1992), pp. 143-56.
  - 23 C. W. J. Withers, *Geography, Science and National Identity: Scotland Since 1520* (Cambridge 2001), especially pp. 142-57, 172-78; C. W. J. Withers, ‘How Scotland Came to Know Itself: Geography, National Identity and the Making of a Nation 1680–1790’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 21, 1995, pp. 371-97. See also National Library of Scotland <https://maps.nls.uk/roy/index.html>

- 24 A. J. Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays* (East Linton 2003), p. 44.
- 25 S. Nenadic, 'Land, the Landed, and Relationship with England: Literature and Perception, 1760 to 1830' in S. J. Connolly, R. A. Houston, and R. J. Morris, (eds.), *Conflict, Identity and Economic Development in Scotland and Ireland* (Preston 1995), p. xx.
- 26 See, for example, J. Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting 1800–1920* (Edinburgh 2003), p. 2.
- 27 J. Morrison, *Painting the Nation*, pp. 48-51.
- 28 D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge 1985), p. xvi.
- 29 G. Morton, *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830–1860* (East Linton 1999).
- 30 For a long run perspective on royalty and the city of Edinburgh see E. Dennison and M. Lynch, 'Crown, Capital and Metropolis: Edinburgh and Canongate. The Rise of a Capital and an Urban Court', *Journal of Urban History*, 32 (2005), pp. 22-43.
- 31 See G. Guidicini, 'Royal welcomes in Edinburgh New Town', pp. 99-113.
- 32 R. Finlay, 'Queen Victoria's Journals', <http://www.queenvictoriasjournals.org/info/QueenVictoriaAndScotland.do>
- 33 Queen Victoria even created her second son, Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh.
- 34 *Journal*, 30 August 1850.
- 35 The spelling is as recorded in the handwritten journal.
- 36 St Margaret's station at Meadowbank was the terminus for trains from England prior to completion of tunnels to North Bridge station which was opened on 22 June 1846 by the North British Railway as the terminus for its line from Berwick-upon-Tweed. The Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway's General Station opened on 17 May 1847, the same day as the Canal Street station (also known as Edinburgh Princes Street station) of the Edinburgh, Leith and Newhaven Railway, serving Leith and Granton via a long cable-hauled tunnel (Scotland Street) under the New Town. All three stations were demolished in April 1866 and renamed Waverley. The Caledonian Railway station at the West End was named Princes Street station and opened in 1870.
- 37 *Journal*, 16 August 1872.
- 38 *Journal*, 1 September 1842.
- 39 *Journal*, 30 August 1850.
- 40 *Journal*, 14 August 1872. See also J. Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1880), vol. III, Chaps.7-11, pp. 42-74. See also <http://www.oldandnewedinburgh.co.uk/volume3/page54.html>
- 41 *Journal*, 17 August 1876. Subsequently, on passing Charlotte Square, the Queen described it as 'A bad statue'.
- 42 *Journal*, 24 August 1881. The Queen commented that the Royal Infirmary cost £300,000.
- 43 *Journal*, 14 and 15 September 1842.
- 44 *Journal*, 14 August 1872.
- 45 *Journal*, 28 August 1857.
- 46 *Journal*, 7 October 1851.
- 47 *Journal*, 6 September 1855.
- 48 For example, with Lord Glenlyon at Blair Castle, and Lord Roxburghe at Floors Castle.
- 49 *Journal*, 14 October 1857.
- 50 *Journal*, 21 August 1867.
- 51 <http://www.queenvictoriasjournals.org/info/about.do>
- 52 *Journal*, 1 November 1836, The Queen refers in her journal to writing in Italian and reading French.
- 53 P. Laxton and R. Rodger, *Insanitary City: Henry Littlejohn and the Condition of Edinburgh* (Lancaster 2013), p. 210. See also Littlejohn's *Report*, reprinted in full in Laxton and Rodger, pp. 8-19.
- 54 A. Lewis, *The Builders of Edinburgh New Town, 1767–1795* (Reading 2014); R. Rodger, *The Transformation of Edinburgh: Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge 2001), pp. 53-80.
- 55 These were North Bridge (1772); South Bridge (1785); Regent's Bridge (1819); Dean Bridge (1832); George IV Bridge (1834); and the King's Bridge (1834). The Union Canal aqueduct at Slateford was completed in 1822 and was privately financed.
- 56 Henry Cockburn, *Journal of Henry Cockburn: a Continuation of the Memorials of His Time* (Edinburgh, 1856 edn., reprinted 1874), Appendix, Letter to the Lord Provost on the Best Ways of Spoiling the Beauty of Edinburgh, pp. 315-38. Cockburn refers to 'beauty' in relation to the city of Edinburgh 32 times in his Journal, and to 'beautiful city' twelve times.
- 57 Henry Cockburn, *Journal*, p. 317.
- 58 Henry Cockburn, *Journal*, p. 318.
- 59 Henry Cockburn, *Journal*, p. 318.
- 60 Princes Street businesses included: tailors (7); boot/shoe makers (6); lodgings and hotel keepers (6); jewellers (5); dressmaker/milliners (4); haberdashers (3); saddlers (3) silk shops, as well as agents, an assortment of merchants and agents, fruiterers, a fletcher, print and music sellers, a tobacconist etc.
- 61 Henry Cockburn, *Journal*, p. 315.
- 62 Henry Cockburn, *Journal*, p. 319.
- 63 Henry Cockburn, *Journal*, p. 268. Taste is mentioned more than 50 times and inversely connected to ignorance. Cockburn identified a number of tasteless projects which included a vegetable market beside the Scott Monument; a row of about 20 or 30 brick huts near the Castle; and public executions on Calton Hill.
- 64 Henry Cockburn, *Circuit Journeys* (Edinburgh 1888). As that rare species, a Whig defence lawyer in murder cases, and a supporter of the Free Kirk and the Disruption, Cockburn's independent credentials were well-established. Eventually his advocacy led to the foundation of a civic society, the Cockburn Association, founded in 1875. This was the first Civic Society in Britain and still acts as a watchdog regarding civic amenities and urban design.
- 65 Among the 'noble' or 'historical' houses of the Canongate are Moray House (1628); Canongate Tolbooth, rebuilt in 1591, Panmure House and Queensberry House.
- 66 J. Ruskin, *Lectures on Architecture and Painting* (London 1902 edn.), p. 5. John Ruskin's, *Severn Lamps of Architecture* (London 1849) was an essay on seven



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- principles or architecture, better known by the later title of *The Stones of Venice*. The principles were: sacrifice; truth; power; beauty; life; memory; and obedience. In essence Ruskin claimed that the technical advances of industrial Britain had undermined the vitality and spiritual basis of construction, and that handicraft skills and purity of labour had been overtaken in the process.
- 67 H. Miller, *My Schools and Schoolmasters: Or, the Story of my Education* (Edinburgh 1873), p. 309. Hugh Miller (1802–56) was a Scottish geologist, theologian, prolific writer, and editor of the Free Church newspaper *The Witness*. He was mentally depressed and committed suicide in 1856. His funeral procession was considered at the time as one of the longest in the memory of Edinburgh residents.
- 68 The ratio of the standard deviation to the mean for the street is used to indicate the variation in rents afforded by residents of streets.
- 69 This included Ordnance Survey mapping nationally (1853), land valuation and taxation (1854), and population data through the registrations of birth, deaths and marriages (1855), as well as new civic jurisdictions (1856).