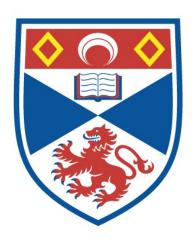
PEDDIE & KINNEAR

Vol. 1 Text

David W. Walker

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of St Andrews



2002

Full metadata for this item is available in St Andrews Research Repository at:

http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/

Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:

http://hdl.handle.net/10023/19863

This item is protected by original copyright

Acknowledgements

Abstract

- A Note on the Measurements
- 1. The Partners and their Office: The Practice History, 1844-94
- 2. Early Practice: High Renaissance, Neo-Classicism and Neo-Tudor
- 3. Round-arched and Early English Church and School Design, 1849-55
- 4. The Caledonian Railway Station, Lothian Road, Edinburgh (circa 1848-50)
- 5. Early Residential Developments
- 6. High Renaissance and Early Renaissance Commercial Palazzi of the 1850s and Early 1860s
- 7. The Royal Bank of Scotland Headquarters and its Telling Room
- 8. Neo-classical and Neo-Renaissance Churches and Monuments, 1850-65
- 9. Smaller Churches and Schools, 1858-75
- 10. Larger Churches with Transepts or Aisles, 1856-68
- 11. Cottage and Villa Design, 1849-60
- 12. The Picturesque Country Houses of 1856-58
- 13. The Introduction of the Scottish Baronial and Vernacular Style to the Urban Scene: Cockburn Street and its Influence
- 14. The Scottish Baronial and Franco-Scottish Public Buildings of the 1860s
- 15. The Scottish Baronial Country Houses
- 16. The Franco-Italianate and Early French Renaissance Houses
- 17. Houses of the Middle Size, 1859-78
- 18 Italianate Villas, 1860-70
- 19. The Bank of Scotland Headquarters Designs
- 20. The Branch-banks of the 1860s and 1870s
- 21. Classical and Renaissance-based Urban Buildings, 1860-76

- 22. Princes Street, Edinburgh: the University Club, Hotels, the Ross Fountain and the Proposed Improvements to the Gardens
- 23. Developments in the West End of Edinburgh
- 24. Tenement Housing in Edinburgh, 1860-79
- 25. Poors-houses, Asylums and Hospitals
- 26. Public Building Designs of the 1870s
- 27. The Churches of the 1870s
- 28. The Gothic Country House: Wauchope
- 29. The Influence of Alexander Thomson, 1872-80
- 30. The Hydropathics

Conclusions

Bibliography

- ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS -

This thesis came about on the suggestion of Dr John Frew, of the School of Art History at the University of St Andrews, that I might pursue research into the archive of Peddie & Kinnear, and through the exceptional kindness of Michael Henderson of Dick Peddie & McKay, who allowed me to borrow batches of drawings in his ownership for study. Dr Frew, together with David Jones, another of my tutors, and Ian Gow, at that time curator of the National Monuments Record for Scotland, wrote as referees in support of my application to the Student Awards Agency for Scotland, which provided me with funding.

Dr Frew has acted as my supervisor, and Professor David M. Walker has suggested avenues of research throughout the past six years. I am very grateful to them for their reading of the text - in particular, to Dr Frew for his expert editing within extremely tight time-deadlines, and to Professor Walker for allowing me free run through his library and personal research records, and for guiding me towards items which I might otherwise have missed. I should also like to thank Dr Brendan Cassidy and the University's Postgraduate Committee for agreeing to extend both the thesis' word- and time-limits in the face of the substantial amount of material which had to be covered.

During the course of my study, Mr Henderson sold his archive - spanning the period 1844 to 1969 - to the Royal Commission on the Ancient & Historical Monuments Record of Scotland, and at the same time gifted the Sydney Mitchell Collection also in his possession, so ensuring their preservation and general accessibility for the future. Jane Thomas, Veronica Steele and Ian Fraser expedited the transfer of the archive to the National Monuments Record so swiftly that my studies were unhindered. I have considerable cause to be grateful for the work of the Scottish Architects' Papers Preservation Project, headed by Rebecca Bailey, and to those who have been responsible for curating the Dick Peddie & McKay Collection: firstly, Dawn McDowell, who sorted and catalogued all the drawings in the period covered by this thesis, following their transfer to the Commission; then (following her promotion) to Daniel Parker, who looked after my interests on a temporary basis while a new curator was being found; and finally to the new curator, Katherine Prentice. They were not just unfailingly helpful, taking time out to retrieve drawings for me even when targets and deadlines loomed, but followed my activities with interest, and often made useful comments. I was sorry when my researches at the Commission came to an end, for these and many others became my friends there.

I owe a particular debt to all those at the Commission who were involved in photographing the hundreds of drawings required for the comprehensive illustration of this thesis: Robert Adam, Claire Brockley, Tahra Duncan, Jim Mackie, Anne Martin, Derek Smart, John Teggie, Stephen Thomson and Stephen Wallace. The quality of their work is such that, even although the photographs are far smaller than the drawings, they seem as crisp and clear as the originals. John Dick Peddie, who introduced the Watt printing process to architectural practice, and Charles George Hood Kinnear, who invented the first portable tapered-bellows camera, would have been impressed. Any modest loss of definition in the reproductions in this thesis is the result of my computer scanning and printing. I should also note the Commission's generous student discount in respect of photographic charges, which allowed - and encouraged - me to reproduce much more than would otherwise have been practicable. Another person heavily

involved in the photographic process was Ruth Wimberley, the Commission's administrator, who has also helped me in innumerable other ways and to whom I owe special thanks.

I have also had help from Historic Scotland. Dr Deborah Mays, its Principal Inspector in charge of listing, has found photographs of buildings for me when records have not been available at the Commission, and copies of the relevant Ordnance Survey maps showing the site of the Royal Bank of Scotland at Bridgeton before it was demolished in the late 1890s; and Richard Emerson, now Chief Inspector, provided me with my first guide to the Dick Peddie & McKay archive, the hand-list which he prepared in 1979. Although the Commission has now re-catalogued the drawings, it remains important inasmuch as it records a number of projects which were still part of the collection at that time, but have now been lost.

In respect of obtaining illustrations for this thesis, three other individuals must be mentioned, Margaret Graham, Andrew Bridges and Jim Davidson, who have all built up picture-postcard collections which, as records of our lost or altered buildings, must be of national importance. I am very grateful to all three of them for tracking down photographs of a number of Peddie & Kinnear's buildings as they once were.

I should also like to thank Kirsty Burrell, another of Historic Scotland's inspectors, who was re-surveying Trinity and Cockburn Street in Edinburgh while I was researching the drawings, and with thom I exchanged much useful information; Catherine Cruft for her frequent help, and most importantly for tracking down Caidmuir House; Dr A.P. Davidson in respect of the Caledonian Station; John I. Dick-Peddie, for information on John Dick Peddie's world tour; John Gifford, for useful comments on anything I cared to ask; Nick Haynes, for investigating the fate of Brand's School, Milnathort; Professor John Hume, for explaining Peddie & Kinnear's railway-related redevelopment proposals in Glasgow; Andrew Kerr, for comments on a number of designs; Helen Leng, then of the Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland, for use of the library there; Professor Charles McKean, for items from the Dundee University Archives; Professor Sam McKinstry, for referring me to Stephen Walker's article on Donald Smith Peddie; Professor Michael Moss, for information on the Kinnear and Pollok families; Bruce Morgan, for information on Kilmaurs United Presbyterian Church; Sheila Mould, for information on Hope Park United Presbyterian Church in St Andrews, and for obtaining for me a copy of Fordyce and Watt's booklet on that subject; Anne Riches, who allowed me to read the survey of Scottish hospitals she wrote with Harriet Richardson; James Simpson and John Saunders, of Simpson & Brown Architects, with whom I exchanged information on Morgan's Hospital; and Sara Stevenson, of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, for information on the "Kinnear camera." I should also include in this list Mr and Mrs Anthony Wolffe, both for their hospitality and for obtaining copies of the Cardoness designs on my behalf; and Ralph Pickering, for comments on Southwick Church. These projects, dating from the late 1880s and early 1890s, fall outwith the timescale of this thesis, but I look forward to continuing my researches to include all of Kinnear's later work. In the meantime, I am grateful to each of those whom I have mentioned only briefly here, for all their kindness and goodwill.

David W. Walker, Edinburgh, March 2002

- ABSTRACT -

This thesis explores the architectural practice of John Dick Peddie and Charles Kinnear from Peddie's earliest known designs of 1844 to his withdrawal from the partnership in 1879. A detailed investigation has been made of their unusually well-preserved drawings archive - preliminary studies and rejected proposals as well as executed schemes - and followed up by examination of surviving buildings and records of those now lost, in order to understand how the elevations, planning and underlying compositional principles were conceived. The re-use and adaptation of features - the partners' own and those of other architects who influenced them - across the unprecedented variety of styles and building-types which characterised the period has been the subject of special attention, principally since it helps explain the practice's singular ability, in British terms, to produce exceptionally well-considered designs even if there were few or no previous examples to follow. Reference to contemporary publications, especially the building journals, and to more recent studies in architectural history has been made to ascertain any obvious precedents and parallels as a result aesthetic, technological, economic, social and legislative change.

Family history and business and church records have also been researched to establish what lay behind the partnership's success. The partners' well-connected backgrounds and willingness to become involved with their own money in ambitious business ventures are constant themes, contributing to the growth of the practice until it became the largest in Scotland. Initially one of the most successful practices in Scotland financially, that entrepreneurial rôle subsequently led to catastrophe even as some of their very greatest architectural projects were being realised.

The thesis has been comprehensively illustrated in the hope that it may become a guide not only to Peddie & Kinnear, but to the rich variety of Scottish architecture in the Victorian period generally.

- A NOTE ON THE MEASUREMENTS -

All measurements given in this text have been obtained from the drawings. Except where precise measurements have been figured on the drawings, and can therefore be quoted accurately, I have tried to scale them to the nearest six inches. While great care has been always taken in this process, it is possible there may be small errors. Therefore, no guarantee can be offered in respect of measurements, in relation either to the drawings or to the actual buildings, which may in any event have been executed slightly differently.

The Partners and their Office: the Practice History

When JOHN DICK PEDDIE took CHARLES GEORGE HOOD KINNEAR into partnership in 1856, he created an architectural practice which would become the largest in Scotland, based in Edinburgh, but remarkable - for that time - in the manner in which it found work in every corner of the country; and more remarkable still because the exceptional levels of quality which characterised the earliest commissions seldom faltered: the drawings for their best work reveal a perfectionism which was achieved through a combination of scholarship, continual experimentation and revision. Both partners were exceptionally hard workers, but the identical presentation of their drawings - an expression of office efficiency - often makes it hard to tell their work apart. The success of the partnership, however, also derived from its very improbability: those two names, Peddie & Kinnear, represented two very different dynasties, each with immense powers of patronage in their own worlds.

John Dick Peddie and his United Presbyterian Family Connections

The marriage of John Dick Peddie's parents was itself an influential partnership, but a much more likely one: he was born with his twin brother William on 24 February 1824, they being the second and the third sons of James Peddie, Writer to the Signet (1798-1885), and his wife Margaret Dick (1793-1851). Both the Peddies and the Dicks were prominent families within the United Associate Synod, from 1848 the United Presbyterian Church. Prior to 1820 they had been members of the New Light Burgher Synod which remained an identifiable faction within the united church; and both families could claim direct spiritual descent from Ebenezer Erskine, the founder of the Secession movement. John Dick Peddie's invitation to design the monument to him did not come about through chance.

The Peddie family came from Perthshire. John Dick Peddie's great-grandfather James was a brewer in Rattray, whose second wife, Ann Rattray bore him a son, also named James, on 10 February 1758. This James enrolled at Edinburgh University in 1775, but two years later entered the Secession Divinity Hall, then under the charge of the legendary scholar Dr John Brown (1722-87) of Haddington, who also came from a Perthshire family. James early engaged in controversy, taking issue with Brown over his acceptance of civil magistrates' powers in religious affairs. This struck at the matter of principle which had divided the Burghers from the Anti-Burghers in the Secession movement's schism of 1747, that it was lawful to swear the Burgess oath. Those who swore the oath promised to adhere to "the true religion presently professed within this realm and authorised by the laws thereof." Burghers took the view that since there was no doctrinal difference they could put their own interpretation on the words, but to the Anti-Burgers they specified the Established Church.

The dispute between Brown's "Old Light" Burghers and Peddie's "New Light" Burghers escalated after Peddie became Moderator of the Burgher Synod in 1789. It reached crisis-point in 1795-97 during the long-running dispute centred on the Reverend Jedidiah Aikman from Peddie's Bristo Congregation and the Wilson Church congregation at Perth, to which Aikman had been called in 1783. In this dispute

Peddie was "untiring in zeal and energy," a description which was to be equally applicable to his architect grandson. Although the subsequent litigation continued until 1820 when it reached the future Lord Chancellor, Henry Brougham, it had effectively determined the status of the New Light faction by 1799. In the course of the dispute elements within the Established Church had attempted to portray the New Light Burghers as Scotland's equivalent of the French Revolutionaries: Peddie had been obliged to appeal to Pitt through Henry Dundas, who had vouched for them as "loyal citizens who had been calumniated". But for Dundas' fair-mindedness, Peddie and his adherents might well have found themselves in the dock, facing Lord Braxfield. As will be seen, the memory of those turbulent years, and of Edinburgh's inequitable church rates - whereby seceders were obliged by law to contribute to the stipends of the Established Church ministers who had libelled them - was to influence John Dick Peddie's own career eighty years later.

The Reverend James Peddie's power-base - and that of his architect grandson - was the Burgher church at Bristo, the oldest and most influential secession congregation in the city. He was ordained there on 3 April 1783, not without controversy as some of the congregation preferred the experience and milder views of the Reverend James Hall of Cumnock. Hall declined to share the pulpit with Peddie on a collegiate basis, and in 1785 his supporters formed the Old Edinburgh congregation which took the name of Broughton Place after its move to the New Town in 1820.

Fairly early in his long career at Bristo, in 1797, the Reverend James Peddie and the Reverend George More, minister of the Secession congregation at South Shields, County Durham, co-founded the Friendly Society of Dissenting Ministers in Scotland, a pension scheme for ministers' widows and families. Peddie was almost solely responsible for its management, extending his influence far beyond his own presbytery. As will be seen, the More connection was also to become significant.

The Reverend James Peddie married twice, and both marriages were to be important. The first was to Margaret Coventry, daughter of another Burgher divine, the Reverend George Coventry of Stitchell. This established through the marriage of Anna Coventry a family link with Benjamin Hall Blyth (1819-66) and his brother Edward Lawrence Blyth (?-1902), the consulting engineers, and later to Benjamin's son Robert Brittain Blyth (1850-86), a Writer to the Signet. Margaret's sister married vet another Burgher minister, the Reverend John Dick (1761-1833) who had followed in the footsteps of his father, a Kinross-born Burgher minister in Aberdeen. The younger Dick was ordained at Slateford Burgher Church in 1786, from which he published two controversial books, Essay on Inspiration and Confessions of Faith Shown to be Necessary. These resulted in a call to Greyfriars, the most important Burgher congregation in Glasgow, where he attracted a following which may have had some subsequent influence on John Dick Peddie's unique ability to cross the Edinburgh-Glasgow divide: seceders had a strong sense of loyalty to their own. Events were to bring him still closer to the Peddie family. Margaret Coventry died in 1792, survived by an infant son, William. Three years after her death the Reverend James Peddie married Barbara Smith. She was a member of his congregation and a daughter of Donald Smith (d. 1832) of the private bank Donald Smith & Company, who was to become Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1806-08. Barbara was the mother of Donald Smith Peddie, who became an accountant, Alexander, who became a surgeon, and James, who became a Writer to the Signet. Within a year of the Reverend John Dick Dick's return to Edinburgh as the Synod's Professor of Theology in 1820, the younger James Peddie married his daughter Margaret - the architect's parents.

The career of the Reverend Dr James Peddie's eldest son, the Reverend Dr William Peddie (1805-93) was very nearly as controversial as his father's had been. The elder Peddie had attracted such a large following that in 1802 he had to build a new church at Bristo with seats for 1,671 worshippers. In 1825 he became moderator of the Synod but by 1828, at the age of seventy, he was feeling the strain and sought permission to call a second minister, making the charge collegiate. A call to William was signed by 862 members and 141 adherents, but opposed by the remainder of the congregation. The call was upheld by the Synod but, as in 1785, almost half the congregation walked out to build a daughter church, Cowgate in Infirmary Street. Again the Bristo congregation recovered to remain the dominant force in United Presbyterianism in Edinburgh for the next half-century, William becoming sole minister on his father's death in 1845.

But no less important in securing the Burgher commissions forming the mainstay of John Dick Peddie's early practice was his uncle by marriage, Professor the Reverend Dr James Harper (1795-1879), who had married the Reverend Dr James Peddie's daughter. Harper was ordained Burgher minister at North Leith in 1818, appointed to the Chair of Pastoral Theology in 1843, was prime mover in the union of the United Associate Synod and the Relief Church as the United Presbyterian Church in 1848, and was, from 1850, the editor of The United Presbyterian Magazine. His influence must have been crucial in the selection of John Dick Peddie in the competition for the design of the Synod Hall in 1845, since it was the Synod's divinity hall as well as its assembly hall.

William Peddie, James Harper and John Dick all had links with the United States, although at that stage probably only through publishing and correspondence. While

the Reverend James Peddie had received his doctorate from Marischal College in Aberdeen, his son's and Harper's came from Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, and Dick's from Princeton, a university with a strong Presbyterian background. But more important in architectural terms were the sympathies of two other intellectual United Presbyterian divines with whom they were associated, the Reverend John Ker (1819-86) - effectively John Dick Peddie's client at Duke Street, Glasgow in 1857 - and the Reverend John Cairns (1818-92). Both had attended Bristo while at Edinburgh University and had thereafter gone to Germany where they had fallen under the influence of Friedrich Schleiermacher and his disciples. Ker and Cairns were evidently as much an influence on John Dick Peddie as they were on Alexander Thomson, and it can be no mere coincidence that almost every United Presbyterian church that Peddie built had Burgher origins, or that Cairns opened nearly all of them. Ker and Cairns both became professors in the United Presbyterian theological hall - the former Synod divinity hall - and in 1879 Cairns succeeded Harper as its principal: it was for them that Peddie reconstructed the failed New Edinburgh Theatre as the New Synod Hall in 1877. It was also probably under their influence that John Dick Peddie sent his elder sons to the Gymnasium and Real Schule at Elberfeld in Prussia to complete their education in the later 1860s and 1870s. German architecture was to have a considerable influence on Peddie & Kinnear's buildings in those decades.

His eldest son James (1822-1902) having become a civil engineer, James Peddie resolved that his younger sons should continue his legal practice; thus, along with his twin brother William, John Dick Peddie attended the University of Edinburgh from 1839 until at least 1842 before being allowed to become an architect. In the event it was their much younger brother Alexander Louis (1832-1917: after his marriage to Georgina Waddell, heiress to the estate of Balquatston in Stirlingshire, Alexander Peddie Waddell) who carried on the practice as J. & A. Peddie, and later J. & A. Peddie & Ivory, Holmes Ivory (1851-1914) being John Dick Peddie's son-in-law through his marriage to Peddie's eldest daughter, Margaret Dick Peddie (1852-1933). John Dick Peddie's time as a trainee writer had not, however, been wasted: while at university he acquired many useful connections amongst his fellow students, and in his father's office he learned the business of borrowing through bonds to finance building, his obituarist describing him as:

"... a man of remarkable business capacity. He combined great industry and energy with quickness of perception. He rapidly saw the leading points of any business matter and when his mind was made up he stated his views with clearness and decision. He was particularly good at figures and could make a financial statement to a meeting in a way which enabled all present to understand a complicated balance sheet."

That quickness of perception was recognised early. In 1855, at the age of thirty-one, he was called in by the Directors of Dundee Infirmary to investigate the accounts for their new building where the contractor had run up a bill of £4,500 for additional charges. It was on that acumen that the practice's reputation for precise design, sound construction and keeping within budgets was founded. Even if it eventually led to serious trouble, it was also the acumen which enabled the practice to finance its large-scale terraced housing developments, found client companies and ultimately lead to Peddie's second career as a New Worlds investment manager.

Probably circa 1842 John Dick Peddie persuaded his father to allow him to be articled apprentice to David Rhind (1803-83), who then had his house and office at 24 Northumberland Street.

Rhind was a sound choice. He was the son of a cashier of the Friendly Insurance Society with well-placed relatives in the Commercial Bank which, in William Burn's words, had given him "greater opportunities of advancement." apprenticeship had been with one of Burn's former assistants, the Aberdonian George Smith, in 1827-29, and circa 1830 he had joined Auguste Charles Pugin's office as an assistant, helping with his books; perhaps the introduction came from the Commercial Bank's architect at that date, James Gillespie Graham, who was then employing his son Augustus Welby Pugin on Murthly and other projects.In London Rhind became friendly with Charles Barry and John Lewis Wolfe and, probably on their advice, set out for Rome, returning in 1834 to set up business. He immediately secured commissions for some of that bank's smaller branches. Rhind's profound knowledge of the Italian Renaissance, and certainly his experience of branch bank building, must have been extremely helpful to Peddie in his early years. Rhind had also designed several small and simple round-arched churches, the style of which was to be reflected in Peddie's. The evidence of their buildings suggests that Rhind and Peddie remained close at least into the 1850s, for the Florentine and Roman cinquecento style of their bank houses develops very much in parallel.

John Dick Peddie's Early Years of Independent Practice

Although still apprenticed to Rhind, Peddie entered the competition for the National Bank, Glasgow, as early as 1844, and had established his own independent practice from his father's house at 36 Albany Street, Edinburgh, by 1845. Clearly he must have studied architecture and draughtsmanship in parallel with the arts and law, probably through helping his civil engineer brother from whom he must have learnt much about building construction. His earliest works included an ambitious monument to his grandfather in Warriston Cemetery, where he also designed a bridge for the Edinburgh-Granton railway: in the process, he supplanted as architect to the cemetery David Cousin, who had laid it out only a few years before. The commission probably came to him through the influence of his cousins Benjamin and Edward Blyth, then senior assistants to the engineers of the line, Grainger & Miller. In that same year, 1845, he won the competitions for the Synod Hall in Edinburgh's Queen Street, and for the lodges, gates and catacombs of the proposed cemetery at Gilmorehill in Glasgow.

In 1848 Peddie moved his practice into his uncle Donald Smith Peddie's accountancy office at no 1 George Street nearby, probably to keep costs down by sharing clerical staff and to attract business from his uncle's clients. There he secured the first of several poors-house commissions, that for South Leith;in or about that same year he was commissioned to co-operate with, or take over from, William Tite in the design of the Edinburgh terminus for the Caledonian Railway in Lothian Road when Tite's 1847 proposals were reduced;and he competed unsuccessfully for the layout of the residential development at Gilmorehill when the joint-stock company which owned it decided against forming a cemetery there. The commission for the Caledonian Railway terminus was doubtless again secured through the influence of his Blyth cousins as the engineers - and presumably his clients - were Grainger & Miller.

Peddie similarly enjoyed only partial success at Dundee. His clients appear to have been the merchant and linen manufacturer, David - later Sir David - Baxter of Baxter Brothers, and the Trustees of William Gourlay. One of these was probably connected with the branch of the family in Dundee, where Andrew Peddie had established himself as a timber merchant in partnership with Provost Riddoch and had become a Baillie and Dean of Guild. Between 1848 and 1850 Peddie prepared a variety of ambitious designs for the residential development of the Airlie Lodge estate, most of them extending over the Belmont estate to the west and some up to Hawkhill on the north, but in the event the development was confined to the single elegant cul-de-sac of Airlie Place.

Nevertheless the design effort invested in Gilmorehill and Airlie Place was not wasted. It was to be a recurring feature of the practice that ideas passed over in the development of one scheme formed a starting-point for the evolution of another. This process can be traced throughout the Peddie & Kinnear archive, and is particularly evident in the designs Peddie made for his family's property at Lauriston in Edinburgh. It was an area with which the family had long been connected, his grandfather, the Reverend James Peddie, and his family having moved from Bristo Port to no 37 Lauriston Place in the 1820s. In 1849 his sons, the architect's father James and uncles William and Alexander, bought Lauriston Park with the help of a £4,000 bond from the Burt family. Five years later, in 1854, the Faculty of Advocates, acting as the Trustees of George Chalmers, bought Lauriston House as a site for the hospital to be built under the terms of his will. John Dick Peddie was commissioned to prepare a feu-plan for the combined site, the accompanying elevations following on in style from those for Airlie Place, but with a variety of detail which provided a bank of ideas for the next twenty years. The hospital itself was built by Peddie & Kinnear between 1855 and 1861, probably as part of the deal.

Although Peddie took a site for a house of his own in Chalmers Street in 1861, he never lived there. The palazzo elevations were too expensive for the area and deterred potential feuars, and the main development did not take place until 1873, when he built the large house at the Meadows end of the street, no 43, with his father, his brother James and his sisters as tenants.

In those early years the influence of his father was scarcely less important than that of his uncles, as he had become treasurer of the Synod in 1834and later, and still more importantly, a member of the United Presbyterian Church's grant-giving body, the Liquidating Board. This brought the first of his United Presbyterian church commissions: Boston at Cupar in 1849, followed by Anstruther and Ford in 1850. Of these Cupar and Anstruther were in a very simple round-arched style, but Ford was Early English, as were the larger churches built at Montrose (1851), and Sir Michael Street, Greenock (1852-54).

Peddie's European Tour

European travel had contributed very substantially to the early success of David Rhind, just as it had for his mentor Charles Barry. It is unlikely that Peddie had either the time or the money for such extended study as they undertook, but at some point - apparently early in 1850, certainly before February 1851 - he undertook a tour of "the

architectural triumphs of the Continent."This encompassed the Mediterranean as far east as Constantinople, probably on Leith steamships; and perhaps by river-boat on the Elbe and the Danube, he saw Prague, Munich and the Walhalla at Regensburg, visits reflected in his Italian Renaissance designs for Chalmers Street and the banks of the 1850s which had points in common with the work of von Klenze and Gartner.

Peddie and the Architectural Institute of Scotland

Peddie was an active member of the Architectural Institute of Scotland, of which he was a founder in 1850. His uncle the Reverend William Peddie was also a member, as were his father, his brother James, and James' partner Henry J. Wylie. On 12 February 1851, with Lord Provost Johnston in the chair, Peddie delivered its ninth paper "On the Architectural Features of Edinburgh," in which he recorded his visits to those European cities the topography of which seemed to him to most nearly correspond with the capital. His paper dealt mainly with townscape issues coupled with a catalogue of buildings he found objectionable, Crichton's Bank of Scotland, the Martyrs' Monument, the Old Observatory and predictably the incomplete state of the National Monument. A second paper on the elements of Greek Architecture was read on 25 March 1852, but the sequel on the principles with which these elements were associated was never given. We might have learned more of Peddie's methods if it had. Nevertheless the paper which was given includes a quotation which indicates that Peddie attached some importance to E.L. Garbett's Rudimentary Treatise on the Principles of Design in Architecture, published by John Weale in 1850.

The connections which Peddie made through the Institute were to be very important. In 1850 he was appointed to the committee charged with raising the necessary endowment for a Chair of Architecture. Surprisingly the other architect members were not of the first rank but the committee did include Dean Ramsay, the civil engineer Thomas Grainger and the contractor Charles MacGibbon, father of the architect David MacGibbon. It did not succeed, and more important in terms of architectural contacts was his appointment on 24 November 1853 to the Committee for the Architectural Exhibition in Glasgow. This included Edinburgh's City Architect David Cousin and brought him in contact with all the leading members of the profession in Glasgow, John Thomas Rochead, James Salmon, William Clarke, George Bell and, most importantly, Alexander Thomson and Charles Wilson. On the same day Peddie was appointed to the seemingly less important Secretary's and Printing Committee: but among those appointed with him was his future partner, Charles George Hood Kinnear, who had joined the Institute as a twenty-year-old apprentice in David Bryce's office.

The More Family and the Connection with the Royal Bank of Scotland

On 21 July 1851 Peddie married Euphemia Lockhart More, the daughter of James Stephen More of the Royal Bank of Scotland, Glasgow and later Edinburgh. They were descended from the Reverend George More, co-founder of the Friendly Society of Dissenting Ministers, whose son John Shank More was then Professor of Scots Law at the University of Edinburgh. Some forty-five years earlier another member of that family, John More, had been the Bank's Glasgow agent, and had brought about its near-collapse in 1816, losing some £150,000 in bad debt and defalcations; but the Bank evidently bore his younger relatives no ill-will. Peddie's marriage was propitious, for in the same year the Equitable Company, to which the Royal Bank was linked, was dissolved by Act of Parliament: that gave the Bank the freedom to establish a whole new network of branches, acquiring almost fifty between 1854 and 1857 alone. Some of these were bought from the liquidator of the Western Bank in the latter year, but most were built, rebuilt or altered by Peddie & Kinnear.

With their "JDP" - and, from 1856 - "PK" monograms, these stylishly eye-catching palazzi brought the practice to the notice of potential clients throughout the land. In Edinburgh the reconstruction of the head office with an iron dome brought national fame in the architectural journals: the expertise of Peddie's Blyth cousins may well have been significant, but in just two years the practice had become a serious challenge to Bryce.

The Laverockbank Speculation

Some years earlier Peddie had begun to expand his business through personal speculation. He began in 1853 with the acquisition of tenements in Gifford Park Street and Causewayside from the Trustees of Thomas Watson, Wright, and Richard Watson, Coachbuilder, both of whom appear to have sold through insolvency. The purchase was funded by a £1,400 bond from his grandfather's Friendly Society of Dissenting Ministers, obtained through his uncle Donald, his first involvement with church funds. This acquisition does not seem to have involved any new building, but in the following year he bought six acres of land at Laverockbank, immediately to the east of the large house of that name rented by his grandmother Barbara Peddie and his uncle Donald. For this area he had drawn up a feuing plan as early as 1849. Some of the houses there were built speculatively, but other sites were feued with houses designed to order. More money was released for development by the transfer of Laverockbank's ownership to the Trustees of his Marriage Contract in 1858; and more still from a bond for £800 granted to James Watson, W.S., who had commissioned him to reconstruct his house at Rivalsgreen, Linlithgow in 1853 and who was married to his cousin Margaret Coventry Peddie. This bond financed one house and then the next as each successive sale went through on the principle of a revolving fund, until Watson bought all the feus as an investment in 1861, the Peddies reserving the unbuilt sites for future development. Nearly all of these houses were in a picturesque, cottage-like, bargeboarded style derived from David Bryce, as was the large house built in Trinity Road for his uncle Donald.

Cockburn Street: the Beginning of Speculation through Property Companies

In 1851 Peddie and his civil engineer brother James became engaged in a much more

ambitious speculation which required private legislation, the Edinburgh High Street Railway Access Company's proposal to form a shorter route for passengers heading from the High Street, the South Bridge and the North Bridge to Waverley Station. Although the engineering costs were high, the back-land acquisition costs were relatively low and the development held out every likelihood of being a commercial success, since Waverley Bridge made it a convenient link with the New Town as well as the station, ensuring passing trade for the hotels and shops the company planned to build. Peddie's rôle as both architect and promoter must have depended on his willingness to invest in the venture personally as well as to take his fees in shares. This was to become a recurring pattern within the practice and in these early years the funds required probably exceeded his means. Another problem for him was that the Improvement Act of 1827 had set a precedent, to which the city still wished the Company to adhere, for new building in the Old Town being "Old Scots or Flemish", styles with which Peddie was still relatively unfamiliar. Moreover, he was already over-committed on his new responsibilities to the Royal Bank.

Charles George Hood Kinnear and the Kinnear and Greenshields Family Connections

Peddie thus needed not merely an assistant who was skilled in Old Scots, but a partner who had enough capital to invest in the Cockburn Street project and help meet the rising costs of running the practice. Whether Peddie knew Kinnear before they found themselves on the same committee at the Architectural Institute of Scotland cannot be established, but it seems unlikely. Although he did not sign any drawings, Kinnear's handwriting begins to appear in detail sheets for Sir Michael Street Church, Greenock, in late 1853 and early 1854. At that date he was aged twenty-three and still articled to David Bryce, whose office he had joined in 1849:presumably he had been asked to help out. He was then living with his Greenshields grandmother at 125 Princes Street, and later at 17 Alva Street from which he began a small independent practice which was (so far as is known) solely concerned with farm improvements on the Kinnear and Kinloch estate at Kinnear itself and at Mosswater.

After less than two years in the office Kinnear became a partner, apparently on 1 January 1856, although his R.I.B.A. nomination paper gives the year as 1855. The partnership agreement has not survived, but the date seems to be clearly established by the drawings prepared at the end of 1855 and the beginning of 1856. For its date the partnership was unusual in that Kinnear was not family and there were others in the office who had served Peddie loyally and very competently for much longer. Although both had Perthshire connections, Peddie and Kinnear seem to have had little in common except a capacity for hard work: as a United Presbyterian Peddie was politically radical, while Kinnear, despite his radical brother and cousins, was staunchly Unionist, and by 1867 at the latest had left the Established Church for the Episcopal Church, joining the St John's congregation in Princes Street. The only known link between their families - by 1853 perhaps too long ago to be relevant - was that in 1831, just before Donald Smith's death, Thomas Kinnear & Company took over his bank, saving him from bankruptcy but contributing to the collapse of the Kinnear bank - by then Kinnear Smith & Company - in 1834.

Although Charles Kinnear appeared to be very much old landed gentry - he was a commanding six feet tall, and "somewhat reserved in manner" - his branch of the family had come to prominence only in relatively recent times. There had been Kinnears at

Kinnear in Fife since at least 1165, at the very end of the reign of Malcolm IV, but Charles' line was a junior branch which had settled at Longforgan in Perthshire. In Burke's Landed Gentry they were described only as "agriculturalists," but from his pupil George Shaw Aitkenwe have confirmation that his grandfather and his uncles were the Kinnears of Thomas Kinnear & Company. Founded in 1748, this private bank had close links to the Bank of Scotland, bringing about an improvement in the circumstances of the Longforgan branch of the family which, by the later eighteenth century, had enabled Charles Kinnear's grandfather, Thomas, to acquire the sizeable estate of Kinloch. When the original line failed towards the end of the century Thomas also bought the estate of Kinnear to keep it within the extended Kinnear family. He died in 1809, whereafter his lands passed to his thirteen-year-old eldest son Charles (1796-1874). After he came of age Charles married Christian Jane Greenshields, only child of the Edinburgh advocate John Boyd Greenshields (d. 1845). The son of a Glasgow merchant, Greenshields had married Jane Boyd (d. 1856), daughter of Robert Boyd of Drum, a small estate in Dunbartonshire, in 1799, and had taken the additional surname of Boyd when she inherited.

Charles and Christian Kinnear had three sons: the eldest was Thomas Charles, who died aged seven in 1834; the second, John Boyd Kinnear, was born on 15 March 1828; and the third, Charles George Hood Kinnear, on 30 May 1830. Christian followed her eldest son to the grave on 1 April 1835, the long and eulogistic inscription on the wall-monument within the family enclosure at Collessie stating that her husband and her father had buried their earthly happiness with her. Thereafter it seems to have been agreed that John would inherit Kinnear and Kinloch, as the eldest surviving son, and that Charles would inherit Drum from his grandfather. Both brothers were educated at home: John first went to the University of St Andrews in 1844, transferring in 1845 to the University of Edinburgh, whence Charles followed him in 1847-49 before being articled to Bryce.

John Boyd Kinnear's extensive London connections may well have been useful to his younger brother. Like Peddie's twin brother William he was a member of both the Scottish and the English Bars: he was called to the Scottish one in 1850, then after a spell as political secretary to the Lord Advocate, to the English one in 1856. He remained on the political fringes, however, writing leaders for The Daily News, The Morning Star, The London Review and The Pall Mall Gazette, and was asked to draft a Bankruptcy Bill which was passed by the Commons but defeated in the Lords.

He married Sarah Harriet Frith, daughter of Dr George Frith of Worksop, Nottinghamshire, in 1852. When she died on 1 June 1866 he abruptly left the Bar to fight as a non-commissioned volunteer in Italy, having had some military experience as a volunteer in the Guards, in which he reached the rank of sergeant. He returned in broken health to become chief leader writer to The Pall Mall Gazette. Overcommitment soon brought about a still more serious breakdown in health and he convalesced in Guernsey, where he was cared for by Theresa, daughter of the Venetian advocate Clemente Bassano, whom he had married in Italy in 1868. There he worked on articles for The Encyclopaedia Britannica and Chambers' Encyclopaedia, and on The Principles of Property in Land, published in 1880.

In 1874 John inherited Kinloch from his father but he had to provide for his stepmother and half-sister, his father having remarried in 1837. As he was still not well enough to return to Scotland, Charles reconstructed the villa of Courtil Rozel for him and in 1878 prepared designs for the extension of Kinloch which was then to be either leased or sold to the Younger family. The negotiations were for some reason broken off and by 1880 John had recovered sufficiently to return to the bar and commission more modest alterations to the house for himself.

In 1881 he went on a fact-finding mission to Ireland from which he returned deeply committed to Home Rule. He was elected in 1885 as Liberal Member of Parliament for the Eastern Division of Fife, having forced the official candidate, Sir John Leng of The Dundee Advertiser, to withdraw, but was defeated by Herbert Henry Asquith on the Home Rule issue in the following year. During his brief time in Parliament he brought in a Government-backed Bill to simplify English landholding and conveyancing legislation but was inevitably defeated by the vested interests of the English legal establishment. He wrote The Principles of Civil Government in 1887.

By that date Kinnear may have been content to lose his seat as he had to deal with problems at home. The agricultural depression had resulted in all his tenants giving up their leases despite reductions in rent, and he had to take all his farms into his own hands and run farm shops. He applied his scientific interest in chemistry and physiology to the efficient farming of his six hundred acres and implemented a profit-sharing scheme for the workforce, some of whom were probably former tenants. All these events had a cost, which was at least partly financed by his brother Charles: whatever their political differences they remained remarkably close and supportive of each other.

Charles shared his brother's interest in scientific pursuits, particularly in respect of photography. Along with his former master David Bryce and his fellow volunteer and architect David MacGibbon, he was a founder member and first secretary of the Photographic Society of Scotland, which was formed in 1856 and presided over by Sir David Brewster. In the same year he went on a photographic tour of Italy which included Milan, and in the following year, 1857, he invented the first-ever bellows camera, the object being to make cameras more portable for the particular purposes of surveying buildings which the practice was called upon to alter - long measuring sticks were applied to the walls to provide a scale - and to record the progress of building work; sadly none of these photographs survive in the archive. Kinnear's camera, made by a Mr Bell of Potterrow to his specifications, is best described in his own words:

"It is somewhat on the principle of [the architect] Captain Fowke's camera, which you will recollect was exhibited here through the kindness of Messrs Horne and Thornthwaite last spring; but my camera is stronger than Captain Fowke's and so it is less likely to be injured by the rough usage to be met with in travelling, and is besides more rigid; and, moreover, it costs only half the price of the other. It takes pictures $12\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ ins and folds into a compass of $15\frac{1}{2} \times 13 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and weighs 13 lbs, with slide and focusing glass complete [and is] fitted with Ross's single achromatic lenses."

With this camera Kinnear set off on a photographic tour of the architecture of northern France in August 1857, accompanied by Alexander and John Adam who were equipped with a folding Ottewill camera, visiting Rouen, Caen, Norrey Bayeux, Avranches, Mont St Michel and Doll, this being probably only the first of such visits. At least one

similar tour was made in Germany. In Scotland, Elgin, Pluscarden and Mull were among the sites where he is known to have taken photographs.

Characteristically Kinnear did not patent his camera as he did not wish to discourage the adoption of his invention, but several manufacturers sold them as "Kinnear cameras." They seem to have been widely bought by his fellow architects, one being recorded in the sale catalogue of John Lessels' effects in 1883. Towards the end of his life he commented scathingly that "it seems now as if any new screw or slot introduced to a camera is worth patenting" and wondered what his income would have been if he had patented his camera which, as the editor of The British Journal of Photography commented "is in all essentials the camera now made by hundreds of thousands."

Kinnear was able to make these expensive study tours through inheritance. When he came of age in 1851 he inherited a very considerable portfolio of Edinburgh properties from his Greenshields grandfather. In addition to the main-door house in Castle Street, these comprised his grandmother's house at no 125 Princes Street and property at the adjoining no 126, both of which the practice subsequently rebuilt; a ground floor, first floor and basement house at no 145 which was converted into a shop; two ground floor and basement houses at nos 4-8 Nelson Street; a house in Hill Street; a five-storey tenement in Richmond Street; a large flat at 12 Howe Street and another in George Street; a ground floor and basement house in Brown Street; and a small flat in Picardy Place. On the death of his grandmother in 1856 he also came into full possession of the Boyd estate of Drum. The rent roll from these properties must have been considerable: Kinnear never needed to earn a living but he had set his heart on achieving a stature comparable with that of his master Bryce. He had an early success with the commission for Sorn from James Forsyth, but its location on Mull was remote and seen by few people. A second commission for Hallyburton, from the socially much betterconnected Lord John Frederick Gordon Hallyburton, proved a severe disappointment when the client eventually decided against rebuilding, but perhaps to bring his name to the fore, his father commissioned the reconstruction of the family seat at Kinloch,a simple Georgian vernacular house; this was encapsulated within a much larger Scottish Baronial mansion with elevations very similar to those planned for Hallyburton. It demonstrated conclusively that as a country house designer he was in the same league as his former master, David Bryce, and as James Maitland Wardrop, whose success owed much to family links.

Kinloch House led to a series of commissions both in Fife and Angus, and still more in Argyll thanks to his Boyd and Greenshields connections; and since the county gentlemen were also the Commissioners of Supply, he and Peddie received the important commissions for Tobermory Court-house, Aberdeen Public Buildings - won in a limited competition - and Greenock Court-house and prison, designed between 1864 and 1868. They were also invited to prepare designs for Peterhead (1865) and Grantown (1867) Court-houses but in the event neither was executed. Taken together with Cockburn Street, Morrison's Academy at Crieff (1859) and Morgan's Hospital, Dundee (1863), all of this guaranteed the practice national fame; and, although lunacy boards and parish councils were less tightly controlled by the landed gentry, Kinnear's connections probably helped secure further commissions for asylums and poors-houses, in addition to those which had already come Peddie's way.

Charles Kinnear's induction to military life came about through the war scare of 1859, when some of Napoleon III's colonels threatened to invade the British Isles; he answered the call of the Lord Lieutenant of the county and became a gunner with the First Midlothian County (Midlothian Coast) Artillery Volunteer Brigade. He was commissioned as a lieutenant of the grenadier battery in July 1860, subsequently became captain of the Portobello battery, then second major, senior major and finally colonel. David MacGibbon, a friend as well as a business associate, enlisted in the 2nd Battalion of the Queen's City of Edinburgh Rifle Brigade in the same year, and similarly rose to be colonel of his Regiment. Volunteer officers tended to be either landed or very well-off, and Kinnear doubtless established useful connections for the practice. At first drills took place in the basement of the United Presbyterians' Synod Hall in Queen Street, but in 1866, Kinnear - by then a Senior Major - designed a new headquarters for his Regiment, taking out bonds with two brother officers, James Alexander Dalmahoy and John Young Myrtle, to finance it.

The Bank of Scotland

In the Autumn of 1858 the practice gained a major new client in the Bank of Scotland. The treasurer, Alexander Blair, commissioned them to re-design Richard Crichton's building on the Mound. Although four schemes were prepared, they did not retain that commission: Blair died in the following year and Bryce, who had been consulted earlier, succeeded in recovering it from his successor John Mackenzie. Perhaps out of embarrassment, Mackenzie did, however, appoint Peddie & Kinnear as architects for the provincial branch offices. Until his departure for London in 1844 these had been entrusted to William Burn, but thereafter Blair had entrusted all branch work to the last of the Smiths of Darnick, James Smith (1779-1862), architect-builder and Master Mason to the Crown, who had followed Burn in designing in a very simple late Georgian manner. By the late 1850s Smith had retired and the Bank had recognised that it must answer the challenge for provincial business made by the Royal's new Italian palazzo banks and the expansionary building programmes of the British Linen Bank, the Commercial Bank and the National Bank. Whereas the Royal Bank's work had come to the practice through John Dick Peddie's father-in-law, business from the Bank of Scotland - a more conservative institution, favoured by the landed gentry seems to have come through Kinnear's family links with the Bank. Inevitably, since their buildings served similar purposes, the plan-types for the Bank and Royal Bank were similar, and while there is no obvious distinction between the Scottish Baronial branches designed for one or the other, the Bank of Scotland palazzi were less selfconsciously High Renaissance.

The Peddie & Kinnear Office and its Draughtsmanship

The rapid growth in the practice resulted in two office moves to accommodate the growing team of draughtsmen, or clerks as they were called at the time. Peddie had rented 10 Nelson Street as home and office - oddly enough, almost adjacent to Kinnear's houses at nos 4 and 6 - on his marriage in 1851, but in 1856 the practice moved to Kinnear's flat at 12 Howe Street, so that the Nelson Street house could accommodate the growing Peddie family.

Peddie's draughtsmanship had originally been founded on his master Rhind's. He appears to have started by sketching out his proposals very neatly with a fine sharp pencil on a small, often miniature scale as in the Airlie Lodge elevations, and would then draw up his finished designs on modest-sized sheets. He may even have done the inking and washing himself, blue for new work and grey for old, although assistants clearly helped with the many detail sheets which accompanied the contract drawings for his early projects. After Kinnear arrived, however, the drawing office rapidly adopted the much larger scales - as large as the sheet sizes would allow - and the colour-coding system which had been developed in the Burn and Bryce office in the interests of clarity and efficiency. It was to become widespread throughout Scotland as Burn and Bryce's numerous pupils and assistants and pupils established themselves in independent practice.

Although a close stylistic analysis of the office's work indicates that Peddie was fully involved in the practice of architecture right up to his retirement in 1878, and even slightly beyond that date, there is hardly any evidence for this in the presentation of the drawings after the partnership was formed. Kinnear had clearly taken full charge of the drawing office: the drawings were not only produced following the customs of the Burn-Bryce office, they were lettered and even signed, addressed and dated in Kinnear's bigger, bolder hand. Kinnear may have been left-handed since sometimes a letter is inscribed backwards.

A very few pencil sketches associated with later projects survive to suggest that Kinnear similarly drew his schemes out in pencil first, these being then passed on to the office organisation to be inked and worked up as full-sized colour drawings for the Peddie's fine small-scale draughtsmanship might suggest that when presentation drawings were required, he was responsible for them; perspectives of any kind - even in the form of pencil sketches - are exceptionally rare in the archive, although those for the Wallace Monument, Hallyburton, Morgan's Hospital, Aberdeen Public Buildings and St Martin's Abbey suggest that there must once have been many more. However, we know from Peddie's will that the big water-colours of Princes Street were his work, as must be the fine colour-washed representation of the Gilmorehill development since it pre-dates the partnership at a period when he probably had no assistance of any kind; but from 1860 onwards projects exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy tended to be coloured by professional water-colourists, their preferred artists being John Crawford Brown A.R.S.A. (1805-67) and less frequently the Glasgow painter John Burbridge. Where multiple copies were required, the drawings were lithographed, as in the case of one of the Airlie Lodge feuing plans, and a preliminary scheme for Aberdeen Public Buildings and Sheriff Court.

On the floor plans drawn up after the adoption of Burn-Bryce techniques, dark brown

representing new masonry contrasted with light grey representing old masonry; brick partitions were coloured in bright red and timber partitions in light brown; timber flooring was shown in yellow and stone and concrete floors by lighter shades of blue; iron reinforcement was indicated by dotted lines; lightwells were left unwashed (white); and drainage pipes were designated by use of darker blue.

In the elevations, by contrast, existing fabric was generally indicated in pen outline only. New masonry was tinted in a light, bright yellow, and the timberwork in darker brown. Glazing was washed light blue, and slated roofs in blue-grey. Ironwork detailing was simply drawn in in pen. Work to be taken down was often shown on both the plans and elevations in brown outline.

Elevations shown as parts of sectional drawings were represented in exactly the same way. However, new masonry walls shown cut through were tinted in dark brown as they were on the plans, the woodwork of flooring, roof-structure and timber detailing were all tinted in yellow, stone or concrete flooring again in light blue, and iron reinforcement in dark blue. The rooms themselves were illustrated in black and white outline only: internal partitions were not coloured in any way. Flue routes were indicated by dotted lines.

In Victorian times the production of contract drawings, office copies, copies for Dean of Guild approval and copies for the clerk of works on site, was a laborious process. In most other practices this was carried out by assistants or pupils as a part of their training: they and stuck down on cartridge paper. But any method of copying took time and could delay contracts; assistants in the numbers required were expensive and needed space; pricking through weakened the paper, and tracing paper was friable. For these reasons Peddie had adopted the copy reverse technique by at least 1850, when working on the designs for Tor House at Murrayfield, Edinburgh. The copy reverse technique was a process devised by James Watt for reproducing notes and letters, but was equally capable of reproducing graphic material if the press were large enough. Original drawings were prepared with a special ink on "hand-made" paper which was laid on a flat-bed prior to washing and lettering and was then covered with a sheet of cartridge paper. Once passed under a roller a reverse copy was produced, the only give-aways being the back-to-front scale and a slightly leaden quality in the line. If it were done quickly enough it was also possible to get a "reverse copy reverse", i.e., a positive, of which a very small number of examples still remain in the archive. Both the original and the copies could then be washed and lettered as normal. The technique was also employed by Bryce, but because of the almost total destruction of the Bryce and Rhind archives it is now impossible to tell who used it first. The copy reverse process continued to be used until the early 1890s, probably because it was more durable and because it still represented a considerable saving in staff time.

Tracing paper was also used to offer alternative treatments to clients. At Culross School in 1867 the same plan had Italianate and Picturesque Villa-type sketch elevations. While it appears to be the only survivor, there must once have been many more; and as will be discussed in Chapters 17 and 18, several of the larger villas, although in very different styles, have essentially the same plan.

Not many Peddie & Kinnear letters have been found. All those seen have been simply headed "Chambers" followed by whatever the address was at the time, in the

same distinctive blue copperplate script. The partners' drafts were neatly written out by clerks in a small, clear hand, and after the formation of the partnership always used the plural "we" and were signed, legal practice style, "Peddie & Kinnear" in a near-identical hand. It is only if there is a postscript, and sometimes from the tone of the correspondence, that one can guess who is writing: Peddie's letters were very precise in style, Kinnear's were rather more relaxed but still business-like. But while the legally-trained Peddie tended to deal with the Edinburgh lawyers and with the corporate and institutional clients, what is noticeable from the church records in particular is that they each knew enough about the other's commissions to deal with anyone who called without prior notice. Peddie and Kinnear were very much a partnership.

By 1866 the practice had become so successful that it required larger and more central premises, so the ground floor and basement flat at 3 South Charlotte Street was purchased from Charles Stewart, S.S.C., with the assistance of a £1,000 bond from Archibald Fullarton & John McNab, printers, lithographers and booksellers, who were clients of Peddie's father. The first floor flat in the same block was subsequently acquired in 1876. On occasion it was found necessary to open temporary branch offices: the unsigned plans for Glenlair were addressed from 134 High Street, Dumfries, reflecting the volume of business in that area at the time, and their designs for the Scottish Lands & Building Company headquarters at Saint George's Place, Glasgow, carry two different addresses, 146 Buchanan Street, Glasgow, in July 1872, and that of the Edinburgh office in 1873; the drawings for the shops at Clarendon Place, Glasgow, designs, dated October 1874 and March 1875, were all produced at 29 St Vincent Place, Glasgow, suggesting that trusted draughtsmen were sometimes allowed to develop lesser projects from the partners' sketch designs.

Peddie & Kinnear's Library

Hardly anything of Peddie & Kinnear's library is in evidence in the surviving section of the Dick Peddie & McKay library owned by Mrs Scott Duncan. None of the books contains their stamp, but there is no reason to assume that any of them were stamped: none of the drawings ever were. The only books which seem likely to have belonged to one or both of the original partners are W.G. Audsley's A History of Christian Symbolism, 1865; Wilhelm Lubke's Ecclesiastical Art in Germany during the Middle Ages, 1870; George Washington Browne's Pugin Studentship Drawings, 1887 (copy number 30); and W. and W.S.W. Weatherley's Ancient Sepulchral Monuments, 1888. The other books in the collection which at first sight look as if they ought to have belonged to the original partners have a visibly different provenance in the form of stamps or inscriptions (John Burnet, Andrew Heiton etc.) or second-hand stock numbers.

These later acquisitions appear to have resulted from J.M. Dick Peddie removing most of his books in November 1920, perhaps in preparation for his retirement, though he seems to have left the older and larger folio and quarto volumes in the office. His copy of Garner & Stratton's The Domestic Architecture of England during the Tudor Period bears the inscription "Given to W.J.W. Walker Todd by Mr J.M. Dick Peddie Nov. 1920". Those who knew the Albyn Place office in the 1960s recall several shelves of magnificent leather-bound volumes which included lithographs of French châteaux by Victor Petit, C. Sauvageot and others, and César Daly's L'Architecture Privee au XIX Siècle. These were taken home by Stanley Edgar as his half-share of

the library on his retirement and were presumably dispersed on the death of his widow, or possibly earlier. We know from his lecture on Greek architecture that Peddie had E.L. Garbett's Rudimentary Treatise on the Principles of Design in Architecture (1850) but what else the partners had can only be guessed: Peddie's habit of designing on a grid of squares and such buildings as that in St George's Place in Glasgow leave little doubt that he had copies of J.N.L. Durand's Précis and Recueil et Parallèle, while the detailing of his banks indicates that he had Paul Letarouilly's Edifices de Rome Moderne by 1852. In his earlier years he may have known these books from Rhind's library rather than his own. The drawings for Pollok Street and Sydney Place Churches in Glasgow indicate familiarity with Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Sammlung, as does the Craiglockhart Hydropathic of 1878-80, but the influence of that volume is intermittent. The rapid progression from the Early English Gothic to mid Decorated in his designs for Dublin Street Baptist Church in 1856 and Portree United Presbyterian Church in 1858 suggest some important books on gothic architecture had been acquired, while his up-to-the-minute polychrome Romanesque United Presbyterian Church at Kilmarnock, 1858 again, indicates that he had bought George Edmund Street's Brick and Marble architecture in the Middle Ages, published in 1855.

From the information supplied to them, it can be assumed that Peddie & Kinnear subscribed to The Builder (1842+), The Building Chronicle (1854-57 only), The Building News (1855+) and The British Architect (with which Alexander Thomson and Thomas Gildard were associated, 1874+). As will be seen, their relationship with The Builder was for a time very poor, and it is rather surprising that they continued to send material for publication. Although Professor T. Roger Smith's journal, The Architect, was published from 1869 onwards, it seems not to have been until the mid 1880s that Kinnear and John More Dick Peddie began corresponding with it, but Smith was to be Kinnear's seconder when he was nominated for Fellowship of the Royal Institute of British Architects. Whether the practice had the periodicals bound or, like so many others, just filed the prints and more important articles, is not known, but they certainly referred to material which was some years old as well as responding to that which was newly published. No periodicals from the time of the partnership survived into recent years.

Also missing are Peddie & Kinnear's job and letter books. No-one seems to remember seeing the earlier job-books and it is possible that John More Dick Peddie withdrew them to draw a line under the financial disasters of the late 1870s.

Peddie & Kinnear's Staff

Surprisingly little is known of the draughtsmen who worked in Peddie & Kinnear's office as relatively few of them established successful architectural practices on their own account. It may be that, particularly in the middle and later years of the practice, they preferred to employ experienced draughtsmen rather than articled pupils to whom they could not give much time. The first assistant whose draughtsmanship appears in the archive was David Jamieson, whose signature appears on the drawings for the United Presbyterian church at Montrose and West Linton School-house in 1850-51. He appears to have been in charge of the office while Peddie was on his European tour, but neither his home address nor his subsequent career are traceable. The earliest known articled pupil was George Shaw Aitken (1836-1921) who was apprenticed to John Dick Peddie circa 1850. He stayed on as a draughtsman through the later 1850s

and early 1860s before joining James Maclaren in Dundee to become his partner about 1872-73. Robert Walker Aitken, who left the office for Manchester to become the partner of William Reid Corson some time before 1868, was probably a brother. Peter Stalker whose name appears on a number of drawings had joined the office by 1851 at the latest: he seems to have spent his working life with Peddie & Kinnear since he witnessed Kinnear's will in 1883 along with George Duncan Nicoll, presumably another senior assistant. James Stalker, who had some success in competitions organised by the Architectural Institute of Scotland, was presumably a relative. Edward Anderson was in the office by late 1853 when he drew some of the details for Sir Michael Street Church. The drawings for that church also mark the first appearance of John James Laing, the most gifted of Peddie & Kinnear's draughtsmen, who left them to work for John Ruskin as his illustrator with freedom to undertake freelance work, notably for Viollet-le-duc, returning to Ruskin after an unhappy spell with Deane & Woodward.

Walter Fitzgerald Lyon (1844-94) was an articled pupil with a family connection to Kinnear. Born at Pau in France, he was a younger son of the Lyons of Kirkmichael and Dalruscan; his sister Phoebe had married their near-neighbour Maxwell Hyslop Maxwell of The Grove. Although Maxwell gave the commission to enlarge The Grove to Kinnear, Lyon was in practice on his own account by about 1867 when he designed the reconstruction of Cowhill, and practised from Dumfries-shire for a decade before seeking election as a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1877 and moving to London. His largest commissions were Findynate, Perthshire (1874-76) and Kirkwood, Dumfries-shire (1880), both very much in Kinnear's style. These enabled him to marry Isabella Towers-Clark of Wester Moffat in 1883, after which event his career perhaps did not need to prosper. He was an important antiquary and is chiefly remembered for his attractive sketches of Scottish houses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Of the other pupils and assistants who were in the office in the early 1860s one of the most important was Thomas Begg MacFadzean who worked on the Scottish Provident Institute and signed the drawings for alterations to the Heritable Security Investment Company's building at 76 George Street in 1869, just prior to setting up practice on his own. He had good connections in Falkirk where Arnothall (1873) was modelled on St Mary's Mount and Grahamston Established Church on the United Presbyterian Church at Alloa. Alexander Johnston (1839-1922) was sent to Dundee to build Mayfield and settled there on its completion. Walter Wood Robertson (1845-1907) was John Chesser's first pupil and transferred to Peddie & Kinnear for experience in 1863, it is not clear for how long, before returning to Chesser and eventually gaining a place at the Office of Works under Robert Matheson whom he succeeded in 1877: an indication of the fairly close links Peddie & Kinnear had with Chesser, at least in earlier years, and with Matheson.

Thomas Purves Marwick (1854-1927), the most successful of Peddie & Kinnear's pupils, entered the office as an articled pupil about 1870 and remained there until 1882 when he set up on his own.Robert Goodwin worked on Auchmore between October 1873 and June 1874 and is presumably identifiable with the draughtsman of that name who worked for Alexander Thomson. James Anderson Williamson (1860-1935), a native of Dalbeattie, came to the office from that of R. & R. Duke at Buxton in the late 1870s.He stayed two years before joining the staff of the City Architect Robert Morham, eventually succeeding him in that post.

By at least 1879 Peddie's fifth son, Walter Lockhart Dick Peddie (1865-1902) had joined the office as an apprentice, eventually becoming his elder brother John's partner at the age of thirty-two. Whether Thomas Peddie (d. 1911), who set up practice as an architect and civil engineer in Brown Street in the early 1860s, was related seems doubtful, as his father was an Established Church minister. The "A.C.P.," "W.C.P." and "W.D.P." whose initials appear on some drawings have not been identified. "W.D.P." first appears in November 1876, too early to be Walter Lockhart Dick Peddie who was then only ten, but "W.C.P." could be William Petrie who joined the Bank of Scotland's Clerk of Works Department circa 1874. There he designed a number of branches very much in Kinnear's style until a nervous breakdown in 1880 brought his career to a premature close. A "W.D." appears in 1876. With the possible exception of Petrie none of these initials are identifiable as architects who subsequently made a name for themselves in independent practice.

The Maxwell Connection in Dumfries-shire and the Stewartry

In the mid 1860s Kinnear secured several commissions for country house work in the south-west of Scotland: a very large new house, Crawfordton, in 1863 for Major George (later Sir George) Gustavus Walker, perhaps through his military connections, and another, Newtonaird, for Peter Smith in 1865; and an addition to Glenlair for the physicist James Clerk Maxwell in 1864. These led to three further commissions in the South-west: additions and alterations in 1869 for W.F. Lyon's brother-in-law, Maxwell Hyslop Maxwell at The Grove and at Terraughtie, houses originally designed by Thomas Rickman for the Liverpool merchant Wellwood Maxwell in 1825, and the complete rebuilding of Munches, Dalbeattie, for the Edinburgh advocate Wellwood Herries Maxwell M.P. in 1868.

At Munches Kinnear met Maxwell's daughter, Jessie Jane Maxwell, who had been born on 16 February 1845. Their marriage on 29 August 1868 was as advantageous to the practice as Peddie's had been, since it brought connections with the Jardines of Applegarth through her mother. Her brother Wellwood was to inherit Kirkennan and through marriage had a family link with the Walkers at Crawfordton. Another brother was to bring a link with the Maitlands of Gelston. This led to a long series of domestic and church commissions in Dumfries-shire, the Stewartry and Wigtownshire which was to extend beyond Kinnear's lifetime.

The West End Speculation: Robert Matheson's West Coates Development, Developments on the Walker Trust Land and the Partners' Houses

With Kinnear's marriage came the requirement for a more appropriate house of his own than that rented at 49 Northumberland Street, which was answered at Grosvenor Crescent. Grosvenor Crescent formed part of Robert Matheson's development of West Coates which, taken together with those at Palmerston Place on Walker Trust land, represented the practice's most ambitious property speculation undertaken entirely on its own account (see Chapter 23).

By the time of Kinnear's marriage the Peddies were already very grandly housed. They had moved in 1860 from Nelson Street to 21 Claremont Crescent, where they built a new house and evidently intended to complete Burn's crescent (begun as long

ago as 1823), building three further houses; but by 1866 the rise in their social standing was such that a West End address was more appropriate. Peddie took a site at 33 Buckingham Terrace - where he may have had some hand in the elevations John Chesser made for the Heriot Trust - funding its construction by borrowing £1,500 from the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church Scholarship Fundand another £1,300 from his sister's marriage contract, perhaps an indication that his property and investment interests had over-extended his finances. He also felt he had to have a place in the country like Kinnear. He had developed an affection for Speyside where David MacGibbon had a house - Coventry Dick Peddie was born at Grantown-on-Spey in 1863 - and sometime before 1870 he leased the estate of Muckrach from the Countess of Seafield, probably for the fishing.

The Later 1850s and the 1860s: the Peak of the Practice's Prosperity

The partners' ability to arrange finance for developments was only made possible by the sheer strength of their practice in the late 1850s and 1860s, even if their three largest commissions proved disappointing in that they were never executed: these were the privately-promoted College Hall proposed for the University of Edinburgh in 1864, the Modern French Caledonian Railway hotel planned for Lothian Road, Edinburgh in 1868, and the rather similar hotel which had been planned in 1864-67 for the Glasgow & South Western Railway's St Enoch's Station, a design for which, although known only by a very crude wood engraving, would certainly appear to be theirs. Besides the major projects referred to earlier, they had, in the capital alone, built Leith Corn Exchange, 1860, the Scottish Provident Institution, 1863, the University Club, 1864, the Corstorphine Convalescent House, 1865, the Crown Insurance Building, 1867, and Typically at least two of these Edinburgh St Cuthbert's Poors-house, 1867. commissions seem to have been gained through family connections. Peddie's uncle Donald Smith Peddie was on the board of the Scottish Provident Institution, as was his father James Peddie a little later; and while the Crown was a London company, its Edinburgh medical consultant was another of his uncles, Dr Alexander Peddie.

Outwith Edinburgh they had built asylums at Haddington, 1860, and Stratheden, 1863, poors-houses at Stirling (1855), Inveresk (1860) and East Linton (1863) and at least sixteen churches, all but two for the United Presbyterians.

Most of Peddie & Kinnear's very finest country houses also dated from these years: besides Kinloch, Crawfordton, Newtonaird and Munches, there were Sorn (Glengorm), 1858, Craigruie, 1859, Starly Hall and Glenforsa (Grueline) in 1861, Lathallan, 1864, Kinnettles and The Binn in 1865, Glenmayne, 1866, and Trearne in 1867. In addition the practice had built some very large suburban houses, notably The Gows, Invergowrie, 1864, and Mayfield, 1866, both on the outskirts of Dundee; Taypark, Broughty Ferry, 1865; and Livilands (Brentham), Stirling, 1870.As will be seen in Chapters 15-18, these varied greatly in style from Bryce baronial and Franco-Scottish to Modern French, bargeboarded neo-Jacobean and Italianate, and although nearly all of them had Bryce-influenced plans, in all but a few of the baronial houses it is difficult to distinguish the work of one partner from the other.

A careful selection of the practice's best work was exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy from 1854 onwards. Although much of what was shown must have been Kinnear's, it was Peddie whom the Academicians chose to elect Associate in 1868. He was elected full Academician and Treasurer after an unusually short interval of two years in 1870, a measure of the degree to which the practice was now seen as second only to that of Bryce in the Scottish architectural scene. It must also have been enormously successful financially, nearly all the work of the first decade and a half having been straightforward fee income, with relatively little call for capital investment in property development projects, beyond that necessary to finance the running costs of the practice.

The 1870s and 1880s were to be very different. Commissions for public buildings were increasingly determined by open competitions which the partners preferred to avoid. Private client work fell away as a result of the financial crisis of 1873 and the onslaught of the agricultural recession, off-set only by a fair number of large suburban houses and villas, mainly for wool magnates in Galashiels, Selkirk and Melrose. Cargen, 1870, Threave, 1871, and Kinmonth, 1876, were the only major country houses built completely new, although reconstructions and enlargements were undertaken at Auchmore in 1872, Kilberry in 1873, Dryburgh and Prior Bank in 1875 and Stanerigg in 1879, all resulting in what were virtually new houses, together with a large addition at Wemyss Castle in 1874. The majority of these were Kinnear Scots baronial, but as at Livilands, Auchmore and Prior Bank had features characteristic of both partners.

In Glasgow George T. Kinnear of Cross, W.S., a cousin, and a member of the City of Glasgow Assurance Company's board, secured for the practice the commission for that company's magnificent head office in Renfield Street in 1872, but their limited competition submissions for the Clydesdale Bank Headquarters and Edinburgh University's Medical School and Graduation Hall were not successful. Bryce had died in 1876, Robert Rowand Anderson's success at the Medical School competition of 1875 made him a serious rival, and in 1877 he secured the commission for the Caledonian Railway offices in Glasgow even although the Blyth firm, now Blyth & Cunningham, were engineers for the station itself. Except for Kirkcudbright Town Hall, there were no new commissions for municipal buildings, court-houses, endowed schools or institutions, the only hospital built completely anew being Longmore in Edinburgh in 1878. Even the demand for United Presbyterian Churches had ended abruptly in 1868, the only later examples being Palmerston Place Church, Edinburgh, 1872 and Leckie Memorial at Peebles in 1875. In these harder times, the continuing requirements of the banks must have been of critical importance to keeping the office employed, but these too tailed off from 1874 after the Bank of Scotland recruited one of their draughtsmen, William Petrie, to its Clerk of Works department.

The partners therefore set about creating commissions through property, hydropathic and hotel companies in which they and a select circle of business associates were the major shareholders, a tactic made less hazardous by the Limited Liability Act of 1855 and the Companies Act of 1862. The first of these Peddie & Kinnear-associated property companies was the Heritable Securities Association formed in 1862of which Benjamin Blyth was also a director, but much more important as a client was the Scottish Lands & Buildings Company, of which Kinnear was a both a major shareholder and a director. Founded in 1864, it developed the west side of Manor Place, on the Walker estate in Edinburgh, to the practice's designs. In 1872 they designed this Company's Glasgow headquarters, then altered buildings which it had recently acquired at the south-west corner of Edinburgh's South Bridge and the Cowgate in 1873. Peddie also had a considerable financial stake in the company and it was probably through him that it borrowed funds from the United Presbyterian Church to buy a building in which he had an interest at 104 Princes Street, Edinburgh. Plans were prepared for a new hotel on this site in 1874, but the commission ultimately went to W. Hamilton Beattie. The Company then instructed Peddie & Kinnear to undertake the vast Blythswoodholm hotel and office development in Hope Street, Glasgow (discussed further below). The Glasgow operations of the company were run

by George Gracieand those in Edinburgh by Alexander Thomas Niven, who had been associated with them in their first terrace of houses at Palmerston Place, and who was involved in several other of the practice's ventures.

A somewhat similar company was the Scottish Heritable Security Company, formed 25 November 1867 with a capital of £250,000. Of this Charles Kinnear and David MacGibbon were both directors. This again was run by Niven from his office at 13 Queen Street with J. & A. Peddie as its solicitors. Its Glasgow operations were managed by the solicitors Dick (Alexander Dick, probably a relative of Peddie's) & Stevenson, who were also to be parties to the Scottish Land & Building Company's development in St George's Place. The Scottish Heritable Company was directly responsible for only one commission for which records survive in the Peddie & Kinnear archive, alterations to 76 George Street in 1869, but it too was to become involved at Blythswoodholm.

The other property companies associated with Peddie & Kinnear were all formed in the mid 1870s: these were the Craiglockhart Estates Company, founded in 1873 to buy that part of the estate not required for the City Poors-house and the City Hospital, the Heritable Estates Company formed 25 January 1875 with a capital of "250,000 in £10 shares, the Company of Heritable Proprietors (records not traced) and the Real Estate Security Company formed 15 December 1876 initially with an authorised capital of £100,000, subsequently advertised as £75,000, which was to be invested in bonds. Peddie had substantial interests in all of these and was chairman of the last, holding £6,000 stock, while Francis More, C.A. was secretary. It was very much a family company.

The capital of these companies was not fully paid up. Partly that was because the authorised capital had not been fully expended on land or buildings, but it was also - in theory at least - to maximise the financial rewards of the previous decade through a wider spread of companies which would bring business to the practice. Typically these companies were in competition with the banks, advertising for funds on deposit on which they offered rates of 3½% to 4½%, and issuing debentures paying 4¼% to 4½%, enabling them to invest heavily in land and buildings without further calls on the shareholders for capital. The objective was to keep the practice in work and to create a self-perpetuating cycle, which would establish their pre-eminence in the field of the largest and - hopefully - most profitable commissions.

Even before the City of Glasgow Bank crash in October 1878, the Scottish Lands & Buildings Company became over-extended in attempting to finance the Blythswoodholm Hotel. The Caledonian Railway had obtained Parliamentary powers to cross to the north side of the River Clyde from Bridge Street to Broomielaw and thence to a station on the west side of Hope Street, but this proved too expensive. In 1875 the proposed route had to be relocated on the line of Alston Street, and a new site for the terminus was found on the east side of Hope Street at the corner of Gordon Street. The engineers were Blyth & Cunningham, and by that date Edward Blyth was a major shareholder in several Peddie & Kinnear associated companies. Since the Caledonian did not then plan to build a station hotel, the Scottish Lands & Buildings Company took over the site originally planned for the station as what would effectively become the station hotel.

By July 1877 the Scottish Lands & Buildings Company was in serious difficulty, and with John Dick Peddie's brother Alexander Peddie Waddell, David MacGibbon, the accountant Alexander T. Niven, the clock-maker Robert Bryson, the paper-maker Charles Cowan, Adam Curror, and the banker Robert Hunter of Agra Bank, Peddie and Kinnear formed the Blythswoodholm Buildings Company to take over the project in conjunction with the Scottish Heritable Security Company. The project was funded partly by a subscribed capital of £50,000 in £5 shares and partly by a bond for £70,000. As will be discussed in Chapter 29, it was the largest structure of its kind anywhere in the United Kingdom at the time, occupying a complete street-block between Waterloo Street and Bothwell Street, its internal court accommodating a shopping arcade with a huge glazed roof. Externally it was finer in architecture and detail than any London equivalent, but its interior work was much simpler than that of comparable London hotels, albeit fairly up-to-date in having a passenger lift. But in 1879 the Caledonian dealt the project a fatal blow when it decided to convert Anderson's new offices at Central Station as a still grander hotel to generate additional income from its passengers rather than lose it to another company. Together with the severe recession in the wake of the City of Glasgow Bank crash, this pushed the Scottish Heritable Securities Company into liquidation in 1882, the Blythswoodholm Buildings Company sharing the same fate two years later.

Initially the hydropathic institutions in which the partners were involved seemed promising projects because of the fashion for hydrothapy and the extensive leisure facilities these buildings offered. As at the Blythswoodholm, however, the companies promoting them were under-capitalised and hard-hit by the recession of the early 1880s. Even had there been no recession, it is doubtful if these extremely expensive projects could ever have produced a realistic return on capital. At Dunblane, where the company was formed in December 1874 with Peddie as its largest shareholder, the original capital was £22,000. As will be seen in Chapter 30, a late realisation that the project was not viable resulted in extensive re-design, and an increase in capital to £30,000 in 1876 did not solve the problem. The experience there determined both the design and the capital for Craiglockhart, set up in February 1877 on the Estate Company's land, but even there problems developed; and at Callander, set up in September 1878 with a capital of £40,000, and the Stirling architect and civil engineer Francis Mackison as one of the main promoters, Peddie and Kinnear had learnt enough to restrict their rôle to design consultants. Only at Shandon, where the existing building was bought for a fraction of what it had cost to build, did one of their hydropathics prove viable. The others all failed in 1884. At Dunblane Peddie lost £1,850, Kinnear £850; at Craiglockhart Peddie lost £875 and Kinnear £950.

The End of the Partnership

The reasons for Peddie's withdrawal from the partnership at the early age of fifty-four can be attributed to a number of factors. His eldest son, John More Dick Peddie, born 21 August 1853, returned to the practice early in 1875 following experience in London with George Gilbert Scott and a Grand Tour which extended as far as Sicily. He became a partner in 1877, the firm now becoming Peddie, Kinnear & Peddie. There does not seem to have been any intention of the elder Peddie leaving the partnership at that time, but the situation was changed by two developments. The first of these was the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank in October 1878, which Peddie must have realised would bring about a long recession in which there would not be enough

business for three partners. The second was his determination to enter politics, his search for a suitably radically-minded constituency having met with success in his nomination as Liberal candidate for Kilmarnock Burghs in the same year.

Peddie's primary objective in entering Parliament was to secure the dis-establishment of the Church of Scotland: Gladstone's initial sympathy with the proposal, the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869, and the proposed dis-establishment of the Church of Wales seemed to offer some prospect of success. His grandfather had been the founding chairman of the Voluntary Church Association and his candidature may also have been in fulfilment of his father's objectives as the long-standing chairman of the Central Board of Dissenting Churches, but he himself had become equally committed to the cause through three campaigning bodies, the Liberation Council for Scotland (his branch of the English Liberation Society), the Dis-establishment Association and the Religious Equality Association.

In preparation for his Parliamentary career Peddie had for some ten years been building up an income separate from that of the practice partly through property investment and partly by securing directorships (see below). In May 1875 he bought the Tontine Building, then Veitch's Hotel at no 123 George Street, Edinburgh, in partnership with William John Menzies, a Writer to the Signet associated with several of Peddie's companies. They borrowed £12,000 from the Earl of Moray and £5,000 from the vendors to create a block of business chambers with suites of variable size. This was a shrewd move: such buildings had begun to appear in Glasgow but were new to Edinburgh. The existing building was reconstructed with ground floor shops and extended back to North-west Rose Street Lane around lightwells of glazed white brick. The tenants were mostly firms with which Peddie had been associated, including his brother's firm Peddie & Francis and, for a time, Alexander T. Niven.

Peddie was elected for Kilmarnock on 8 April 1880. Out of an electorate of 7,700 he polled 3,320 votes, a majority of 1,315 over the Conservative candidate John Neilson Cuthbertson despite a pro-Establishment candidate R. Malcolm Kerr splitting the Liberal vote. In the Commons he represented the interests of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings as well as the dis-establishment movement. On the first day of each Parliamentary session he gave notice of his intention to introduce a Resolution to implement Dis-establishment and each time failed in the ballot, until 23 June 1884 when he exchanged a placing for a Private Member's Bill which he introduced on 24 October that year.

Although Peddie had spent a fortune on drumming up support at dis-establishment meetings in every large town in Scotland, Gladstone's support waned. Born out of anger over events long past, his bill was too radical in respect of burgh churches and stipends to succeed. Although laid on the table of the House of Commons it never came to a vote as "business at that time took him on voyage round the world."

Peddie's priorities had in fact shifted from dis-establishment to providing for his sisters and his unmarried daughters. Sometime in the 1860s financial disaster had overtaken his father, probably through acting as "cautioner" or guarantor on a badly under-priced contract. He had built three houses in Saxe-Coburg Place, probably to provide an income for his retirement, but was obliged to sell them; and in 1867 his son built a house for him in Lansdowne Crescent, but it too had to be sold and he and his

unmarried sons James and Alexander and his daughters Jane and Barbara became tenants in John Dick Peddie's houses in Chalmers Street. For the good of their respective practices his sons did not allow him to become bankrupt, but he had to retire in 1874 and when he died in September 1885 at the age of eighty-seven even his furniture at no 43 Chalmers Street was owned by his architect son.

Much more seriously, as a result of the recession Peddie had lost considerably more than £20,000. His shares in the Dunblane and Craiglockhart Hydropathic Companies, the Scottish Lands & Buildings Company, the Heritable Estates Company, the Company of Heritable Proprietors and the Real Estate Security Company had all become worthless: the property companies were in fact a continual drain as a result of repeated calls for additional capital as the funds on deposit were progressively withdrawn. The Blythswoodholm Buildings Company had similarly gone into liquidation and the shareholders were called upon to discharge the bond. These disasters were compounded by a further loss of £800 loaned on a bond to his uncle Donald Smith Peddie, who had fled to America in November 1882 leaving a deficiency of £75,000, and calls on the Peddie family from the Relief Committee to contribute towards the £24,940 Donald had stolen from the funds of Friendly Society of Dissenting Ministers.

As there was little prospect of recovering such losses in Scotland Peddie turned his mind to investment in the United States, Australia and New Zealand. His interest in American investment had begun in March 1873 when together with Sir George Warrender, William Menzies, Edward Blyth, the publisher Thomas Nelson and others, he was one of the founders of the Scottish American Investment Trust of which James A. Roosevelt was one of the American directors. Peddie's particular remit was to advise on property investment and Blyth's to appraise railroads. The Trust's main business was in bonds and debentures, and following a board decision not to hold property directly, Alexander Peddie, who was already resident in Iowa, formed an American company to buy the Trust's land interests for £54,000. American Land Company was registered in April 1880 to raise capital in parallel and incorporate with the American one: Peddie's third son, William (born 27 March 1859) was sent out to Emmetsburg in 1883 to look after the interests of the family and the other Scottish shareholders, many of them the same as those of the Trust. Peddie's other American interests included a significant holding in the United States Mortgage Company of Scotland, but after he entered Parliament he acquired a large shareholding in James L. Lombard's American & General Mortgage and Investment Corporation Limited, of which he became a director.

Peddie's interests in New Zealand were also significant: along with other members of the Peddie family he subscribed for 750 £5 shares in the Scottish & New Zealand Company, registered in May 1877, and for 860 shares in the Colonial Investment & Agency Company of New Zealand: of one of these (it has not been possible to establish which) he was chairman as well as director.

These directorships were far from being non-executive. Sometime in or before the autumn of 1885 Peddie and Euphemia sailed to inspect the operations of nearly all of these companies, and perhaps make decisions. The immediate catalyst for his travels seems to have been a crisis of confidence among the American and Canadian shareholders of the Scottish American Investment Trust: he may have been sent out to

reassure them. Euphemia died on the voyage and Peddie broke his itinerary to bring her home for burial at Dean Cemetery on 31 December. Early in the New Year he set off again for Australia, probably for Brisbane where Dr William Peddie's son Jameshad settled, and thence to New Zealand. There he found farmland prices to be high, presumably the reason why only 10s. of the Colonial Investment & Agency Company's capital was ever subscribed. In March he met with Lombard to look at the American & General's operations in Kansas, where he found farmland prices to be more reasonable, and visited William at Emmetsburg before sailing for home in April.

During the first voyage Peddie's Parliamentary seat at Kilmarnock had been lost in the election of 30 November 1885. His allies fought it for him and increased his vote but once again Liberal support was split by a pro-Established Church candidate, Viscount Dalrymple, and Peddie lost to the Conservative Provost Sturrock by 32 votes. When Gladstone's Home Rule bill brought about the fall of his administration, Peddie's advocate son Coventry reported to William:

"Many men are striving to make the Gov. [Governor, i.e., their father] stand, but he has not the wherewithal. Gladstone shook him by the hand and expressed a hope that he wd reconsider his decision: he said he wd if W.E.G. wd pay his expenses; on which Gladstone left for Glasgow in great haste."

Gladstone's failure to discourage unofficial candidates from splitting the Liberal vote had rankled but what Coventry wrote was all too true. Although Peddie's income from directorships must have been significant, his heavy investment in New Worlds companies had been financed only by advances from Peddie & Ivory, a Royal Bank overdraft and heavy borrowing against his numerous life insurance policies. But the knowledge he had acquired of the United States, Australia and New Zealand had made his services highly marketable and the crowning achievement of his career as an investment manager came in July 1887 when he became first chairman of the hugely successful Peddie & Ivory-promoted Scottish Investment Trust.

This in turn brought an extremely well paid directorship of £1,200 p.a. from the disastrous Pollok Patents Company and two associated mining companies, the Grass Valley Gold Company and the Australian Gold Extracting Company, but his enjoyment of these emoluments was brief.

Early in 1889 Peddie's health began to fail - he was a heavy smoker - and in the following year he was forced to resign all his directorships. An operation, apparently carried out by his brother Alexander just after he had written his will on 1 February 1891, failed to save his life and he died on 12 March. His estate comprised his houses in Buckingham Terrace and Chalmers Street, the office block at no 122 George Street where he had bought out Menzies interest in 1884, and £26,432 in other assets, off-set by debts of £10,002 and an accumulation of bonds on his three properties. The net value of his moveable estate was £16,429, less than half of what it should have been, but closely comparable with Bryce's and greater than that of any other architect in practice in Scotland at the same period. His massive arrears of payment for household bills seem to reflect not just his loss of income and his inability to deal with such matters in the last months of his life, but a grim determination to hold on to his assets through the recession in the belief that a recovery in the markets could not be far off. Whether he thought the great architectural achievements of his last years in practice had been

worth what they cost him can only be guessed, but the final building of the Caledonian Station to his son's designs must have given him some satisfaction.

In the years immediately following Peddie's retirement the practice suffered severely from recession, the only significant new commission being the Scottish Equitable/South American Investment Trust building in George Street. But like Peddie's career as an investment manager, it weathered the embarrassment of the failed hydropathic and property companies and of the Donald Smith Peddie bankruptcy of 1882-83. Critically the banks remained loyal clients, and with the deaths of Bryce in 1876 and Maitland Wardrop in 1882, Kinnear became the preferred architect for such few commissions as there were from old gentry, reconstructing Cavers in 1881 and Keith Marischal in 1882 and rebuilding Bryce's Cortachy after the fire in 1884. The giant Drygrange (1887) represented the apogee of Kinnear's career as a Scottish baronial designer, but its refined early Renaissance detailing is very different from that of the 1860s and 1870s and reflects the increasing rôle of John More Dick Peddie.

Although technologically advanced and refined in detail, the architecture of the practice had still been essentially Victorian when John Dick Peddie retired. The practice's work of the mid to late 1880s shows that his son had realised that the practice had to respond to developments in the Shaw, Nesfield and Stevenson circle in London if it was to compete with Rowand Anderson, Sellars and Burnet. From 1880 onwards his father's distinctive Greek detailing disappeared completely from the practice's repertoire. The palazzo style lingered a little longer but was suffused with refined low-relief Early Italian Renaissance detailing somewhat similar to Anderson's, most notably at the Bank of Scotland's Edinburgh New Town branch in George Street in 1884 which challenged comparison with Anderson's Conservative Club. In the same year the rebuilding of Newton marked the transition from the picturesque villa style of the 1850s, '60s and '70s to the "Old English" of Norman Shaw and Ernest George, seen in half-timbered form at Slogarie and Galloway's house at Aberfeldy in 1886 and somewhat belatedly, "Queen Anne" at Ettrick Shaws and Redholm, North Berwick, in 1889.

By that date the time Kinnear could give to the practice had greatly diminished. On 29 June 1884 he was gazetted Colonel of his Midlothian County Artillery Volunteers in which "he neither spared himself nor his purse to keep it in the highest state of efficiency." Despite his now reduced rôle in the practice, the Royal Scottish Academy took the opportunity of Peddie's death to elect him an associate in 1893, a belated acknowledgement that many of the practice's exhibits had been his rather than Peddie's. But election had come unacceptably late: it was an honour which, in his obituarist's words, "considerably astonished him and which it is doubtful if he ever fully appreciated." But one professional distinction he did seek immediately after Peddie's death - even after thirteen years as senior partner he seems to have been wary of Peddie's disapproval - was election as a Fellow of the Royal Institution of British Architects. His nomination was planned with military precision and due regard for seniority. As his proposer he asked the Glasgow architect John Burnet, sixteen years his senior and elder statesman of the Profession in Scotland. His seconders were two eminent Londoners: Professor T. Roger Smith (1830-1903), founder of The Architect, and his partner Charles Foster Hayward (1830-1905), both exactly his own age.

Kinnear did not live to become a full Academician. He died on 5 November 1894, perhaps as a result of the stress of losses which at approximately £35,000were

considerably greater than Peddie's. The Scotsman report gives a picture of his working day in his latter years:

"In the early forenoon he had made his usual call at the headquarters of the Corps in Grindlay Street, and had arranged for the annual meeting, at which the prizes to the men were to be presented. Afterwards he went about the business of his profession and reached his house, 12 Grosvenor Crescent, about five o'clock. While sitting in the drawing room talking with his family he fell forward on his chair and almost immediately expired. Heart disease has been certified as the cause of death."

The Midlothian Artillery took over: as its colonel, and as Chairman of the Defence Committee, it gave him one of the largest funerals ever seen in Edinburgh. He was buried in Dean Cemetery where a simple Celtic tablet on the north wall marks his grave, not far to the west of that of the Peddies.

- CHAPTER 2 -

Early Practice: High Renaissance, Neo-Classicism and Neo-Tudor

Despite influential family connections Peddie attracted scarcely any private client work in his first three years of practice and spent most of his time establishing a reputation through open competitions and other work of a fairly speculative nature. These reflected the parallel enthusiasms for Greek classicism and Italian Renaissance which characterised his entire career.

Competition Design for the National Bank of Scotland, 57 Queen Street, Glasgow

John Dick Peddie's earliest known design is his competition entry for the National Bank of Scotland's Glasgow office, submitted in 1844 under the pseudonym "P.D." The site at no 57 Queen Street was a large one previously occupied by Kirkman Finlay's villa and counting housesand the brief called for a bank set in a square of "public offices" on the model of Royal Exchange Square a little to the north in the same street. Peddie's design consisted of an impressive cubically-conceived three-storey cinquecento palazzo, set within a three-sided court, the end-elevations of which flanked the bank to form a unified three-block frontage 173 feet long to Queen Street. The bank's entrance elevation was to be five bays wide, its breadth given on the ground floor plan as 62 feet, roof-height was to be 66 feet and depth 65 feet. The end-elevations of the court were to be three-windows-wide and identical to the bank not only in height, but in detail. Recessed columnar gateways would have enabled the court to be closed at night.

In a description of a later derivative of this design sent to the building journals, the main elevation was described as "somewhat after the type of the Farnese Palace," although the scale was much smaller and the details greatly enriched. The composition as a whole rose from a base-course of dark-coloured masonry, presumably granite, but the string-course which ran under the ground floor windows gave the impression of a particularly strong double-plinth, with console-brackets enclosing the window aprons and supporting their cills as at the Farnese.

In the elevation drawings all three frontages to Queen Street were strongly bound together by emphasised quoins, cill string-courses and friezes at each level, and a consistent treatment of the wallheads, main cornice and roofs. The upper storeys of the bank contained the manager's house, and the first floor, taking its scale from his dining and drawing rooms, was - throughout the whole of the design - treated very much as a piano nobile. The first floor windows were set in Corinthian-columned aedicules as at the Farnese, but their aprons were balustraded, their brackets interrupting the sculptured frieze beneath. The rather smaller second floor windows were set in simple surrounds with cornices. The wallheads were to have a carved frieze and be deeply shadowed by a massive cornice with details taken from Letarouilly's plate of the Palazzo Sacchetti, but again greatly enriched.

The plans show how, at ground floor, the bank premises were more-or-less symmetrically laid out. An entrance lobby flanked by the manager's room on the right $(18'3 \times 22'6)$ and a waiting room on the left led to a central telling room - 23 feet by 22 feet 6 inches. Ranged around it were the general clerks' area to the left, cheque clerks to the right and accountants to the rear, so forming an inverted "T"-plan hall 40 feet by 57 feet, which enjoyed light from all sides. Stairs towards the back led to the sunk floor and the manager's house, the latter very grand with its own entrance on the bank's rear elevation. Since the whole building formed a consistent palace-block rather than the usual frontal block and single-storey telling room to the rear, the bank-house was to have been of exceptional size. It was focused around a central saloon over the telling room: besides the drawing room $(18'3 \times 22')$ and the dining room $(18'3 \times 32'6)$ on the Queen Street side, there were to be a principal bedroom and a library (each $17' \times 16'$) and a kitchen $(16' \times 23')$ at first floor. The second floor was to have consisted entirely of bedrooms.

Behind the bank the court would have formed a very impressive enclosed square, its internal dimensions 56 feet by 95 feet. The plans show 192 suites of offices for rental entered by common stairs, although two large street-level shops - each $44' \times 32'$ - could be formed within the Queen Street frontages if the Bank so desired.

Peddie's design for the main elevation had points in common with that of Rhind's Central Bank of Scotland headquarters in Perth, designed two years later in February 1846. Rhind's design differed in having an entrance at each end rather than a single central one, and balustrades at the first floor balcony and at the parapet. The excellence of Peddie's elevations and draughtsmanship must have made a favourable impression on the assessors, but practical considerations probably ruled it out. The successful entrant was John Gibson, an assistant in the office of Charles Barry. His scheme was less expensive and much more practical, comprising a front block of two storeys and basement only, with a smaller bank-house and a single-storey top-lit telling room at the back. He concentrated the architectural detail on the bank frontage rather

than on a unified scheme and perhaps that was more what the Bank had in mind.

Competition Designs for Glasgow Cemetery

Rhind's influence was equally evident in Peddie's competition design for the Glasgow Western Cemetery Company's Gilmorehill estate, entered under the ironic pseudonym of dum spiro spero. The two surviving sheets represent the front elevations and plans of the gateway and flanking lodge-houses in a delicate Italianate, and a gothic catacomb within the cemetery itself.

Gateway

From the main approach the gateway and lodge-houses presented a symmetrical composition with a central gatekeeper's box flanked by two sets of richly ornamental cast-iron gates in a refined rococo. Behind the perimeter wall, however, the gatekeeper's house on the left provided only four rooms including the office and stores whereas the larger superintendent's provided five.

Externally the lodge-houses had emphasised quoins, and keyblocked round-headed windows with bracket cills and simple architraves, close in style to Rhind's Commercial Bank lodges in Edinburgh's Rose Street but richer. The central gatekeeper's box was pedimented and framed by stepped pilasters, the gate-piers were fronted by paired Doric pilasters. Triglyph entablatures over each element tied the composition together.

Catacomb

The design of the catacomb generally followed David Cousin's at Warriston Cemetery (see below). It contained thirteen vaults entered through the depressed Tudor archway of a central projecting porch. Flanked by pinnacled diagonal buttresses linked together by a quatrefoil frieze, the porch rose into an upper chapel at terrace level with a gable of three stepped lancets, their detailing prophetic of Peddie's Early English churches of the 1850s (see Chapter 3).

New Scheme, 15 August 1845

Peddie had evidently won the competition by 15 August 1845 when he issued working drawings for a completely new design for the cemetery entrance with a single set of gates. This was massively neo-classical with Egyptic elements. A single semi-elliptical archway was set in plain anta pilasters, as in his grandfather's monument at Warriston (see below), but the flanking foot-gate openings were heavily trabeated rather than arched. All three openings were crowned by block-pediments between square dies. The lodge-houses flanking the gates were now much bigger than before, broader (20 feet), deeper (44 feet 9) and two-storey with single-storey entrance porches projecting towards the central drive behind the screen-walls, so resulting in "T"-plan footprints. They had plain angle-pilaster strips, plain friezes and shallow mutuled cornices supporting the pediments which expressed the roof-lines and found an echo in the pedimented copings of the chimney-stacks; even the tapered sides of the architraves which framed the single windows at each level had a sepulchral Egyptic character. Simple mathematical proportions ruled the design: the central arch was a square up to the cornice line, and the lodge elevations were square from the top of the base to the

cornice.

Warriston Cemetery, Edinburgh

Warriston Cemetery was laid out by David Cousin in 1842. His neo-Tudor catacomb set the style of Peddie's principal works there. A number of drawings survive in relation to these, although the ones for the Reverend James Peddie's monument, probably prepared in 1846, are missing. This monument was a tall square classical-Italianate design, with semi-elliptical arches between anta pilasters, evidently intended to enclose a bust since a plinth was provided for it. Its form appears to derive from the garden pavilions of Barry's Villa Attree at Brighton, which had been published in lithograph form. Most of the surviving drawings (24 August-15 October 1845) relate to the ambitious Tudor-gothic bridge he designed to carry the Edinburgh-Granton railway through the cemetery, a commission he probably owed to his Blyth cousins since Grainger & Miller were the engineers. It was intended to match Cousin's catacomb, to which he later added an extension (drawings 29 March 1862).

The United Presbyterian Synod Hall, 5 Queen Street, Edinburgh

Although the competition for the United Presbyterian Synod Hall was again an open one, it offered a better chance of success than any of the previous competitions Peddie had entered. His family connections gave him a unique insight into what was required. His grandfather's son-in-law, Professor James Harper, headed the list of the Synod House trustees, while his father was treasurer and a member of the Synod House Committee. His success at the Synod Hall made an immediate impact on the Edinburgh architectural scene and was to inaugurate a series of commissions for United Presbyterian churches throughout central and southern Scotland over the next thirty years.

The Synod House Committee minutes have not been preserved but the progress of the commission can be followed through the several sets of drawings.

The Competition Scheme

The site to be occupied by the Synod Hall consisted of the rear garden of a three-storey and basement, five-bay house built circa 1770 at no 5 Queen Street, and part of the garden at no 6, to the immediate west. The plans illustrate the close proximity in which the new hall building - a rectangle 78 feet deep by 69 feet broad - stood in relation to the original house, connection between the two being achieved through an enclosed passage with side windows. Such an arrangement was derived from ground floor house-to-shop conversions in the capital's Princes Street and George Street in the 1820s and 1830s.

This allowed no opportunity for the new building to have an architectural identity of its own on the street frontage: all the emphasis, therefore, was on the interior. Since the original house and the new hall were so close together, and the privacy of the gardens to each side had to be respected, the auditorium itself had to be top-lit. Enough light flooded down between the old and new buildings, however, to provide light for a deep transverse hall-corridor (or foyer) entered from the covered passageway, with steps at each end to the gallery stairs in the northern angles of the main hall. Beyond

the foyer the auditorium itself formed a Greek cross within a square, an arrangement based on the Music Hall which Burn & Bryce had added to the Edinburgh Assembly Rooms in 1842; but, to maximise seating capacity within its much smaller area, the Synod Hall had galleries in three arms of the cross - north, east and west - rather than just one, with the daïs occupying the fourth arm to the south. In a particularly clever move the angles of the hall were rounded, which enabled larger, triangular stair-halls to be formed within the north-eastern and south-eastern corners, the corresponding area to the south-west providing a retiring room for the Moderator.

The two transverse sections of the auditorium, facing north towards the entrances and south towards the daïs, reveal a splendidly theatrical chamber which was a perfect cube, the cove of its ceiling answering its curved angles. On the south the proscenium-like recess for the Moderator's daïs was framed by an architrave with two great scrolled cantilever brackets bearing an anthemion and palmette entablature. The Moderator's Chair, placed centre-stage, was almost vice-regal, crowned by a canopy, and embraced by flowing curtains; to either side, benches were provided for the chief office-bearers and participants in the Synod's activities, while behind them were two tall round-headed niches for statues of theologians. The seating for the audience was laid out to permit the best possible sight-lines, progressively raked up both at main floor level and in the galleries. The sense of drama evidently increased in Peddie's mind as he drew out the interior: whereas the plans indicate only blind arches in the stairway partitions facing into the auditorium, the sections show these opened up to improve light on the stairs, their decorative timber fronts suggesting theatre-boxes.

Revisions of 10 November 1845 and 7 January 1846 (First Scheme)

Having won the competition Peddie produced revised sketch plans for the Synod House committee on 10 November 1845. Both of these were signed and addressed from his father's house and office at 36 Albany Street, and show the transverse entrance foyer omitted, enabling him to recess the front gable of the Synod Hall 8 feet back from the rear elevation of the old house. Perhaps he was requested to do so by the divinity hall's professors, since this would have greatly improved the light in the rear rooms of the house. It reduced the new building to a perfect square on plan without any diminution of the size or capacity of the auditorium, and enabled the Moderator's basement corridor to be omitted as well as the foyer, but had obvious inconveniences in bad weather. Unsurprisingly, Peddie was instructed to revert to his original scheme, and on 7 January 1846 he revised his competition plan arrangement. The daïs was reinstated within the southern arm, but the floor was now of wood rather than stone and the galleries were constructed wholly in timber. These economies, together with the adoption of a pyramidal top-light rather than a temple lantern, and the omission of the niches, made possible the reinstatement of the transverse foyer corridor. Even while this scheme was being prepared, however, Peddie must have been conscious of the increased fire-risk.

Revision of 7 January 1846 (Second Scheme)

Accordingly on the same date Peddie prepared an alternative option illustrated by a transverse section, in which cost-driven compromise was avoided to ensure lastingly satisfactory results. The Synod Hall building now reverted to the dimensions of the competition scheme and was again entered by an enclosed passage connecting from the

old house to a corridor-foyer, with larger five-sided stairwells at each end. These and the corresponding spaces in the south-eastern and south-western corners again defined the main floor area enclosed by the galleries as a 37 feet cube, and the auditorium as a whole as a Greek cross. Both the main floor and the gallery were now of fireproof construction, the additional weight of the gallery being supported on slim iron columns.

The section indicates that the ceiling was again to be crowned by a temple-like lantern. Although this was a finer and more expensive alternative than the pyramidal cupola, there must have been some concern that it would not light the auditorium so well. Pencil sketches suggest its modest enlargement and the possibility of forming three large round-headed windows in the southern gable, very similar to those in the eastern and western arms of the Burn & Bryce Music Hall. This was the solution adopted in the final drawings: the ceiling plan suggests that the cupola was to be omitted altogether, but in the event it was carried out and still exists, though presently enclosed.

The original house was given greater presence by the addition of a pedimented porch with cantilever brackets supporting the entablatures. Within, extensive changes created class-rooms for the Divinity Hall, the finest room being the library for which the detail drawings survive. The top floor and attic were gutted to create a church-like lecture theatre with a gallery.

The minutes of 5 October 1847 record that the roof had been put on the hall early in the summer and that the building was expected to be ready for 10 November. At least partly because of the enhancement of the specification traceable in the drawings, the Committee had expended £4,600 more than it had received in subscriptions and had to draw on Synod funds.

To help offset this over-run on cost the Synod decided to let the hall to the adjoining Philosophical Institution at no 4 for fifty nights each year, bringing its excellence to the " It was an auspicious start to his career.

Competition Design for the Royal Arch, Dundee Harbour

Only a single drawing, happily the principal elevation, survives from Peddie's 1849 competition entry for the Royal Arch at Dundee Harbour. The brief was to provide a permanent replacement for the temporary timber arch which the harbour engineer James Leslie had designed to greet Queen Victoria when the Royal Yacht visited Dundee in September 1844. The only surviving documentation is a subscription list, headed by Lord Panmure and the Harbour Trustees. It was opened in 1846, but the other subscriptions were small and slow to come in. It was not until 1849 that the necessary £3,000 was raised and the competition advertised.

Like Leslie's arch Peddie's was classical, and rather similar in profile with a central vehicular arch flanked by foot-gates, but it was much more sophisticated in composition. As at William Macdonald Mackenzie's temporary arch at Perth of 1842, the concept of the main arch owed a great deal to J.F.T. Chalgrin's Arc de Triomphe in Paris, particularly at the spandrels and dwarf pilastered attic. In other respects it was developed from the central gateway of the second Glasgow cemetery design, but it was altogether finer in detail with Didyma capitals at the pilasters. It was drawn out within a framework 9 inches in height by 12 inches in breadth - a proportional relationship of 3-to-4 - the scale (not shown) being probably 1 inch to 5 feet. But its real brilliance as a mathematically proportioned concept lay in its relationship of the central archway to the flanking archways. While smaller in scale, these were closely similar, if not quite identical, to the central archway in design and proportion. The outer arches themselves - with sculpted foliage in their spandrels - and their flanking pilasters were each approximately 18 feet high, two-fifths the envisaged 45 feet height of the main archway, and three-tenths of its total breadth: most importantly, not just the same breadth but also the same height as the pilasters which supported the central arch itself, their affinity being expressed through the anta capitals common to both.

Peddie's entry - which was originally identified by a cruciform motif, being signed and dated only after the competition was over - was not premiated. A neo-Norman design submitted by J.T. Rochead of Glasgow was selected in 1849, probably because of its bolder towered profile. The entry of the distinguished London classicist Charles Fowler was the only other which attracted the attention of The Builder, and both were severely criticised.

- CHAPTER 3 -

Round-arched and Early English Church and School Design, 1849-55

Round-arched

Whether Peddie conceived his earliest churches as Italian or neo-Norman designs is somewhat difficult to determine: they have classical and neo-mediaeval hoodmoulded details. Stylistically they relate to Burn and Bryce's simplest round-arched churches such as that at Forgan of (1841) - and to David Rhind's churches at Camelon (1838) and Haggs (1840) in the same idiom. The first of these Peddie churches appears to have been in Cupar.

Boston United Presbyterian Church, West Port, Bonnygate, Cupar

Boston was designed for a Relief congregation founded in 1770 and proved a painful initiation into the business of church-building. On 1 August the managers received a deputation from the Synod Liquidation (or Liquidating) Board, the central grant-giving body of the Church. It comprised Peddie's father, a Mr Boyd - the convenor of the Synod House Committee - and a Mr Cochran. On 22 September 1848 the Managers reported that "having had various meetings and examined the plans sent by Mr Peddie and having remitted the Plans and Specifications to Tradesmen and received their Report find that a substantial new house might be erected on the present site to hold fully 600 persons at a cost of £600 or thereby." The tradesmen proved to be Messrs Reekie and Smart, members of the congregation, who were instructed to re-examine the plans for economies on 19 February 1849. They offered to built it for £550 if they could "make a squared rubble front, reduce the window rybats and form the gallery seating with material from the old church."

The Liquidating Board offered £100 and a further £1 for every £2 raised. This caused disappointment and the commission went sour. A decision to reduce the section of the cornice at the skews and to insert additional gallery windows on the main front proved too much for Peddie, who objected to the windows as undesirable and unnecessary. He won that argument but further difficulties arose between September and November when the builders altered the design of the trusses at the belfry and Peter Stalker, as Peddie's inspector of works, was sent to sort matters out. These alterations during construction raised the cost to £700, resulting in an increase in Peddie's fees from £20 to £24 4s. 10d. The committee determined to adhere to his fee on £550, and sent him £20 on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. He sent a receipt for £21 and expressed the hope that they would pay the balance. This request was received with indignation: £5 was given to the minister, William Burnet, for his trouble in dealing with the problems which had arisen in the building of the church.

As built it seated 700.Latterly a cinema, it was demolished in the 1980s and the drawings have not survived. No photograph showing the church as first built has been found, but the Buildings of Scotland descriptionand aerial photographs indicate that it was closely similar to that at Anstruther (see below). Although the latter seated only 400, the difference was at least partly accounted for by the omission of the proposed gallery there.

Anstruther United Presbyterian Church, Lady Walk, Anstruther

Built for a Burgher congregation formed in 1817, the records of Anstruther United Presbyterian Church have not been traced, but Peddie probably secured the commission in similar circumstances to those at Cupar.

The Scheme of 4 July 1850

Three different sets of plans, elevations and sections survive. The original proposals, dated 4 July 1850, envisaged a simple round-arched preaching-box, the design of which appears to have been conceived within a framework 40 feet wide, 40 feet high and 60 feet long. As shown in the drawings, the entrance gable was to have been 39 feet 6 inches broad, and would have been of equal height had it not broken into a belfry at the apex. The flanking elevations were each to be five windows and 62 feet long; they were to rise to a wallhead height of 28 feet 9 inches above the ground, exactly three-quarters the height of the roof-ridge itself.

Above the round-arched transom-light of the entrance doorway, three round-headed windows, either 8 feet 6 inches or 12 feet 6 inches tall - the drawings suggest both possibilities - were to light the gallery formed across the inside face of the gable above the vestibule. At the latter height, the crowns of these windows neatly coincided with the ends of the moulded skews. The belfry was to be cantilevered out on simple stone brackets, and supported at each side by classical scrolls as at Boston. The windows on the flanks lighting the church were to be exceptionally slim and tall - just 3 feet wide by 17 feet 3 inches in height. The roof was to be kingpost with iron ties, supported from the walls by open spandrel cantilever brackets of timber - larger versions of those which supported the gallery's overhang. The daïs and pulpit were to be set in a depressed arch.

The Revision of 24 December 1850

These proposals were revised on 24 December 1850, when the gables were increased 18 inches in breadth to 41 feet - and correspondingly in height - while the flanking elevations were extended 10 feet to six bays and 72 feet length. The church's character remained unaltered, the height of the eaves constant at 28 feet 9 inches, but the detailing of the belfry was refined to an Italianate rather than a Romanesque form, without scrolls.

The Contract Scheme of 6 March 1851

The contract drawings dated 6 March 1851 had neither gallery nor stairs. Although the basic character of the church remained unaltered, the wallhead was reduced to 26 feet 9 inches and the length to 63 feet 6 inches. None of this precluded the installation of a gallery in the future, and designs for one were produced in 1880. The absence of a gallery when the church was built did, however, result in the flank elevations having just four, more broadly-spaced, windows. In execution the whole of the gable-front took on an Italianate rather than Norman character, being built of stugged ashlar with raised quoins. The interior had a flat ceiling and a mildly neo-Norman arch behind the pulpit. The church was opened on 29 February 1852, but on 29 November 1853 its

minister the Reverend Meikle resigned his charge and emigrated to Mobile, Alabama, to campaign against slavery. It is now a hall: the belfry has been demolished and the heads of the windows blocked.

Howgate United Presbyterian Church

The United Presbyterian congregation at Howgate was an Anti-Burgher one, founded in 1750.

Peddie's plans were dated 7 March and the elevations and sections 7 April 1855. The design closely followed that of Anstruther as built with slightly reduced dimensions, but a quatrefoil panel was inserted into the gable and the moulded skews rose into a Celtic cross finial rather than a belfry. Unlike Anstruther, the Howgate church had a gallery from the start, its overhang supported not by cantilever brackets but by slim iron columns, and the roof was queenpost rather than kingpost.

The managers' minutes have not survived, but the church was opened on 9 November 1856 and seated 408 at a cost of £750. The minister, David Duncan, was a distinguished theologian associated with Peddie's uncle, Professor Harper. The church has been demolished but surviving photographs show that it was built in accordance with the drawings.

School-house for the Parish of South Leith

Designed on 5 May 1853, South Leith School was a low round-arched "U"-plan building fitted into an isosceles triangle of ground at the corner of Great Junction Street and Mill Lane. Its plan-form derived from the Peddies' Bristo Church and immediately anticipated the preaching hall of Pollok Street United Presbyterian Church (designed 1851-55; see Chapter 8) and, ultimately, that of Palmerston Place United Presbyterian Church (1873-74; see Chapter 27). As at several of the smaller-scaled early churches, South Leith School-house had an open kingpost roof structure with a span of 45 feet 6 inches, here supported by arched trusses which sprang from floor-level and were presumably laminated. This resulted in a remarkable building with walls rising only 12 feet 6 inches above ground, but crowned by a roof half again as tall, apsidal at the west end and piended on the east. The building was demolished in 1908, together with the adjoining South Leith Poors-house (see Chapter 25).

Early English

Peddie had first experimented with Early English in his design for the catacomb chapel at Gilmorehill in 1845 (see Chapter 2), but it was not until 1850 that he introduced it into United Presbyterian church design. His early assistant, David Jamieson, was associated with these churches, although the extent of his rôle is unclear.

Although more expensive than the plain round-arched style of Cupar and Anstruther, a simple lancet idiom could produce an elegant result without incurring the cost of tracery. The style had had a considerable vogue in the preceding fifteen years. Thomas Hamilton had adopted it for his John Knox Church in Edinburgh in 1829; that remained unbuilt, but Gillespie Graham used it for his church at Greenside, Edinburgh, 1836, as did Burn in those at Kirkcudbright (also 1836), Dalkeith (1840) and Langholm (1842). While the influence of the Cambridge Camden Society made Early Decorated the preferred style for church-building in England by the mid 1840s, Early English remained a fashionable choice for Presbyterian congregations, notably in a series of tall-spired churches designed by Charles Wilson in Glasgow and Dundee from 1848

onwards.

Ford and Thornliebank United Presbyterian Churches

The United Presbyterian Church at Ford, Midlothian, was demolished circa 1962 and the drawings have not survived, but it seems to have been of some importance as Peddie's first gothic church. It was built in 1850-51 for a Burgher congregation established in 1815. Its minister, Andrew Elliot, had been Moderator of the United Associate Synod in 1843; Peddie's father was its solicitor.

The church was essentially an Early English five-bay version of the Cupar-Anstruther design, seated for 400. Its main feature was the triple-lancet east gable, flanked by buttresses and crowned by a belfry; at the west gable there was a session-house of the same width. As first built the flanks had no buttresses, but these had to be added within a year, probably due to the wet site close to the River Tyne. Had this happened at Cupar it would have been a professional disaster, but the managers agreed not to blame Peddie and met the cost. The fact that the church must have looked the better of them, together with a grant of £60 from his father's Liquidation Board, perhaps made them feel charitable.

At Thornliebank Peddie's clients were the Crums, the cotton and calico magnates for whom he subsequently designed the enlargements of Busby House and Lismore Lodge (see Chapter 12). Had the church been built it would have been very similar to Ford. Only the plans and sections survive, dated 9 June 1853. These were endorsed by the contractors, but in the event rebuilding of the 1836 company church was deferred until 1883. The plan was an improved version of Howgate, the gable being the same 37 feet 4 inches broad, and enriched with angle buttresses. It had a central doorway with a single order of shafts, triple lancets with a roundel immediately above, and a belfry. The 65 feet long flank elevations were to be articulated by the buttresses found necessary at Ford, their proportions following Peddie's usual formulae for these early churches with wallheads exactly half the total height of 40 feet 6 inches.

West Linton School-house

Although a school rather than a church, this diminutive building was close in style to Ford and Thornliebank. The plans were dated 17 April 1851 and signed by David Jamieson on Peddie's behalf.

The school was designed for a tightly enclosed site in the middle of the village, pushed right to the back to admit of a railed playground in front of it, its gables fairly close to the boundaries. To give the building a church-school image, a transeptal gable-front with a belfry was introduced at the centre of the 39 feet broad elevation, all the angles - save only those of the entrance porch at the end-gable - having stepped angle-buttresses. The windows were lancets, paired at the outer bays, but triple at the central gable, with a quatrefoil window above. Internally the arched kingpost trusses with metal ties, diagonally crossed behind the gable-front, were similar to those of Peddie's early church designs.

Six years later, on 30 May 1857, Peddie produced designs for raising a single-storey cottage to two storeys in order to provide a house for the master, and at some

unspecified date a second matching porch was added to the school-room, making it symmetrical.

St Luke's United Presbyterian Church, Montrose and Sir Michael Street United Presbyterian Church, Shaw Street, Greenock

Montrose was one of the oldest Anti-Burgher congregations in the country, founded in 1740. On 12 August 1850 "some conversation" was held about the necessity of a new chapel. Peddie must have heard about it as on 9 December he wrote offering his services, and after a further conversation a committee was appointed to communicate with him "if they could do so for the advantage of the congregation," although there were perfectly competent architects in Montrose. On 10 February 1851 two sketch plans were laid before the congregation: the more expensive was selected, as Peddie had recommended, the estimate being "Nine Hundred Pounds Sterling, exclusive of the materials of the old building." No funding was sought from the Liquidation Board at that stage, the money being raised on a bond, but probably on Peddie's advice the congregation subsequently received a grant of £100. At Greenock, a Relief congregation founded in 1806, the circumstances of the commission are less clear as the relevant volume of the managers' minutes has been lost.

The plan-type adopted for these closely related churches arose from the circumstances at Montrose where the site was not deep enough for a Ford-type plan but could achieve considerable width by taking in the graveyard flanking the previous church. A similar situation obtained at Greenock where the new church was also built on the site of the old.

The sketch plans of February 1851 for the Montrose Church have not survived but David Jamieson signed the working drawings on Peddie's behalf on 17 March 1851. Those for the Greenock Church were issued by Peddie on 30 September 1852. Their Early English triple-gable-fronts were almost identical in composition and detail, as were their plans, but they varied in scale and proportion, Montrose being based on a plan approximately 55 feet square for 650 sittings, and Greenock on a plan approximately 75 feet square.

Each was symmetrical and had a central nave gable with stepped triple lancets, flanked by narrower aisle gables with single lancets, their height-to-width ratios being respectively 3-to-2 and 3-to-1: the smaller details differed slightly with a quatrefoil roundel at Montrose, and an octofoil roundel at Greenock, above the central lancet: at both all three gables had cross finials. The angle buttresses separating the gables were themselves gableted, the central pair rising into finialled pinnacles, of which those at Greenock were distinguished by shafted blind arcading.

The flank elevations of Montrose were very plain without buttresses, and with tall lancets lighting both levels, but at Greenock they were divided into four bays by buttresses, and were lit by roundels at main floor level and by lancets at the gallery. In both churches the gallery was supported by slim iron columns rising to the arch-braced kingpost roof, its curvature echoing that of the pulpit recess at Montrose and the wheel-window at Greenock. Simple capitals and curved cantilever brackets supporting the longitudinal beams which carried the roofs gave the impression of a vestigial arcade.

The scale and the superior design and construction of the Greenock church were reflected in its cost, £6,000 as against the final £1,250 at Montrose. Peddie sent a perspective of its interior to the Royal Scottish Academy of 1854, the first year he

exhibited. It did not find favour with The Building Chronicle which reported that it was "a subject not sufficiently important for representation." In a later notice giving Thomas Thomson as mason and John Downie as joiner, The Chronicle criticised the arrangement of the elders' seats behind the platform pulpit, "not a good arrangement for Scotch habits, we should think."

The Chronicle did not comment on the main merit of the design, which was the treatment of the galleried aisles. Churches with aisles containing galleries were by no means a new development, but prior to 1850 these had nearly all been the lean-to type which resulted in either poor headroom and inadequate light in the gallery, or an unnecessarily high central area. By adopting the Puginian formula of double-pitched parallel aisle roofs, Peddie achieved excellent light in his galleries, and in the Greenock design avoided the more usual and much less satisfactory arrangement in which the gallery ran across the middle of the aisle windows. The source of inspiration seems to have been nearer home than Pugin's churches: Thomas Hamilton's Free St John's, Edinburgh (1845, now St Columba's) had the same arrangement and the same circular windows lighting the area under the galleries. The practical disadvantage of this arrangement was that the valleys in the roof were vulnerable to snow and blocked gutters, a defect which was to be addressed in Peddie's Dublin Street Baptist Church (see Chapter 10).

Portree United Presbyterian Church

Portree was a United Secession mission station founded in 1840 and supported by the central mission board, services at first being held in the court-house. The commission for a church probably came through Peddie's father in his rôle as treasurer of the Synod. It was built by the board and opened by its secretary on 10 June 1860, having cost £780.

On plan the designs which Peddie & Kinnear issued on 12 January, 1858 and then revised on 12 and 24 May - amending the dimensions again on 18 November and 11 December - belonged to the same simple rectangular type as their predecessors. As originally envisaged its five-bay form was close to that of Thornliebank, but with the wallhead reduced from 20 feet to 17, and up-dated in style from Early English to mid-Decorated (as at the exactly contemporary Dublin Street Baptist Church, see Chapter 10); the later proposals represent a return to Early English with a four-bay plan and a progressive reduction of the wallheads to 13 feet 6, all to reduce costs. The height of the roof from eaves to ridge remained at 19 feet, its lateral thrust absorbed by the walls without recourse to buttresses, despite the mishap at Ford in 1850. In neither the four-nor the five-bay schemes was the vestry accommodated in an annexe; two small rooms were provided flanking the entrance vestibule, each lit by a trefoil window in the gable.

The entrance gable had a belfry as at Ford. The arched doorway had a single order of shafts, and above it was a 9 feet 6 inch diameter window - a rose composed of quatrefoil spheric triangles around a central sexfoiled circle in the designs of 12 January, and an Early English wheel in the final scheme - which owed to none of its round-arched or gothic predecessors, and was an adaptation of the concept of the Italian Romanesque church at Portland Road, Kilmarnock (see Chapter 9).

The interior was seated for 250 and had an arch-braced roof with a round-arched recess behind the pulpit. There was no gallery and both the platform and the pulpit were of the simplest kind.

- CHAPTER 4 -

The Caledonian Railway Station, Lothian Road, Edinburgh (circa 1848-50)

The original designs for the Caledonian Station's Edinburgh terminus were made by Sir William Tite, who had offered his services in July 1846 and submitted his scheme on 23 November. His drawings have not survived, but it is known that his station was to be 370 feet in length, as against 253 feet in the drawings which Peddie subsequently prepared.

The station was to be built on the west side of Lothian Road, immediately to the south of St Cuthbert's Poors-house. The foundation stone was laid by the Duke of Atholl on 9 April 1847 but only the trainshed was built at that time, the contractors being Fox, Henderson & Company of Renfrew. From Peddie's four drawings it can be assumed that Tite's design was very similar to that of his Lime Street Station in Liverpool as the colonnades and the glazing-pattern of the windows within them closely correspond. What happened thereafter is not recorded but it would appear that the Caledonian's engineers, Grainger & Miller, commissioned Peddie to reduce the length of the station to cut costs, perhaps because Tite was then ill. Nevertheless it was to Tite that the Caledonian turned on 6 August 1850 when it asked if the surplus trusses arising from the reduction in length could be used at his Dunlop Street Station, Glasgow, which also remained unbuilt: Peddie's drawings could therefore date from some time after September 1850 when relations between Tite and the Caledonian had irretrievably broken down over non-payment of fees.

All of this leaves open the question whether Peddie was just to be the executant architect, or whether he worked up a reduced sketch scheme by Tite, revising it and refining it, or whether he incorporated features from Tite's scheme into his own. There can be little doubt that the drawings are his, the centred lettering corresponds exactly with that of the Royal Arch design (see Chapter 2), whereas Tite drawings of this vintage have a coarser letter with the title top-left. In very many respects the station design is characteristic of Peddie's subsequent work, and significantly it has features which appear in neither the Liverpool Lime Street nor the Glasgow Dunlop Street design. Although only the north wall of the trainshed was built to this design, it represented the start of a long relationship with the Caledonian.

Although the entrances and exits were off Lothian Road, the station as a whole was laid out parallel with the boundary of the Poors-house, the departure carriage yard being on the south and the arrival carriage yard on the north. These yards were 60 feet deep with two gates, so allowing vehicles to turn around before returning Lothian Road. In Peddie's scheme, passengers arriving on foot were to enter through an archway in the Lothian Road screen-wall into the colonnade which ran across the entrance front of the station offices.

The layout of the station was typical of the 1840s but well planned. A Robert Stephenson-type "M"-roofed trainshed of Howe trusses spanned the six tracks. This roof was to be supported on the south by the platform-side elevation of the offices and on the north by the arcaded screen-wall to the arrival carriage yard, with a row of thirteen slim columns providing intermediate support between the central pair of tracks.

Since trains were then short, the first and the sixth lines were of relatively modest length, so allowing the same platforms to serve the second and fifth lines beyond their termination. The central pair of the tracks (the third and fourth lines) were reserved for shunting. The short wheelbases of early rolling-stock made possible the use of small turntables, just 13 feet diameter, which when arranged in line formed traversers: these allowed for the efficient transfer of rolling stock from one line to another without the use of shunting engines. The fourth track away from the departure platform extended a little further than the others, passing through an arch in the screen arcade and into the forecourt on Lothian Road for luggage, freight and mail deliveries. From the arrival platform, passengers leaving the station on foot were to exit through the pavilion at the northern end of the Lothian Road screen-wall, or into the arrival carriage yard.

The principal or entrance front of the station offices, facing south, was to be twenty-five bays long, and symmetrical in general appearance. An Ionic colonnade protected the departing travellers from the elements and the vehicles in the carriage yard. The upper storey of the nine bay central block was to rise behind the balustraded parapet of the colonnade, its end-bays emphasised by quoins. At these end-bays architraved round-headed windows with keyblocks rose up into pediments, a form of window which is not found in Tite's work, and appears to derive from Borromini's St Filippo Neri in Rome: in straight corniced form it was soon to re-appear in Peddie's banks. Beyond the central block the colonnade extended a further five bays on each side as single-storey wings, ending in three-bay pedimented pavilions. Except that the western pavilion had a greater projection, the eastern and western pavilions were to be detailed identically, so only the fact that the western is shown rising from a plinth rather than steps - provides any indication of the difference of plane in the elevational drawing.

The cohesion of the design lay in several layers of mathematical considerations forming the proportional framework upon which it was based, a consistent feature of Peddie's work thereafter. Whether these derived from Rhind or Tite is difficult to establish as their archives have not survived. The most obvious of these formulae was that based on square roots. The principal constituents of the composition were the nine-bay centre-block and the three-bay end-blocks; the elevation as a whole was twenty-five bays long; and each of the wings was five bays long.

The overall length of 253 feet was five times the height of the roof-ridge of the central block, 50 feet 6 inches above ground level. The height from the colonnade pavement to the top of its entablature equalled the height from there to the cornice of the central block at 22 feet, total 44, exactly the same length as the wings. The length of the central block was 101 feet, almost exactly two-fifths that of the elevation as a whole. The ground floor frontages of the central block's end-bays were 19 feet 6 inch squares, although the impression of similar square proportions at the upper storey was an optical illusion. Within this 101 feet elevation the seven recessed bays formed five-eighths of its length, 62 feet 6 inches, i.e. the golden mean. These mathematical ratios also interlocked, the breadth of the end-bays plus that of the wings being 63 feet 6 inches; in the first sketches they were doubtless equal.

The outer pavilions each contributed one-eighth of the total length, or 32 feet apiece. Their dimensions were based on the harmonic proportion of 9-to-8, the height of their

pediments' apices being approximately 29 feet 6 inches.

The screen-wall facing east onto Lothian road was 152 feet long: exactly three-fifths the length of the principal elevation. In position and design it corresponded to the triumphal-arched screen-wall by John Foster which Tite had absorbed into his design at Liverpool, and which re-appeared - with a semi-circular central portico - in his design for Glasgow Dunlop Street. Like the principal elevation it was symmetrical in its general outlines, seven bays long with the same three-bay pedimented pavilions at each extremity. Again the elevations of these pavilions were not absolutely identical: that to the south expressed the gable of the station offices, its apertures glazed as windows, that to the north screened the arrivals platform, so its apertures were open as exits. The twenty-five bay screen-wall to the northern arrival drive was a continuous Doric arcade 337 feet long - presumably a relic of Tite's 370 feet scheme. The first edition of the Ordnance Survey confirms that this wall was built.

As eventually constructed the station offices formed a continuous two-storey ashlar-faced structure with a rusticated ground floor and an awning instead of a colonnade. The triumphal screen-wall was reduced to a plain pedimented wall with three segmental arches. This scheme does not survive in the Peddie & Kinnear archive, but the drawings were probably among those requested by the Caledonian in October 1864 when it planned to demolish two-thirds of the station for the goods shed, built in 1870 and burnt in 1939. Those of the unbuilt scheme were fortunately returned.

Although the decision to abandon the colonnaded design in favour of a much simpler one must have been a serious disappointment to Peddie, nevertheless it was of great significance for the future. Whether or not they were prepared with the help of Tite, they greatly developed the mathematical systems on which nearly all his later designs were based, and his style now embraced seventeenth century baroque elements which were to re-appear in some of his bank designs of the 1850s (see Chapter 6).

- CHAPTER 5 -

Early Residential Developments

In the late 1840s and early 1850s Peddie devoted a great deal of time to schemes for terraced suburban development in Glasgow, Dundee and Edinburgh. The first was a competition which he had some expectation of winning, and made every effort to win, but in which he was un-placed; the second was a promising commission never fully realised, and the third a family speculation, but even these produced scant return for the labour put into them. All three, however, were important in the formation of Peddie's ideas on urban planning and, in the case of the Edinburgh scheme, the development of his mature style.

Competition Designs for Gilmorehill, Glasgow

In 1848 the Glasgow Western Cemetery Company abandoned its proposals for a burial-ground (see Chapter 2), became the Gilmorehill Company, and held a competition for the best feu-plan for residential development. Those who applied to compete were sent a map with the levels and a perspective view of the site which lay within a deep loop in the River Kelvin. The mansion of circa 1802 stood close to the summit and looked out over an open park surrounded by dense woodland, which had been enlarged by the purchase of Donaldshill on the west in 1803. Across Dobbie's Loan (now University Avenue) to the north, Hillhead had been laid out as a detached suburb of the city in the 1820s; then, in the 1840s, as Woodlands and Woodside was developed to the east, the Gilmorehill and Donaldshill estate became ever riper for development.

Peddie submitted three separate entries to this competition, identified by three different motifs, but the "P" and "DP" pseudonyms were perhaps intended to identify their author as the winner of the cemetery competition: the presentation of the drawings however, both in terms of their coloration and the calligraphy of their titles and notes, was deliberately varied. In only one instance does an elevation survive to accompany a feu-plan.

Competition Entry Dated 31 August 1848, Identified by Initial "P"

Only two of the feu-plans are dated. The earlier one, identified "P" and produced on 31 August 1848, comprised four terraces, arranged latitudinally across the slope of the hill from the river-bank up to the line of Dobbie's Loan. The three northern terraces were laid out in parallel, and curved back concentrically in a quarter-turn on the eastern side to make the most efficient use of the site and give every house a view. This arrangement recalls W.H. Playfair's Carlton Terrace (1821) and Regent Terrace (1825) in Edinburgh. The southernmost terrace consisted solely of a long and elegant curve of houses - laid out concentrically with the convex sections of the three northern terraces - closing off a fair-sized peninsula of land. Together with the 66 detached villa sites this scheme produced a total of 198 feus.

Competition Entry Dated 11 September 1848, Identified by Cruciform Motif

The second feu-plan was identified by a cruciform motif and produced on 11

September 1848. In this the hilltop was crowned by a serpentine terrace facing south and east and by straight terraces on the north and west, with a concentric mews between them. A second very long concentric serpentine terrace occupied the lower ground to the south, with a little group of smaller houses or shops arranged in "V"-formation at the road-junction to the south-west. On the north and west were a large number of detached and semi-detached villas in their own grounds.

This scheme provided a significantly larger number of feus: 124 terraced houses, 34 double villas, 49 single villas, and 19 shops or houses - total, 226.

Undated Competition Entry, Identified by "DP" Monogram

Peddie's third and finest scheme, identified "DP," was undated. It has points in common with the other two, so its accompanying presentational elevation - showing the whole project from the east - gives an impression of what all of them would have looked like in style if not in composition. When the competition entries were returned by the organisers in the following year, Peddie cut the monogram off the elevation, then signed and dated it: perhaps he thought of sending it to the Royal Scottish Academy, although it was never exhibited there.

Like the scheme identified by the cruciform motif, this third feu-plan comprised a complete street-block of terrace houses to the north, its form echoed by a terrace to the south. However, this time the northern street-block was a hollow rectangle without mews buildings, and so the southern terrace adopted the form of a "U," embracing it on three sides, there being detached villas on the fourth, northern, side of the summit of the hill. The real ingenuity lay in the setting out of the northern block and the two lower terraces, which were carefully related to each other in height and width to form a great stepped pyramid composition as seen from Woodlands Hill on the east. The northern quadrangular terrace rose three storeys above ground: its first and second floors had a continuous giant order of pilasters, which was answered at the corner-blocks of the lower terraces. There was no central emphasis in the upper terrace, the aim evidently being to create a Parthenon-like structure crowning the hilltop. Whether Peddie's inspiration was Hugh "Grecian" Williams' water-colours of the Acropolis, a hypothetical reconstruction of Solomon's temple in Peddie's grandfather's library, or perhaps just the National Monument on Edinburgh's Calton Hill, can only be guessed.

Every house in this third scheme would have had a splendid open outlook. It provided 212 terrace houses, plus four flatted corner-blocks at the uppermost terrace, and 52 villas, a total of 268 feus. But if Peddie hoped the directors owed him special consideration after the cemetery fiasco, he did so in vain. Although they must have guessed who "DP" was, none of the three schemes was premiated. The competition attracted a total of fifty-one entries, and appears to have been judged on a purely commercial basis, the Glasgow architect James Wylson being awarded the first premium of £30 and John Gibson the second premium of £20. However disappointing the outcome may have been for Peddie, in the event it hardly mattered. By 1851 the Gilmorehill Company had abandoned Wylson's layout and integrated its lands into Charles Wilson's Woodlands Hill and West End Park scheme. Nothing was built on Gilmorehill until the University bought the site in 1863.

Airlie Lodge estate Development, Dundee

The Airlie Lodge estate lay at the west end of Dundee on the north of Perth Road, which was then on the bank of the River Tay. It belonged to the trustees of William Gourlay of Magdalene's Kirkton on a feu from the Town's Dundee. The trustees resolved to develop it, but they did not have quite enough land for a viable development and David (later Sir David) Baxter of Baxter Brothers, who then owned Union Mount to the east, was persuaded to join in and feu the western margin of his garden. Whether

Peter Stuart, a wine merchant who ultimately developed the west side, was involved from the beginning is unclear.

No drawing survives within the archive which illustrates Airlie Place as Peddie finally laid it out between 1851 and 1855, but there are no fewer than twenty-three sheets representing five main schemes for this development.

3 November 1848: Earliest Proposals for the Development of Airlie Lodge estate by William Scott

What seems to be the earliest of these drawings, dating from 3 November 1848, is not by Peddie but by the Town's architect William Scott, who probably acted for the Hospital as superior. His feu-plan consisted of a single street rising uphill and containing 45 houses, of which four on the left (west) and five on the right (east) nearest the junction with the Perth Road were detached villas in their own grounds; and the remaining 34 were set out as two terraces of 17 houses, of which four pairs in each, evenly spaced out, were slightly projected. These terraces led up to a triangular mews with a narrow exit onto Hawkhill to the north.

Peddie's Proposals for Development over the Airlie Lodge and Belmont estates

Peddie's three earliest feu-plans are all undated. Two suggest that the development should extend across the Belmont estate to the immediate west, three streets being laid out in the form of a reversed letter "h": except for the northernmost end of the longer eastern street - that corresponding to the thoroughfare proposed by Scott - all these houses were to be erected on one side only of each roadway, so as to form a spacious open square looking out over a central garden to the river. While perhaps an obvious enough arrangement to take best advantage of the view, the concept may have drawn inspiration from Regency (1818) and Brunswick (1824) Squares facing the sea at Brighton, as no similar arrangement existed in Scotland at the time.

Peddie's Proposals for Development over the Airlie Lodge estate, Belmont estate and Hawkhill

In his third feu-plan Peddie envisaged a still more ambitious development extending across not only the Airlie Lodge and Belmont estates but part of the unfashionable - and correspondingly much less expensive - Hawkhill as well, thus allowing for more houses, and significantly reducing the average cost of the site per square yard. By assembling this large near-rectangular plot of ground it became possible to extend the western street, rising up the hill on the Belmont land, as far north towards the summit as the original street planned for the Airlie Lodge estate, and to link them together by a crescent at the top in order to form an inverted "U" lined by houses on the outer side only: this arrangement was probably influenced by Edinburgh's Saxe-Coburg Place as re-planned in 1828. The area within the "U" was, however, divided by two east-west terraces with houses on one side only, back-to-back, so that the development as a whole comprised an open square to the south facing out to the river, and an enclosed crescent to the north. Because of the rising site nearly all of them would have had views across the river to Fife.

After these schemes had been prepared, however, the owner of Belmont seems to

have declined to co-operate. A decision was then taken not to acquire any more land but to form a single street of terrace houses on the Airlie Lodge estate, much as Scott had originally proposed.

16 and 26 February 1850: New Proposals for Development of the Airlie Lodge estate

Peddie drew up a feu-plan on 16 February 1850 for a terrace containing a total of 68 houses lining both sides of the street, the oblique-angled junction with Perth Road being negotiated by quadrant-blocks on the Gilmorehill model. Very shortly afterwards this feu-plan was revised, the three-house blocks on each side of the north end of the street being replaced by a six-house crescent and five unnumbered feus, which could be developed if it were thought best not to have any exit to Hawkhill. The design of this crescent was modified slightly in a separate plan on the same sheet.

The decision to block off Hawkhill - an area with a reputation for cholera - was taken by 26 February when the new feu-plan for a development of 71 houses was lithographed by the Dundee printer Gershom Cumming. Some of the copies suggest variations in the treatment of each end of the terrace.

16 February 1850

Elevations for the western terrace survive for the feu-plans of both 16 and 26 February. No elevation for the eastern terrace was necessary at this stage given the almost entirely symmetrical nature of the proposals, although the angle with Perth Road meant that the eastern side was shorter. The nine blocks of two and three storeys illustrated in respect of the 16 February scheme, while varying each from the others to a greater or a lesser degree, all shared a simple and dignified Barryesque style, the palazzo form of the three-storey blocks relating to the 1844 designs for the National Bank (see Chapter 2), rather than the Playfair-inspired classicism of Gilmorehill.

Nevertheless, Playfair's influence was still evident when it came to providing the best solution to terraces which had to be stepped in the slope and had to negotiate corners which were not right-angled. The appearance of the quadrant-block recalls Playfair's Carlton Terrace (1821), while the manner in which the seven-house blocks step up the hill is clearly influenced by Regent Terrace (1825). Much, however, was kept consistent: all the houses in the terrace were to be three windows wide, the size and proportions of the ground floor and first floor windows remained similar throughout, and so did the very low-pitched Italianate roofs. The three-house blocks were particularly elegant in their detailing: balustrades crowned the wallheads of the central two-storey houses, and contrasted with the broad eaves of the three storey ones to each side, an arrangement perhaps suggested by Playfair's Belmont House at Corstorphine. Round-arched windows graced the upper floors of these three-storey houses, a detail which was at that time derived from London rather than Edinburgh or Glasgow sources, and was prophetic of some of Peddie's branch-bank designs of the 1850s (see Chapter 6).

26 February 1850: Scheme no 1

The northern three-house block was omitted when these proposals were re-designed with a crescent closing the view at the top, again reminiscent of Saxe-Coburg Place, to

produce Scheme no 1 on 26 February. The crescent began with projecting pavilions two storeys high and four windows wide, with doorways at each end. Each led into a house three windows wide, but only one of these could be fully incorporated within the pavilion, the other having a broken frontage as a result: the device would be familiar to Peddie from Edinburgh's Charlotte Square built between 1794 and 1820, but was somewhat unusual by 1850. The four houses in the crescent were to be only two windows wide, but their wedge-shaped plans provided a larger floor area at the back.

26 February: Scheme no 2

No feu-plan, only the elevation, now survives to represent the alternative Scheme no 2, also lithographed on 26 February. It represented a tendency towards a simpler grouping with much longer two- and three-storey blocks of houses stepped into the slope, still closer to Playfair's Regent Terrace than the scheme of 16 February.

In keeping with this tendency, the quadrant was re-designed, the arc of its curve being contracted. Detailing followed that of the seven-house and eight-house blocks, but the composition did not lend itself to a channelled masonry ground floor.

The Undated Outline Elevation

Closely related to Scheme no 2 is a single undated sheet, drawn in outline only. This illustrates, again, six houses in the quadrant block facing onto the terrace, two seven-house blocks flanking a central block of nine houses, and another block of six houses at the top of the hill, no crescent being shown. The manner in which the eaves and ridges were stepped up within each block so as to reflect the rise of the hill is unique in the evolution of the Airlie Lodge development.

Schemes I and II

Perhaps the next pair of schemes in the sequential development of the project were those laid out in feu-plans numbered I and II and further illustrated by a single sheet of elevations for the western terrace, the first for the most part shown in broad outline only, but the second in much more detail; three other alternatives were sketched out very roughly in pencil.

Scheme I

In both of the two main schemes, although curiously not in the pencil sketches, the tendency towards longer blocks of houses took another major step forward - so much so that Scheme I, which closely anticipated what was built, consisted of one single straight terrace rising in stages up each side of the road, there being neither quadrant at the junction with Perth Road nor crescent at the Hawkhill end, where Scott's concept of a triangular mews now made its return.

Scheme II

In Scheme II the eastern and western terraces corresponded exactly throughout their length. On each side four pairs of two-storey semi-detached houses were stepped up from the foot of the hill, their doors set together centrally. The angle-stacks, reminiscent of the Reform Club, suggest that the influence of Barry was now even stronger than it had been in the previous schemes: by that date Peddie may have seen Barry's houses in Kensington Palace Gardens in London of the mid 1840s and Decimus Burton's Palmeira development in Brighton of 1833 onwards.

In the long terrace blocks to the north Peddie sought to offer a greater variety of accommodation. They were to consist of three-storey palazzo-like central and end sections ten and six windows wide respectively, which appear to have been planned for either houses or flats. Linking them together were to be two-storey rows of eight houses, two windows wide, with paired doors. As at the two-storey semi-detached houses, the three-storey pavilions had Barryesque angle-stacks which would have given the terraces a very effective profile when seen in perspective.

The Penultimate Proposals

Out of these two schemes yet two further proposals evolved, west-side elevations for both of which survive. Both re-used Scheme II's central three-storey, ten-windows-wide block connected by two-storey wings to three-storey, six-windows-wide pavilions: indeed, the first of these new schemes did so not just once but twice, and linked them together by a two-storey pilastraded block identical to that of Scheme I to form a continuous terrace.

The second scheme is very incomplete. It consisted of a single long terrace again with three storey centre and end-pavilion blocks, and three pairs of semi-detached houses at the south end. One of the semi-detached blocks was drawn in but the remainder was shown in outline only, though the positions of the doors and windows in the long block were indicated. The design of the terrace block echoed those of the first scheme, but the longer two-storey sections consisted of five houses each three windows wide, and a single house just two windows wide, the doors being paired together. At the six-windows-wide pair of semi-detached houses which was fully drawn out, the doors were in the end-bays.

In these latest schemes there emerged, apparently for the first time during the development of the project, a concern for designing elevations according to precise proportional ratios. The two-storey semi-detached houses were each half as broad as they were high; the six-windows-wide pavilions were one-and-a-half times as broad as they were high; and the ten-windows-wide blocks were two-and-a-half times as broad as they were high.

In these later schemes Peddie achieved a much greater unity than in some of the earlier schemes, which were more concerned with giving each block an individual architectural identity.

Airlie Place as Executed

Dundee proved to be the wrong market for terraces on such a grand scale. Sir David Baxter developed his land on the east side (plots A, B, C and D) and sold the houses from 1852 onwards. The Gourlays feued the west side as plots 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 from 1855: the houses had presumably been built by Peter Stuart, who took possession of the feus in 1851. Airlie Lodge survived at the north end of the site until about 1870, when Airlie Terrace (now demolished) was built.

The executed scheme thus consisted of just fifteen houses. All save one were a generous three windows wide, and all were executed with great precision in fine ashlar, but the two sides were now of different design, reflecting the divided ownership of the site. Both appear to be Peddie's since they have affinities with the earlier schemes and other projects of the same vintage.

The Western Terrace

The western terrace was very simple, distinguished but severe late classical rather than Italianate, and was two storeys and basement with balustraded parapets throughout its length. The corner-block at the Perth Road end had a two windows-wide frontage to Perth Road linked by a two-windows-wide circled corner to the symmetrical three-windows-wide elevation on Airlie Place. Its main entrance doorway was distinguished by a distyle square-columned Doric portico - similar to that at the Synod Hall (see Chapter 2), but without pediment and brackets - which identified it as the largest and best house in the development.

The remainder consisted of only three pairs of houses, closely related in design to the corner-block, the stepping of each block into the slope being very carefully thought out to achieve an ordered composition. Their fenestration was similar to that of the corner-block but more closely spaced together with aprons beneath the window-cills. They were much more plainly rectilinear than the corner-block had been to limit costs: neither the ground floor windows nor even the main entrances were graced by an architrave or surround of any kind, the doors being simply recessed well back within their openings.

The Eastern Terrace

Sir David Baxter's eastern terrace was more varied in treatment and richer in detail, reflecting his wealth. It related more closely to the preliminary schemes, although shallower cornices made the overall character late Georgian rather than Italianate. It had no quadrant on the junction with Perth Road, and at first sight it appeared to be a symmetrical centre-and-ends composition stepped in the slope, but it was not. It consisted of a central pair of three-storey and basement houses, flanked by pairs of houses each just two-storey and basement with balustraded parapet, which connected to single houses, again three-storey and basement, forming end-pavilions. Above the ground floor band-course the elevation of each of the three-storey houses formed a perfect square. Each block had characteristics which associated it with, or distinguished it from, the others. Although all of comparable size, the houses were more prestigious the nearer they were to the river and the further they were from Hawkhill. Thus, while the southern pavilion block and the pair of three-storey houses in the middle of the terrace had architraves framing their ground floor entrances, the

northern pavilion was denied this subtle distinction. It did, however, have a central canted bay-window which rose to first floor to provide a glimpse of the river. Where the first floor band-course ran across the bay-window, it was decorated with guilloche ornament, a favourite Peddie motif in years to come.

Chalmers Street, Edinburgh

As related in Chapter 1, Chalmers Street was a Peddie family speculation in conjunction with the Faculty of Advocates as George Chalmers' trustees, the north-western corner of the site being reserved for the building of his hospital. As at Airlie Place the site sloped southwards, fronting the Meadows at its foot.

The First and Second Schemes, 7 October 1854

Peddie's earliest surviving proposals for the development of the street are illustrated by a sheet of two alternative terrace elevations, both for the east side, drawn in pencil and dated 7 October 1854. Each terrace comprised a continuous series of blocks alternately two or three storeys in height, the two-storey blocks being designed as terrace houses and the three-storey pavilions as large houses of varying width, or main door and common stair flats, as best suited to those who took the feus.

First Scheme

The first scheme was very similar to the unexecuted Airlie Place designs, but developed their themes much further. It consisted of three three-storey blocks alternated with three two-storey blocks, the five southern blocks forming a near-symmetrical composition. All the blocks were, however, differentiated each from the others by their detailing, the variations sometimes being obvious and sometimes more subtle.

The three-storey nine-windows-wide central pavilion on this five-block group had a symmetrical arrangement of doors, and was enriched by segmental pediments at first floor, as at John Tait's Clarendon Crescent (1850) in Edinburgh. The six-windows-wide southern pavilion was similar but omitted the segmental pediments and had an arcaded quadrant-corner offering panoramic views of the Meadows. However, closer inspection of these tiny drawings reveals further subtle variations which would have given interest to the scheme: only at the southern pavilion were the ground floor windows as well as doors crowned by cornices, and only in the central pavilion were the second floor windows shoulder-headed with keyblocks. By contrast, the northern block of three-storey houses was seven windows wide and had late quattrocento round-arched window openings with cornices at first floor, as at Peddie's bank designs of the mid 1850s.

Second Scheme

The theme of variations in design from block to block was developed much further in the second scheme. None of it was built, but its tiny sketch elevations contained almost the entire architectural vocabulary of Peddie's subsequent banks and residential developments. Although it must reflect what he had seen on the Continent, the concept of such variations in treatment within a unified terrace was unique at the time, and was probably suggested by John Ruskin's Edinburgh Lectures, delivered within Peddie's Synod Hall in 1853. Ruskin had criticised the uniformity of the windows in the New Town of Edinburgh - "Why if I were to say the same thing over and over again, for the single hour you are going to let me talk to you, would you listen to me?" Every block within Peddie's sketch elevations is a different architectural statement within a

composition which is otherwise consistent.

The second scheme was also characterised by the shorter length and correspondingly greater number of the component blocks to give still greater scope for variety and imagination in the detailing, which showed a gentle transition from High Renaissance at the north end to a more Ruskinian early Italian at the south end. The round-arched treatment of the quadrant, as in the first scheme, was now extended into the main elevation in a 3-1-3 arrangement at ground and first floors and 2-1-2 at second floor. The general concept was to be seen again in 2-1-2 form at the Royal Bank in Maybole in 1857, while the triple-arched ground floor windows with an overall sheltering cornice were to re-appear at the Royal Bank in Irvine and, much later, in Rothesay Place (see Chapters 6 and 23).

By contrast the broader three-storey block at the north end was rectangular in arrangement: five windows wide, with a door at each end, all the openings at ground and first floor levels being round-arched late quattrocento and those at second floor shoulder-lintelled under a modillion cornice. It was essentially the same elevation as that of the Edinburgh & Glasgow Bank in Stirling which Peddie had designed in May of the same year (see Chapter 6), and probably influenced by what he had seen in Munich.

The design of the three two-storey linking blocks was of equal variety. That of the southern was determined by two conflicting requirements: it had to respond to its northern counterpart, to ensure a sense of compositional balance within the terrace as a whole; and at the same time, it had to represent the progression of character from the High Renaissance regularity of the northernmost pavilion to the more complex Early Italian rhythms of the southernmost one. To soften the transition Peddie made its ground floor doors and windows square-headed with consoled cornices like those of the other two intermediate blocks, achieving the necessary balance through the treatment of the first floors.

Sadly Chalmers Street was not the right area of the city for anything quite so expensive and Peddie never did get the chance to realise this very original concept in actual building. The Faculty of Advocates, his father and uncles appear to have decided on the first scheme as the more practicable, but even that did not get beyond a single block.

31 January 1855/4 October 1856: Designs for a Three-storey Three-house Block and Flanking Houses

Following on from these miniature pencil sketch schemes, four sheets of working drawings in pen and ink were prepared for the second block from the south in the first scheme, simplified by the omission of the segmental first floor pediments and enlarged by a third floor at the back. Although the first sheet, dated 31 January 1855, follows the feu-plans in referring to a Mr Beattie (presumably Adam Beattie, see below) as the client, the latter three, all dated 4 October 1856, refer to a Mr James Bisset, but represent the same building: Beattie was in fact credited with opening the street in The Building Chronicle's report of 1 February 1857.

Flanking this three-storey block there were to be smaller two-storey and attic houses

with three-storey rear elevations, also for Bisset. These had tripartite windows lighting their ground floor dining rooms and first floor drawing rooms, indicating that at the two-storey sections the 1854 scheme had already been departed from.

In the event only the three-storey block was built, and even then not until the later 1860s. Initially it was numbered 1B, 2B and 3B, afterwards 29, 31 and 33: the Edinburgh postal directories show that the builder Adam Beattie was living at no 33 in 1869.

The Two-storey Canted Bay Houses

Three sheets of designs, all dated April 1861, relate to the first pair of the two-storey and attic canted bay houses which were built in varying forms on both sides of Chalmers Street. No 5 was built for a Mr Dick, and no 7 for a Mr Peddie, apparently John Dick Peddie himself: family members were clearly having to take sites to encourage further development in a street which was proving hard to feu. The directories indicate that James Peddie, James Peddie junior and Alexander Peddie - the architect's father and brothers - were resident at no 7 by 1863-64, Mrs E. Dick is recorded as living in no 5 from 1864-65 onwards and the architect John Chesser had taken no 1A by 1868. Both nos 5 and 7 were sold by 1870-71 as the street began to build in earnest, James and James junior moving first to no 41 and then to the much grander no 43, again as John Dick Peddie's tenants.

The feus of nos 5 and 7 were 30 feet broad. The houses were 42 feet deep with gardens front as well as rear, since it was clearly thought best to avoid expenditure on sunk storeys and keep the cost of the first properties low: the later houses had basement areas instead of front gardens. Their doors had architraves with bracketed cornices, and as at the house for Mr Pollock in Trinity (see Chapter 11) designed a decade earlier, the canted bays had panelled spandrels between the ground and first floor windows; these were omitted in the later houses, although at no 35 the panels (and the frieze at the eaves) were finely carved.

12 August 1868: Proposals for Two-storey Block with Mansard Attic, and Flanking Two-storey Wings; Completion of the Development

The later developments in the street lie outwith the scope of this chapter, but are included for completeness. On 12 August 1868 a new pencil elevation was prepared, the details of which sought to establish a relationship with Chalmers' Hospital at the head of the street. This proposal was again for the development of the eastern side, the block shown in outline representing the just-constructed nos 29-33. Three new blocks of terrace houses were to have had two-storey ashlar frontages, the central one having a mansard roof, with segment-headed dormers half-concealed behind a stone balustrade.

The proposals did not find favour either, and Peddie became resigned to designing a continuous terrace of repetitive houses. Plans for houses with semi-circular bows were prepared, and immediately thereafter development took off, the scheme being changed yet again when conventional canted bays were substituted for the bows. Whereas the directory of 1868-69 listed only nine houses, that of 1870-71 listed sixteen.

The main development came after John Dick Peddie feued the land his family did not already own. The transaction was recorded in November 1876 but had probably taken place somewhat earlier, £5,000 being borrowed from Thomas MacDougall of Eskmills to complete it.By 1875-76, a further half-dozen houses were listed, total twenty-two; and in the early 1880s the development was finally completed, thirty-nine houses being lis Peddie's Palmerston Place developments (see Chapter 23).

High Renaissance and Early Renaissance Commercial Palazzi of the 1850s and Early 1860s

Although Peddie designed a few branches for other banks, his most important client was the Royal Bank of Scotland, to which he became architect circa 1855. Like the other Scottish banks it set up its branch network through agents rather than managers. The agent was usually a prominent local solicitor, land or insurance agent who could attract business where little or none had hitherto existed. Apart from the salary of £600-£800 p.a., the attraction from the agent's viewpoint was a very smart building from which he could also run his own professional practice and which, albeit one floor up, provided a generously-proportioned house of eight to ten rooms with kitchen, scullery and bathroom.

The appropriate architecture for a branch-bank was defined by James Maclaren, editor of The Building Chronicle:

"the lower part of a banking house - the SAFE of the building - should look stern, inspirant of confidence and defiant of thievery in its simple masses ... and in the deep reveals of its arches; however the upper part may be more domestically marked as the residence of the actuary: in short, we require it to be emphatically pronounced that the basement is the Bank, while the superstructure exhibits itself as the abode of the Banker who may be (as we all well know) not only a trafficker by trade but even a poet by profession."

Peddie & Kinnear's banks broadly conform to that formula, with deep double-plinth base-courses, although they never forgot that good natural light was as important as security if the ledgers were to be legible and in turn accurate. Their banks' High Renaissance character was perhaps meant to allude to Florence as the birthplace of banking but their details were predominantly Roman, drawn from Letarouilly. Although at first sight they might appear essentially similar, significant differences of scale and access will be found, expressing the relative importance of the agency as perceived by Head Office. Nevertheless the agent would have some say in what he considered necessary for accommodating his family, his own professional activities, and the amount of entertaining deemed necessary to secure and retain business for the bank. While the Bank of Scotland had been content with plain buildings, the architecture of the Royal Bank and of the other more recently established financial institutions was altogether smarter, a form of advertising for business and a statement of importance within the community.

The National Bank of Scotland, Towerknowe, Hawick

Peddie's first important bank commission was for the National Bank of Scotland at Hawick. The drawings are lost, but the building itself is monogrammed and dated 1852. Externally it was five bays broad and three storeys in height, the second floor being rather lower than the ground and first. The bank-offices were on the ground floor, and the manager or agent's residence above. In all these respects this earliest branch-bank set the pattern for those which followed.

However, because it stood on an awkward wedge-shaped site, the end-bays had to be stepped back on each side to achieve a symmetrical frontage-line, a further bay stepped well back on the right providing the entrance to the bank-house. The prominence of the three central bays - equal in breadth and height, so forming a square within the composition - expressed the main business area, the telling room, entered through a doorway on the right. The elevation rose from a deep plinth which compensated for the sharp fall in the site from left to right; the arched first and second floor windows were framed by architraves with bold console-brackets bearing cornices, a detail related to the pedimented windows of the Caledonian Station (see Chapter 4), and similarly derived from Letarouilly's plate of the Barberini Palace. These were novel at the time, but François Duquesney had used them at the Gare de l'Est in Paris in 1847, as had J.B. Bunning at the Metropolitan Market in London in 1850. The bank doorway differed from the other openings in being distinguished by half-columns bearing a triglyph entablature. This motif derived from Rhind's Central Bank, Perth, where it had appeared in pilaster form. The emphasised quoins which articulated the breaks in the building-line rose uninterrupted to the deep and finely-sculpted frieze of the entablature at the eaves, where a deep mutuled cornice bore a low hipped roof. It was a remarkably sophisticated design which, had it been built in Glasgow or Edinburgh, would have established his reputation rather sooner.

The Edinburgh & Glasgow Bank, Murray Place, Stirling

Peddie's proposals for the Edinburgh & Glasgow Bank's Stirling branch, dated 16 May 1854, represent a late quattrocento palazzo with a symmetrical frontage designed on a 4-to-5 height-to-breadth ratio, five evenly-spaced windows in breadth, and three storeys in height, the second floor being much lower than the ground floor or first. The street front to Murray Place rose from a tall double-plinth, with three ground floor windows ensuring good light in the telling room and identical doorways at each end, that on the left the entrance to the bank-offices themselves, and that on the right leading to the manager's residence on the first and second floors - unusually for that date, the Edinburgh & Glasgow's Stirling branch had a manager rather than an agent. The design had a lighter touch than the pioneer Hawick example, the elegant detail of the windows being taken from Letarouilly's plates, the Palazzo Giraud at ground floor, and the house on the Via del Governo Vecchio at first floor.

At the ground floor security depended on more than just appearance. All the bank-offices' partitions were constructed in stone rather than timber or brick. The safe had no external walls, and could only be entered from the manager's room. The manager's room itself was lit by a pair of windows at the back; a small waiting room could be entered from the manager's office, or from the telling room.

The Royal Bank of Scotland, Bank Street, Dumfries

Monogrammed and dated 1856, Dumfries was Peddie's first major work for the Royal Bank. It was closely modelled on the Edinburgh & Glasgow's Stirling branch, but the bank-offices' entrance was central and that for the agent's house in the right-hand bay. The arrangement was probably determined by the steeply sloping site but was subsequently adopted at the Royal Bank branch at Montrose (see Chapter 20).

The drawings are no longer in the archive and the ground floor was re-faced in 1939.

The Royal Bank of Scotland, Sandgate, Ayr

The Royal Bank's Ayr branch (1857) was similar to the Edinburgh & Glasgow's Stirling branch, but had the more usual arrangement of twin entrances to the bankoffices and bank-house in the end-bays, as at Stirling. There were, however, significant differences. It stood on a corner site, the elevation to Newmarket Street being as well detailed as that to Sandgate. Perhaps most importantly, the arched first floor windows were distinguished by consoles as at Hawick, the suggestion of a richly detailed piano nobile being perhaps intended to imply that the Bank's business was conducted by an agent rather than just a manager. At ground floor the entrance architraves were set within pilasters with panels of coin moulding; they had richly scrolled consoles supporting deep cornices and, since the site permitted the entrance vestibules to be lit from the gables, conch shells instead of transom-lights above their lintels, with keyblocks supporting the friezes. The windows of the telling room between them, however, had neither architraves nor consoles and cornices, but were instead articulated as a Doric arcade: broad pilasters supported simply architraved arches, a Durandesque detail which can however, be found, in Letarouilly (e.g. the Palazzo Spada).

The Royal Bank of Scotland, Portland Street, Kilmarnock

Built in 1857, the now-demolished Royal Bank branch in Kilmarnock was similar in elevation to that at Ayr, but was originally abutted on both sides by lower Georgian houses, its cornice returning grandly over them. There were, however, subtle variations: the angles were channel pilastered rather than quoined, the first floor windows followed the Stirling pattern, and the cornice was bracketed with rosettes or paterae, a detail frequently adopted thereafter. Its origins are to be found in Letarouilly, in which there are numerous examples of plain brackets of similar profile. The fluting of the brackets was taken from the Collegio della Sapienza and the paterae from the Palazzo Muti-Papazzurri. No drawings survive in the archive.

The Royal Bank of Scotland, High Street, Hawick

The broad-pilastered Doric arcade at ground floor was adopted again at the Royal Bank's similar but simpler branch in Hawick's High Street, also built in 1857. It was simpler not only because of its transom-lights rather than conch shells at the entrances, but - much more importantly - because it had a very shallow entablature with a sculpted Vitruvian scroll frieze running under the arched first floor windows, no doubt in acknowledgement of the fact that these windows were themselves simplified to plain architraved surrounds. This was a detail common enough in Letarouilly, e.g. the Church of Santa Maria dell'Anima, but rare in British practice. Even if more simple than the Ayr and Kilmarnock branches, that at Hawick, as one of the most important Borders towns, was no less sophisticated in design.

The drawings are no longer in the archive.

The Royal Bank of Scotland, Irvine

At the Royal Bank's Irvine branch, the drawings for which are dated 28 April 1856, the design of the Edinburgh & Glasgow's Stirling branch was adapted to a much narrower site, just 37 feet 9 inches broad. To this end the three central windows at each level were grouped together at all three levels, but at ground floor the relationship of the rooms one to another was little altered even if their proportions were revised, and the plan as a whole reflected so that the bank-offices now entered through the right-hand doorway, and the bank-house through that on the left.

Although the details of the upper frontage at Irvine corresponded closely to those at Stirling, the arcaded windows of the telling room followed the Ayr-Hawick model, enriched with sculptured spandrels. As usual simple mathematical proportions were in evidence. The composition was square-based, the height from the top of the plinth to the cornice corresponding exactly with the breadth of the frontage.

The Royal Bank of Scotland, Girvan

From the mid 1850s Peddie & Kinnear evolved a new and more economical design of branch-bank for small burghs, still a "money-box" three storeys in height with a symmetrical Italianate frontage, but with a single entrance for both the bank-offices and bank-house, rather than separate doorways for each.

The first of these was the Royal Bank at Girvan, 1856, no drawing for which survives. Standing on a tight corner site, its two principal frontages were linked by a splayed angle, so that from the opposite side of the junction it presented a powerful wedge-shaped appearance.

It was simple but well-detailed, rising from a strong double base-course which compensated for the steep fall of the ground from front to rear. The single entrance was centred in the three-windows-wide front elevation; the flank elevation was similar in breadth and detail, but its four windows at each level were more closely spaced together. Both the ground floor and first floor windows were round-headed. Recessed slightly into the wall, the ground floor windows were frameless; their architraved arch-rings springing from a shallow entablature impost band extending

across both elevations, an extended version of the telling room windows of the Royal Banks at Ayr and Hawick. In contrast to this Durandesque treatment of the ground floor, that of the first floor windows again recalled that of the Royal Bank in Hawick, the windows having simply moulded architrave frames. The second floor windows were deeply shadowed by a very wide timber cornice with long brackets, a detail not found in Letarouilly. It was an effective but inexpensive treatment, probably suggested by Street's illustration of the house at Coccaglio.

The Royal Bank of Scotland, Maybole

Girvan led onto the Royal Bank branch at Maybole, designs for which were completed on the last day of that same year, 1856: for the most part these designs still survive in the archive, but the front elevation is missing. Although free-standing Maybole was closely flanked by other buildings and only the front elevation was architecturally treated. It was more distinguished than Girvan since it had a pair of windows to each side of the central bay at each level, rather than just single windows; but the fundamentals of the plan were the same.

It had a frontage 44 feet 9 inches broad. Passing through the main entrance and the first of two glazed screens which formed the outer (public) vestibule, the telling room lay to the right and was lit not only by the pair of windows in the entrance elevation but also by a very large window in the gable to illuminate the tellers' counter towards the back of the room. Beyond the second glazed screen, a private inner vestibule, to which the telling room had its own staff access, led to two offices and a water-closet lit from the rear, and also to the agent's room, on the left-hand side of the entrance front.

Although there was just a single doorway in the main front, the agent at Maybole had his own personal entrance, here in the gable, from which he could reach not only the stair to his residence on the first and second floors but also, equally conveniently, his own ground floor office, an advantage which the Stirling plan-type was unable to match.

The frontage had a deep timber-bracketed eaves as at Girvan. The round-arched window details, as much Romanesque as Early Italian Renaissance, have no counterpart in Letarouilly and few in contemporary British architecture. The garden elevation of Barry's Travellers' Club and the round-arched window groupings in Benjamin Woodward's Trinity College in Dublin, published 1854, might be thought to have some bearing on them; Tress & Chambers' Central London Schools at Hanwell is perhaps closer in character but was not published until November 1857. The inspiration might have come from German architects such as Heinrich Hubsch and Leo von Klenze at the Munich Bazaar (1845),but a simpler explanation may be direct observation of the older Venetian palaces.

The Royal Bank of Scotland, High Street, Arbroath

Built in 1858-59, the Arbroath branch was similar in its external appearance to that at Maybole, but had to be differently planned since it was not free-standing. Its detailing was bolder - plain pilasters with plain capitals at ground floor; a shallow entablature beneath the first floor windows; and another beneath the paired second floor windows, which were divided by sturdy dwarf columns. The eaves cornice was in

stone rather than in timber, bracketed as at Kilmarnock and Hawick but more simply detailed. The drawings have not survived.

The Royal Bank of Scotland, Duns

The proposals for the Royal Bank's branch at Duns, dated 13 June 1857, represent the development of the Maybole concept through its fusion with the older type of design exemplified at Stirling. As at Maybole, the Duns branch was a detached building, not part of a terrace; again like Maybole, its 46 feet 11 inch principal elevation had a central doorway but its five windows were evenly spaced as in the larger banks to allow greater flexibility in the plan. The entrance vestibule accessed the telling room on the left, with an inner vestibule beyond accessing the agent's room on the right and the private office accommodation to the rear. The telling room at Duns was better lit than at Maybole, not only just by two much larger windows in the principal elevation, but by another two in the gable. Slightly recessed to the right of the frontage was the door to the bank-house, its vestibule providing a private entrance to the agent's room. A short flight of steps gave access to the principal stair within the main building. Within the bank-house two storeys of accommodation were provided at mezzanine levels to the rear of the principal apartments, a further development of the arrangement at Irvine.

The principal elevations rose from a stepped double base-course, but the effect of a plinth was strengthened by a low-profile string which connected the window-cills at ground floor level: a necessary base-line feature since the base-courses disappeared into the slope of the ground on the gable elevation. The window architraves at this level were to have been lugged, with rope-moulded arrises and rosettes within the lugs; they were to have been richer in appearance than the first floor windows, which were to have had simple if elegant shouldered lintels and cornices, and the second floor windows, which had very simple shouldered architrave frames. A plain frieze ran under the timber brackets of the eaves cornice beneath the hipped roof. All the richness was concentrated in the central entrance architrave, which was of comparable quality to those of any of the other branches. Its consoled cornice sheltered a shouldered doorway rather than an arched one, but its pilasters and frieze had panels of coin moulding as at Ayr. A late pencil revision, however, showed arched first floor windows of the same type as those at Stirling, and these were in fact executed. The details were noticeably richer than those at Girvan, Maybole and Arbroath, probably a reflection of the wealthy landed clientele around Duns and its status as the county town. Whatever the reason, Duns' rich detailing, central doorway and deeply shadowed eaves gave it a convincing palazzo character and made it one of the best in the series.

The Royal Bank of Scotland, King Street, Stirling

The Royal Bank at Stirling, built 1862-63, was a very different building both from its predecessors and successors, but its details were similar to those of Duns as originally designed. Although five windows wide like the other large burgh branches, it was four storeys high rather than three. The left-hand section of its ground floor (since re-faced) originally incorporated a shop with an impressive saloon at the back, lit from glazed coffers in its vaulted ceiling. The console-bracketed bank-offices' doorway occupied the central bay, with the bank-house door on the right as at Dumfries. The windows of all three floors had shouldered lintels with rosettes, but diminished in architectural treatment towards the top: those at first floor had consoled cornices, those at second floor a cill frieze band of guilloche ornament and corniced architraves, and those at third floor lugged architraves only. A bracket-cornice with rosettes, similar to that at Kilmarnock, and a central wallhead chimney of four linked shafts completed the design.

The Scottish Provident Institution Headquarters, Edinburgh

Four different designs for entrance elevations reveal the evolutionary development of the largest, grandest and once the best-known member of the Peddie & Kinnear astylar palazzo family, the headquarters of the Scottish Provident Institution at nos 5-7 St Andrew Square, Edinburgh.

The First Scheme

The earliest proposal, drawn in black ink and dated 8 February 1858, was for a site 84 feet broad, seven generously spaced windows wide rather than five, and a very tall three storeys high. Its elevation is shown as rising from a deep stepped triple base-course and, as at Stirling and Duns, the ground floor windows rested on a string-course which resulted in an even deeper plinth and implied exceptional stability. The big double-leaf entrance doors and semi-circular transom-light were to be recessed within a continuous architrave: this was to be set in coin-moulded pilasters with finely sculpted spandrels and an enriched frieze and console-bracketed cornice, and elevated half-adozen steps above street-level.

At ground floor the windows were to be on the Palazzo Giraud model as at Stirling and Irvine. The emphasised quoins at the angles were to be interrupted by the shallow sculpted frieze and cornice supporting the first floor windows, which were to be of particular magnificence since the board room was to be at this level; as at the entrance doorway, they were to be set in continuous architrave frames with console-keyblocks and finely detailed console-brackets supporting pediments with sculpted tympana and acroters. Another sculpted frieze was to run under the second floor windows, which followed the Via del Governo Vecchio type. Unlike the second floor windows of the branch-banks they did not make contact with the wallhead frieze, thus giving the composition a grandeur of scale comparable with the Roman palazzi. The proportions were reminiscent of those of the Farnese Palace, although the window pattern appears to relate more to Letarouilly's plates of the house on the Piazza dell'Avila and the Sander house on the Via dell'Anima. The frieze of the entablature at the main cornice was to have had a band of guilloche ornament, with a dentil-course and modillions supporting the low hipped roof, the treatment as a whole similar to that of Ayr. No chimneystacks are shown, so these may have risen up behind the hipped roof rather than from the gables.

The Second Scheme

The first scheme must have proved too costly since the second, third and executed fourth schemes all rose from narrower sites some 61 feet broad, approximately a third longer than the sites on which the branch-banks stood. In contrast to the branch-banks, however, and to the original seven-bay proposal as well, all three had basements respecting the original Georgian frontage-line, but with balustraded rather than railed areas providing a suitable sense of security.

Confronted with the narrower site, the architects initially proposed a more tightly spaced seven-windows-wide frontage. Resting on a plain stepped plinth, in this design the square-headed ground floor windows were set between rusticated pilasters bearing a plain entablature, with those framing the central entrance being brought forward

slightly as a shallow but monumental porch. The simple treatment of the entrance continued into its plain oblong transom-light, answered on each side by plain panels above the lintels of the windows. Broad end-pilasters replaced the emphasised quoins of the first design. Above the entablature there was to be a tall arcaded piano nobile with balustraded balconies containing the board room. Its windows were trabeated, but set in Corinthian columns from which the arches sprang directly without dosserets to enclose conches: the concept appears to have een adapted from Louis de Ville's Hartley Institute at Southampton, published in The Builder on 12 May 1860, but improved in proportion. Above, the low second (attic) floor windows were to be set in lugged architraves and divided by panels as a deep frieze for the main entablature. This was the first occasion on which Peddie & Kinnear used such a treatment for upper floors, the idea presumably deriving from Barry's well-publicised Bridgewater House. An upper bracket frieze was to support the blocking-course and balustrade. Twin chimney-stacks with banded rustication were shown rising from the end-pilasters, another Bridgewater House and de Ville motif. Uncharacteristically for Peddie at that date the drawing is in soft pencil and may thus be a Kinnear alternative. Although this scheme was discarded, its bay design was to re-appear in a Kinnear commission, the City of Glasgow Assurance building in Glasgow twelve years later.

The Third Scheme

In the third scheme Peddie returned to the design he had prepared for the National Bank competition of 1844 (see Chapter 2). His adaptation of that scheme - drawn out in sharp pencil, signed but undated - had a similar five-windows-wide frontage, although its proportions were different, particularly at the top floor, and its details were more closely modelled on Barry's Reform Club. The cills of the ground floor windows were supported by brackets enclosing apron panels, while slimmer, more refined consoles supported the cornices over the architraves. Although very neat, some details of the composition were evidently worked out as this drawing was prepared, and thus it is possible to see that panels were once intended to be cut not only beneath the cills but between them as well so as to form a continuous apron zone across the breadth of the frontage, exactly as at the Reform Club. At first floor level the continuous apron zone linking the window balustrades in the Barry design was retained; these balustrades were supported from beneath by small console-brackets springing from a Greek key frieze, again as at the Reform Club. The first floor windows were set in Corinthiancolumned aedicules with pediments, a variation on Barry's Ionic aedicules. Faint pencil lines indicate that arched heads within the first floor aedicules were considered.

The Fourth (Executed) Scheme

The fourth, executed, scheme, presented in pen and wash, dated September 1861, and endorsed on the reverse by contractors, is closely similar to the undated pencil design, and differs from it only in minor details. The panelled apron zone under the ground floor, eliminated during preparation of the third scheme, was now reinstated, returning to Barry's design. The first floor windows remained square-headed rather than round-arched, while the second floor window architraves were no longer directly in contact with the frieze of the main cornice, a departure from the Barry scheme which brought it slightly closer to his own National Bank design of 1844.

Plans

Surviving plans indicate that the central doorway led into an entrance hall with three steps rising up to the level of a broad corridor beyond: this accessed the manager's room $(20^{\circ}9 \times 20^{\circ})$ on the right, and the slightly larger secretary's room $(20^{\circ}9 \times 22^{\circ}3)$ on the left; the top-lit main stair, also on the left; clerks' rooms on each side, lit from the back, with which the secretary's and manager's rooms connected directly through passages; and, at the far end, the great public hall. Although doorways from the clerks' rooms led into the public hall directly, it was so large - 50 feet deep, and 29 feet broad - that it projected substantially to the rear.

The interior was of considerable grandeur. The entrance hall was pilastered with transverse arches, and had a marble floor patterned with black diamonds. The public hall was lit by Ionic Serlian windows on the south, east and west walls. Screens of coupled Corinthian columns of porphyry bearing a Fortuna Virilis frieze divided off the end-bays to form a central square area with a deeply coved ceiling and a circular roof-light.

The stair was like that of a London club-house, with a scrolled rail and atlante corbels supporting the entablatures. At first floor the board room $(20'9 \times 34'3)$, lit by the three left-hand windows of the front elevation, looked out onto the square. Its walls were lined with damask and its ceiling had a central oval set in a margin of square coffers. The furniture was of superb quality, and was probably designed by the architects. Adjacent to it, and also on the main front, was a second manager's room, identical in size to that on the ground floor. A number of small rooms, including a doctor's room and waiting room - for life insurance purposes - lay to the rear.

The second floor and attic were given over to a staff residence entered from the adjoining tenement.

The main contractors were David Rae for the masonwork and J.R. Swan for the wrightwork. The high-quality plasterwork was by J. Steele of Glasgow, the whole being carried out under the watchful eye of Peter Stalker.

The Royal Bank of Scotland Headquarters and its Telling Room

In 1857 the Royal Bank of Scotland commissioned Peddie & Kinnear to reconstruct the interior of its headquarters in St Andrew Square, Edinburgh on a scale comparable with those of the Commercial Bank and that of the British Linen Bank, the latter of which stood immediately adjacent. The Royal Bank building - originally Sir Laurence Dundas' house designed by William Chambers in 1771 - had been altered for its business by Archibald Elliot II in 1825 and 1828. Subsequently in 1836 William Burn had demolished Elliot's stair, and created a new entrance stair-hall by taking out the floor between the vestibule and the room above, but the bank still lacked a telling room with sufficient counter space.

Peddie gutted Burn's stair-hall as a vestibule but retained its ceiling. Its east wall was removed and replaced by superimposed screens of coupled Ionic and Corinthian columns; Chambers' floored-over central stair-hall was opened up again as a square two-storey atrium with a coved ceiling of fish-scale imbrication, and a new stair with an elaborate rococo-influenced ceiling was introduced to the north of it, a surprising detail in such a Greek design. Beyond, Peddie demolished Chambers' bow and built a new telling room which was flanked on the north side by a range of offices comprising a large secretary's room, private clerks' room and a correspondence room. On the south, a passage led to a library block on three floors. The telling room itself is best described in The Builder's report, which was obviously based on one supplied by Peddie:

"The new building ... is square in figure. It consists of a sunk floor, of a story on a level with the ground floor of the bank, and in part of a floor above. This addition will contain a telling room of large dimensions [89'5 × 59'6], rooms for booksafes, plate safes &c.; and a suite of apartments - such as officers' rooms - and a library some 70 feet long and 23 feet wide. The whole of the sunk floor is strongly arched with brick; and the flooring of the upper story is to be laid on corrugated iron plates, which form arches resting on cast-iron beams. ... The telling room is the most prominent object in the design. It is placed directly opposite, and is on a level with the main entrance to the bank from which it will extend east upwards of 70 feet. The room forms a square, about 60 feet [actually 59'6] every way, with a recess nearly 30 feet wide and 13 feet deep on the east and west sides. These recesses are surmounted by semi-circular arches. A dome formed by malleable iron ribs, secured at the base by a malleable iron ring, covers the central or square part of the room. By means of this dome ... it is proposed to light the apartment. The dome is to be filled with star-shaped lights, distributed in geometrical concentric rings, diminishing in size as they approach the centre, which consists of a large circular light. ... The floor of the telling room will be laid with encaustic tiles and the tables and fittings will be of polished mahogany."

Peddie's dome was built immediately after the similarly constructed British Museum Reading Room dome, built between May 1854 and April 1857 to the designs of Sydney Smirke:probably he and the engineer advising him went to see it. Although far short of Smirke's 140 feet diameter, Peddie's dome was still a remarkable technical achievement for its date, as the nearest comparable structure which had been built

before 1857 was the dome of J.B. Bunning's Coal Exchange (1847-49). This had a very similar span to Peddie's dome but was wholly constructed in cast-iron and glass.

Whether it was Peddie's idea to have a telling room without columns, or a specific request from the Bank, is not known. The concept may derive from the large glazed dome at Thomas Allason's London Stock Exchange of 1854, with which senior Bank staff would be familiar, but that was constructed of timber and its coffers were square.

What makes Peddie's dome such a remarkable structure is its fine neo-Greek detailing and its star-shaped coffers: the total effect was notably reminiscent of Schinkel's operaset for the "Hall of Stars in the Queen of the Night's Palace" in The Magic Flute. This was published in acquatint in 1823 and re-issued by Ferdinand Reigel in Potsdam, 1847-49. It is possible that Peddie had a copy, and he was probably also familiar with the star-studded domes of Schinkel's churches in Berlin. None of these provided a precedent for glazed stars, however: the inspiration for these may have been Professor T. Hayter Lewis' Royal Panopticon, London, 1854,where there was a single ring of glazed stars in a larger pattern of stencilled ones. It is also quite possible that Peddie had seen a masonry example in Constantinople. On a smaller scale, and in concrete, such domes became popular later in the century for Turkish bath establishments, as at Peddie & Kinnear's own Dunblane Hydropathic (see Chapter 30).

Neo-classical and Neo-Renaissance Churches and Monuments, 1850-65

Many United Presbyterians and some Free Churchmen preferred classical churches as having no Catholic or Anglican connotations. Their views were uncompromisingly articulated by the scholarly Glaswegian architect Thomas Gildard whose paper on "Church Architecture" delivered to the Glasgow branch of the Architectural Institute of Scotland in June 1856 received publicity throughout Britain in The Land and Building News. "The excessive symbolism of gothic architecture" he declared, was "intimately allied with the genius of the papacy." Writing from an English standpoint, that journal commented that he might well have added "with worldly wise priestcraft and slavish superstition." Gothic was:

"the architecture which had perverted Pugin from Protestantism to Popery ... the ecclesiastical history of our own and other countries is only a confirmation that there is most Christianity where there is least art and symbolism ... when we read of the most ingenious devices and the costliest materials being expended 'for the glory of God' may we not be tempted to look for an erratum where we might find the correction 'the vanity of individuals and the pride of congregations'?"

Gildard's paper was reported as having received loud applause. He was not normally a demagogue and his paper must be read in the context of his close friendship with Alexander Thomson and the Mossmans, and the ambitious programme of classical church building in Glasgow in the mid 1850s, none of which could be said to have been short of art. Thomson put the issue more tactfully when he wrote that:

"... as to [Gothic] being a Christian style, this might have some weight with the Romish Church, but to Protestants of any sort, and still more particularly Presbyterian dissenters, the argument seems very absurd, for what has the philosophic Christianity of the Reformation to do with the sensuous ritual of the middle ages?"

Radical puritan though he was, there is no record of Peddie holding such extreme views as Gildard's. He built only three or perhaps four classical churches, and of these the largest, Palmerston Place United Presbyterian Church, falls outwith the scope of this chapter. The reasons, however surprising in the context of Gildard's paper, were cost: while a good 1,000 sittings gothic church with a slated spire could be built for about £3,300, an ashlar-faced classical church of the same capacity was likely to cost upwards of £5,000. Peddie's classical churches avoided symbolism but they were certainly an expression of "the pride of congregations," and the practice put its best efforts into all of them.

Pollock Street United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow

The United Presbyterian church in Pollock (later Pollok) Street, Glasgow, was built in 1855 to serve the new suburb of Pollokshields. Very unusually it was commissioned by some forty-five adherents prior to a congregation being formed, consent to do so not being sought until 13 November, when it was almost completed. The church was opened on 16 March 1856 with 986 sittings. The congregation appears to have been

hard to please, taking its time to select a first minister, who was inducted in September of that year.

The building was demolished, unrecorded, in 1970 and most of the working drawings, together with all the records relating to its construction, are lost. Fortunately, a good number of drawings relating to the important preparatory schemes survive: most of these are undated, but the earliest was probably produced in 1851 or 1852. The working drawings and detail sheets were produced in 1854 and 1855. Although its exterior was astylar quattrocento Italianate, similar to that of the banks, it was an expensive church costing £6,000. The original proposals were even more ambitious, particularly for the interior.

First Pencil Sections

The site was basically rectangular but the north-east corner was cut on the diagonal by the disposition of the feus at the corner with Govan Road. This considerably influenced the planning of the church. The earliest sheet, drawn in pencil, appears to be that illustrating sections of a three-storey block, with a "D"-shaped preaching hall sited tangentally behind it, and enclosed within ancillary buildings arranged in a "T". There is unfortunately no plan. The introduction of a "U"-shaped gallery derived from Peddie's grandfather's church in Edinburgh's Bristo Street, but the "D"-form of the preaching hall, with distyle Ionic columns in antis at the daïs end, is closely related to the three Scottish derivatives of Thomas Harrison's Chester Castle court-room: William Stark's at Glasgow (1811), Robert Smirke's at Perth (1819) and John Smith's at Aberdeen (1820).

Presentation Designs A, B and C

Perhaps the next four sheets to be prepared were those associated with alternative schemes for a two-storey and basement church with a street-frontage of 61 feet and a depth of 98 feet: in these the central axis of the "U"-plan preaching hall is again parallel with the street frontage. The four sheets include an entrance elevation from Design B, ground and upper floor plans and a preaching hall section from Design C, and a basement floor plan from Design A1.

The entrance elevation was to be symmetrical, three bays broad and predominantly late quattrocento in style, with details similar to those of Peddie's bank at Irvine (see Chapter 6), but richer in treatment with some Greek details. The broad central bay was recessed slightly behind the narrower end-bays, which were defined by double base-courses, channelled pilaster strips at ground floor level and pilasters at first floor. Triple transom-light doorways formed a Doric-pilastered arcade, with a triple-arched window above, all with sculptured spandrels. Life-sized angel statuary punctuated the parapet, the angels over the central pediment supporting a wheel cross: this detail was apparently adapted from Schinkel's Oranienburg church.

In Design C, the only scheme for which ground and upper floor plans survive, the triple entrances led into a foyer; the windows in the end-bays lit a small waiting room on the right (south), and a stair to all levels on the left. The preaching hall was again "U"-plan, 86 feet deep by 58 feet 6 inches broad by 58 feet to the cupola - an almost exact relationship of 3-to-2-to-2 - with a Didyma order pilastrade at the upper level

where the seating was banked up like an amphitheatre with a corridor beneath, as at Palmerston Place Church later (see Chapter 27). The roof and ceiling were, very unusually, to have been a low semi-cone with the ceiling divided into coffers between the structural ribs, the middle row being glazed. The drawing does not indicate how this was to be achieved, but the low pitch and slim sections suggest wrought-iron with ring beams at the top and bottom, the cupola opening being 43½ feet above the floor (three-quarters of 58 feet). While Schinkel had designed something similar on a smaller scale at the Aachen Mineral Trinkbrunnen, the immediate prototype was J.I. Hittorff's Cirque Napoléon in Paris, the details of which had been published by The Builder on 2 February and 23 April 1853. It was a daring design, probably discarded as too risky in structural terms for the promoters of the church, but the concept is interesting as a precedent for the wrought-iron dome scheme produced for the Royal Bank of Scotland's headquarters in 1857 (see Chapter 7).

Second Pencil Sections for an Enlarged Church

Whether the sheet of three very neat pencil sketches illustrating a galleried "U"-plan preaching hall - one on the main axis (right); one cut across the side galleries facing the daïs recess (left); and one cut facing the curve (centre) - are related, either to the ground and upper floor plans of Designs A1 and A2 now lost, or to the final proposals in which the hemi-cycle of the hall faced towards the entrance front, cannot be ascertained. Nevertheless these sections, probably drawn by Peddie, closely anticipated what was eventually built at Pollock Street, and later at Palmerston Place. The length of the main axis was 52 feet, or 58 feet if the recess were included. The main floor area enclosed by the ten cast-iron columns supporting the galleries and clerestorey appears to have been conceived within a cube framework: the length on the axis was 42 feet, the breadth between the side galleries 40 feet, and the height from the floor to the point at which clerestorey met ceiling, also 40 feet. A round-arched iron arcade with panelled spandrels supported the clerestorey, each bay of which had a triplet of arched lights.

The Scheme of 17 July 1852

On 17 July 1852 plans were prepared for a church with a street frontage 77 feet broad and a depth of 90 feet, in which the entrance foyer gave onto a right-way-up "U"-plan preaching hall with a gallery, again supported on ten cast-iron columns and wholly lit from the clerestorey. The preaching hall itself was approximately 72 feet broad by 63 feet deep - including its daïs recess - based on a harmonic ratio of 9-to-8; the main floor area enclosed by the colonnade - again including the recess - was 50 feet broad by 52 feet deep, implying that it had been conceived within a square framework as in the pencil sketches. Vestries and offices were provided at the rear. Only four sheets survive to illustrate these proposals: two roof-plans, both dated, which provide most of the information, and two copy reverse sheets largely devoted to sections.

The Final Scheme

The sheet of ground and upper floor plans signed by Peddie and dated 1854 represents the church much as it was built, and may have been prepared for approval before the working drawings were begun since it has not been endorsed by contractors. In these the church had a frontage 76 feet broad and a depth of 69 feet 6 inches - 81 feet if the pulpit recess were included; it was no longer enveloped by the vestries and offices, as

it had been in the copy reverse proposals. Instead, a set-back two-storey annexe 33 feet 6 inches wide, with a Durand-like elevation of five windows arcaded at the upper level, was built against the northern gable. It provided living accommodation for the church officer, an octagonal session-house and vestry at ground floor, and a large meeting hall on the upper floor.

The preaching hall was now 71 feet 6 inches broad by 55 feet deep excluding the recess, 66 feet deep including the recess, figures which imply harmonic ratios of 4-to-3 and 12-to-11. The main floor area enclosed within the arcade, but excluding the recess, was 45 feet broad by 42 feet deep, as in the pencil sketches. The Building Chronicle reported that the ceiling was:

"decorated with ornamental plasterwork enclosing a dove with an olive branch in its mouth. Once Glasgow church-goers recover from the shock which may be created by this innovation upon the prevailing style of architecture we make no doubt they will admire Mr Dick Peddie's design all the more that it contrasts with the all but universal gothic which has of late become fashionable for churches."

Stairways within the end-bays rose not only to the gallery but to a library over the entrance foyer; store-rooms were provided within the corners formed by the hemi-cycle at ground floor level, and waiting rooms at first floor.

The original design for the elevation was now considerably simplified as a wider five-bay composition, the pilasters of the upper level, pediment and statuary being omitted to achieve a purer quattrocento design. The Building Chronicle commented that "although simple correct and elegant [it was] neither more nor less than a screen ... it would have been more worthy of Mr Peddie's high reputation had he taken the pains to make the front an integral part of the entire structure."In the event this defect - which was apparent only from the south - was in evidence for only a few years, the south flank, as Peddie had foreseen, being hidden by a tenement on the adjoining feus.

Correct it certainly was: as ever it was carefully proportioned. The ratio of width to height at the three central bays was 7-to-9 and at the outer bays harmonic 1-to-2, while that of the ground floor level to the cornice of the upper was again harmonic at 4-to-5. But perhaps the most remarkable aspect of this final design was its wholly secular nature: however Roman Renaissance the elevation might be, any resemblance to the quattrocento churches of the Papacy had been studiously avoided.

Sydney Place United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow

By contrast Sydney Place (latterly Trinity Duke Street), Glasgow was conceived as a temple if not as a church for the Reverend John Ker (1819-86), third minister of a Burgher congregation originally founded in 1790. As Professor Sam McKinstry and Jane Plenderleith have already established, Ker - Professor Ker of the Synod Divinity Hall from 1876 - was one of the intellectual giants of the United Presbyterian Church.

The Schinkelesque design submitted by Peddie was doubtless aimed at Ker's own architectural preferences. He had made his name very early as an outstanding student at Edinburgh University, and in 1838 he had entered the United Secession Church's Divinity Hall, studying Hebrew, Arabic, French and German. Thereafter he spent six

months in Hallé and Berlin, where he attended the lectures of the historian-theologian Johann August Wilhelm Neander, the Jewish disciple of Friedrich Schliermacher. They took a liberal view of the religions which preceded Christianity and the church reflects that philosophy. Called to Glasgow in 1851 to assist the ailing clergymen at Campbell Street, Ker found himself in sole charge of the congregation within a year. In 1855 he was called to Bristol but declined, and in gratitude his congregation resolved on 27 February 1856 to build him a new church at the corner of Duke Street and Sydney Place.

The record of the building of the church is unusually complete and the congregation's brief (15 October 1856) is worth quoting as most have not survived:

"I. Style, left to the taste of the architects, the inside to be comfortable and well-proportioned and special attention to be paid to light, hearing, Water, Gas and Ventilation.

"II. To hold 1,200. Pews to have 18 inches a sitting and 31 inches wide from centre to centre.

"III. Accommodation to consist of a large Hall to hold 400, two smaller rooms to hold the one 80 and the other 60. Waiting room for ladies to hold 50 and two comfortable rooms for the minister &c.

"IV. Total cost of building not to exceed £5,500.

"V. Charles Wilson & Boucher & Cousland, Architects, Glasgow and John Dick Peddie be required to furnish plans.

"VI. That the drawings be on a scale not larger than 8 feet to the inch and to contain a front elevation of the [church?] ... ground to east, that their plans be such as to the best of their judgement shall not exceed the prescribed sum and that they specify the probable cost of Masson [sic] work joiner work &c. when they send them in."

The unsuccessful competitors were to be paid £20. Wilson proved over-committed and may never have submitted a scheme. The sub-committee reported in favour of Peddie, his "exterior Design being decidedly the best and the interior in many respects similar to Messrs Boucher & Cousland." He was formally appointed on 4 March 1857. His estimate proved accurate, the tenders coming in at £5,192: Watson & Brown executed the stonework for £2,846, Denholm & Nisbet the joinerwork for £1,761 16s. 8d. and George Forrester & Son the supremely well-executed plasterwork in "Cannes" (Keene's?) cement for the modest sum of £307 14s. 7d. An inspector was appointed to supervise the finishing stages for the last four months of the contract. The work did not proceed without hitches, however, as the congregation's banker, the Western Bank, closed its doors on 9 November 1857 and only with difficulty was a cash-credit for £3,000 obtained from the Bank of Scotland. Further difficulties were encountered in completing the furnishing of the church as Ker's "abounding labours" had caused him to seek medical treatment in Germany, Peddie's drawings following him from there to Zurich in August 1858. The church was opened on 28 November 1858, the total cost inclusive of site and late enrichments eventually amounting to £8,200.

The basic concept of a pedimented five-bay frontage with a three-bay recessed portico had already appeared in Ionic form at the Irvingite Chapel in Edinburgh's Broughton Street. This had been built in 1844 though its portico-front, very similar to those of the Lothian Road station pavilions (see Chapter 4), may have been added subsequently. The late Dr F.R. Stevenson, who had charge of the church which replaced it, together with its records, attributed it to Peddie, but its trustees minutes' are not now among those preserved by the Catholic Apostolic Trustees.

The concept ultimately derives from the façade of Karl Friedrich Schinkel's remodelling of the old cathedral in Berlin (1820). This was not published in his Sammlung, but was known in Britain: a design derived from it, and from John Newman's St Mary's R.C. Church, Moorfields (1817-20), was published in Peter Nicholson's New Practical Builder of 1825, and Peddie had almost certainly seen both the originals. Peddie's version was conceived as a very pure two-tier Grecian temple with a symmetrical northern entrance front 66 feet 6 inches wide to Duke Street. This was composed of five bays: the central three formed a recessed distyle portico of fluted Greek Corinthian columns, set in antis between the pilasters framing the stair-halls in the outer bays. Both stairs rose to a "U"-plan gallery extending over the entire area of the upper level, the office accommodation, which in other Peddie & Kinnear church designs of this type occupied the area over the vestibule, here being wholly relocated within the extensive single-storey annexe on the east. In consequence, the upper level of the entrance front was blind with sparingly decorated panels rather than windows. The gallery level was identified externally by a plain belt-course interrupted only by the pilasters and the central door, but the major horizontal forces in the composition were concentrated in the plinth and the sculpted entablature. The cymatium of the cornice was carved with anthemion; and the pediment had a sculpted tympanum which was modelled on that of Playfair's Surgeons' Hall in Edinburgh (1829), but in shallower relief. The height of the entablature from the ground at the centre was precisely equal to the breadth of the three recessed bays, when measured across the centre-points of the flanking pilasters, so focusing the composition around a 40 feet square.

Within the single-span raked-floor auditorium - at 59 feet 2 inches deep by 61 feet 6 inches broad very nearly a square on plan - the gallery was supported on ten slim colonettes of cast-iron with Aeolian bracket capitals, similar to those used at Thomas Hamilton's Edinburgh Royal High School (1825). The height of the auditorium, taken from the centre of the main floor up to the soffit of the Greek key entablature under the cove of the ceiling, answered that of the external columns and pilasters at almost exactly 30 feet, so giving the general impression of a halved cube: 60 feet by 60 feet by 30 feet. The cove of the ceiling, imbricated with palm leaves in a marble-like high relief, took the total height to 37 feet 6 inches, a height-to-width ratio of 4-to-7.

The auditorium was lit by sixteen double-square plate-glass sash-and-case windows, laid out identically in a two-by-four grid formation on each side, and expressed internally as well as externally by lugged architraves. Set centrally within the southern gable to house the pulpit was the semi-elliptical apse, 24 feet broad by 8 feet 7 inches deep, which rose into a hemisphere pierced by thirty-two star-shaped lights illuminating Ker's reading desk, its form clearly related to the dome of the Royal Bank of Scotland's telling room in Edinburgh's St Andrew Square, designed in the same year: at Sydney Place the apse was painted blue so that the lights were symbolic of the creation of the universe.

To the east of the church was a pedimented session hall with a link-block, arranged in an "L"-plan so as to form a gated courtyard entered from Duke Street. This was carefully proportioned to the church. Its 42 feet breadth, when combined with the 23 foot length of the link-block, falls just 18 inches short of the 66 feet 6 inch breadth of the entrance elevation of the church itself, this very modest discrepancy being due to the constraints of the site. A 2-to-3 ratio associating the session-hall to the church is thus firmly established, but the precise relationship between these blocks is slightly more complex.

In contrast to the recession within the entrance elevation of the main church, the single-storey three-bay frontage of the session-hall is a model not just of purity but of absolute simplicity in design, the pitch of its roof being frankly expressed by the corniced tabling. The second ratio governing the association between the two blocks, specifically that relating to their respective heights, is the same as that between the vertical bay divisions, 3-to-5. Like the church itself the session-hall stands on a slight slope, but at its centre-point its height is 30 feet, the little chimney-stack at the apex of the pediment (omitted in execution) corresponding neatly to the pedestal which supports the church's crowning anthemion finial: this 30 feet figure matches exactly the height to the soffit of the main entablature. Although the height of the main church's entrance elevation, taken on the centre line, is approximately 53 feet 6 inches, the figure is almost exactly 50 feet if taken instead from the foot of the secondary base moulding, this being the datum line from which Peddie worked out the design.

As first drawn, the hall windows answered those of the church in proportion but their cills were supported on nicely detailed brackets, and its architraves were finished with cornices, their friezes being elided. In execution these cornices were omitted so that they more precisely matched those of the church.

The Erskine Monument, St John Street, Stirling

Ebenezer Erskine, founder of the Secession movement, died in 1754 and was buried in the church he had built in 1740. The new church of 1826 was built behind the old, and when that was demolished Erskine's grave was left unmarked and in the open. Thirty years later, Peddie's lineage as a spiritual descendant of Erskine made him the obvious choice to design it. Superbly executed by W. & D. MacGregor, unfortunately in a rather soft stone, the monument was completed in 1859. Its details were closely related to those of Sydney Place Church.

Although the concept of a square-plan open shrine has points in common with Peddie's grandfather's monument at Warriston (see Chapter 2), the general outline of the much larger Erskine structure, 35 feet high, appears to have been based on the Roman monument at St Remi in Provence. The architrave-only entablatures of the Serliana were seemingly taken from the large-scale details of Sydney Smirke's Carlton Club, London (1847) which had appeared in The Builder. As ever the proportions were carefully considered: the height of the main Corinthian order was equal to that of the dome from the main entablature, and in turn to the width of the plinth at 11 feet 8 inches; and the height of the Corinthian order, inclusive of its entablature, was equal to that of the entire superstructure, including its finial.

Chapel-tomb for Sir William Eden, Windlestone Hall, Co. Durham

The chapel-tomb for Sir William Eden was perhaps Peddie's most Schinkelesque building, although no close counterpart will be found in the Sammlung: the inspiration may well have been von Klenze's Stourdzakapelle in Baden-Baden, built in 1863. Just how Peddie came to obtain this commission is unclear. He may have met Eden at Baden-Baden, or simply been recommended as a classicist whose work would complement Ignatius Bonomi's Windlestone Hall. The chapel-tomb was razed to its foundations when Windlestone was sold as a residential college, the Edens being reinterred at West Auckland.

The working drawings were prepared in June 1865, the entrance elevation was revised in September by "A.C.P.," and moulding details were issued in the following March. The plan was cruciform, the chapel itself being a 33 feet Greek cross with one arm extending into an Ionic entrance portico - in June, distyle in antis, enclosed at the sides, in September open tetrastyle - so that the design as a whole, excluding the stepped approach, was 33 feet broad by 38 feet 6 inches deep. The walls were of ashlar throughout in alternately deep and shallow courses, as at the Stourdzakapelle.

The crossing rose - with the aid of an iron ring-beam - into a low square tower with a cornice, providing a platform for the drum and dome, the angles forming plinth for angels of superhuman size which were omitted in the September revision. The dome itself was of ribbed construction, its ceiling pierced with glazed stars as at the Royal Bank headquarters (see Chapter 7). The pencil suggestion on the June elevations that these might be replaced by square openings, as in the Pollock Street church designs, was rejected in September. The glazed peristyle lantern of eight Doric colonettes and a domelet was crowned by a Latin cross finial.

Internally plain pilasters supported the arches of the crossing, panelled pendentives

bearing an enriched entablature with a corona of antefixae at the base of the dome.

Smaller Churches and Schools, 1858-75

The Smaller United Presbyterian Church: Italian Romanesque and "Romanesque, Freely Treated"

Most of the early Secession churches had been simple vernacular rectangles built for congregations of only about 250 members. By the mid nineteenth century they were often in poor repair. A very high level of church attendance and larger Victorian families called for replacement churches to have sittings for about 400 to 500, with a vestry and a session room which could double as a library and waiting room for baptisms.

As set out in Chapter 3, Peddie's earliest churches of this size were plain rectangles with either round-arched or Early English fronts, usually containing a gallery over the entrance vestibule. By the later 1850s he had concluded that something had to be done to make these very basic structures more interesting, even if most congregational fundraising could not extend beyond a decently-detailed gable-front.

The revival of Italian Romanesque was not new in Britain, but the best-known example, Wyatt & Brandon's St Mary & St Nicholas, Wilton (1843), had been a very expensive church. Peddie must, however, have seen simpler original examples en route to Constantinople, and got his first inkling of the possibilities of Italian Romanesque polychromy adapted to modern purposes when he arrived at Friedrich Burklein's Munich Hauptbahnhof of 1847-49. There and then he must have recognised that polychromy offered the possibility of achieving strikingly novel architectural effects at very little cost - in fact, the Hauptbahnhof had nearly all the motifs of his church designs for Kilmarnock and Galston, even the belfry. So far as can be discovered Peddie and the English-born Frederick T. Pilkington were the first to adopt polychromy in Scotland, both in 1858.

The immediate catalysts for Peddie's Italian Romanesque were, however, the publication of George Edmund Street's Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages: Notes on a Tour in the North of Italy in 1855; William Burges' competition design for the Crimea Memorial Church of 1858; and William Henry Lynn's Sinclair Seamen's Church, Belfast, which had details in common with Peddie's earlier churches in this vein.

Portland Road United Presbyterian Church, Kilmarnock

On 26 October 1858, the same year as they designed their Late Decorated church at Portree (see Chapter 3), Peddie & Kinnear produced their first Italian Romanesque design for the former Burgher congregation at Kilmarnock. Although similar in depth from front to back to its round-arched and Early English predecessors, it was slightly broader and taller to accommodate a three-sided, "U"-plan gallery which maximised seating capacity at moderate extra cost. Its gable-front had three wheel-windows, the outer ones lighting the gallery stairs. It was conceived within the simplest of mathematical frameworks, its 47 feet breadth approximately equalling its 46 feet height, the eaves-line rising to almost two-thirds of this at 30 feet. When full working drawings were prepared on 25 December these dimensions were revised so that breadth

was 48 feet 6 inches, height 46 feet 10 inches and the eaves-line 29 feet above ground, but the basic concept of the design remained the same. The church was opened just a year later, in December 1859. It had 700 sittings and cost £2,000.

While Peddie must have seen von Klenze's much larger but not dissimilar elevation at the Hofkirche (1828) in Munichas well as the Hauptbahnhof, the immediate sources of inspiration were Street's illustrations of S. Francesco at Brescia and the cathedral at Cremona, skilfully adapted to Presbyterian requirements. All of the main openings had polychrome voussoirs of even length forming very distinctive arch-rings, the angles having quoins of the paler stone chamfered both above and below the string-course. The boldly projecting skews were supported by bracket corbel-tables, their apex rising into a belfry flanked by surprisingly classical scrolls. It had a bell opening with an inset a trefoil arch on colonettes, a gablet with the same skew treatment, and a Celtinspired cross finial. The flanking elevations, 65 feet 10½ inches in length, varied from those of the earlier preaching-boxes in that they had four windows at each level.

The gallery was supported on slim cast-iron columns as at Sydney Place (see Chapter 8), but iron tie-rods were also required to brace the kingpost roof structure on account of the width of the church and the absence of buttresses on the flanks. The longitudinal section indicates that the canted ceiling featured simple decorative plasterwork; the transverse section shows that the daïs and central raised pulpit were framed by the usual arched recess in the rear gable. Set within this recess was another 10 feet 4 inch diameter wheel-window, answering that in the entrance gable, but twelve-spoke multifoil rather than six-spoke sexfoil.

Galston United Presbyterian Church

Like Kilmarnock, Galston was a small Burgher congregation, founded in 1777. The designs for their new church prepared on 12 and 15 March 1859, and revised for execution on 26 April, follow on closely from those for Kilmarnock. Those dated 12 March represented a preaching-box about 43 feet broad and flank elevations 61 feet long - an approximate ratio of 3-to-4 - with wheel-windowed gables. At the flanks the windows closest to the entrance gable lit the stairs at the far ends of the vestibule, whilst those beyond, spaced out evenly, lit the preaching hall itself.

Two alternative entrance gable-fronts - Elevation B and Elevation C - survive, both dated 15 March and both Italian Romanesque with

In the event the scheme represented by Elevation B and Section F - broken frontage, kingpost roof - was preferred, and was significantly revised on 26 April. The gables were increased in breadth by about 2 feet to 44 feet 6 inches, but fell 2 feet in height from 42 feet 6 to 40 feet 6, so departing from the original square framework. The diameter of the rear gable window was reduced, and this - in conjunction with the greater breadth of the church - resulted in the doorways flanking the daïs being outwith the pulpit recess. A detail sheet of 8 May 1859 illustrates the under-floor heating system.

Although now a hall this church survives to show that the distinctive qualities of the elevation were fully realised in execution.

Plate-traceried Churches

Kilmaurs United Presbyterian Church

Kilmaurs was the third of Peddie's churches in the Presbytery of Kilmarnock. The origins of this congregation were again early (1743) but it was Anti-Burgher rather than Burgher, with a membership predominantly composed of shoemakers and miners. The managers' minutes have not survived, but the drawings are dated 9 May 1864. These show a galleried preaching-box with seating for 400 and circular windows in both gables as at Portland Road and in scheme A for Galston. The architecture was generally Romanesque with an arcaded corbel-table under the skews, as at Galston, but was otherwise less obviously Italianate, there being no polychromatic element in the masonry. The entrance gable was a little broader - 42 feet 6 inches - than it was tall - 39 feet; but that was difference enough to ensure that the roof-pitches, with eaves two-thirds this height at 26 feet, were notably shallow in rake.

The entrance doorway, with diagonally-boarded double-leaf doors, and the planning of the vestibule followed the Kilmarnock-Galston model in general, but the doorway had shaft-rings and the windows were arched two-lights rather than paired lights. The 11 feet diameter circular windows were much simpler than those in the Portland Road design, mincer-plate tracery similar to that at Hope Park, St Andrews (see Chapter 10) being substituted. Above the apex of the entrance gable, a simple round-arched bellcote was crowned by a Celtic cross finial. A belt-course at gallery level was planned, but omitted to cut costs, somewhat to the detriment of the design.

The interior (now divided as a house and stained-glass studio) was quite plain. The "U"-plan gallery, extending from the entrance gable and stairwells along the flanks to the rear gable, was supported by eight cast-iron columns. The camp ceiling was braced on iron tie-rods as at Kilmarnock. A pencil sketch in the section indicates that the possibility of a higher church with two tiers of galleries was considered, surprising for a church with only about 200 communicants.

The church was opened on 26 March 1865 with a revised seating capacity of 472. The final accounts totalled £1,400. No drawings for the contract scheme survive.

Biggar United Presbyterian Church

Peddie & Kinnear's church for the United Presbyterians of Biggar replaced a Burgher building of 1760 on a new site at Moat Park. Although eventually built in a similar rectangular form to Kilmaurs, their first proposal of September 1864 was a brave attempt to introduce into smaller Presbyterian church design something of the geometrical planning of Pilkington's Edinburgh and Irvine churches of a year or two before; Pilkington's comparable smaller churches at Innerleithen and Morebattle were in fact slightly later (1865-66). It was a tightly-composed, eclectic composition of French Romanesque and gothic elements, innovative in its Latin cross plan with splayed internal angles. The concept has points in common with some of the early churches of Edward Buckton Lamb but the immediate prototype appears to have been Lanyon & Lynn's competition design for Edinburgh's Trinity College Church, published in The Builder in 1858.

The Biggar design was, however, for a much smaller building than Trinity College Church, and indeed than most cruciform churches, its internal dimensions being only 59 feet by 49. Like Lynn's design it was fundamentally different in concept from the conventional cruciform church. Whereas the transverse length of the transept or transepts was normally relatively modest compared to that of the longitudinal axis of the church as a whole, and the crossing area was usually kept clear as an open space before the chancel, in the Biggar design the aim was to concentrate most of the sitters in the area of the crossing, close to the pulpit: thus the transept accounted for some two-fifths of the preaching hall's total length and the seating extended right through the crossing area up to the pulpit daïs, as in a preaching-box, since the short nave provided only limited accommodation. Although cruciform, the Biggar plan was essentially related to eighteenth century "T"-plan churches, and to John Honeyman's double-transept "T"-plan Trinity Congregational Church in Glasgow's Claremont Street, designed in the same year.

As a whole the composition was low-eaved and high-roofed with polychrome voussoirs at the openings. The porch doorways were to be round-arched with a single order of shafts and boarded double-leaf doors mounted on decorative iron bar-hinges. Dwarf arcades were to light the areas under the galleries at the gable-fronts, the arcaded treatment extending into the drums of the staircases where they raked upwards with the rise of the steps, as in the Trinity College design and Pilkington's Barclay Church. At gallery-level light was provided by a spheric triangle at the front gable and cinquefoil wheel-windows at the transepts.

The principal elements of the design composed together beautifully, whether considered together in the concentrated form of the front elevation, or separately in the flank elevations, and reached a fitting crescendo in the roof of the crossing. The splayed intersection of the transepts resulted in a prismatic lower stage, which rose to a truncated square top with a leaded flèche rising from open arches on colonettes.

The managers' minutes do not record whether economy or conservatism prevailed, but this cruciform scheme was rejected. In February 1865 new drawings were produced for an extremely well-detailed preaching-box of rather Germanic character. It had gables 43 feet broad, flank elevations five bays and 68 feet 6 inches long, and a relatively tall roof (eaves height 19 feet, ridge 40 feet). There was no polychromy beyond the contrast of sandstone and whinstone, the latter unusually well-crafted with Like the cruciform plan - but in contrast to the practice's earlier raked joints. preaching-boxes - this church had two doorways: the entrance porches of the previous scheme were turned round 90° and almost wholly incorporated into the front gable on each side as lobbies, with the ground floor windows set in an arcade between them. The sculpture of the capitals was of very good quality. Above a plate-traceried wheelwindow lit the single gallery. Since there were no side galleries the windows of the flank elevations rose through both levels between pilaster buttresses. The nave gallery was accessed from the right-hand lobby by means of a stair in the tower, 15 feet 6 inches square and 49 feet 6 inches high, its slated pyramid spire rising to a total height of 76 feet 6 inches.

Internally the church followed the same pattern as Kilmaurs with tie-rod trusses below the camp ceiling. At the back was a large vestry, session room and library block decided on only at a late stage, in February 1866. The original estimate for the

executed design was a surprisingly low £400, which presumably did not include a tower, but the cost, inclusive of the site, had reached £2,036 when the Reverend Cairns opened it in June.

Melrose United Presbyterian Church

Melrose was a United Secession congregation formed in 1823 and proved a difficult client. On 21 September 1865 the managers required Peddie to meet the building committee "at an early day." He arrived by train on 30 September armed with plans of the more recent churches he had built to find that they had not chosen a site. On 23 November he reported on the two on offer, and eventually one was chosen. The original Biggar scheme must have appealed to them for in March 1866 designs were produced for a cruciform preaching hall of similar dimensions with a stair-tower rising into an octagonal belfry and slated spire 85 feet 6 inches in height.

As in the original cruciform proposals for Biggar, there was a porch on each flank adjoining the nave gable, but these were no longer mirror images of each other, one entering from the front and the other from the flank. Again the roof accounted for almost half the height of the church, the eaves being 18 feet 6 inches high, and ridges 36 feet.

The detailing was simplest early gothic. The nave gable had five pointed-arch windows lighting the area under the gallery, as at Biggar, with a string-course stepped across them, and a 13 feet diameter mincer-plate window above the gallery in the gable; the transept gables each had three pointed-arch lights at ground floor and a very simple three-light plate-traceried window above. Behind the church there was to be a single-storey vestry and session room.

The design was agreed to on 19 March 1866, but only for receiving estimates. Predictably these were thought too high, and on 28 May it was reported that modified plans had been obtained from Peddie, together with an estimate of the probable reduction. Peddie was also asked to state what further reduction would be achieved by dispensing with the spire. The long-suffering collectors were sent round the congregation again to take a plebiscite on their wishes, and equally predictably the vote was for elimination of the tower. By 11 June the congregation was satisfied with the abatements, re-appointed the committee and managers and instructed them to proceed, but there must still have been some desire for a tower as a four-bay version of the bigger design was substituted in July, described as "Romanesque, somewhat freely treated." In execution the tower was again deleted and as the chuirch was approaching completion there was dissatisfaction both with its appearance and its accommodation. Without further reference to Peddie, the builders Herbertson & Son were asked for sketch designs and an estimate for extending it to the west to provide a vestry and a waiting room for baptisms, which brought the cost up to £2,000. Professor Eadie opened the church in October but continuing dissatisfaction resulted in the Edinburgh builder Adam Beattie being asked to design its enlargement to seat 500, and to provide a new design for the completion of the tower, which presumably owed its Germanically-turreted form to William Hamilton Beattie. This cost £1,200, and to erase the memory of the original construction, the church was "opened anew" by Dr Knox on 13 October 1872.

With Melrose commissions for smaller United Presbyterian churches abruptly ceased. It is unlikely that the events there influenced any other congregation, but had they proved the last straw for Peddie? Although a scheme similar to Biggar and Melrose was produced as an option for Kinnear's Ladybank Free Church in 1874 (see

Chapter 27), "Romanesque, freely treated" no longer formed part of the Peddie & Kinnear repertoire.

Schools

In 1833 Earl Grey's administration introduced a system of grants towards the building of elementary schools, in which local subscribers had to raise half the estimated cost. Six years later, in 1839, the Committee of the Privy Council on Education was appointed to administer these grants, which were mainly to church-schools, and set up an inspection régime. In 1840, the Committee began issuing recommended plantypes, with elevations in a Tudorish style, but these were not strictly enforced. Peddie's early schools at Leith and West Linton (see Chapter 3) represented the most basic single school-room type sanctioned by the Committee, but only at Leith was the playground segregated; at West Linton the eastern porch seems to have been added slightly later to meet the Committee's requirement for separate entrances for boys and girls.

In 1847 the schools specialist H.E. Kendall published Designs for Schools and School-houses, a book of twelve predominantly Early English to Tudor designs which was warmly recommended by The Builder, and in 1851 the Committee's Memorandum published a series of plans for schools of different sizes. Peddie & Kinnear's schools of the 1860s nearly all followed the recommendations of 1851 in having a large "schoolroom" for the younger children and a smaller "class-room" for the more senior ones, with the education of younger ones), with an attached master's house.

Single-storey Schools of the Memorandum Type

Brand's School, Milnathort

On 6 June 1861 presentation sketch proposals were issued for the long-demolished Brand's School at Milnathort, the first of three school-buildings based on the plans in the 1851 Memorandum, but with modifications adopted from Kendall. Revised working drawings appeared in July.

Brand's consisted of two main elements, a school-block presenting the appearance of a small Late Decorated church - although an endowed institution, it was essentially similar to the church schools, probably to qualify for a Committee of Council grant - and adjoining this, a small villa in a complementary style providing a residence for the master. Facing south to enjoy good light, the main elevations of the school-block and school-house, and the design as a whole, related together through mathematical proportions.

The large school-room presented a five-bay frontage 50 feet long and 12 feet to the eaves, the bays being almost equal in breadth. The central three had two-light windows with depressed-arched heads in finialled dormer gablets with quatrefoiled roundels. This was a departure from the corresponding design in Kendall to improve light levels, the window detail being similar to that of the chapel in the second design for Morgan's Hospital (see Chapter 14). The western bay had a gabled porch with a simple splayed doorway, as in Kendall, and the eastern bay was lit by a pair of lights.

The western gable had a triple-light and a sexfoiled roundel, its bellcote giving it a church-like image. The roof had a crested tile ridge and a simple but elegant ventilator flèche. The 24 feet breadth of the west gable and 28 feet height of the roof-ridge suggest that this school-room had originally been conceived within a double-cube framework (50:25:25). Its internal width was 20 feet, 2 feet more than the 18 recommended by the Committee of Council. A smaller transept-like pupil-teacher's class-room projected from the rear, rather than from the front as in the Memorandum plan.

The master's house was certainly a cubic conception, significantly smaller than Findlater Lodge of 1857 (see Chapter 11), but more efficiently planned, more precise in its proportions, and more interesting in its architecture. It was 33 feet broad - two-thirds the breadth of the school-house frontage - 32 feet 6 inches in depth, and 31 feet in height.

Its front elevation was a bipartite stepped composition, with a broad gable-front projecting forward to express the bay-windowed parlour and upstairs bedroom, and a narrower recessed bay with the entrance porch integrated within the re-entrant angle. This had its doorway on the eastern flank, where the juxtaposition with paired steeply-raked gables clearly recalled Tor Aluin (1857, see Chapter 12). The stair had an excellent two-light window with quatrefoil plate tracery.

Alteration drawings dated 29 August 1870 show a large new class-room built out from the rear and the re-planning of the master's house to provide an extra bedroom, its scullery and pantry being displaced to a back annexe.

Cockenzie School

Following the plan of Brand's School in most respects but with a smaller master's house was the Tudor-Jacobean Cockenzie School, the working drawings for which were dated February 1865.

This again consisted of a five-bay south-facing school-room, close in size to that at Milnathort at 46 feet 6 inches long, with a 26 feet wide west end-gable, and a relatively tall roof rising 25 feet 3 inches above ground. The internal width was 22 feet, 4 feet more than the recommended 18 feet. However, although it had a porch similar in profile to the earlier school's, it was less obviously church-like because the paired windows had square heads beneath the wallhead, and were interrupted at the centre bay by a panelled chimney-breast with a pair of tall, elegant octagonal shafts. Behind it was a combined ventilator flèche and bellcote at the roof-ridge. There was again a small class-room built out from the rear elevation.

At Cockenzie the master's house was still smaller than that at Milnathort, its rectangular plan just 19 feet by 32 feet, with the main elevation on the eastern flank. This presented an almost symmetrical villa-like appearance, with a central entrance porch framed by parlour and kitchen windows, while those at upper floor rose into finialled dormer gablets. The building still exists, but the school-room has had a storey added.

Ratho Girls' School

Ratho Girls' School was erected by its Trustees, headed by Charlotte Dougal of Ratho from whom the land was feued. Two schemes exist, dating from 4 and 10 January 1871. Both were closely related in design to Cockenzie School but were planned somewhat differently.

In the 4 January scheme the school-block was externally almost identical to that at Cockenzie but there was no central ventilator bellcote, the bell being hung in a belfry at the gable as at Milnathort. Internally the school-room area was divided into two separate class-rooms ($20' \times 17'6$; $20' \times 16'6$) for a more genteel education and there was no class-room wing at the back. The school-house must have been designed for a teacher without children as it was to be a single-storey "L"-plan with only parlour, bedroom, kitchen and a bed-closet for a servant. In the 10 January scheme the provision in both the school and school-house was re-thought: the class-room entered from the porch was increased to 20 feet by 22 feet 6 inches, the other reduced to 20 feet by 11 feet 3 inches, and the school-house re-designed in the same form as that at Cockenzie but without a porch and timber dormers instead of masonry ones.

In the event an unmarried teacher, Miss A. Elliot, was appointed and the school-house was built in single-storey form as in the 4 January version. The school opened on 23 May 1873 with two teachers, and closed in 1954. It is now in domestic use.

St Cuthbert's Public School, Gorgie

At St Cuthbert's Public School, Gorgie, designed for the St Cuthbert's and Dean School Board in 1875, there was no call for an attached master's house as at Brand's and Cockenzie. In consequence, although as first built it offered similar teaching provision, its class-rooms were arranged differently on an "L"-plan: the smaller class-room was built out in front of the larger at one end, with a low porch in the re-entrant angle, exactly as in the 1851 Memorandum. The plan-type had been adopted by the Scotch [sic] Education Department when it took over the Committee of Council's responsibilities following the Scottish Education Act of 1872.

In both the original proposals of 13 April, which offered Early English or plain Tudor designs, and the December working drawings, which modestly revised the latter alternative, there is again evidence of mathematical proportions. The 54 feet main frontage as first built was broken into the 30 feet length of the large class-room and the 24 feet gable of the small class-room (6-to-5), with an 8 feet broad gabled porch within the re-entrant angle. Eaves-height was 12 feet above ground as at Brand's; ridgeheight, at 27 feet, was half the length of the frontage. In the executed Tudor-gothic design the porch and small class-room gables were linked together on the same plane.

The playground was divided at the back with cast-iron columned shelters, a provision absent at earlier schools.

Provision of an additional western class-room for girls was envisaged from the beginning. The drawings for it, dated 18 October 1878 and revised in November, show the new block arranged at right-angles to the original large class-room (so producing a "Z"-plan) and closely similar to it in size. The new block's gable-front was to be 24 feet broad and designed to match that of the small class-room to the east, producing a neatly balanced elevation, while its 52 feet length was enough to provide for a teacher's room, water-closet, lavatory and cloak-room. Parsimony prevailed and the extension was built rather differently in accordance with two final sheets of July 1881.

Two-storey "T"-plan Schools

In 1867 Peddie & Kinnear built two rather similar two-storey "T"-plan schools, the designs for which appear to have been conceived for restricted sites where no master's house was required.

Culross School and St James Episcopal School, Broughton Street, Edinburgh

Culross School was the more attractive of the two. A tracing paper presentation sheet drawn in black ink and tinted shows a simple rectangular block with a gabled staircase wing at right-angles. The ground floor contained a school-room $(20' \times 16')$, a lobby to the teacher's room $(13' \times 10')$ which had a bed recess, "Mr McKay's Room" $(9'6 \times 8'6)$, a scullery and internal and external lavatories. The first floor consisted of a reading room $(20'6 \times 19'6)$ opening into another room $(9'6 \times 19'6)$ which could be curtained off. Two elevations were offered, each with three windows at each level in the gable-front and a door in the staircase wing. No 1 was Italianate with a bellcote and round-arched first floor windows, fronted by an iron balcony; no 2 was "picturesque villa" style and had a steeper roof with bargeboards, but its first floor windows were square-headed - the centre one stepped higher than those to the sides - and no belfry. The picturesque villa version was preferred and duly built, the working drawings of February 1867 following the presentation scheme fairly closely but enlarging the windows at ground floor and grouping together those at first floor as a three-light, all with nicely-proportioned square-paned glazing.

The St James Episcopal School in Edinburgh's Broughton Street, adjoining the Episcopal Church which once occupied the corner with Broughton Place, was a blander, ashlar-faced version of scheme no 2 with straight skews.

Larger Churches with Transepts or Aisles, 1856-68

If Peddie & Kinnear's smaller churches were consistently Romanesque in the period 1858-68, their larger churches, with just two exceptions, were almost as consistently gothic, progressing from English to French and ultimately German sources of inspiration. Those at Alloa, St Andrews, Cupar and Hope Park, Edinburgh, were all drawn out by the same draughtsman, "A.C.P.," whose distinctive calligraphy can also be identified in the drawings for the smaller churches at Kilmaurs, Biggar and Melrose (see Chapter 9).

The most interesting aspect of these larger churches was not so much style as plan. Early in 1856, just after the partnership was formed, Peddie & Kinnear evolved a new double-transeptal plan-form as a solution to the design of large churches with galleries. It improved the sight-lines to the pulpit as it required only one column on each side, and it avoided the problems of snow and blocked gutters inherent in the long valley roofs of the churches at Montrose and Greenock. The concept arose from the particular circumstances of the site at their Baptist Church in Dublin Street, Edinburgh, and appears to be an original one. The earliest published English example of the double-transept seems to have been Joseph James' Congregational Church at Barnsley, which did not have galleries and did not appear in print until February 1857.

As at the Montrose and Greenock churches the inspiration may have come from a building nearer home: Dr Chalmers' Free Church in West Port, Edinburgh, designed by William Hardie Hay in 1844. As at Dublin Street the long axis was parallel with the road to which it presented a frontage of three tall gables rather than Dublin Street's two. Its roofs seem to have been parallel valleys rather than intersecting, and the design as a whole was somewhat bleak, but Peddie & Kinnear were adept at developing any concept which was fundamentally a good one.

Dublin Street Baptist Church, Edinburgh

The plans, elevations and sections which Peddie & Kinnear issued for Dublin Street Baptist Church on 8 August 1856 were a brilliantly conceived response to the challenge of making the best possible use of an awkward site, which rose fairly gently from east to west, but steeply from north to south.

The building was orientated north-south, parallel with the line of Dublin Street. Its breadth was expressed by its north gable to Broughton Market, which had a central pointed-arch doorway with a transom-light giving access to the basement: male and female vestries - a very important provision in a Baptist church - and school-rooms. The preaching hall (maximum dimensions 49' × 62'6; subsequently revised) at first floor level was lit on this side by an elaborate twelve-spoke wheel-window, 16 feet 6 inches in diameter. On the south it abutted a tenement. Particularly good light therefore had to be obtained from the eastern and western flanks where it had large traceried three-light windows in very broad double-transepts. The tall gables of the western double-transept and its central spirelet gave grandeur to a flank elevation between four-storey tenements which could not have been achieved in any other way. Surprisingly the substantial advantages it provided in light, ventilation and seating

capacity were not to be appreciated and copied by other architects for several years to come.

From Dublin Street, the church porch gave access to a vestibule corridor with a single gallery stair at its far end in the south-east corner. Taken together the plans and sections show that the gallery was originally to have had secondary support from iron columns intermediate between those supporting the roof, but these were subsequently crossed out to improve the sight-lines. Set against the northern gable, the pulpit was raised and corbelled out well above the daïs, with approach steps on each side and its gablet back just touching the outer edge of the wheel-window. Of this immensely spacious interior one cannot now do better than quote the description published in The Building News, which appears to have been based on a visit with one of the partners.

"On each side of the nave, at the intersection of the transepts, rises a moulded [clustered] iron column, which serves the double purpose of supporting the centre of the gallery occupying the transept on each side and of carrying the arched [laminated] timbers of the nave and the transept roofs, which here unite. These iron columns have capitals enriched by ivy leaves, in high relief, which together with the label terminations of the windows and bosses in the corridor roof have been studied from natural foliage. The main roof timbers span the nave and transepts with pointed arches. Between the small timbers, the slate boarding is plastered - an arrangement that contributes considerably to the warmth of the building, and serves to throw into greater relief the exposed woodwork of the roof. The whole timber fittings in the church are stained of a rich brown colour and varnished. The front of the galleries ... are boldly panelled and coped with deeply cut mouldings filled with enrichments. The pulpit is corbelled out ... and has rich tracery in the side panels. ... That important feature in a church, the seating, seems unusually commodious, the width being some half-a-dozen inches more than in most cases, and the arrangement easy and comfortable. From every seat a complete view of the clergyman is obtained. It is stated that the acoustic qualities of the building have proved very satisfactory, while the ventilation seems well provided Altogether the interior may be characterised as a pleasing combination of simplicity of detail and quiet artistic effect."

That the acoustic was so good must have been a relief to the architects. Dublin Street was the test-bed for their larger churches of the next decade, although its scholarly Tractarian English middle pointed detail was not to re-appear until the 1870s. As will be seen later, the roof treatment and the traceried pulpit were to be the hallmarks of the more expensive Peddie & Kinnear churches.

Competition Design for St Mary's Free Church, Albany Street and Broughton Street, Edinburgh

The competition for St Mary's Free Church arose from dissatisfaction with the original architects, the Hays of Liverpool. On 19 July 1858 the congregation's building committee decided to hold a not-so-limited competition for a church with an eastern spire which would hold 1,000 sitters. Twenty-five feet of frontage on Albany Street was to be left vacant for a manse. Virtually all the leaders of the architectural profession in Scotland were invited to compete, but some got wind of the fact that the competition was not truly limited and declined, only to be replaced by others. Nine submissions were received: the committee reduced them to five in October, at which

point Peddie & Kinnear learned that one competitor had drawn out the manse: they wrote requesting "the names of the other competitors, so that they might intimate their objection together." These the committee was not willing to provide, but Peddie & Kinnear ("Red Cross") were placed second to J.T. Rochead, bringing them £30. Alexander Thomson's design was un-placed despite its appropriateness for the late Georgian context of the site. The design which included the manse was probably Rochead's since he was instructed to build it.

Only plans and sections survive from Peddie & Kinnear's submission: there may never have been elevations, as Thomson's submission shows that a perspective was required. It was ingeniously conceived in response to an oblique-angled corner site on steeply falling ground which called for impressive elevations. Orientated east-west with the pulpit at the western end adjacent to the proposed manse, it was to have had a double-transept front with a central buttress spirelet to Albany Street and an entrance gable 31 feet broad and 52 feet high rising from a basement terrace on Broughton Street. Flanking the 12 feet diameter wheel-window which lit the middle gallery were two stair-halls, the southern being the spire required by the brief. The sections show that the windows in the transept gables and the spheric triangle over the pulpit were to have had elaborate plate-tracery in different patterns. As at the later Biggar church (see Chapter 9) the concept seems to have derived from the plate tracery in Lanyon & Lynn's Trinity College Church design which was published in the month the competition was advertised, and perhaps also from Street's design for the Lille Cathedral which had appeared in February, but Peddie & Kinnear's patterns were far more intricate than anything attempted south of the Border or across the Irish Sea in 1858. Plate 7 in Ruskin's Seven Lamps may have helped, but Kinnear camera studies of Bernieres, Chartres and Laon seem more likely since Nesfield's plates of these were not published until 1862. Filled with coloured glass plate tracery they would have enabled rich jewel-like effects to be achieved at moderate cost by machine-cutting, whereas the Late Decorated tracery of Dublin Street entailed expensive carving.

Pilrig Free Church, Edinburgh

Seemingly as a by-product of the St Mary's competition, Peddie & Kinnear were nominated as the architects for Pilrig Free Church in Edinburgh. The site was again a corner one, but the junction of Pilrig Street and Leith Walk was right-angled and sloped only slightly so that it did not lend itself to a basement. In all other respects the presentation plans of 31 August 1860, and the working drawings of May 1861, corresponded to the plans entered in the St Mary's Free Church competition. The foundation stone was laid on 19 October 1861.

The elevations of Pilrig were designed in the same plate-traceried early French gothic as St Mary's. As in the St Mary's scheme there were two main entrances, one in the nave gable on the east, with steps up from Leith Walk, and one in the flank of the spire, accessed from Pilrig Street on the south. The proportions of the elevations were carefully considered. The 59 feet 3 inch overall breadth of the gable and its towers was almost exactly equal to the 60 feet height of the tower and the 59 feet 6 inch height of its stone spire. Within this overall double-square framework, the 27 feet 5 inch breadth of the nave's gable was only fractionally exceeded by the 28 feet height at which it began to rise into its skews, and the height of its apex at 46 feet 6 inches was very nearly three-quarters the height of the tower to the base of the spire. The breadth of

the right-hand tower fell slightly short of half that of the nave gable, at 13 feet 1 inch, because of the limitations of the site. The double-transept elevation to Pilrig Street answered the Leith Walk gable in height and had the central buttress and spirelet proposed at St Mary's.

The belfry stage and spire were of very original design for 1860. The stilted arches on long slim colonettes at the belfry stage were similar to those in Edward Basset Keeling's St Mark's, Notting Hill, and his related St George, Camden Hill, both in London, but as these churches were not designed until 1861 and 1863 the Pilrig Street spire must have been based on French originals; the nookshaft pinnacles and the pyramid-spirelet lucarnes have fish-scale imbrication banded with ashlar, a detail which had appeared in Street's Lille design but was again more probably derived from first-hand observation on Kinnear's photographic tour of 1857. The smaller stair-tower had cusp-headed windows with colonettes expressing the rake of the stair within, a detail adapted from Lanyon & Lynn's Trinity College design.

Internally the church had a light roof construction with arched laminated principles as at Dublin Street. The boarding originally had painted decoration but this was lost after a fire in 1892. In response to The Building News' criticism of the pulpit at Dublin Street, the wide platform pulpit at Pilrig Street had shafted angles and a back of three cusped and diapered arches, set in blind arcaded panelling. The church was rich in stained glass from the start, Field & Allan providing the east window and the transept windows, and Ballantine the more richly coloured glass of the west window.

Pilrig Street was opened on 12 February 1863. It was to remain Peddie & Kinnear's best gothic church, reflecting the £6,800 it had cost. As originally constructed the church had no hall, only a vestry, session room and waiting rooms. On 10-12 February 1873, however, Peddie & Kinnear proposed the demolition of these for substantially larger "Additional Buildings."

Although linked to the church through its porch as before, these would have been very much a separate structure. The eaves-lines honoured those of the original building, the apex of the spired roof of the stair-tower coincided with the height of the rear nave gable, while the ridge-line was kept slightly lower in deference. The style was a simplified gothic - akin to Wauchope (1876, see Chapter 28) - with the draughtsmanship and calligraphy implying the hand of John More Dick Peddie, then about to leave for Scott's office in London. It was not built but in certain respects formed the model for Sydney Mitchell & Wilson's hall of 1892.

Alloa United Presbyterian Church

Peddie probably owed the commission for Alloa United Presbyterian Church to his father, who had advised the managers on their titles and on the appointment of trustees.

Nevertheless there was a competition of some sort to avoid offending the Alloa architect Thomas Frame who was a member of the congregation. On 20 October 1862 those architects who had offered their services were requested to forward designs for a church costing £2,000 in the course of that week. Rather late, on 28 October, the managers discussed:

"the style of building that should be adopted for the new church, and a variety of designs for churches were examined, but it was agreed that different members of the committee examine various churches throughout the country, obtain what additional information they could, and report to a future meeting."

On 15 December the managers reported on their tours of inspection and it was moved that the maximum cost be raised to £2,500,

"that the interior be similar to that of Leven Free Church [by the Hays of Liverpool] and that Messrs Peddie & Kinnear be asked to furnish sketches to the committee of management in terms of the arrangement with the sub-committee that visited them the previous week."

These sketches were approved on 17 February 1863 but have not survived. The capacity then planned was 700, subsequently reduced to 630. The working drawings were prepared in March, and followed on naturally from those of Pilrig since they were again for a corner site with street frontages to the south and west, here set well back from the road on a grassed terrace. Although its southern gable-front was not as wide as Pilrig's, 51 feet broad as against 59 feet 3 inches, it was similar in articulation, though the entrances were differently placed. There was no central entrance: since the church was then approached mainly from the south, Peddie & Kinnear reverted to the Montrose-Greenock arrangement of two entrances flanking the gable-front.

The tower was un-buttressed and not quite square, 15 feet 6 inches broad by 16 feet deep, with a belfry stage similar to Pilrig's and a slated spire closely modelled on that of Street's St James the Less, Westminster, which had been published in The Builder two years earlier. It rose to a height of 104 feet, repeating the 2-to-1 height-to-breadth ratio which determined the Pilrig front. The proportions of the gable also remained consistent at about 3-to-2: height 41 feet as against breadth 26 feet. The vestibule was lit by five cusp-headed lights at ground floor, and the gallery by a pair of plate-traceried two-light windows with a Dunblane vesica above them.

Alloa deviated from the Pilrig model on the flanks which had narrower triple transepts, or three-bay gabled aisles, resulting in lower transverse roofs. This may have been the result of their referral to the Hays' Leven church: functionally it is not obvious why this arrangement was introduced as it offered no more floorspace and introduced two additional columns. Mathematical proportions were, however, again in evidence: the total length of the nave, at 74 feet, was more-or-less half again as great as the church's 51 feet breadth, roughly equal to the 72 feet 6 inch height of the tower shaft, and three-quarters the total 104 feet height of the tower including its spire.

The masonry of the church was executed by a Mr Cram, under the supervision of Thomas Frame as inspector, the sculpture being of particular quality. The interior was originally to have had a plain plastered ceiling, but in the course of the work Peddie suggested that the interior would look better if the roof timbers were exposed and stained, and the compartments between them plastered as at Dublin Street, at a cost of £55. This was agreed to and in March 1864 the congregation further agreed to stained glass by Field & Allan for the rose-window over the pulpit, bringing the final cost to £3,700.

The church was enlarged in 1891 by a hall designed by Adam Frame and again in 1902 when Sydney Mitchell & Wilson added transepts, organ chamber and sanctuary. This was sympathetically done but at a late stage they were instructed to replace the spire with a parapet and pyramid roof. Peddie & Kinnear's original design can be seen in copy reverse form at their ex-assistant Thomas Begg MacFadzean's quoad sacra church at Grahamston, Falkirk, built in 1873.

St Andrews (Hope Park) United Presbyterian Church

St Andrews was a Burgher congregation founded in 1738, whose North Street Chapel of 1825-26 had proved too small, a new site being secured on the corner of Market Street with Hope Street and City Road. Peddie & Kinnear were commissioned without competition in October 1863, the brief being for a church to seat 700. Their scheme was approved in December and lithographed. The working drawings followed in February 1864, and estimates of £1,816 were received in April. The site was level, entailing a separate vestry and session room block. The double-transept plan of the church corresponded to Pilrig rather than Alloa, but in dimensions, proportions and certain aspects of arrangement represented a compromise between the two. In style and detail it was simplest gothic with geometrical plate tracery.

Its western gable-front, facing City Road, was flanked by a tall tower and spire on the street-corner - here on the right rather than the left - with the main doorway on the Market Street flank of the tower. A smaller stair-hall tower, with a separate entrance as at Alloa, answered it on the left. Five aisled lights lit the pews under the gallery as at Alloa; above was a large plate-traceried spheric triangle window lighting the gallery, as proposed for the transepts in the original scheme for Biggar. The total width of the front was 55 feet 6 inches broad as against 51 feet at Alloa and 59 feet 3 inches at Pilrig, reflecting the difference in the number of sittings, but the gable itself at 27 feet was similar to those of Pilrig and Alloa (27 feet 5; 26 feet), its height - 39 feet 6, revised to 41 feet, matched that of Alloa and indicated the same proportional framework of 3-to-2. The tall un-buttressed tower adopted the smaller dimensions of each of its predecessors, rising from a footprint 16 feet broad by 15 feet 9 inches deep (Alloa 15

feet 6 by 16 feet) to a height of 59 feet 6, revised to 63 feet 6 (Pilrig 60 feet). The total height of the slated Alloa-type spire, 110 feet 6 inches, revised to 114 feet 6 inches, implied that the composition as a whole had again been conceived within a 2-to-1 framework when related to the 55 feet breadth.

The transept gables were each lit by three depressed-arch lights under the gallery, and by an 11 feet 6 inch diameter rose-window, with the simplest of geometric plate tracery: the linking spirelet of the Pilrig design was sacrificed to economy. Most unusually, the "PK" monogram was neatly drawn on one of the skewputts and this, together with other nuances of draughtsmanship and coloration, suggest an assistant working up the original sketch designs. These have disappeared, but an untitled pencil sketch in the archive indicates that a richer level of detail with wheel-windows instead of plate-traceried windows had been planned. The interior, altered in 1904 and again in 1954, was also kept very simple with camp plaster ceilings.

The church was begun in July 1864 with Pearson of St Andrews as mason and Adams of Cupar as joiner, and was opened on 15 November 1865. Although the smaller Alloa had cost £3,700, Hope Park cost £2,150, a difference reflected in the numerous economies of design. To off-set their plainness the walls of Hope Park were textured by the use of hammer-dressed masonry with ashlar dressings. This was not a completely new innovation, Burn having adopted it for similar reasons at Buchanan Castle in the 1850s, but it was a fairly recent introduction to Peddie & Kinnear's practice, having first been introduced at Crawfordton in 1863. From the same year it began to appear in their plainer villas. Its prominent use at Hope Park probably influenced the rapid spread of the technique in Scotland in the 1870s and 1880s.

The original session room and vestry were rebuilt in 1899-1900 but the adjoining manse on Howard Place survives. It conforms to the architecture of that terrace, the working drawings being dated September 1866.

Allan Park United Presbyterian Church, Stirling

The Allan Park congregation came into being in November 1865 as a result of a schism in the Erskine congregation between the adherents of the ailing senior minister and those of the junior minister, the Reverend J.T. Gowanlock, for whom the church was built. His building committee secured a very large site known as Busbie's Garden between the Back Walk, Corn Exchange Road and Dunbarton Road, and went on a tour of Glasgow churches, returning with the recommendation "the construction square, with end and side galleries, to cost no more than £3,500" for 750 sittings.

Peddie & Kinnear were selected without competition and prepared four sets of sketch plans before proceeding to working drawings, no trace of any of which survives in the archive. The site was a steep slope, enabling the vestry, session room etc. to be underneath the church as at Dublin Street, with a separate entrance from Dunbarton Road, but it proved a bad one which required extensive piling.

The orientation was north-south, the square construction desired by the committee being met by a double-transept plan entered on the north from Back Walk, with the pulpit at the south end and a tall tower in the south-eastern re-entrant angle containing the Dunbarton Road entrance and the stair linking the vestry to the pulpit. Because of the different location of the tower the stair-halls flanking the vestibule were given simple lean-to roofs producing a nave-and-aisles gable-front on the north.

Although the building committee sought economy in so far as it was consistent with sound construction, the hammer-dressed severity of the St Andrews church was avoided. The rose-windows in the south and north gables were more elaborate, each with a central multifoil circle surrounded by a ring of quatrefoils, and the transepts had two-light windows of the Alloa type with cinquefoil plate-tracery and triplets of cusped windows lighting the area under the gallery. The finest feature of the church was the tower flanking the very tall gable-front on Dunbarton Road, the biggest if not the most elaborate tower the practice built, buttressed at the lower stages with an octagonal turret at the south-east. The proportions, tall belfry stage openings and boldly corbelled parapet suggested that St Salvator's tower at St Andrews had been taken as their source of inspiration, but the spire itself was a simple slated pyramid.

Within, the church was very simple: it had a good platform pulpit with a canted front and shafted angles but the ceiling was plain plaster. It was opened on 20 December 1867 at a cost of £4,893 8s. 11d. after much disagreement with the builders, Graham & Morton, over the quality of the materials. The piles failed in 1950 and although the church was stabilised the tower was reduced to the clock stage in 1954.

Bonnygate United Presbyterian Church, Cupar

Bonnygate United Presbyterian Church was commissioned by the congregation at Burnside (originally Anti-Burgher) which had outgrown its building of 1796 as a result of schisms elsewhere. Peddie & Kinnear issued their proposals for it on 26 April 1865. Although seated for 650 as at Alloa, Bonnygate was the smallest of their series of two-towered Early Gothic plate-traceried churches, and because of the tightly-bounded site it was only 44 feet broad with aisles instead of transepts, the flank elevations then being completely hidden by the adjoining houses.

Stylistically Bonnygate reflected an increasing interest in the architecture of Germany. This was probably associated with Peddie's visits to arrange his elder sons' schooling in Elberfeld, but it was paralleled by illustrations of early German architecture published in The Builder and The Building News (even if none offered direct inspiration for the church) and in the work of P.J.H. Cuypers in the Netherlands.

Following Alloa and St Andrews the main tower was un-buttressed and almost blind except for small windows lighting the gallery stair. As built, the tall belfry stage had paired shafted openings rather than the plain triple openings originally proposed, and the pyramid spire was slated instead of leaded. In silhouette it was reminiscent of German towers such as those of Limburg, but with the important difference that the angles of the spire did not rise from the apices of the gables. Since Lanyon & Lynn's Trinity College church design had the same arrangement of roundels in the gables, the inspiration may have lain there.

In the case of both the taller western tower and smaller eastern tower, the height of the wallhead was related to the height of the spire by a close approximation of the golden section: more specifically, the height of the taller tower's wallhead, 58 feet, and spire, 93 feet, respectively fell just short of five times and eight times the breadth of the shaft; while the smaller tower's wallhead, 31 feet, and spired roof, 48 feet 6 inches, related to those of the larger tower on a ratio of just slightly more than 1-to-2.

In execution the sculptural detailing of the doorway was notably richer than the quatrefoil tympanum shown in the drawings: it clearly relates to J.K. Colling's series of articles on "Art Foliage" published in The Building News in 1864-65, and to James T. Knowles' Thatched House Club, London. The sculptor was probably a Mr Roddis of London, who executed the sculpture at the Royal Bank in Brechin and probably also the very similar sculpture at that in Portobello (see Chapter 20).

Within, the three-sided gallery was carried on raking iron beams bracketed to castiron columns: these columns also took the weight of the scissor-trussed roof which encompassed the aisles. The main area had a four-plane plaster ceiling, a polygonal barrel-vault between the towers and flat ceilings in the aisles. Designs for a session-house and vestry block were issued in May 1866, the month after preparation of the main drawings. The church was opened on 16 December at a cost of just over £3,000.

Hope Park United Presbyterian Church, Edinburgh

Hope Park Edinburgh was an Anti-Burgher congregation founded in Potterrow in 1792. In the mid 1860s the adjoining type-foundry offered £1,700 for the original

church and a new site was bought at the corner of Summerhall and Hope Park Terrace, looking onto the Meadows. Peddie & Kinnear were appointed without discussion on 23 April 1866. The new church was the subject of two sets of working drawings, the first dated August 1866 and the executed scheme a month later. The revision was not referred to in the minutes but was clearly to reduce costs. Larger even than Pilrig with sittings for 1,050, it related in style to the practice's smaller churches in being Romanesque with arcaded corbel-tables at the gables and was described at the time as Lombardic.

The church was of the Alloa triple-transept type but it was raised over a basement containing the halls, session room and vestry, and was orientated east-west with its entrance on Hope Park Terrace, the gables being wheel-windowed throughout. In the August scheme the Hope Park Terrace gable-front was flanked by two contrasting towers. The north-west tower was generally modelled on that of S. Zeno at Verona, but with gablets at the slated spire; the south-western stair-tower was octagonal with a prismatic roof and ascending windows, as in the first proposals for the Biggar church. In the September scheme this north-western tower was reduced to a simpler gabled form with two-light belfry openings while the south-western stair-tower became a simple lean-to stair-hall.

Both versions of the design were substantially broader than Pilrig - 72 feet 6 inches in August, falling to 67 feet 6 inches in September, as against Pilrig's 59 feet 3 inches reflecting the larger number of sittings; but the breadth of the nave remained constant from one month to the next at 36 feet (Pilrig 27 feet 5). The carefully calculated proportional relationships which were a characteristic of the original design were thus diluted. The rich detailing of the entrance was also simplified, the paired barley-twist shafts of the porch being replaced by single columns, the pinnacles omitted, the foliate capitals of the side-lights reduced to simple Doric ones, and the polychromy of the voussoirs abandoned. However, the panelled tympanum of the porch, the design of the wheel-window and the arcaded tabling of the skews were retained.

In August the combined width of the triple transepts between the flanking pinnacled buttresses had been 53 feet 6 inches and the height from basement level 50 feet, an almost square framework. However, as a result of the elimination of the buttresses and pinnacles in September the proportions had to be re-thought: the width of the transepts between their pilaster strips was increased to 57 feet, relating them 3-to-2 with their 39 feet height from floor level.

These refinements were lost on The Builder, which found that the church "had a painfully depressed look which might have been obviated by placing the whole structure above ground." The omission of the buttresses and pinnacles on the flanks provoked the comment that the resulting elevations were "disagreeably suggestive of railway sheds on the ridge-and-furrow principles." The church was opened on 19 September 1867. The builders were W. & D. MacGregor and the total cost £6,734.

The August drawings were initialled "A.C.P." on the reverse, the only clue to the identity of the draughtsman responsible for drawing out so many of the practice's designs in the mid to late 1860s.

In 1865 the Caledonian Railway gave notice to the congregation of St George's Free Church in Lothian Road that its site would be required for the extension of the company's operations there, and a new church was commissioned from David Bryce. The congregation of Free St Andrews already had a mission-school in Stockbridge, established in 1863, and in 1867 an influential committee headed by the railway engineer John Miller of Leithen, Major General Charles Wahab and William Cooper, Secretary of the Free Church Building Association, resolved to build a church there as a tribute to their minister, the Reverend Dr John Bruce. With £1,800 in hand two of the subscribers, one of whom was presumably Miller, bought the materials of St George's from the Caledonian Railway. This neo-Norman church had been designed by David Cousin in 1844-45 but although Cousin was still in practice the committee gave the commission to Peddie, who had designed Miller's house in Melville Crescent and probably been responsible for the mission-school of 1863 since it was of the same type as that built at Cockenzie in 1865 (see Chapter 9). Cousin was either unable or unwilling to make the drawings available and Kinnear surveyed it photographically with long measuring sticks affixed to its walls. The plans were approved on 21 November 1867 at which point the committee decided that it would itself supervise the contractors, W. & D. MacGregor, Peddie & Kinnear being allowed 21/2% for working The foundation stone was laid on 1 January 1868. Since the rebuilt church's northern flank was enclosed by the hall, masonry not required for that side allowed the option of increasing the entrance front's central gable into a tower, and this is all which now survives of the church.

The gable-front of the church at Lothian Road, and as rebuilt in towered form at Stockbridge, was 55 feet broad. All the details were resurrected from the Lothian Road church but the transeptal stair-halls were set further back than in the Cousin design. The elevation was distinguished by pilaster buttresses with shafted angles, those of the tower extending through the belfry stage to the parapet where the pinnacles of the Cousin gable re-appeared at a higher level.

In the towered scheme, which was decided upon in March 1868 at an additional cost of £734, the wheel-window preceded the arcading, which now formed the base of the new belfry stage. Pairs of tall, louvred, round-headed arches on each face were framed by nookshafts, as in Cousin's work. An arcaded corbel-table ran under the parapet, behind which rose the pyramid spire which was to have been leaded. At this stage in the re-design of the church, Peddie & Kinnear suggested the transposition of Cousin's transeptal gables to the front elevation, flanking the tower and expressing separate aisle roofs, as at Montrose and Greenock. Although most of the dimensions had been pre-determined by Cousin, the breadth of the tower at 26 feet, the height of the transeptal gables at 38 feet, the height of the tower parapet at 79 feet and the height of the spire at 105 feet were all quite closely related through the ratio of 2-to-3-to-6-to-8.

Although separate aisle roofs would have resulted in a better elevation to Leslie Place, the congregation's managers preferred Cousin's simple overall roof to allow re-use of his trusses and avoid the drainage problems of valley roofs, so the stair-halls were rebuilt in their original transeptal form. As part of this cost-cutting programme slates were substituted for lead at the spire on 4 June 1868.

The interior of the church was not recorded at the time of demolition. It was essentially similar to that of Bonnygate with sittings for 900, but the cast-iron columns were presumably re-used from the Lothian Road church. The furnishings were provided by Whytock & Reid, perhaps to their own designs. The church was not completed without difficulty. When Dr Bruce, out of modesty, expressed reluctance to lend his name to the church, some of the subscribers lost enthusiasm for the project. Peddie & Kinnear's and W. & D. MacGregors' accounts were disputed and both declined the offer of arbitration, the practice eventually giving half the sum outstanding as a donation. There was similar difficulty with their account for the hall, which was a separate gift from Wahab. Under duress they gave £20, and charged the balance of £17.

Although of similar plan to Bonnygate, Stockbridge was an interesting exercise in creative conservation rather than an original design. The predominant style of Peddie & Kinnear's church work in the period 1858-68 had been Continental gothic and Romanesque and although other architects, notably their ex-assistant Thomas Begg MacFadzean at Thornton Shiells, continued to design in Peddie & Kinnear Romanesque until the later 1870s, Peddie & Kinnear themselves were to return to the English Tractarian gothic of Dublin Street, as will be seen in Chapter 27.

- CHAPTER 11 -

Cottage and Villa Design, 1849-60

Despite his extensive family connections and his success at the Synod Hall, Peddie seems to have had to wait four years for his first domestic commission. His early villas varied greatly in style from plain classic and neo-Jacobean to a picturesque bargeboarded idiom, banker's High Renaissance and even the simplest of piend-roofed rectangles, the only common factors being their plan-types and the mathematical principles on which nearly all were based. The archive appears to be less completely preserved in respect of these smaller jobs than it is for the larger ones, so this account is unlikely to be comprehensive.

Edinburgh: Western Suburbs: Corstorphine and Murrayfield

Prestonville Cottage

Peddie's earliest known domestic commission was a single-storey cottage of plain classic character with four rooms and a kitchen, built in Corstorphine for Mrs Henderson. It had a simple front elevation with central double-leaf doors, framed by two windows of the late Georgian twelve-pane pattern. It no longer exists, but the sixteen-sheet booklet of designs dated 8 May 1849 provides a comprehensive record.

Tor House

Tor House in Murrayfield for Mr Craig seems to have been Peddie's first significant domestic commission. Simple neo-Jacobean influenced by Rhind's Daniel Stewart's (1848), it stood on a grassed terrace screened from Corstorphine Road by a high wall, gates and lodge-house. The drawings for it must have been prepared in early 1850 since, although none was signed, addressed or dated, the designs for the coach-house and stabling were issued in March that year. The coach-house was evidently too ambitious since a much smaller version was designed on 15 July, then details for the house on 5 September and 21 and 29 October. The September drawing appears to have been signed "D[avid] J[amieson]" in proxy.

Tor's south-facing principal frontage was symmetrical in general outline, two storeys in height and articulated as a three-windows-wide central block flanked by advanced end-gables, expressing the three main rooms on each floor. The only asymmetrical feature was the console-bracketed main entrance, set in the left-hand bay of the central block in order to accommodate the dining room which was arranged lengthwise. The house was very precise in execution, built of coursers with Scots Jacobean buckle quoins at the angles, and curvilinear gables and dormerheads.

On plan the house was double-pile with an "M"-roof. The rear block was shallower than the front since it accommodated only the stair and services. As built, the house had two-storey canted bays rather than the single-storey ones shown in the drawings; it also had a shouldered open porch with a balustraded parapet. These may have been very early alterations. Further additions were made circa 1900.

The ground floor plan is of particular interest as the earliest known use of the copy

reverse. Its early date suggests that it was Peddie who realised the value of the process to architectural practice. While he may have adopted it from Rhind whose archive has been lost, it was probably derived from his engineer brother James, or from the Blyths, his engineer cousins; it was not imported with Kinnear from the Bryce office.

Edinburgh: Trinity: the First Villas

Extension of Mayville

On 29 July 1851 Peter Stalker drew out a big-scaled classic rectangular addition to be built against the western gable of the small late Georgian villa of Mayville. This provided it with a large dining room and drawing room. The client was William (later Sir William) Flockhart of Duncan, Flockhart & Company, the Queen's chemists in Scotland and the pioneers of chloroform with Sir James Young Simpson in 1846-47.

The new extension had emphasised quoins, with a band-course identifying first floor level. The detailing was subsequently amended, and at one point a pierced parapet concealing a flat roof was considered.

The Revisions of 4 September and 8-13 October 1851

Although the parapet proposal was not pursued, the idea that fine views of the Forth estuary might be obtained from the roof led to a new drawing initialled by Peddie on 4 September: this showed an arcaded attic observation room, three arches broad across the width of the canted bay, and six arches deep rising above the roof, the wallhead of the canted bay being guarded by a rail so as to form a balcony. The concept appears to derive from a similar feature in Letarouilly's plate of a house in the Piazza Borghese.

This scheme was discarded as too ambitious, and on 8 October another design for a platformed pavilion roof was prepared, the room within it being lit by a triple-arched dormer above the canted bay, and a smaller dormer window on the flank. The platform was to be crowned by railings although there was no indication of an access hatch. On 12 October the room became just a bedroom with a small-windowed canted dormer, and much of the interest of the design was lost.

20 York Road (Richmond House)

Between September and November 1851 Peddie designed a simple but distinguished two-storey late classical villa at 20 York Road for William Pollock. On plan the villa, 43 feet broad by 38 feet deep, conformed to the standard late Georgian three-bay format with a central consoled doorpiece, adjusted to accommodate the left-hand canted bay which lit the ground floor dining room and first floor drawing room a perhaps intended for carving as at Chalmers Street.

The entrance elevation was flanked by what appeared to be two flat-roofed singlestorey wings, recessed back from the main frontage, which gave the house greater presence and closed off the full breadth of the feu. Each had its own doorway, but only that on the right had a window since the left-hand wing was a screen-wall leading to the garden. The Watherston Collection formerly contained a set of drawings catalogued as "Elmbank," Corstorphine (1851), which probably related to a house very similar to Pollock's, Elibank at 34 St John's Road.

26 York Road, Trinity (Lomond House, later Cairney House)

On 25 July 1853 Peddie produced designs for a rather grander neo-Jacobean version of Pollock's villa for William Flockhart, his client at Mayville whose wealth had increased rapidly with the demand for chloroform. The site was a big west-facing double-feu, enabling the house to have a garden front on its northern flank looking out over the River Forth. Its rear wing was thus for the most part two-storey in lieu of the single-storey service annexe at Pollock's. Flockhart's new villa had a broader entrance frontage than Pollock's, 49 feet 1½ inches as against 43 feet, this allowing for a wider canted bay lighting the ground floor dining room and first floor drawing room and also for paired windows at the front ground floor bedroom. Unlike Pollock's villa, however, the entrance elevation was "L"-plan: the dining room and drawing room extended forward into a projecting gable-front which negotiated an increase in the eaves-height on the north flank. At first floor, this additional depth resulted in a larger stair-landing, and more generous rooms to the rear, the drawing room opening by sliding doors into the library for larger social gatherings.

Within the rear wing a mezzanine bedroom, en suite dressing room, bathroom and water-closet were all accessed from a half-way landing on the stair and formed a small private suite, very much as in country houses of the same vintage.

The detailing was much more ambitious than that of the Pollock villa. Like the Craig villa it had buckle quoins, a stone roof at the canted bay and spike finials at the gables, which were straight with moulded copes rather than curvilinear. The door also followed the original Craig's villa pattern with paired consoles supporting a stepped parapet and ball finials. The stacks were finely detailed with corbel-course copes, of which the largest was placed to rise centrally above the canted bay gable as seen from Lennox Row. The only points of similarity to the Pollock villa were the panelled spandrels at the canted bay, intended for sculpture which was never cut, and the glazing which was originally of the same distinctive eight- and six-pane pattern.

Another similar but smaller house was built in Lennox Row, for which a design survives relating to additions and alterations approved by the owner, W.A. Parker, on 17 June 1858.

Rivals Green, Linlithgow: Its Influence on the Design of Flockhart's Villa

The form of Flockhart's villa derived from that of a neo-Jacobean house of circa 1840 called Rivals Green, in Linlithgow. This was owned by James Watson W.S., the husband of Peddie's cousin Margaret Coventry Peddie. As related in Chapter 1 they financed, and ultimately bought, the Laverockbank development (see below).

Peddie produced designs for alterations to Rival's Green on 9 July 1853 and again between December 1861 and March 1862, his additions including a porch similar to that of Tor House and a large stable-court. As he found it, the house had a two-storey three-bay entrance frontage, the doorway fractionally off-set from centre to allow for a

broad principal apartment on the right and a smaller room, here the library, on the left. The principal apartment occupied an advanced gable-fronted bay, as at Flockhart's villa. However, in contrast to Flockhart's villa, which in the fundamentals of its plan followed Pollock's, this principal ground floor apartment was not the dining room but the drawing room; it was also lit by a canted bay in the gable, and suggested the similar arrangement at Flockhart's. The dining room lay behind it and similarly anticipated the configuration of Flockhart's drawing room and library.

Edinburgh: Trinity: Laverockbank Terrace Development

The history of Laverockbank Terrace, Peddie's first major venture into property speculation, has been described in Chapter 1. Its importance to Peddie was as much as a test-bed for his ideas on house-planning as a source of income, and details introduced there formed a range of options which could be offered to prospective clients.

The terrace was single-sided, accessed by a roadway raised high and almost level above the steep slope of Craighall Road by a retaining wall which must have been extremely expensive to construct. At the north end it turned westward in a right-angle before becoming a very steep narrow lane running down to Starbank Road. There can be little doubt that Peddie designed all of these houses, but only the plans for nos 6 and 7, nos 8, 9 and 10 and no 12 have survived.

Findlater Lodge, 8 Laverockbank Terrace

Early in 1855 designs were produced for a "Villa in Trinity for Mr Peddie," in which the plan of Pollock's and Flockhart's villas was reduced to a more concentrated form, providing the pattern for a number of near square-plan houses. By eliminating the entrance bay within the main frontage and replacing the entrance vestibule with a corridor running latitudinally from a side-porch to the stair-hall, a house of almost cubic dimensions (36'4½ broad by 35' deep by 34' high) resulted, with services partially accommodated in a single-storey annexe to the rear. The dining room and drawing room (each 18' × 15', afterwards revised) were arranged to the right rather than to the left as in Pollock's and Flockhart's villas and were originally to have been lit by simple triple windows on each floor. Subsequently a canted bay was preferred. Maximum advantage was made of the limited available space by the formation of a mezzanine servant's bedroom at the back.

Although contractors signed the drawings on 1 and 2 March, the small scale of the house appears to have provoked second thoughts as to whether it would sell. Revised plans were issued on 5 April in which the layout of the rooms was little altered, but the breadth of the front elevation was increased 3 feet, while the depth, excluding the annexe, was reduced 15 inches. The elevations remained absolutely plain in its external detailing without base-course, band-course or emphasised quoins.

Peddie sold the house to Isabella Fullerton in 1857. She rented it out and then, some time before May 1864, sold it on to John McNab, for whom the practice extended it by the addition of a new bay against the right-hand end-gable. The result was a near-symmetrical elevation: pencil alterations on the original drawings relate to this enlargement.

Laurel Bank, 12 Laverockbank Terrace

Designed in July and August 1855, Laurel Bank was again almost square on plan, 41 feet 6 inches broad and 45 feet deep. Because the site commanded a splendid view of the River Forth the principal elevation faced north and the rear elevation south towards the crank in the terrace. This street-side elevation was carefully composed with a big gable flanked by a dormerhead gablet, the staircase being identified by a large round-arched window with a moulded arris. On the west side a gabled entrance porch was largely accommodated within the envelope of the house. The principal northern elevation was of two bays only, the ground floor dining room and first floor drawing room having a tall canted bay, corbelled to the square and gabled at the top, as in the late revision of the Findlater Lodge design.

Laurel Bank was the largest and finest house in the terrace. Although the client Miss Thomson had her initials "H.T." put on the west gable along with Peddie's, she can have lived there only briefly, the earliest recorded occupant being Andrew Wilson. Only a sheet of joisting and roof-plans dated 3 July and a detail sheet dated 10 August 1855 survive within the archive.

Semi-detached Villas at 6 and 7 ("Chapelside"), Laverockbank Terrace

On 29 April 1857 Peddie produced plans, elevations and sections for a pair of semidetached two-storey and attic houses which, in certain aspects of their design, corresponded closely with the earlier villas. Like no 8 they were built speculatively. No 7 was sold to Jane Beveridge in 1859 and subsequently to R.W. Crudelius; no 6 to Mary Morison in 1861.

These houses were three bays and 53 feet 3 inches broad, and 41 feet deep at the gables. They had single-storey service annexes like those of Findlater Lodge, that of the left-hand house (no 6) being larger than that on the right.

The entrance elevation was symmetrical: the doors were paired together centrally, sheltered by canopies on timber cantilever brackets. The planning was both clever and very economical with two storeys at the front to provide generous ceiling heights for the dining room and drawing room, and three lower storeys at the back.

Semi-detached Villas at 9 and 10 ("St Catherine's") Laverockbank Terrace

At the close of 1860 or the very beginning of 1861 designs were produced for a similar pair of semi-detached houses, again with a three-bay frontage, but rather deeper at the gables. In these the dining rooms and drawing rooms were lit by canted bays which - as sketched in on the 1857 plans - were corbelled to the square above the bracketed eaves-line and rose into bargeboarded, spike-finialled gables; the central first floor windows of the canted bays were shown round-headed, but in execution were square-headed. No 9 was sold to Thomas Phipps, an inspector of taxes, in 1862 and no 10, St Catherine's, to Peter Gardner in 1864.

Earlier Houses in Laverockbank Terrace for which No Drawings have been Preserved in the Archive

The lower-numbered houses in Laverockbank Terrace varied more in style. Nos 1 and 2, the semi-detached "Twin Villa" and "Lark Villa," were built by Thomas Graham to whom Peddie sold the site in 1856. They were plain classic, less expensive versions of the bargeboarded semi-detached villas, with two-light windows at their dining and drawing rooms, paired porches entered by consoled doorpieces on their flanks, and low piended roofs. No 3, "Hermitage House," was built for Andrew Wishart in 1860 and was of the same plan-form as Findlater Lodge but larger with a side porch. Its elevations were distinctively plain classic with bold rustication at the arched doorway adapted from Letarouilly's plates. No 4, "Milton House" built for Joseph Russell, was a much more expensive late classic villa with canted and rectangular bays flanking a central porch with a pierced parapet, similar in pattern to that of Pollock Street Church in Glasgow (see Chapter 8). For this house only the drawings for the later mansard roof survive, the original drawings being lost. No 5, "Iver Cottage" built for Cornelius Mullins in 1858, was a tall detached villa of very similar bargeboarded character to Findlater Lodge.

Semi-detached Villas at 13 and 14 Laverockbank Terrace

Nos 13 and 14 Laverockbank Terrace were designed in March 1864. Plain but distinctive, they differ in character from the other houses in the development, and are of particular interest as the prototype of some of the simpler Italianate houses of the late '60s and '70s (see Chapter 18). In them the design process which had evolved through the previous semi-detached villas was further adapted to a very particular site: a raised beach which sloped down sharply northwards to Starbank Road and the River Forth. Viewed from the south they had a two-storey, four-bay entrance frontage. The doors were grouped centrally under segmental hoodmoulded transom-lights, with paired windows lighting the ground floor front room and single windows the upper rooms.

The rear elevation, however, while equally plain, was more imposing, the basement kitchen and service accommodation built into the slope of the hill resulting in a three-storey frontage. This enabled the ground floor to be used wholly for family purposes. Peddie at first let these houses, but subsequently sold them to Dr William Scott of Madras and to Dorothy Cockburn in 1871 and 1877.

Other Villas

Bedford House, Bedford Place, Alloa

Bedford House seems to be Peddie's only known High Renaissance villa. Its ashlar frontage is two-storey, three-bay symmetrical. No documentation survives in relation to it, and it is neither monogrammed nor dated, the attribution resting solely on style: the square-column portico is a larger version of that at Airlie Place (see Chapter 5), the late quattrocento detailing of the ground floor windows corresponds exactly with that of the Edinburgh & Glasgow Bank at Stirling and the Royal Banks at Kilmarnock and Irvine (see Chapter 6), and the shouldered top floor windows are characteristic of the practice's work in the mid 1850s, suggesting a date circa 1854-57.

House at Hartwoodhill

The plain piend-roofed form of 13-14 Laverockbank Terrace had its origin in a very simple but novel and economical two-storey house at Hartwoodhill, which has already been noticed in Chapter 6 as the precursor of the Royal Bank at Drymen. It was designed for the law lord, the Honourable Lord Deas, as a weekend house, the plans being dated 24 February 1857. It followed Findlater Lodge in being almost cubic in its proportions, 29 feet 5 inches in height, 31 feet in depth and 34 feet wide, excluding the single-storey service outshot.

Although a symmetrical frontage would have been expected in such a house, its planning was strictly practical: the off-set doorway made possible a good-sized dining room, unusual in being almost square in plan at 16 feet by 14 feet.

Almost half of the ground floor - excluding the outshot - was given over to services: a transverse service corridor-linked the kitchen behind the dining room to the servant's bedroom behind the stair.

Hartwoodhill set the style for the plainer villas of the 1860s and 1870s, but of these only Kingussie Manse (see Chapter 18) had quite the same disconcerting logic.

Only four-and-a-half years after it was built, in September 1861, Hartwoodhill was found too small and was substantially enlarged. Although its austere architectural character remained unaltered, the canopy over the entrance was replaced by a timber-framed porch with partially-glazed doors in both front and flanks, to detail designs of March 1862. Designs for a small stable-block were issued in June 1863.

The United Presbyterian Manse, Anstruther

The drawings for the United Presbyterian manse at Anstruther are lost, as are the managers' minutes, but it is monogrammed and dated 1860.

The manse was a larger and better-detailed edition of Findlater Lodge, the moulded entrance doorway being in the middle of the south gable. The front was of good coursers with a five-light canted bay corbelled to the square on the left and a single-windowed bay with a gablet dormerhead on the right, the bargeboards being plain with simple braces and finials. The gables were extremely wide and of a very low pitch,

and were built of uncoursed rubble. The glazing still followed Peddie's early square-paned pattern.

Cottage at 57 Dick Place, Grange, Edinburgh

Like the Anstruther manse, Mr Lumsden's single-storey and attic cottage - the designs for which are dated 23 October 1860 - represented a development of the Findlater Lodge concept, with a near-central entrance rather than one on the flank.

Although based on a much larger footprint than its prototype, with a shallow "L-plan" entrance elevation 45 feet broad, the three-bay design of this exceptionally pretty cottage resulted in the combined breadth of the gable-front and the gabled central porch being a little shorter, 28 feet 7½ inches, and their height commensurably less, than had been the case at Findlater Lodge. The depth of the plan was also slightly less at 33 feet; but a square plan was (nearly) achieved by a single-storey service block 9 feet deep. The porch was on the same plane as the gable-front - rather than recessed within the angle or projecting from it - resulting in linked unequal gables, a feature which also appeared in a much larger unidentified two-storey house for Mr Craigie in the same year (see Chapter 17) and was to be a recurring feature of Peddie & Kinnear's larger villas.

Like the manse at Anstruther Mr Lumsden's cottage was refined in detail with broad eaves and finely carved bargeboards at the gables. Mounted on decorative iron hinges beneath a transom-light, the vertically-boarded door was set into a chamfered, segmentally-arched opening. The paired-light dormer over the right-hand bay had bargeboards just as fine as those of the drawing room and porch. A sheet illustrating the elevation of the drawing room and porch on a large scale, and providing details for the carved bargeboards, was dated 27 December, presumably of the same year 1860.

Stylistically there is little to distinguish Peddie & Kinnear's bargeboarded villas and cottages from those designed by Bryce himself, such as the headmaster's house at John Watson's School, or by others in the Bryce circle, as can be seen in Maitland Wardrop's own house in Forbes Road, also in Edinburgh. Although Laverockbank was wholly Peddie's development, Kinnear's experience with Bryce had begun to influence the work of the practice as a whole. It is more in the plan-types, particularly the square-plan of Findlater Lodge, and in the use of split levels that Peddie's houses can sometimes, though not always, be differentiated from other houses of the Bryce school.

The Picturesque Country Houses of 1856-58

Closely related to Peddie's bargeboarded villas with corbelled canted bays were four much larger houses consciously designed to be picturesque objects in the landscape. "Scottish Architecture in relation to Scenery" was then a topical subject, William Clarke of the Glasgow practice Clarke & Bell having given a paper so entitled to the Architectural Institute of Scotland on 27 February 1851. In it he observed:

"Already many of our leading citizens have fixed their permanent abodes amid the romantic scenery of our lochs: and the splendid Pictorial Architecture of the Lago Maggiore will soon pale their ineffectual fires before the rising glories of the Clyde ... The Villa Architecture of the coast, placed in scenery of unrivalled grandeur, must henceforth occupy a most important place in Scotch Pictorial Architecture ... the most perfect effort of Pictorial Architecture is that which combines the greatest power of association with the most perfect harmony and grandeur of composition."

Many of the examples of "the Scotch Pictorial Architecture" to which Clarke was referring were in varying degrees Italian and some were baronial or neo-Jacobean. Like Lumsden's Cottage (see Chapter 11) the larger Peddie & Kinnear houses of the late 1850s were all developments of the bargeboarded cottage ornée school which William Burn had introduced to Scotland at the gardener's house at Drumlanrig in 1830, although the earlier English or Welsh origins of this style, in which the bargeboards of mediaeval half-timbered houses came to be applied to masonry ones, have still to be more precisely identified: it was probably T.F. Hunt's plate of a hypothetical bargeboarded Grange in his Exemplars of Tudor Architecture adapted to Modern Habitations (1836) which made the style common currency.

Busby House

On 21 January 1856 the newly-formed partnership of Peddie & Kinnear completed the drawings for a substantial extension to Busby House for the cotton magnate James Crum. As they found it, Busby consisted of a picturesquely sited but rather low and cramped two-storey three-windows-wide house to which had been added a taller eastern "L"-plan wing containing a dining room and a kitchen with a basement beneath. The house was built on a bank and the brief was to move the entrance from the south side to a new lower level on the north, thereby keeping the principal apartments out of sight from callers; to provide a drawing room on a scale commensurate with the dining room; and to provide additional bedrooms. To achieve these objects they built a higher square-plan three-storey two-bay wing on the north side of the original house and inserted a two-storey entrance hall and drawing room wing into the re-entrant angle thus created. The greater part of the ground and principal floors of the new threestorey wing was taken up by a grand staircase and a spacious main floor gallery 10 feet 3 inches wide which ran right through the new and the old sections of the house from north to south. Although the addition was almost as large as the existing house, only the drawing room (27'10 \times 17'6) and one small room (14' \times 14'3) provided any actual living space on the two lower floors and the creation of the gallery drastically diminished the original accommodation. A large-scale longitudinal section, designs for the stair and a sheet illustrating a number of details survive to illustrate the high

quality interior work of this lost house.

Although simply treated, the new wing transformed the original dull house with a brilliant, picturesque entrance front in which not only the profile but the ground levels were stepped. The main feature was the entrance bay which began square, was intaken to canted at drawing room level, and was then elegantly corbelled out again, with a heraldic panel beneath the broad-eaved bargeboarded gable. The doorpiece was similar to that of Flockhart's villa with an arched parapet panel containing a second armorial.

A sheet of designs for a pretty lodge-house is dated 21 January 1857, exactly one year on from the preparation of the main drawings.

Lismore Lodge, Dunoon

Busby quickly led to a similar commission for another member of the Crum family, H.E. Crum-Ewing M.P. at Lismore Lodge, where the primary object was again to impart a fashionably picturesque appearance to a dull house of the 1840s. Prior to Peddie & Kinnear's alterations, the drawings for which are dated November 1858, Lismore was a shallow two-storey "H"-plan house, 63 feet broad and rather oddly asymmetrical with a stepped central block.

Peddie & Kinnear's aim in their proposals was to produce a more focused and picturesque composition on both the entrance front and the main elevation.

On the main elevation the central section was increased from two to three storeys, with a gabled oriel bay on the left and a two-light window on the right breaking up through the eaves as a dormerhead, both being distinguished by elaborate lacy bargeboards and finials; a small segment-headed window in the gable and a tiny dormer lit the garret. The composition had something in common with Findlater Lodge at Laverockbank (see Chapter 11), but the vertical tower-house-like proportions corresponded more to the three-storey addition at Busby. At Lismore, the picturesque treatment also extended to the rear elevation, which had an elaborate timber-fronted oriel rising into a gable, and a skilfully balanced arrangement of dormers partly or wholly above the eaves-line.

The entrance elevation was cheered up with another cantilevered oriel. Judging by the gable above this one must have been stone. Further changes to that elevation were planned in December 1860 when a second oriel with a Serlian window was cantilevered out over the door, the antecedent to the one suggested for Findlater Lodge when it was enlarged for McNab in 1864. Supported on four slim colonettes framing the doorway, it was crowned by a gable, a new gablet being added over the existing oriel in order to balance it. The timber oriels had elaborately patterned timber-framing and boarding, that at the back of the house with wheel-patterned spandrel areas. These motifs were probably of Swiss or Bavarian origin, though it should be noted that David Bryce used very similar details in his well-house at Scotlandwell at exactly the same date. In this same phase of work the right-hand gable-front of the main elevation was remodelled with bargeboards to achieve a unified appearance. As at Busby a commonplace house had become a singularly picturesque one.

Tor Aluin, Dunoon

Designed in 1856-57, Tor Aluin was Peddie & Kinnear's first really major domestic commission and was designed for an altogether exceptional client, W.F. (later Sir Francis) Powell (1833-94), a wealthy Mancunian water-colourist who specialised in coastal subjects and was to be founder of the Royal Scottish Society of Painters in Water-colour. It was very much an artist's house and, like Busby and Lismore, was designed as a picturesque feature in the landscape.

While the house had the same bargeboarded gable details as its more Jacobean predecessors, its unusual plan and mullioned gothic window detail suggests that Powell may have had a considerable influence on its design. Although the overall character of Tor Aluin and the related St Mary's Mount (see below) was quite different, these window details - here with sashes rather than casements - were becoming familiar from the work of Street and Butterfield south of the Border, and had begun to appear north of it in the work of the London architect Henry Edward Coe in the Dundee area and, more widely, in the work of the Hays of Liverpool. They had no counterpart in Bryce's practice.

The plan of the house was determined by its location at the bottom of a steep wooded hillside: all the principal rooms on both ground floor and first floor were arranged on the western side of transverse spinal corridors, the stair being very unusually on the front elevation rather than at the rear.

The house entered from the 42 feet 8 inches broad southern elevation, an asymmetrical stepped "L"-plan composition with unequal gables to the right, the inner expressing the hall-corridors. Within the re-entrant angle was the gabled and buttressed 12 feet square porch, the pitch of its roof integrated with that of the hall-corridor gable as if to emphasise the relationship between them. An element of balance was introduced into this tightly composed assemblage of gables by the strong vertical thrust of the chimney-breast which rose from behind the porch into a tall stack.

The western elevation was, prior to its subsequent extension, 70 feet 9 inches long, asymmetrically divided into four broad bays which expressed the layout of the principal apartments. The tower, re-designed on 26 February 1858, was the most original element, its stair being lit by three tall trefoil lancets, the single small window beneath them lighting the water-closet tucked under the landing. It was clasped between angle buttresses, the precursors of those of Morgan's Hospital and Greenock Court-house later (see Chapter 14). At the top of the tower was a smoking room or observation room jettied out on a corbel-course with four trefoil-headed windows facing west, north and south and a tall French pavilion roof with a brattished ridge, picturesquely profiled with a gablet on the west face and a tall flanking stack on the south.

The northern and eastern elevations were less distinguished than the southern and western, since they were less immediately visible, the back of the house facing into the wooded bank. At ground floor level, the kitchen and services were arranged on this side, solidly walled off from the family accommodation and accessed from a service passage at right-angles to the main corridor. The only family room on the eastern side of the ground floor corridor was Powell's studio $(13'10 \times 15'6)$ on the entrance front.

Tor Aluin was burnt out sometime before 1961 and is very inadequately recorded. The working drawings (31 March 1857) are incomplete, the southern and western elevations having been lost. Drawings survive for the similarly-styled estate offices dated 21 January and 5 March 1857.

St Mary's Mount, Peebles

The second of these gothic houses was St Mary's Mount at Peebles for Alexander Tod, the designs for which are dated 22 December 1858. Although its stepped west-facing principal frontage consisted of only three bays with a tower in the re-entrant angle, while the main frontage of Tor Aluin was articulated as four, the elements were very similar. As at Tor Aluin the tower was flanked on one side by an asymmetric gable-front and on the other by a lower set-back bay with a dormerhead gablet; however, whereas in Tor Aluin's elongated frontage the corbelled canted bay formed a second symmetrical gable, in the more concentrated design of St Mary's Mount the corbelled canted bay was integrated into the gable-front.

The plan had points in common with Flockhart's villa in mirrored form, the dining and drawing rooms having a second bay-window set under a big gable on the flank The corbelled drawing room chimney-breast to the left of it was answered by the dormerhead gablet of the bay to the right, resulting in an asymmetrical but balanced composition. The northern elevation was simpler, its two unequally-sized gables expressing the "M"-roof.

The Significance of the Alterations to the Original Design

A single-storey wing with a canted bay corbelled to the square was subsequently pencilled in on the left-hand side of the entrance elevation, echoing the similar single-storey wing at Tor Aluin. Whether the pencilled wing was first built in single-storey form is unclear as the working drawings for it have not survived. However, when J.R. McKay surveyed this now-demolished house in May 1945, his drawings recorded that the pencil design had been increased both in breadth and in height: they represent a two-storey block 20 feet wide with a canted bay rising into a broad-eaved gable. It is not known for certain if this addition was carried out by Peddie & Kinnear but it recreated, in mirror-image, the four-bay composition of Tor Aluin.

Peddie & Kinnear did not design any houses quite like these again, although Broad's much smaller villa at Melrose (1867) was to have the same gothic windows as St Mary's Mount. The bargeboarded picturesque villa style was to continue into the 1880s, but the later houses, beginning with North Trinity House and Craigruie in 1859, have plans of the Burn and Bryce type, reflecting the growing influence of Kinnear within the practice. Only at Trearne was there to be another large villa of this type with a tower, and that house was much less consciously picturesque. These houses are discussed in Chapter 17.

- CHAPTER 13 -

The Introduction of the Scottish Baronial and Vernacular Style to the Urban Scene: Cockburn Street and its Influence

Cockburn Street - very briefly Lord Cockburn Street - was built by the Edinburgh High Street & Railway Access Company, which published its proposals in August 1851 and obtained an Act of Parliament in 1853. Its records do not seem to have survived, but it appears to have been very much a Peddie-promoted enterprise, John Dick Peddie's brother James and his partner Henry J. Wylie being the engineers. Negotiations were entered into for the purchase of the property along the route, and early in 1854 "the directors commenced proceedings with a view to carry the scheme into execution." Designs were then made for the buildings, the aim being to make the diagonal line of the street almost imperceptible from Princes Street. The detail design work was largely in the hands of Kinnear, then just arrived in the practice with a view to a partnership, and John James Laing who drew out and tinted the first set of water-colour elevations. Of these George Shaw Aitken made pen-and-ink versions, which he described as being modelled on the drawings of G.E. Street, probably with a view to publication. Neither of these sets of circa 1854-55 has survived, but Laing's water-colour perspective, subsequently published in The Builder, is still extant.

In the event the Crimean War intervened and the project was deferred, but late in 1856 the project was revived. At a meeting of the company on 29 December it was reported that:

"the total outlay for completing the undertaking will be - Purchase of Property £22,735; cost of works including contingencies, ascertained by actual offer to execute £32,000; Parliamentary and other expenses £3,400 - making a total of £58,135. The return ... will be a free rental of at least £6,285, equal to 9 per cent. of the outlay, while the property, which will be unburdened with feu duty, will be worth 18 years' purchase or £95,130.

"There are still 950 shares to be disposed of before the directors feel themselves warranted to proceed with the undertaking."

The purpose of the street was to cut the route from the High Street end of South Bridge to Waverley Station from 1,000 yards to 260. Contemporary photographs by Begbieand Yerbury chronicle the early stages of the contract and show the massive shoring which was required west of the City Chambers. A model was made to illustrate the appearance of the executed scheme, which is best described in Peddie's own words:

"The line would pass through two tenements opposite the Tron Church. It would then fall into the open ground once the Green Market, cut off a small portion of the Poultry Market and then pass through some property in the Fleshmarket Close. It would then bisect various closes [Jackson's, Anchor and Craig's], passing behind the Royal Exchange Buildings [City Chambers] and emerging opposite the Waverley Bridge. With the exception of houses in High Street and Fleshmarket Close, there was almost no property of material value which the line would pass through ... the ascertained

gradient was 1 in 14, by no means an impracticable gradient for the streets of Edinburgh ... The width would be 54 feet, more than that of the North Bridge and much wider than many of the great thoroughfares of London.

"The scheme had also met with the objection that it would injure the picturesque view of the Old Town from Prince's Street, and the directors were well aware of the jealousy of the citizens as to any interference with the beauties of the city. They had accordingly applied to the gentlemen who were deservedly considered the guardians of the beauties of Edinburgh - namely to Lord Cockburn, Sir William Gibson Craig [who subsequently signed the drawings] and Sir William Johnston, all of whom, on the scheme being fully explained to them, gave it their sanction, and stated their opinion, that so far from injuring the aspect of the Old Town it would rather improve it, seeing that the view of the high houses on the ridge was scarcely if at all interrupted, while the character of the new architecture was so studied as to harmonise and conform with the older buildings."

After commenting on its sanitary advantages in ventilating the closes and improving access to the New Town and East Princes Street Gardens as well as to the station, Peddie gave brief details of the buildings.

"The houses would be built in the best and most comfortable style, and the shops would be large and commodious, and fitted up with all conveniences. There would be about fifty-five shops averaging 22 feet wide. In the lower end of the street there would be erected two hotels, of which there was a great want in the Old Town; while about the middle would be erected a large public hall. The powers of the Act expired next July; and if the scheme was to be carried into effect, they must take steps before the 2nd February that tenants might be warned to quit at Whitsunday."

In the event several mercantile houses failed in the autumn of 1857, leading to the temporary closure of the City of Glasgow Bank and the failure of the Western Bank. Capital and credit dried up and both Cockburn Street and the Bank of Scotland's complementary plans by David Bryce for the West Market Street area had to be put on hold. A second Act of Parliament raising more capital - the "B" shares - had to be obtained in 1860.

While Peddie was not one of the largest shareholders, and indeed may have acquired at least some of his shares in lieu of fees, the impression given by contemporary press reports is that he was the driving force behind it. Although he did not refer to the new street specifically, his low-level solution to road links between the Old Town and the New was foreshadowed in his February 1851 lecture, "On the Architectural Features of Edinburgh," during which he spoke eloquently of the "broken, picturesque and tumultuous piles of the Old Town." He complained of how the buildings on the North Bridge "shoot out from the New Town to the Old as if to connect them together" and how the Mound ("a dark heavy mass") destroyed "the effect of division and opposition between the two cities ... It brings them, as it were, into contact and materially injures the ravine ... shutting off from sight some of the finest parts of the scene, injuring thereby the effect of all," and casting the valley "into a gloomy shade."

By that date the designs for the street must already have been on the drawing board. In execution three hotels were built rather than two and the public hall was omitted for

reasons which will be discussed later. Although the buildings were erected for rental, a number seem to have been designed to the specific requirements of pre-arranged tenants. Properties where the house and shop formed a single premise - the house being accessible only through the shop, without any internal division between them - were a particular feature. The orderly rooms of army volunteers figured importantly among the original tenants, probably through the influence of Kinnear who was also a shareholder. None of the houses and flats had bathrooms but all had internal water-closets.

While the serpentine diagonal line of the street had a precedent in Thomas Hamilton's Victoria Street, stylistically Cockburn Street was an important landmark. "Old Scots or Flemish" had been specified for Victoria Street and George IV Bridge in the Act of 1827, but the buildings had all been in an early seventeenth century Heriot's Hospital manner with classically disciplined elevations. Cockburn Street's architecture was very much late sixteenth century, much of it the architecture of Bryce's country houses come to the city to make a picturesque show of gables and turrets in the build-up to the Old Town skyline.

Cutting through the closes on a diagonal line produced many sites which were parallelograms and quadrilaterals rather than rectangles, and these, together with changes in level, created difficult problems in planning the buildings, especially at the Cockburn and Adelphi Hotels where they were brilliantly resolved. Towers and turrets turned several of the more awkward corners and the larger buildings were broken up into smaller units of design to maintain the narrow-frontage character of the Old Town. A small scheme akin to Cockburn Street was also produced for Macfie's workers' housing in the Canongate in 1853-54, but in the event the client appears to have preferred the more conventional symmetrical neo-Jacobean design which was executed.

Block A, 2-8 Cockburn Street (South Side)

The original designs for the elevations of Block A, standing on the south-west corner of the junction where Cockburn Street meets Market Street, are dated 28 May 1859. The plans have been lost from the archive, although the ground floor is illustrated by one of the feu-plans and the upper floors by alteration sheets of February 1882. It was built to accommodate the showroom of Thomas Cumming, trunk, portmanteau and brushmaker, whose premises had been on the site of Block B.

As first built it consisted of two wings each of three storeys, that facing Market Street approximately 31 feet in length, and that facing Cockburn Street approximately 49 feet. They met at an angle of 100° in an octagonal corner tower rising up into a fourth storey with semi-circular pediments breaking into a picturesque corona of gablets and a lucarned slated spirelet, features which were to re-appear in several Peddie & Kinnear houses.

The feu-plan and the alteration sheets show that the ground and first floors of the Market Street block were built as clear retail space. The upper floors were flats. Prior to the enlargement of the ground floor windows in 1882, the openings in the tower were shouldered, and the Market Street wing had three depressed arches with pairs of elegantly arched lights and a balcony above. Within the Cockburn Street wing two of the three doorways led into shops, and the third to a crowstepped common stair which

clasped the corner tower. The remainder of the frontage was symmetrical three-bay with gablet dormerheads, stepped string-courses masking the split first floor level. An angle-turret corbelled out to a diagonal cap-house turned the corner to the adjoining stairs on Advocates' Close.

The Cockburn Street elevation has since been heightened.

Block B - Philp's Cockburn Hotel, 1-29 Cockburn Street (North Side)

Plans but not elevations or sections survive in the archive for Block B, which was much the largest in the development. Although the plans are dated 22 July 1859 it was not contracted for until January and February of 1861. It consisted of the Cockburn Hotel standing on the eastern corner of the junction with Market Street, and a long convex frontage curving up the southern side of the new thoroughfare towards Craig's Close.

With its cantilevered first floor balcony the 84 feet long Market Street elevation of the Cockburn Hotel was clearly designed to look like a major Bryce country house and attract a carriage trade clientele in a city which then had few purpose-built hotels. It had no shops but its five-bay composition answered Block A's Cockburn Street frontage, a relationship clearly visible from the junction owing to the curvature of the new street. The concept of the circular entrance tower at the angle derived from that of a Bryce country house, Birkhill in Fife of 1855, which drew inspiration from Castle Fraser and was later to form the model for Peddie & Kinnear's Threave (see Chapter 15). Birkhill was probably on the drawing board before Kinnear left Bryce's office. Although Threave's entrance tower was to follow the Birkhill model closely, that at the Cockburn Hotel rose through a random but balanced arrangement of windows to a square diagonal cap-house. This had steeply-raked gables with Maybole-type skews, answering the pyramidal form of Block A's spire and almost equalling it in height. An ogee-roofed turret corbelled out from the re-entrant angle balanced the conical-roofed turret in the corresponding position at Block A. Together these carefully related blocks created the fine "gateway" to the development illustrated in Laing's perspective.

In Laing's perspective the entrance door and first floor windows were segmentally-arched and the second floor windows shouldered, but as re-designed in 1859 all the openings were moulded and square-headed; at the doorway the change accommodated a portrait bas-relief of Lord Cockburn who had died in 1854. The corbelling of the cap-house was also simplified to a suaver and less rugged form, and the wallhead raised. On the Market Street frontage Laing showed the cills of the second floor windows linked by a string-course to correspond with Block A, but in 1859 this was omitted. The panel which bore the name of the establishment was raised to attic level and the three pedimented dormerheads were cleverly re-designed with moulded stone gutters running across them to avoid the need for downpipes. At the eastern gable-front the angles were curved and corbelled to the square, resulting in a cap-house-like arrangement which balanced that of the entrance tower at a lower level. The clarity of the original design has unfortunately been obscured by later alterations, a rectangular first floor bay being built out over the balcony and a timber canted bay slapped out at the eastern gable.

The feu-plan illustrates how, as at Block A, the ground floor of the Cockburn Hotel

was largely open-plan. The circular entrance hall, just under 16 feet in diameter, opened into an angled corridor with a small office for reception. It led to the semi-octagonal main stair, cleverly fitted into the curved angle behind the large ground floor saloon which is referred to in Philp's advertisement:

"Philp's Cockburn Hotel, Edinburgh

(immediately adjoining the Terminus of the Edinburgh and Glasgow and North British Railway Stations)

This commodious and well-appointed Hotel is beautifully situated, overlooking Princes Street Gardens, and commanding some of the finest views of the City.

A large, elegantly-furnished Saloon, 45 by 30 feet, for Parties with Ladies, free of charge; Private Suites of Apartments, Bath Rooms, Coffee and Smoking Rooms, and every accommodation for Gentlemen.

Charges, including Attendance, strictly Moderate

Mr Philp (late of the Albion), Proprietor

P.S. Mr [Thomas] Cook (of Leicester) makes this House his head-quarters when in Scotland, where every information may be obtained of his Tourist Arrangements."

The planning of the entrance area of the ground floor was subsequently simplified as one large room.

The 27 feet span of the ground and first floors saloons were carried on plate girders.

The convex Cockburn Street frontage of Block B consisted of six seemingly different buildings with ground floor shops, the upper floors of nos 3-9 forming a bedroom wing of the Cockburn Hotel, ingeniously accessed from the landings of its semi-octagonal stair. Their frontages were stepped in the slope, the aim being as much to respect the narrow burgage plots of the Old Town as to accommodate the necessary differences in floor level and roof-line. These were very successfully negotiated by introducing tall narrow blocks with gables at nos 9 and 15-17, continuity being skilfully maintained by stepped corbel and string-courses. Beyond the curve the section at nos 19-21 was plainer with twin crowstepped wallhead gables, four windows wide at first floor and two above. Finally, at the corner of Craig's Close, there was a very large block of flats over shops at nos 23-29. As at the Cockburn Hotel, its elevation, although un-turreted, was as elaborately detailed as if it were a country house. It had gables at each end, that on the left with a stepped corbel-course over its attic window, and that on the right with a big canted oriel, its massive corbelling supported by a grimacing jester. Between the gables were a pair of pediment dormerheads with diapered tympana. The composition as a whole was extremely inventive, few of the details having any direct historic or contemporary precedent. The masonwork for the entire block was contracted for by W. & D. MacGregor, and the joinerwork was by John Ewart.

The Scotsman Building, 26-30 Cockburn Street (South Side)

The Scotsman offices were constructed separately for John Ritchie & Company and its editor Alexander Russell. The site, half-way up the southern side of Cockburn Street between Anchor Close and Block C, backed onto a printing works they already owned.

The plans and elevations are dated 20 April 1860. Like Block D directly opposite on the northern side, it had a rather narrow (39 feet 6 inch) frontage which, while angled in line with the carriageway, was straight rather than curved. It was a very deep building, extending back some 70 feet to link with the printing works which stood on higher ground, the offices on the first, second and third floors extending through both premises. At ground floor there were two shops, of which the left-hand one was the newspaper's advertisement and publishing office. These were differentiated from the others in the street by wide segmental arches and a ball-finialled parapet.

The elevation of the Scotsman building was unique amongst the Cockburn Street blocks in its four-windows-wide symmetry and its gothic, rather than Scots Renaissance, detail. The first floor windows were simply treated with a chamfer but the string-course terminated in sculpted dripstones. At second floor the windows were square-headed but set within segmentally-arched recesses with sculptured tympana to identify the grander editors' rooms, and at attic level the angle-pilasters and their nookshafts rose into giant twin pointed-arch recesses within the symmetrical crowstepped gables which crowned the composition. A central chimney-breast was corbelled out to support them, and rose into a chimneyhead between the gable. Both gables had a thistle finial, a reference to The Scotsman's masthead emblem.

At the time of construction Peddie & Kinnear's arched double-gable-front was a very original concept, William Burges' single-gable Skilbeck warehouse in London not being built until 1866. It is not immediately obvious where they got the idea from, but the arched recesses of Richard Cromwell Carpenter's parsonage at Burntisland (1854) are a possibility. An illustration of Walton & Robson's buildings in Folkestone, published in The Building News, shows a similar treatment.

The interior was advanced for its time. The manager's apartments and counting rooms were at first floor, and the editorial offices at second with a copy chute to the composing room at the rear, 150 feet by 30 feet. After the reconstruction of the earlier building in 1867 there were two machine rooms each 80 feet by 40 feet with three Walter presses which printed and folded 36,000 copies of a large eight-page sheet per hour.

Block C, 18-24 Cockburn Street (South Side)

Block C, built immediately to the west of the Scotsman offices and to the east of Craig's Close, consisted of two buildings each 30 feet in breadth but unequal in height. Their height at the roof-ridge, 61 feet 6 inches above street-level at the centre-point, indicates that they were conceived within a square. With the Scotsman offices they formed a stepped frontage nearly 100 feet long. The gabled western building was the more interesting piece of architectural picture-making. Its windows were pyramidally-arranged in an arched recess and its cylindrical angle-turret corbelled out into a square pyramid-roofed cap-house, which was designed to be the most prominent feature in the view uphill.

Block D, 31-37 Cockburn Street (North Side)

Standing between Craig's Close and Anchor Close on the northern side of Cockburn Street, immediately beyond Block B and opposite Block C, Block D was a

parallelogram on plan because of the historic lines of the closes. Its 75 feet street frontage was straight rather than curved, but slightly broken to emphasise its division into separate buildings. The working drawings dated 22 May 1859 show that it had two shops within each building at street-level, but that the western building at nos 31-33 had offices above, while the eastern at nos 35-37 consisted of a very large house. To answer Block C across the street, the western corner at nos 31-33 was corbelled out into a turret at first floor level, rising cylindrical before being corbelled again, first to octagonal and then to square on the diagonal at its upper level. The remainder of the frontage was symmetrical with three pedimented dormers.

The mason was Alex Henderson and the joiner again John Ewart.

Block E, 39-61 Cockburn Street (North Side)

As first envisaged in the designs of 9 November 1859, Block E - which stands on the north side of Cockburn Street between Anchor Close and Fleshmarket Close - was to contain a public hall, but in consequence of Lord Provost McLaren's suggestion of a larger hall at the High Street end of Cockburn Street in 1861, it was radically redesigned as shops, flats and a hotel in July 1862.

First Scheme, 9 November 1859

From the beginning Block E was envisaged as a long concave-frontage composition of four buildings, stepping up to a circular tower at the eastern end. The frontages of the first, westernmost, building, the third building and the fourth, easternmost, building, including its corner tower, were all exactly equal in width; the second building containing the proposed hall was, however, three-fifths again as long and was to be distinguished by a richer treatment. The elevation was only faintly pencilled in but one of the surviving plans and a roof-plan indicate that the auditorium was to have been octagonal with a prismatic roof. The elevations of the other three buildings as proposed in 1859 were to have been relatively simple with an alternate arrangement of ground floor doors and windows, and a moulded cornice over the shop fascia at first floor level, all following on from the design of Block D. The first building was to have a crowstepped gable and two well-detailed dormer pediments, the third building was to be symmetrical three-bay with gablet dormerheads, and the fourth building was to be gable-fronted with a three-storey circled corner rising into a shapely candlesnuffer roof.

Second Scheme, July 1862

McLaren's proposals for a still larger public hall between the City Chambers and Bank Street as the city's memorial to Prince Albert in 1862-63 resulted in the re-design of the entire block some two-and-a-half years later. The articulation of the street frontage into four buildings and cylindrical corner-tower remained virtually unaltered but the first and third buildings were fractionally shortened. The realisation that this would be the Company's final development in Cockburn Street seems to have prompted a much grander elevational treatment than that first intended, a measure of the degree to which the development had prospered.

Resemblance between the first and second schemes was strongest in the eastern building, which was built as the Adelphi Hotel. It rose into a single crowstepped gable

with an asymmetrical chimney-stack separating it from the candlesnuffer roof of the circular corner-tower; which now rose a storey higher. However, whereas in 1859 the design of the third and fourth buildings jointly informed the design of the first, in 1862 the first building at nos 41-45, and the third building at nos 55-59, were now non-identical twins with central crowstepped wallhead gables, similar in composition but different in detail, the former being four windows wide with an angle-turret, and the latter three windows wide. The detail of the windows was varied with segmentally-arched and shouldered heads and the hotel entrance at no 59 was now emphasised by a bold cantilevered and gabled hood. This detail, which was also adopted at Gruline (see Chapter 15) appears to be a simplified version of a canopy at Beuven in Hesse-Darmstadt, illustrated in The Builder in April 1858.

Linking them together, the new second building at nos 47-53 was for some reason the best in the street, built in a finer stone with segmentally arcaded shops and moulded windows as at the Cockburn Hotel. It was symmetrical in composition, framed at each end by half-cylindrical oriel turrets corbelled out just above the ground floor shop-windows. These turrets rose into square cap-houses with ogee roofs at attic level, linked together by a machicolated corbel-course and five gableted dormers which gave the whole an excellent profile. The building was very deep on plan but its rear elevation, with a picturesque grouping of gables and turnpike stair, was just as carefully considered as the front because of its prominence in the view from Princes Street and Waverley Bridge.

Block F, 32-48 Cockburn Street (South Side)

Block F on the southern side of Cockburn Street, between Anchor Close and Jackson's Close, was designed on 22 July 1859 as five buildings on a very gentle convex curve, the flat-roofed western building just two storeys in height, but all the others three storeys and attic, and generally of the same relatively simple character as had distinguished the original proposals for Block E.

Block F differed from most of the other blocks in Cockburn Street in that its design was based on proportional ratios. The low flat-roofed western block was based on a harmonic proportion of 2-to-3, breadth being approximately 18 feet and height from street-level to parapet (but excluding the gablet) 27 feet when taken through the centreline. The three-storey block immediately to the east was itself 27 feet in breadth, half the 54 feet height of its gable chimney-stack. The combined breadth of these two buildings, at 45 feet, was almost the same as the 44 feet 6 inch frontage of the central building.

The chimney-stacks of this central building rose approximately 57 feet above street-level at centre-point, indicating a ratio of 9-to-7. The breadth of the fourth building, that between the central building and the eastern one, was 37 feet, just over two-thirds of this figure, and just over three-quarters the breadth of the central building itself. The eastern building was 20 feet broad: the total breadth of the fourth and fifth buildings (37 feet + 20 feet) was, again, 57 feet. The two western buildings had, therefore, been conceived within a breadth-to-height harmonic framework of 5-to-6, and the two eastern buildings within a square framework.

The detailing of Block F was, however, much more austere than that of the

corresponding Block E on the northern side, probably because the overshadowed southern side of the street commanded a lower rental than the northern side which benefited from its outlook over Princes Street at the back. Nevertheless the narrow-frontage corner building at Fleshmarket Close (no 48) was to have had Ruskinian gothic detail, probably a Laing contribution. The drawings show a triple-light window set in a cusp-arcaded framework at first floor level, the second floor thereafter being lit by a pair of shouldered lights with a central colonette, and the attic by a single cusp-headed light within the steeply-raked gable. Banded polychromy was to have distinguished the voussoirs of the relieving arches of the enriched first and second floor windows and the voussoirs of the attic windows.

In execution the two-storey block at no 32 - built for Rutherford's wine and spirit business - was raised a storey, its parapet enriched by a bracket corbel-course, but sadly the Ruskinian detail at no 48 was simplified to a plain mullioned treatment.

Block G, 50 Cockburn Street (South Side)

Standing on a very narrow gusset site near the summit of the slope, between Jackson's Close to the east and Fleshmarket Close just to the west, and with the windowed gable of a Royal Mile tenement immediately to the south, Block G and the corresponding Block J opposite were much the smallest of all those designed for Cockburn Street. The first designs for Block G are dated 18 May 1860, its elevation being closely related to the original unbuilt design for Chambers' offices as illustrated in Laing's perspective.

The design of these buildings was ideally suited to narrow diagonal-frontage plots: a single, generally symmetrical gabled bay, with a round tower to one side to turn the sharp corner, which in the case of Block G was also intended to answer that of Block E. At Block G the diameter of the tower, which enclosed a spiral stair to first floor level, was the more easily accommodated by the angle of the frontage which permitted a 22 feet width and slightly more depth on the east side. Nevertheless, this still left space for just one room per floor: hence, the increase in height of the gable, though not of the tower, from three levels to four to achieve a more viable structure.

Block H, 52-56 Cockburn Street (South Side)

The almost equally narrow Block H was designed on 9 July 1859 for the next gusset site resultant from the upper curvature of Cockburn Street, tightly bounded by the gable of an existing Royal Mile tenement to the south, and Fleshmarket Close to the west. Consisting of two ground floor shops with a single house at first and second floors, its convex frontage converged into a cylindrical corner-tower with a crowstepped caphouse, grouping picturesquely with the tower of Block G.

Although both shops were very modest in size, the ground floor was almost completely glazed: even the tower had three very large windows, separated by slim masonry pilasters, in order to maximise the display area and light-levels within this overshadowed east- and north-facing frontage. At the upper storeys - where retention of heat in a b were revised in 1861. The shop-windows were subsequently further enlarged by the insertion of very slim cast-iron colonettes in place of the original masonry piers.

Block J, 65 Cockburn Street (North Side)

No drawings survive in the archive for Block J, which was demolished in the 1890s for the new Scotsman buildings on North Bridge, although those submitted for Dean of Guild approval are still extant. It was similar to Block G, grafted on to the southwestern angle of the west range of Mylne's Square. The latter was converted to an hotel, its ground floor being reconstructed as shops which were built out to the line of the new street.

W. & R. Chambers' Building, 8 Cockburn Street (South Side)

No drawings survive in the archive for Chambers' building, a truncated wedge-shaped block between Warriston Close and Advocates' Close.

As described earlier under Block G, Laing's perspective represented it as a crowstepped gable-front of three storeys, clasped on the west by a circular angle-tower with a pyramid-roofed cap-house. Late Victorian photographs show that the executed building had a simpler cylindrical tower, since rebuilt as a corner. It was monogrammed with the initials "WC" and "RC" at the dormer pediments but no "PK" or date, and it differed from the earlier buildings in having no shop, the ground floor being the public office of Chambers' Journal. Photographs of the Waverley Bridge reconstruction taken circa 1870 show that only the rear section of the building had been erected at that date.

Block K, 10-16 Cockburn Street (South Side)

Working drawings for Block K, between Mary King's Close and Warriston Close beneath the City Chambers - and subsequently demolished for the City Chambers extension - were dated 28 February 1860. It occupied the steepest site in the street, resulting in the loss of a full storey at the back: consideration was given to building higher at the rear to compensate. It appears to be the second of the two hotels mentioned in Peddie's description, but was designed with flats as a possible option.

In the event it became Mrs Middleton's City Temperance Hotel, probably during construction. It had a gently concave principal frontage with a narrow canted corner to Warriston Close. It was of three storeys and attic, with ground floor shops and asymmetrical crowstepped gables at each end: that on the east was broader with three regularly spaced windows at first and second floors and a single attic window, and that on the west with just a single window on each floor.

The scheme as built conformed to revisions made in January 1862, all concerned with improving architectural quality: the paired shop windows in the central and western bays were now separated by colonettes; at first floor the windows of the broad eastern gabled section were distinguished by rounded shoulders; those at second floor by segment-heads; and the attic windows were enlarged, the eaves of the central bay being raised to line up with their meeting-rails.

The Influence of Cockburn Street on Later Developments

Like the unbuilt Chalmers Street design of 1854 which provided a repertoire for

Peddie & Kinnear's Italianate banks, Cockburn Street was to provide a vocabulary for the baronial branch-banks built from 1870 onwards (see Chapter 20). But its influence spread far wider: The Builder's report of Lord Provost McLaren's public hall, Albert Street and Albert Memorial proposals indicate that his architect David Rhind had been instructed to follow the Cockburn Street model. Although neither the Town Hall nor the Albert Memorial proposals came to fruition, the concept of a Scottish baronial street-block at their intended site was ultimately realised by David Bryce in the formation of St Giles Street in 1869:whether Bryce had intended his earlier Bank of Scotland-promoted scheme of 1853-54 for this area to have Scottish baronial elevations is not known.

More importantly Peddie & Kinnear's Cockburn Street architecture formed the model for David Cousin's taller City Improvement Act St Mary Street buildings of 1868, and for John Lessels' subsequent Improvement Act frontages in Jeffrey Street and the Grassmarket.

The Scottish Baronial and Franco-Scottish Public Buildings of the 1860s

As at Cockburn Street, Peddie & Kinnear seem to have been the first to adapt David Bryce's Scots baronial country house idiom to the design of public buildings and educational institutions, the closest parallel being J. Anderson Hamilton's Town Hall at St Andrews of 1858, but in the 1860s their public buildings were predominantly Franco-Scottish. The term "Franco-Scottish" is not of recent origin. It made what may have been its first appearance in print in a report in The Builder of 2 August 1862. What the writer of that date was specifying was the infusion of French fifteenth and sixteenth century elements into the revival of Scottish architecture of the sixteenth century, although few buildings then answered that description. Peddie & Kinnear's rôle in the development of the style was to be a highly influential one.

The originators of the sixteenth century château manner in nineteenth century British architecture were primarily Sir Charles Barry, William Burn and David Bryce. W.J. Donthorne had incorporated original French fifteenth century material rescued by his client Lord Stuart de Rothesay from the demolition of the Manoir des Andelys into Highcliffe in Hampshire in 1830-34, but that house was neo-Tudor in profile with low roofs. In 1840 Sir Charles Barry had proposed to remodel Drumlanrig as an early seventeenth century château with high French roofs, and in the mid 1840s he and William Leslie of Aberdeen adopted what might be thought a mediaeval French profile for the roofs of Dunrobin, but its details were predominantly early seventeenth century Scottish. More definably early French Renaissance were the roofs and details of William Burn's unbuilt schemes of the later 1840s for a Franco-Scottish house at Fonthill, Wiltshire, one of which had a French flamboyant chapel. Thereafter David Bryce took the lead rôle, not just in Scotland but in the British Isles with his reconstruction of Kinnaird Castle in Angus as a vast French château with high tower roofs from 1853 onwards. His reconstruction of Inverardoch in Perthshire with a château entrance front followed between 1857 and 1862, and in 1858 he built Eastburgh at Bushey in Hertfordshire as a completely new château, a development matched in even more striking high-roofed form by Henry Clutton at Minley in Hampshire and, much less skilfully, by Rhode Hawkins at the Royal Victoria Asylum in Wandsworth in the same years.

From 1859 onwards Peddie & Kinnear began introducing this château-based manner to institutional architecture. Their first attempt in the competition for Inverness District Asylum (see Chapter 25) did not find favour. But in February 1862 they discarded their original Scottish baronial design for Morgan's Hospital in favour of a French-influenced scheme, these developments perhaps being a belated consequence of Kinnear's photographic study tour in Northern France in 1857. Although in 1859-62 the practice's adoption of the style was in some respects still slightly tentative, it thereafter developed rapidly in parallel with Bryce at Fettes College, for which the earliest surviving drawings are dated November 1862. The style then spread rapidly in the inner circle around Bryce, James Maitland Wardrop being early in the field with his Sheriff Court at Alloa, 1863,and in his designs for that at Stirling, 1864,although the latter was not built until 1874-76, and then without the simplified Morgan's Hospital-type tower originally intended.

Wallace Monument Competition Entry

The Wallace Monument design was Scottish baronial rather than French, but the towers of Peddie & Kinnear's larger Franco-Scottish designs of the 1860s were to derive from it. The National Monument Committee had been founded in the 1830s, the site originally planned being Glasgow Green, but relatively little money was raised at that time. In the mid 1850s the organisation was hijacked by the Reverend Dr Charles Rogers, the military chaplain at Stirling Castle, who held a great fund-raising public meeting in King's Park, Stirling on 24 June 1856, selected the Abbey Craig site, and held a competition which attracted 800 entries. It had a very loose brief and was won by (Sir) Joseph Noël Paton with a proposal for a gigantic Scottish lion trampling a monster. This was subsequently seen as dangerously anti-English and anti-Union, but in the meantime Rogers had negotiated with the Duke of Cambridge for what had been accepted as Wallace's sword as early as 1505. The brief for the second competition, held in September 1859, was more precise. It had a cost-limit of £5,000, and specified a tower-like shrine for this sword. It attracted 200 entries from which seventy-six were selected for exhibition in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Stirling, selection of the winning designs being decided first by popular vote and then on 1 September by a meeting of the Committee at which there was a 14-1 majority for J.T. Rochead's entry. Peddie & Kinnear were placed second, their design being exhibited in the Royal Scottish Academy of 1860.

The exhibited drawing, coloured by the Glasgow landscape painter John Burbridge, survives in the archive, together with plans, a preparatory sketch elevation, and another perspective, neutral-tint in accordance with the conditions of the competition, illustrating a slightly different scheme. The submitted plans and elevations were identified by the motto "LIBERTY". The design differed from Rochead's in having no keeper's house and, in the case of the exhibited scheme, in being set on a bartizaned viewing platform, a feature also to be found in their competition design for Edinburgh's Albert Memorial, presumably for the Arthur's Seat site. The Monument itself took the form of a four-storey baronial prospect tower rising from a footprint 38 feet square to the apex of a tall gabled cap-house 129 feet 6 inches above ground, 90 feet 6 inches lower than Rochead's crown tower design.

The entrance storey was to be steeply battered, with a round-headed doorway recessed deep into the thickness of the masonry, and sculptured lions flanking its approach stair; similar window openings were to be set into each of the three other sides. The tower was then to rise vertically on a 34 feet 6 inch square plan with rounded corner angles; this section was to contain the vaulted double-height Wallace-Hall, with statues of mediaeval warriors on guard at each angle, and relics not only of Wallace but of Robert Bruce and other famous Scotsmen. This concept was subsequently implemented within Rochead's building from 1887 onwards. Half-way up, there was to be a corbelled platform for a statue of Wallace - more than life-size in full armour within a neo-Norman round-arched recess: the exhibited designs showed this to be an alcove, but in the colour perspective it appeared to be an opening which would allow the statue to cast its shadow over the interior of the Hall. Above there was a prospect room and a corbelled and gargoyled parapet clasped by corner-turrets, that containing the stair providing the detail for the one on the entrance front at Kinnettles six years later (see Chapter 15).

From correspondence published in The Building News on 9 December 1859, it is clear that the Burbridge water-colour was a subsequent revision of the competition design for exhibition at the Academy. On 8 September of that year Peddie & Kinnear had written to the Committee drawing attention to the fact that no 74, the winning design, had been "most elaborately and effectively coloured and recommended by all the adventitious aids which art could give" whereas they - and others - strictly adhered to the conditions and lodged their designs tinted in Indian ink only. When the tenders for Rochead's design were published, Peddie & Kinnear wrote again reminding the committee of the £5,000 to which the competitors had been strictly limited. This correspondence the committee "unanimously agreed not to entertain" on 30 November. While concerned not to embarrass the much-respected Rochead, on 20 February the Glasgow Architectural Society, on the motion of Thomas Gildard, agreed unanimously to express "its extreme surprise, regret and indignation at the recent adjudication on the competition designs for the Wallace Monument." The discussion was fully reported; the events took their place in the long catalogue of improperly managed architectural competitions which eventually induced the Royal Institute of British Architects to recommend more formal procedures. In the event Peddie & Kinnear's disappointment at coming second may have been lessened by the fact that Rochead never received his fees.

Although no copy has been found, Peddie & Kinnear's design must have been circulated in published form as its profile was fairly closely followed - albeit in simplified form, without a cap-house - by Thomas Martin Cappon and William Gillespie Lamond at the similarly sited Airlie Monument in Glenprosen in 1900.

Morrison's Academy, Crieff

Like the Wallace Monument proposals Morrison's Academy was Scottish rather than French, but its design strongly influenced the Franco-Scots Morgan Hospital, Dundee which Peddie & Kinnear built immediately afterwards. Thomas Morrison (1761-1826), an Edinburgh builder whose name is commemorated in that city's Morrison Street, was a native of Muthill. When he died he left the residue of his estate in the hands of trustees, with instructions to allow it to accumulate until it reached £20,000: at that point they were to build and endow a school, either in Muthill or Edinburgh. The trustees, principal among whom were Sir William Gibson-Craig of Riccarton and Lord Moncrieff, the Lord Advocate, did not succeed in obtaining a site at Muthill from the Drummond Castle estate of Lady Willoughby d'Eresby, but in 1857, by which date the funds had reached £22,000, she granted a feu of the ten-acre Old Market Park in Hill Street, Crieff. Peddie and Kinnear probably owed the commission to Gibson-Craig, who was one of their aesthetic referees at Cockburn Street. The ground was staked out on 19 September 1859, the contractor for the work being W. & D. MacGregor, and it was opened on 1 October 1860 at a cost of £6,200. At that time just the western two-thirds of it were built, consisting only of a hall and class-rooms, the school being originally planned for boys only. The first Rector, the Reverend William Ogilvie from Milne's School at Fochabers, initially had to take rooms in the Royal Hotel, but as an interim measure the trustees bought Dr Malcolm's Medical College in East High Street as his house and boarding-house. The Academy became coeducational in its second session, a purpose for which it had not been designed.

The completion of the project was due to the brief but energetic régime of Thomas Tyacke from Cargilfield who became Rector on 1 January 1878, Ogilvie having died suddenly in the preceding November. The original "Scheme of Education" was reviewed and revised by the Endowed Schools Commission in that same year, and as both Ogilvie and Tyacke had attracted considerable numbers of boarders, the east wing was finally built as the Rector's house and boarding-house. The original 1859 design, which has not survived, may have been modified at that time by the insertion of an attic floor in the roof. A small isolation hospital, the drawings for which are also missing, was built to the rear of the school.

As completed, the Academy was 203 feet long but only one room and a corridor deep. As at the exactly contemporary Cockburn Street (see Chapter 13) the architecture was country house baronial, articulated into five carefully-proportioned sections presenting an almost symmetrical south elevation raised at the centre and ends. The central block, containing a first floor galleried central hall, was based on cubic dimensions, 41 feet broad - almost exactly a fifth of the total - 38 feet 6 inches high up to the eaves, and 40 feet 6 inches deep, but was given greater scale by a taller projecting entrance tower. The whole of the second floor was corbelled out slightly: two courses out at the entrance tower, and one at the stair-turrets which gave access to the hall gallery and attic. These rose from trompe arches within the re-entrant angles, their slated spirelet roofs neatly coinciding at a height of 61 feet with the gable of the entrance tower which was crowned by a gothic belfry. Although simplified, the oriel and other details at this upper level were reminiscent of Bryce's Hartrigge (1852). At the flanking wings the first floor windows rose into finialled dormerhead gablets, again similar to those at Hartrigge. All of these details were to be repeated in the 1860 designs for Morgan's Hospital (see below). The taller end-pavilions were gable-fronted with tall canted bays and endporches. The rear elevation was plain, but the octagon at the centre of the corridor rose into a tall canted bay corbelled to the square at the top, a detail which was to be repeated in the executed design for Morgan's Hospital.

Within the near-symmetrical exterior the eastern and western sides of the building were arranged quite differently: at ground floor, class-rooms on the west, one in the wing and one in the end-pavilion, the small room between them probably a retiring room for masters; on the east a dining room and a study within the wing, and a drawing room for the Rector in the end-pavilion. The services were accommodated within a single-storey annexe to the rear.

As was to be so often the case with Peddie & Kinnear designs, Morrison's proved an influential model. The design was not published, but it was exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1860. At Aberdeen James Matthews discarded the Italianate and classical designs with which he had secured the commission for the Grammar School in 1857, and re-designed its main elevation on lines very similar to that of Morrison's.

Morgan's Hospital, Dundee

Peddie & Kinnear's first proposals for the Morgan Hospital date from February 1860. They were evidently based on a detailed brief prepared by Professor Archibald Campbell Swinton, the reporter appointed by the Court of Session to implement the will of John Morgan (1760-1850), a retired Indian indigo planter, after the House of Lords upheld his testamentary writings as a valid will on 11 May 1858. These specified "an hospital in Dundee, for the education, lodging, boarding and clothing of 100 boys, the sons of tradesmen, mechanics, and persons of the working class generally [or] ... orphans in need of such assistance."

The relative simplicity of the detailing in this first scheme, illustrated by a single penand-wash presentation drawing of the entrance front in the archive and a set of printed plans lithographed by William Smith of 43 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh, might just have been regarded as honouring the founder's wish "that the Hospital may not be very expensive."

In this scheme the Hospital was laid out in the form of an inverted "T" with a "U"-plan service and workshop court at the base of the stalk, a plan-type which had affinities with the poors-house buildings discussed in Chapter 25. Precedents for "T"-plan schools, an arrangement preferred by the "Scotch Ventilators" - those at the University of Edinburgh who pioneered heating and air-conditioning systems, and considered courtyard formats to be harbours for foul air - included both Daniel Stewart's, designed by Peddie's former master Rhind (1848) and, rather earlier, Burn's Edinburgh Academy (1824). Bryce designed Fettes College on a "T"-plan at exactly the same time as his erstwhile pupil Kinnear was designing the Morgan Hospital: Swinton was a trustee at Fettes, and had a large hand in its layout. Although as executed Morgan's Hospital is quite different to Fettes on plan, the similarities in arrangement between Fettes and the original Morgan scheme, and the stylistic parallels which were ultimately to develop, are unlikely to be coincidental.

While the Morgan's Hospital drawings refer to south, east, west and north elevations, the building is in fact orientated south-west and north-east, on the long axis of the triangular site selected by Swinton.

The main south elevation of this initial scheme generally followed the style and composition of Morrison's but with changes which reflected differences in the plan, particularly in respect of the hall. It was almost symmetrical, two-storeys high and 184 feet long, with a central entrance tower 16 feet broad rising from a strong battered base as at the Wallace Monument. The tower was otherwise almost identical to that of Morrison's Academy, but without the raised hall-block behind which gave the centre of the main elevation at Morrison's a tower-house-like massing. The other variations in detail were slight, the doorway being round-arched with a single order of shafts, while the belfry and the right-hand turret of the Morrison's version were omitted. As ever the design was based on carefully calculated proportions. The lower stages of the tower were squares and the apex of its gable was one foot higher than that of Morrison's at 62 feet: this was only just short of four times its breadth, almost exactly half again as tall as the height of the roof-ridge of the main building from the ground, and just short of one-third of the total length of the elevation.

The sections of the main block to either side of the tower each had a frontage of 50 feet, and the projecting end-pavilions, which had paired symmetrical crowstepped gables, were each 35 feet broad. They were larger than at Morrison's and relatively plain, without splays or even base-courses. Their details were very similar to those of a farmhouse Kinnear had designed for his father at Kinloch, having rounded angles corbelled to the square. Their sash-and-case windows were astragalled and set into dressed ashlar surrounds.

Within the building the ground floor was broadly divided into administration and staff

on the west and class-rooms on the east, these arrangements being closely followed in the executed building. Dormitories occupied almost the whole of the first floor of the main building and the east pavilion, while the west pavilion, as at Morrison's, comprised the Headmaster's house and the matron's apartments. On the north and behind the tower, forming the "stalk" of the "T," was the dining hall with the chapel above, an arrangement closely following those at Daniel Stewart's and the exactly contemporary Fettes College. Attached to this block on the north was the "U"-plan service and workshop court which comprised the kitchen area on the south-east, the laundry on the west and three trade workshops (tailor, shoemaker and carpenter) for the instruction of boys on the east. All of these elements were to feature in the final design.

Second Scheme, 9 February 1862

The second scheme, rather more fully represented in the archive by a pencil perspective, block plan, and ground and first floor plans, was produced two years later on 9 February 1862 after the Trustees had been appointed, received their money (£73,500), accumulated some interest, and knew what they could afford. From that point onwards the founder's direction to erect an inexpensive building was increasingly forgotten. A revision of this scheme with a larger tower was produced on 22 February. Full working drawings incorporating further revisions were issued in August, but even then the scheme was to be refined once more before the contract drawings were prepared in February 1863.

In this second scheme the elements of the 1860 plan were re-arranged in a quadrangular form with the headmaster's house in the western range, the chapel over the dining room in the eastern range, and the services in the northern range, the workshops being relocated in a separate building to the north. As at Morrison's a central octagonal vestibule gave access to the main corridor, which at Morgan's Hospital extended into the eastern range.

In this scheme the entrance elevation was closely similar in length to that of the 1860 design at just over 180 feet, but was now truly symmetrical, its two-storey scale and style being carried into the 120 feet flank elevations. The plan was thus conceived within a framework of 3-to-2.

The elevations now began to assume the Franco-Scottish character of the final design. The entrance tower, increased in breadth from 16 feet to 21 feet, still rose from a battered plinth, but was completely re-designed on lines which may have been suggested by David Bryce's Kinnaird (designed in 1854 just as Kinnear was leaving his office), but in its final form it related more to northern French and Flemish precedents, such as the Hôtel de Ville at Douai. The several stages of its design show clearly that it evolved quite independently from that of Bryce's Fettes College and from the similarly profiled original design for the tower of George Gilbert Scott's University of Glasgow. In the earliest perspective (9 January 1862) the tourelles were corbelled out just below the string-course linking the first floor window-cills of the wings and endbays. Immediately above the triple-lights of the tower the frontage was jettied out on a bracket corbel-course, and above this the upper storeys of the tourelles were linked by a crenellated parapet; behind the parapet rose a brattished French pavilion roof with a large gabled dormer. Although its windows and door resulted in a very different appearance, the basic form of this design seems to have been inspired by the Porte Nôtre Dame at Sens which Kinnear had probably seen and photographed, but which was also illustrated in Victor Petit's Châteaux de France des XV et XVI Siècles, a copy of which was still in the office library in the 1960s.

At the projecting gable-fronts of the east and west ranges the three ground floor windows were grouped together but the two first floor windows were separated by wall-shafts supporting corbelled-out chimney-breasts and chimney-shafts. These upper windows had early gothic circled plate tracery as at the hall-block of Aberdeen Public Buildings, designed immediately after the Morgan Hospital from 1863 onwards. While Peddie & Kinnear had already used plate tracery in their church designs, these windows appear to have been directly based on the very similar windows of Cheswick House, Berwick-upon-Tweed: this had been designed by Frederick Richard Wilson of Alnwick, in his lifetime a well-regarded architect, who had been a pupil of Cottingham and had worked for Barry and Salvin. A perspective of this house had been helpfully published in The Builder on 24 August 1861.

Third Scheme, 22 February 1862

Only a day or two later Peddie & Kinnear must have been given some relaxation of the cost-limit as the design thereafter progressed rapidly towards the final one. In the perspective of 22 February 1862, the tower was heightened a storey with tourelles at all four corners, its form generally adapted from the Wallace Monument design of 1859, but with a French pavilion-roof instead of a cap-house as in the 9 February design. Its height was now exactly half the width of the elevation.

Fourth Scheme, August 1862

The major differences between the 22 February proposals and those produced in August all related to fenestration: the heads of some of the windows were altered slightly, the transoms omitted at ground and first floors, and the dormerheads elaborated. The oriels of the bays flanking the tower now had stone roofs rather than parapets at the top and the double-leaved main doorway was now to have a central trumeau and a double-arched transom-light. The proportions of the three-light first floor window above it were adjusted by lowering the transom so that the upper row of lights more nearly corresponded with the lower in size. A clock was inserted above

them, and at the top stage, between the tourelles, there were now just three windows as against five in the previous scheme, bringing its appearance much closer to the corresponding stage of the Wallace Monument design.

Radical changes were made on the west elevation which was revised as a much more picturesque composition than that suggested by the 9 February plans, the matron's infirmary block on the south and the headmaster's house on the north being punctuated by stair-towers. The northern elevation was balanced rather than symmetrical with single-storey service links between the gables ranges linking the gables of the east and west ranges and its two-storey central pavilion.

Internally the courtyard was kept plain, the main feature being the two-storey canted bay which formed the octagonal vestibule behind the tower. It was corbelled to the square at first floor and crowstepped as at Morrison's, and formed a handsome centrepiece with the tower rising behind it.

The Fifth (Executed) Scheme, February 1863

The further revisions dated February 1863 represent the scheme as built, closely similar on plan to those of August 1862 but with many refinements of detail. The style was described in contemporary news-cuttings as "in the Scotch Baronial style of the sixteenth century, and with various French features introduced," and in The Builder as "Flemish gothic," the relatively inexpensive plate tracery now being discarded in favour of a full late fifteenth century French gothic treatment: the Trustees had clearly agreed to yet another increase in the budget as interest accumulated. The tower roof now terminated in an elegant louvred ventilator at the apex, thus acquiring a profile similar to that of Bryce's Fettes, but without the clock-faces and their enclosing gablets; and the chapel flèche was reinstated. The upper floor windows of the front elevation now had richly sculptured French gothic dormerheads with dragon gargoyles, cinquefoil roundel panels and crocketed pinnacles breaking up through the eaves, the small trefoil light dormers of the earlier schemes being eliminated.

The masonwork was contracted for in March 1863, the successful tenderers being George Haggart, P. Saunders and James Kennedy. Donald McNicoll and William Hean contracted for the joinerwork and Peter Rattray and Thomas Cuthbert for the slaterwork in May. Contemporary reports give the total as about £15,000, but the individual figures have disappeared with the Trustees' minute books. The foundation stone was laid on 30 July, but "unexpected causes of delay" (the disappearance of the workforce for the boom in textile mill building generated by the American Civil War) retarded the progress of the work, leading to a useful accumulation of interest and a longer timescale in which to perfect the detail drawings, which are the very finest in the archive.

While nothing seems to have been directly copied, the increasingly rich range of fifteenth and sixteenth century French detailing at the Morgan Hospital clearly reflects a correspondingly increasing knowledge of such buildings as the Hôtel de Cluny in Paris and the châteaux of Blois and Josselin. While these details may have been derived from some of the folios of French architecture still to be seen in the office library in the 1960s, Nesfield's and Sauvageot's were not published until 1862 and 1867 respectively, and it is probable that Kinnear had made another photographic tour for the

purpose.

The commanding effect of the final design owed much to its site on the Maryfield skyline and to Peddie & Kinnear's landscaping of it. The ground in front of the main elevation was scarped as a broad terrace, so that the building seemed much taller and bigger than it actually was. The terrace was enclosed on the south by a quatrefoiled parapet and a central stair as at Bryce's Fettes, and at their predecessors, Heriot's Hospital, Dean Orphanage, Donaldson's Hospital and Daniel Stewart's. The long triangular lawn, widening towards the Hospital and enclosed by trees, heightened the effect, while the fine single-storey lodge and gates at the southern extremity of the site provided an impressive formal approach from the wide Forfar Road-Pitkerro Road junction at Stobswell.

The Morgan Hospital was eventually opened with great military and religious ceremony by Provost Hay on 5 February 1868. At that date it housed only forty boys, as decreed by Swinton's scheme, their numbers rising to one hundred over the next two years.

No detail sheets for the interior remain in the archive but it had good standardised joinery with boarded dadoes, and plain ceilings with simple cornices. The Tudorarched main corridors were ornamented with classical sculptures, symbolic of the classical education the Hospital provided for its abler pupils, and the chapel and its corridor were stencilled. The only other room to have a richer treatment was the board room which had a gothic chimneypiece in its east wall. A contemporary account describes the board room as:

"spacious and handsomely finished and furnished. An oval table of oak occupies the centre of the room, and on each side are the chairs of the governors. These chairs, which are beautiful specimens of workmanship, are antique in design and the seat and back are covered in Morrocco. On the back of each chair the Morgan crest and motto are impressed in gold surmounted by the words 'Morgan Hospital.' A brass chandelier of chaste and elegant design is suspended from the roof and a rich carpet covers the floor. Adjoining the Board Room is the Library and Reading Room."

The reference to "roof" rather than "ceiling" suggests that the board room ceiling may have been oak-grained to match the furniture.

Of the dormitories it was noted that:

"There is something almost Chinese in the completeness of the arrangements and machinery of the Morgan Hospital. To have your bed marked with your name and your boots and slippers deposited in a numbered shelf are applications of the principles of organisation to common things which boys brought up en famille are spared."

Noting the fairly generous staff accommodation and the large board room for the twenty Governors - a number which arose from the separate representation of the burghs of Forfar, Arbroath and Montrose - The Builder commented:

"It is to be hoped that the time will not come when the masters, matron and the treasurer are more cared for than the scholars and the testator's gift perverted to the maintenance

of a few friends of the governors for the time being.

"Such things have been, and are."

Only sixteen years later Commissioners appointed under the provisions of the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act, 1882, concluded that the revenues of the Trust would be better applied to bursaries, and in April 1887 the Dundee School Board architect J.H. Langlands produced floor-plan surveys so that its suitability as a Board School could be determined. The Trustees were persuaded to sell the Hospital to the Board for £15,500 in 1889, a figure £2,500 less than it had cost in 1863-68, the trust fund being augmented by that amount.

Aberdeen Public Buildings

Aberdeen Public Buildings - or the Aberdeen County and Municipal Buildings, as specified in the title of its enabling Act of 1866 - was a joint project funded by the Commissioners of Supply for Aberdeenshire, the Town Council of Aberdeen, the Police Commissioners and the Government.

As part of a comprehensive review of the adequacy of the Scottish sheriff courts under the Court-houses Act of 1860, the Lord Advocate instructed Robert Matheson to report on John Smith's 1820 court-house at Aberdeen. Externally this was a plain building behind the Town-house in Lodge Walk, but it contained a hemi-cycle court-room with an Ionic colonnade modelled on the Glasgow and Perth derivatives of Thomas Harrison's at Chester Castle. Matheson reported on 8 February 1861. Neither he nor the circuit judges liked hemi-cycle courts, and Smith's was condemned as "lighted only from the roof, ill-adapted for proper heating and ventilation ... [and] defective as regards hearing." He also found that the court-house lacked "a large apartment for declarations and proofs with retiring rooms for jury and judge, one smaller room for examination of bankrupts, two male and two female witness rooms and a room for the officers of court." In addition the procurator fiscal required three rooms in place of one and counsel required a robing room. Because it stood immediately to the south of the prison, Matheson recommended rebuilding on the same site, having negotiated for an adjoining property which could be acquired for £850 and would provide another 1,646 square yards; but he further recommended that the Town-house should also be acquired, suggesting that Aberdeen Town Council might care to "provide more suitable accommodation for local public objects" as part of the scheme. The report was placed before the Commissioners of Supply on 12 March 1861.

The Town Council did not respond to Matheson's suggestion at that time and when the Commissioners met again on 28 March they appointed a committee to obtain plans only for a new sheriff court with a brief based on Matheson's report. A limited competition was set up, restricted to the Town's Architect, William Smith, James Matthews, also of Aberdeen, and Peddie & Kinnear. Peddie & Kinnear were probably nominated by the Lord Advocate on Matheson's advice since they had already designed Tobermory (see below), one of the earliest of the 1860 Act courts, for which their estimate had been a very modest £2,650.

In accordance with the conditions of that competition, Peddie & Kinnear prepared alternative schemes on 30 August 1861 of which no II, relating only to the site behind the old Town-house, and no III, envisaging a larger building extended over the site of the Town-house site as recommended by Matheson, remain preserved in their archive together with preliminary sketches.

Designs for New Court-house

Design II

The plan proposed in Design no II was a rectangle 129 feet 6 inches broad by 99 feet deep, set back behind the Town-house with its main elevation facing south down Huxter Row to Castle Street, and a long plain frontage to Lodge Walk on the east. A tripartite public entrance led to a 14 feet wide main corridor giving access to a large double-

height court-room arranged almost centrally, and a smaller court for trials, proofs and precognitions, partly double-height, in the north-western corner. A grand stairway immediately to the left within the entrance led to a number of first floor rooms arranged in a "U"-plan format between these court-rooms' upper levels on the west, but the eastern half of the block was single-storey with the clerestorey of the main court rising above it. A room for the officers of court at the south-western corner acted as a reception for visitors.

Considerable thought was given to security in the new court. Instead of being simply accessed from the counsels' and procurators' passage which ran along the northern side of the larger court-room, the jury rooms could only be approached indirectly. Each witness room had its own water-closet, and juries, sheriffs and judges were provided with separate water-closets, to avoid the possibility of contact.

No elevation has survived, but the plans indicate a five-bay symmetrical entrance front with corbelled turrets flanking the centre bay and clasping the angles, making an impressive show in the view down Huxter Row from Castle Street.

Design III

Design no III adopted a more extensive "L"-plan format, advantage being taken of the Town-house site to extend the building into a new wing on Castle Street, as recommended by Matheson.

The new entrance front to Castle Street was to be symmetrical five-windows-wide with what was probably a tower at the corner of Lodge Walk. The public entrance in the centre of the symmetrical section was to be tripartite as in Design no II, but led into a "T"-plan hall, the outer vestibule being flanked by the procurator's public office on one side and the sheriff clerk's room on the other. At the inner hall columnar screens on each side were to create a formal approach to the door of the main court-room. With greater space available than in Design no II, the court-room was now to be orientated north-south, again with narrow passages on each side. Although the court-room was to be double-height with a gallery, only the entrance block was to rise into a second storey of rooms, accessed either by the main stair at the inner vestibule or by a private spiral stair in the re-entrant angle at the corner of Huxter Row: it was to contain the procurator and assistant procurator fiscals and their clerks, precognition room, witnesses' room and retiring room, production room and accommodation for prisoners and their guards.

Sketch Plans for Extension of Existing Court-house

After Peddie & Kinnear had won the competition, the Commissioners became concerned by their estimates of the probable cost since much of it had to be raised through local taxation. Two alternative sketch plans explored the possibility of retaining Smith's court by adding the required office accommodation to the rear: in one of these, dating from January 1862, the addition was conceived as a single block, but in another it was laid out round an open square.

Court-house and City and County Chambers Complex

The Committee Sketch Plan

Later in that same year, 1862, the Town Council accepted that its 1730 Town-house was no longer adequate and agreed on the combined project suggested in Matheson's report. By October a joint committee of forty-four members had been formed and at a meeting at the beginning of November proposals were tabled for a new building which now extended right along Castle Street to Broad Street. Surprisingly these were not by the Town's Architect William Smith but by two councillors, William Leslie, the architect-contractor of Dunrobin Castle fame who was to be Provost in 1869-73, and Baillie McHardy, together with a builder named Watson. Drawn out only on tracing paper, their scheme consisted of floor plans only, symmetrical with a centre tower, and were chiefly concerned with the municipal accommodation: the county buildings and the sheriff court were to remain on the east.

Peddie & Kinnear's Sketch Plans: the Central-towered Scheme

Six different sketch plan schemes preserved within the Peddie & Kinnear archive honoured the ideas in the committee sketch plan but still corresponded fairly closely to what was built in general arrangement, that being largely determined by the circumstances of the site: a principal frontage to Castle Street, 229 feet long, for most of that length symmetrical with a relatively narrow 18-foot central entrance tower flanked by identical 80-feet wings extending towards towers at each end; at the eastern end, the tower of the old Town-house of 1615, repaired and re-faced by John Smith in 1817; at the western end, a new entrance tower, negotiating the angle with the 85-foot long Broad Street front. Smith's façade was to provide an entrance for the judges while the new corner tower was to lead to the public staircase of the Town-house. Lesser doorways were to give access to ground floor chambers for rental both within the west wing and on Broad Street. Light within a building of such substantial depth (96 feet from front to rear) and height was to be provided by two very large open lightwells, one on each side of the hall-corridor running from the central entrance back towards the principal staircase: the main court-room was located in the north-eastern area of the complex, while the civic Town and County apartments were to look south over Castle Street. A large police muster room was to have windows in the rear elevation facing onto Concert Close, and an open yard on this side would appear to have accommodated the municipal fire-tender. These proposals were complete by October 1862.

Nevertheless these six sketch schemes contain variations in plan, the true significance of which can only be understood when related to contemporary reports and to the elevations surviving within the Council archive. Two presentation sheets, washed in grey and pink and inscribed "Aberdeen Courts First sketch of large design," suggest an octagonal tower at the south-west corner, with the judicial complex arranged on the ground floor in the eastern area of the building, and a single Town and County Hall occupying the full six-window breadth of the west wing at first floor. Three presentation sheets in black ink, probably intended for publication, represent a variation of this scheme with two large apartments and en suite ante-rooms; the Town Hall on the west and the County Hall on the east, both with classical ceilings shown in reflected plan. A rider offered alternative treatments for the principal stair, one on the central axis of the main corridor, and one to the west of it to create a long uninterrupted vista

through the building.

The elevation relating to these plans is preserved in the Council archive. Its central tower and the plate-traceried fenestration of the Town and County Halls, emphasised its development from the second and third schemes for Morgan's Hospital. As in the Wallace Monument design the central tower rose from immensely bold battered base-courses, bolder even than those of the earlier Morgan schemes. The spired roof was of two stages, the lower with lucarnes following the later schemes for Morgan's Hospital, and the upper supported on arcading with gablets.

The octagonal western tower negotiated the 115° angle and the change in levels between the two-storey Castle Street and three-storey Broad Street frontages. Although its wallhead rose no higher than the eaves and was unified into the composition by the continuous pierced parapet, the octagon's Germanic attic gablets and two-stage spired roof gave it sufficient presence to balance the low spire of the Tolbooth façade on the east. Its form clearly derived from that of the similarly-angled Block A at Cockburn Street, but Forster Hayward's octagonal corner at the Duke of Cornwall Hotel, Plymouth may also have influenced its design. The cantilevered gablet canopy over the corner entrance at the octagon had a parallel in that of the hotel doorway in Block E of Cockburn Street (see Chapter 13).

The Octagonal-towered Scheme

In the next set of sketch plans the main judicial complex is raised to first floor level, the main differences being in the Town and County Hall provision. Two presentation sheets in grey wash retain the separate first floor Town and County Halls with their ante-rooms and the octagonal angle-tower. A related sheet of rough pencil plans shows the same arrangement but with a circular rather than an octagonal corner tower leading into an ovoid stair-hall quite different from that in any other plan. Although there is no finished plan of this scheme in the archive, these relate to the lithographed elevation and a presentation perspective of the tower.

The seven-window central hall-block now broke forward slightly from the remainder of the elevation, the general arrangement owing something to Block E at Cockburn Street - not only in respect of the concept of three symmetrical blocks of building with a central hall framed by twin tourelles, but also of the corner tower which, in circular form, similarly turned a difficult angle. The central gable with the large two-light window expressed the twin ante-rooms between the Town and County Halls.

The plate-traceried detail was identical to that of the central-towered scheme. The single western tower retained the octagonal plan of its predecessor at this corner, but was telescopically corbelled out at the tourelles to achieve the same Morgan's Hospital profile as the discarded central tower.

Final Scheme with Square Principal Tower at Western End, Working Drawings of April 1867, and Executed Scheme

This octagonal towered scheme proved too expensive. On 10 June 1863 The Aberdeen Journal reported that necessary changes had been made to the design: "ornamentation had been curtailed, but this by no means affects the appearance of the

building unfavourably, and is more suitable for granite." Three presentation plans in grey wash relate to these changes. They suggest an entresol across both principal frontages between ground floor and first floor, with the Town and County Hall flanked by tourelles at each end. Both this and a second similar scheme, which is only in pencil, show an eight-sided inner hall between the vestibule in the tower and the stairway, a reminiscence of the octagonal towers of the earlier schemes which foreshadowed the stair-hall as executed. The various presentation drawings were considered by the joint committee in January 1863 when a single Town and County Hall was decided upon, and final proposals instructed resulting in the scheme approved in June.

The tower was now simplified from octagonal to square - closer in form to that in the central towered design - and the wallhead was unified to a consistent level with a simpler parapet, the Hall being now identified only by the scale of its windows. If some of the inventiveness of the design were lost, it certainly gained in unity, in large part due to the highly successful re-design of the ground floor. The earliest surviving elevational sketch for this scheme, probably prepared early in 1863, relates closely to the working drawings of April 1867. This sketch is of particular interest since a rider shows alternative treatments with and without the entresol which might be formed within the re-designed ground floor - and which, in the event, was carried into execution.

The Building News observed that "the main object of the architects in the external plan seems to have been to make the building resemble, in general character, the town halls of Belgium and France, strongly impressed with the well known characteristics of old Scotch architecture." The ground floor of the Castle Street frontage between the eastern and western towers, and on the Broad Street frontage, was now expressed as a continuous arcade. Its Flemish early gothic columns separated paired shouldered door and window openings, with transom-lights above, formed within tall pointed arches. While the inspiration for the design came directly from Flanders, these ground floor arcades were paralleled by Bryce at Fettes and they were similar to those proposed by both Scott and Burges in the London Law Courts competition of 1867. The transom-lights of Peddie & Kinnear's arches appear to have been intended to light the entresol, but the alternative of semi-elliptical arches and a dwarf upper arcade or gallery of late Romanesque inspiration was adopted, resulting in a more efficient disposition of windows.

In neither the final sketch scheme nor the working drawings, however, was the central entrance accorded the same degree of prominence as it had received in the earlier proposals. Its arch was identical to those flanking it on each side to maintain the continuity of the arcade but its spandrels were distinguished by sculpture in the working drawings, whilst in both the sketch and the finished drawings a balcony with a pierced quatrefoil parapet at the eastern window of the Town and County Hall provided additional identification. At the tower the clock-stage rose into gables on each side as in the octagonal design: those on the southern, eastern and western sides contained clock-faces, the northern rose into a large chimneyhead. Together they enclosed the base of the spire, a pyramidal slated roof supporting an elegant leaded ventilator flèche, with its own gablets framing the crowning spirelet. This detail was similar to that of the clock-stage of Fettes, the designs of which were published in July 1864, too late to have had any influence at Aberdeen; the spire as a whole, particularly at the clock-

stage, may have been influenced more by George Gilbert Scott's original design for Glasgow University.

Internally the Town and County Hall was now flanked, at first floor only, by a large county committee room and clerk of supply rooms on the east, these being answered by the municipal hall and rooms for the town clerk and his assistants on the west. The council chamber was accommodated within the tower. Access to the chamberlain's rooms in the Broad Street frontage was achieved through the octagonal staircase, corridors extending round to the burgh court complex on the northern side. The record office was also arranged on this level, but was accessed quite separately from the entresol-level of the main complex. The arrangement of the courts remained substantially unchanged.

In execution the tower was increased in height so that its tourelles were corbelled out well above the height of the roof-ridge: and both the sculpture and the balcony at the central entrance bay were omitted. The second floor windows became square-headed rather than segment-headed and the ventilator flèche was eliminated. The omission of these items was a concession to complaints about the cost. The final scheme, together with a report, had been sent to the Home Office in June 1863, the cost of the sheriff court element being calculated at £27,125 in gross. Unfamiliar with the cost of building in granite, the Home Secretary informed the Commissioners of Supply in September that in his opinion the estimate was too high, but that he would consider modifications. There may have been considerable negotiation over these as it was not until November 1865 that "a Bill for the erection and maintaining a new Court-house, Townhouse, County and Municipal Buildings for the County and City of Aberdeen and for other purposes" was drafted and duly became the Aberdeen County and Municipal Buildings Act, 1866, nine Commissioners being appointed to implement it. Their minute book does not appear to have survived although their accounts ledger has. It shows that the Commissioners met with Peddie & Kinnear in December 1865 to discuss the implementation of the project and again on 5 December 1866 and 1 and 4 January 1867. Thomas Sidey was appointed clerk of works and building began in the spring of that year with George Donaldson as mason and James Coutts as wright. The original estimate was £69,000 but the final cost rose to more than £80,000, partly as a result of the late decision to re-face the Tolbooth: the illustrations published in The Builderand The Building News during the summer of 1868 still showed the original Smith façade. The western municipal buildings section was built first in order to allow the old Townhouse to remain in use, and was occupied on 23 February 1871; the Town and County Hall and court-house sections were built surprisingly quickly, probably with pre-cut masonry, in 1872-73, Kemnay granite being used throughout. The accounts show that Aberdeen Public Buildings was probably the practice's most profitable commission. Payments of £400 were made in February 1867, £800 in November 1867, £500 in January 1869, £800 in November 1872 and a final £10 in December 1872, making a total of £2,510. That figure represented approximately $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ on the original estimate: some abatement of the usual 5% was probably agreed in respect of payments for the earlier schemes.

Despite the Home Secretary's economies the interior was of considerable grandeur. The arched vestibule to the municipal offices was ashlar-faced with a floor of tesserae, its double height providing a dramatic view into the stairwell with its cast-iron rail ornamented with gilt stars. The vestibule to the sheriff court and the county apartments

was again ashlar-faced with a three-bay rib-vault, a superb tiled floor, and a quatrefoiled bridge linking the entresol floors. The imperial stair-hall had a quatrefoiled balustrade and its ceiling was compartmented with panels of diagonal boarding within beams carried on carved brackets. At the first landing the ceiling of the foyer corridor was similarly detailed, but that of the Court itself was coved as well as compartmented.

The finest rooms were the Town and County Hall and the council and committee rooms associated with it at the second landing. The Town and County Hall had a traceried hammer-beam roof instead of the classical plaster ceilings proposed in 1862, and its walls were lined with linenfold wainscot. A cantilevered balcony ran along its north wall. All the woodwork was in oak. The room to the west of the Town and County Hall, originally the Municipal Hall, had a compartmented armorial ceiling of timber with three Waterford crystal lustres brought from the 1730 Town-house, while the county room to the east had a compartmented plaster ceiling rich in gold leaf and stencilling with Aesthetic Movement sunflower motifs. The chimneypieces were of marble.

Aberdeen Public Buildings were the first major municipal complex to be built in Scotland since Clarke & Bell's City and County Buildings in Glasgow of 1844. It differed from the great English town halls of the same date in having no large hall for concerts and political gatherings, none being required because of the existence of the Music Hall built a few years earlier in 1858. The design of Aberdeen Public Buildings was immensely influential, immediately echoed in both plan and elevation at James Campbell Walker's late French gothic town hall in Dunfermline, 1875-79, and in David Bryce's designs for that at Lockerbie, 1873 (built in partly re-designed form by F.J.C. Carruthers, 1887-91), although neither of these included a sheriff court. The tower produced a spate of variations, particularly for town halls, most notably at Peter Smith's Annan (1875), Walker's later town hall at Hawick (1883), and A. Marshall Mackenzie's Elgin (1885) and Huntly (1886). Especially close in design to Aberdeen was that of the Caledonian Station, Dundee (1888) where Kinnear may well have provided Thomas Barr, the Caledonian's district engineer at Perth, with an elevation, although no trace of this remains within the archive.

Greenock Court-house

Like Aberdeen Public Buildings, Greenock Court-house was similarly a consequence of the improved sheriff court facilities required by the Court-houses Act of 1860. It was designed for the Commissioners of Supply for Renfrewshire in October 1864 and built in 1865-67 at a cost of £8,500. Although referred to as the County Buildings, it differed from that for Aberdeen in that, since Paisley was the county town, the Commissioners required no meeting room. The brief included a sizeable prison, since demolished.

Its entrance elevation facing north-west on Nelson Street was much shorter in length than that proposed for Aberdeen, at 97 feet 6 inches, but was symmetrical two-storey and attic, seven windows wide, with a central tower similar in proportion and appearance to those of its progenitors. It was a very deep-planned building - 90 feet 7 inches - rectangular at ground floor level, but inverted "T"-plan at first floor, where the double-height court-room, orientated at right-angles behind the entrance block, rose above the single-storey corridors and ancillary accommodation flanking it.

The ground and first floors of the tower were very similar to those at Morgan's Hospital except that the doorway had a stilted segmental arch rather than a semi-elliptical one while the first floor window was two-light rather than three-light. At the upper levels the elements of the Morgan and Aberdeen towers were re-arranged, with three segmentally-arched windows at second floor attic level, a circular panel at third floor and the clock-faces in the gablets, the total height of the slated spire being 104 feet, exactly twice the height of the roof-ridges, 52 feet.

Internally, the ground floor plan was closely related to Aberdeen Design no III. In both, a central entrance hall formed a "T"-plan circulation area with a very deep corridor foyer fronting the double-height court-room, with rather narrower passages running down each side to provide entrances to the bench and the well of the court. First floor was wholly given over to the procurator fiscal's offices, while second floor provided a caretaker's flat and two spare rooms. As at Morgan's Hospital and in the central tower version of the Aberdeen design, the back wall of the tower was carried on iron beams, here two "I"-beams side by side.

The court-room itself was lit by eight high-level two-light segmentally-arched windows, three on each side breaking through the eaves into dormer gablets like those of Morgan's Hospital chapel, and two in the end-elevation, all being "Y"-traceried like those of the Morgan scheme of 22 February 1862. It had a lead-platformed roof, the south-eastern elevation of which was again treated as a double-gable, with a flèche ventilator as at Morgan's Hospital chapel and the Town and County Hall at Aberdeen.

Because of its much smaller frontage, the architectural features were more concentrated than at Morgan's Hospital and Aberdeen. As ever The Builder was critical, observing that "the central tower in this design seems over-done and the double buttresses at the angles do not seem necessary for construction and are certainly not elegant additions to the design."The published design differed in having two windows rather than three at the second floor level of the tower.

The interior was simpler than at Aberdeen. The stair had a good decorative iron rail, but the court-room had only a plain plaster camp ceiling. The woodwork was however of considerable quality, with a wide depressed-arch canopy over the bench.

Peterhead Court-house

As a further consequence of the 1860 Act the Commissioners of Supply for Aberdeenshire also sought designs for a court-house in Peterhead. The two schemes prepared in August 1864 and May 1865 represent a miniaturisation of Greenock Courthouse, although the plan would be familiar to the Commissioners from Design no III for Aberdeen. Its elevation was Franco-Scottish in style and featured a generally symmetrical two-storey entrance frontage with a central tower, but at Peterhead there was to be no attic. The reduction in size allowed the breadth of the frontage to equal the height of the tower within a square framework, although in neither instance was a cubic design adopted, the depth of the site being rather shorter. As at Aberdeen the design had to be kept simple for execution in granite.

The layout of the plans devised in 1864 was carried through unaltered into 1865, but was substantially increased in size and revised in proportion, the entrance elevation becoming slightly richer and widening from 63 feet to 79 feet 6 inches. The height of the tower rose from 60 feet 6 inches to 81 feet, while the depth of the building increased from 43 feet 6 inches to 55 feet. The footprint of the tower correspondingly increased from approximately 14 feet square to 20 feet square, dimensions respectively commensurate with the Morgan Hospital towers of the 1860 and 1862-63 schemes. The breadth-to-height ratio of the tower was thus in each case 1-to-4; the ratio of eavesto-ridge height was 2-to-3.

In the 1864 version of the design the tower's rounded angles were corbelled to the square, and the tower-attic's front and right-hand side windows were jettied out on brackets; in the 1865 revision, the whole of the tower frontage on both of these faces, together with the window apertures, was corbelled out slightly at the top. As designed in 1864 the tower roof was to be a simple pyramid, but as re-designed in 1865 it was truncated by an arcaded timber ventilator with an upper spirelet, similar to that in the first design for the church at Biggar (see Chapter 9). Other variations were made in the design of the dormerheads: in the 1864 design these had tall piended slated roofs to keep cost down; in the 1865 design pediments similar to those in Cockburn Street were substituted.

The court-room was to have been double-height as at Greenock, with a fine judge's bench against the back wall between mullioned and transomed windows, but the camp ceiling had roof-lights instead of a clerestorey.

Although the Commissioners must have given an increase in the cost-limit they did not proceed with the Peterhead Court at that time, probably because of the heavy calls on their funds at

The Smaller Court-houses

Tobermory Sheriff Court, Mull

Although originally planned as quite a large court-house, Tobermory was built as a small one.

The site was the cliff-edge of a raised beach south of Upper Town. The original sketch design dated 12 September 1861 proposed a square two-storey building arranged around a double-height court-room with a camp ceiling and lantern-light. Its entrance front was to have been a picturesque baronial composition: the entrance tower was to have risen into a gabled cap-house, flanked by a tall circular stair-tower with a candlesnuffer roof, reminiscent of that on the entrance front at Sorn on the same island (see Chapter 15). The angles were rounded and corbelled to the square.

Within, the sheriff's and jury rooms were to have been at ground floor on the seaward side with a small prison of five cells (one a debtor's) at the back, and the warder's apartments on the landward side. At first floor the sheriff clerks' and procurator fiscal's rooms were to have been on the entrance and seaward sides, two flats for warders occupying the remainder.

This scheme unfortunately proved too expensive for the Commissioners of Supply and the prison board, and was scaled down on 6 December. It now became a simple rectangle with a gabled entrance projection containing a combined vestibule and stairhall. The central section became "M"-roofed and contained a much smaller first floor court-room on the seaward side. This resulted in a reversal of the original arrangements, the sheriff clerks and procurator fiscal's apartments now being at ground floor and the sheriff's, jury and witness rooms at first floor. The entrance front was blind at ground floor for security, the most interesting detail being the slightly projected segment-headed doorway, which returned outwards on a corbel-table embracing the lower part of the first floor window before returning outwards a second time to link with the corbels over the rounded angles. The seaward side now became the more impressive elevation, near-symmetrical with three dormerheaded court-room windows between crowstepped gables. The site was high-walled, the area beyond the forecourt being divided off as an exercise yard for the prison.

The cost was a modest £2,650. The building has since been converted to council offices.

Grantown Court-house

At Grantown Court-house the clients were the Commissioners of Supply for Elginshire. Peddie & Kinnear's drawings, dated July 1867, show that its composition - Scottish baronial, but with an element of Presbyterian church design - was conceived within the confines of a 50 feet cube. The drawings, on mounted brown tracing paper, form an extremely neat exercise in geometric design.

The entrance elevation, which was to have faced west, was only 49 feet wide. Its was to have had a church-like gabled frontage expressing the double-height court-room, flanked by a château-like conical-roofed tower containing the stair, this tower being reused from the first design for Tobermory. Both these honoured the cubic framework, the former's breadth of approximately 25 feet at the buttress accounting for half the total length, and the latter's 12 feet 6 inch diameter for another quarter. A light-coloured freestone was to be adopted to emphasise the dressings and details against the darker material, presumably whinstone as at Tobermory, to be used for most of the construction.

A plain Tudor design by William Lawrie, James Matthews' Inverness partner, was preferred.

Edinburgh University College Hall

In November 1862 the Senate of Edinburgh University appointed an influential staff committee convened by Dr Laycock to consider the best means of establishing a College Hall for the reception of students, and in December it was authorised to invite "noblemen and gentlemen" believed to be interested in the project to consider the matter. This resulted in the formation of a limited liability joint stock company, the Edinburgh University College Hall Company Limited in 1863. The building was to comprise a dining room, a library and residential accommodation on the Bristo Street, Teviot Row and Forrest Road triangle behind Thomas Hamilton's New North Free Church. The main elevation to Meadow Walk was to be similar to that of Morgan's Hospital. The Builder of 23 April 1864 reported that it was:

"170 feet long, and is composed of two advanced wings and a main building or curtain connecting them, in the centre of which is a steep-roofed and somewhat slender belfry tower. The northmost wing is composed of the building at present on the site and immediately at the back of the Free Church, which building was originally erected for an industrial school. The style of that building is that variety of gothic common in the domestic and municipal buildings of Belgium, and which is a lighter and less stronghold variety of the Scottish baronial. The main front of that building is three storey ranging in height with the two stories of the present building to be used as dining hall and library. The windows of the two lower storeys are divided by mullions and transoms and have segmental and curved heads. The upper row of windows rises somewhat above the eaves of the steep roof and their gables, supported by buttresses and pinnacles, are made important features of the design. The two projecting wings terminate in gables ornamented with crockets and finials; and corbelled out at each corner at the level of the first floor are large circular turrets in two stories. These turrets have large windows, and form a conical-roofed projecting oriel from the corners of the rooms."

A similar description in The Building News likewise drew on the description given in the printed prospectus (which contained a lithograph view) and tells us that the tower was to be 100 feet high with a square belfry at the top as at Morgan's Hospital. Only the floor plans remain within the archive.

Although £7,600 had been subscribed, the further capital necessary to build and run it was not forthcoming. A later proposal for a building in Chambers Street was also abandoned, probably because the museum of the Old College was made available as a hall following the absorption of most of the collection into the adjoining Industrial Museum.

- CHAPTER 15 -

The Scottish Baronial Country Houses

In the catalogue to the 1976 exhibition Mr David Bryce, Valerie Fiddes and Professor Alastair Rowan classified Bryce's houses into three broad plan-types. In Plan-types A and A Elaborated, the defining characteristic is the symmetrical three-room suite of drawing room, library and dining room along the garden elevation, the entrance elevation invariably parallel with it and the entrance itself being most usually in a tower, variously adapted from Maybole, Fraser, Fyvie, Pinkie, Newark or Winton. In Plantype B the arrangement is not dissimilar, but there are only two rooms on the garden front, usually the drawing room and dining room, with the library at right-angles forming an "L"-plan suite. In Plan-type C, while the houses are usually smaller and roughly square on plan, only the drawing room and library open into each other, the dining room being separate. In all three types the service wing is adjacent to the dining room.

All three plan-types, and particularly A and C, have William Burn origins, and the position of the service wing varies greatly according to the site. When he joined the practice Kinnear brought these plan-types with him, but there seems to have been no suitable opportunity to introduce them until 1859 when Plan-type A was adopted at Sorn and Plan-type B at Kinloch and the large cottage houses of Craigruie and North Trinity House (see Chapter 17). Thereafter Peddie & Kinnear plan-types tended to be developed on more Burn-influenced lines, with the entrance front at right-angles to the garden front, or with new compositional formulae of their own.

Peddie & Kinnear's very first Scottish baronial country house, Sorn (or Sorne, now Glengorm), was a major commission comparable in scale with Bryce's larger houses. The client was James Forsyth of Quinish who had acquired the lands of Mishnish on the island of Mull. The drawings are very incomplete, although the ground and first floor plans dated 12 May 1858 survive. The house was built on the ridge of a sharp slope down to the sea and entered at principal floor rather than the floor beneath as was more usual in Bryce's houses on this scale. This resulted in a smaller, lower ground floor, almost wholly services, in the fall of the land on the seaward side, which extended into a large two-storey service wing at a partially sunk level.

Sorn was relatively simple in detail but boldly composed, the 92 feet wide entrance elevation of the main house rising to three storeys in height: principal floor, bedroom floor and attic accommodation. The projecting entrance tower, off-set a little to the right, with a stair-turret in the re-entrant angle to balance the service wing on the left, was 16 feet square but splayed at the angles and then corbelled out again at the top with a stepped string-course and a machicolated parapet with water-cannon. Unlike Bryce's entrance towers it did not follow any obvious historical precedent, although the rope hoodmould of its segmentally-arched doorway was derived from Bryce's own Kimmerghame (1852). More obviously related to Bryce's work were the flanking sections, the conical-roofed circular angle-tower and double-gable united by a chimney-breast on the left (a recurring motif in Peddie & Kinnear's work) and the advanced gable on the right clasped between two-tier angle-turrets, another detail adapted from Kimmerghame.

The seaward front followed Bryce formulae more closely with twin canted bays progressively corbelled to the square and circular angle-turrets, although the first floor cantilevered balcony adopted at most of Bryce's larger houses was absent. It contained the public apartments - dining room, library and drawing room - which were laid out almost symmetrically as they might be in a Burn or Bryce Plan-type A house, but with only the two latter directly connected together. Neatly tucked into the re-entrant angle of the drawing room's rectangular bay was the private wing, comprising the family bedroom, separate dressing rooms and bathroom, all very much as at Kimmerghame although the divisions and room uses were rather different, there being no boudoir at Sorn.

The service block was connected to the main house by the single-storey kitchen bay, partially sunk below ground on the entrance side. Hot food could be quickly conveyed to the dining room by a short passage and a turnpike service stair. The court itself was two-storey, 30 feet 1½ inches broad and 58 feet 7 inches deep. The front and rear ranges were separated by a small open court.

Detail sheets for the entrance tower, parts of the elevations, and the stair-hall survive. The sections show that the newel-posts of the stair had neo-Jacobean pendants, but the interior was much altered by C.S.S. Johnston in 1911, when the stair and kitchen were reconstructed. Peddie & Kinnear also built stables for which the preliminary drawings remain in the archive.

Kinloch

Before Charles Kinnear senior asked his son to remodel Kinloch House in a more fashionable idiom, it was a vernacular Georgian mansion three storeys in height and five windows broad across its entrance elevation, a rear wing resulting in a reversed "L"-plan, with a big spiral stair in the re-entrant angle. The principal apartments were at first floor level. On the south there was a single-storey service wing.

Six drawings all dated 19 February 1859 represent the astonishing Scottish baronial transformation of this house - all the more astonishing given the relatively modest alterations to the plan at this time, which nevertheless achieved an excellent Bryce-like layout. It combined elements of Plan-types A and B with the dining room in the northeast corner, the drawing room in the north-west and the library in the south-west; that is, the "L"-plan arrangement of Plan-type B with a service stair between the dining room and drawing room leading to a turret service room, as at Bryce's Balfour Castle. A new entrance tower was the most prominent - in terms of both height and projection - of the five main elements into which the eastern entrance frontage was now articulated. At 16 feet 6 inches broad by 16 feet 3 inches deep, it was almost exactly the same size as that at Sorn, but it was a much stronger design with splayed angles, a corbelled-out cap-house reminiscent of the Cockburn Hotel (see Chapter 13) and a turret in the re-entrant angle. The rise from ground level to principal floor level was achieved first by a short flight of external steps leading to the entrance hall at an intermediate level, where a second flight of steps continued up to an inner vestibule and hall-corridor, as in most larger Bryce houses.

The remainder of the entrance elevation was made picturesque by the addition of a cylindrical corner-turret with a diagonal cap-house at the south-eastern angle and an angle-turret at the north-eastern, the circular theme extending into the little quarterdrum lavatory in the re-entrant angle of the business room and entrance tower. On the north front the dining room was enlarged, resulting in a stepped elevation on that flank, the change of plane being neatly managed by the candlesnuffer-roofed tourelle containing the dinner service room. Two existing apartments within the old house's rear wing provided the drawing room and the library. The apartment which became the library already had a semi-elliptical bay-window, but this was to be replaced by one of more semi-circular design which corbelled to the square at the top, and was answered identically by a new one at the drawing room to produce a unified western elevation. While different in plan and profile from those at Sorn, and with low paired windows rather than single windows expressing the ground floor maidservants' bedrooms, each of these semi-circular bays was to have had four plate-glass windows at the principal floor and paired windows at the bedroom floor. The projecting rectangular bays in the flank elevations - a feature adopted from Sorn - were to be non-identical, the library's being the smaller: it was omitted in execution.

In the event the elder Kinnear decided he should limit himself to what he could afford and compromise on the south-western corner, raising only the drawing room section to three storeys, and leaving the reconstruction of the library section to a later phase: an intention which his son John carried into effect on his return from Jersey in 1880, the drawings being dated between 30 August 1880 and 30 August 1881. As executed the design of the bays was canted and conformed almost completely to those at Sorn, with the addition of a Bryce-type stair to the garden. As part of this 1880-81 work, the southern end of the house was also enlarged. The south-eastern re-entrant angle of the

entrance front was infilled to create a larger private wing, the cap-house of the turret being rebuilt square with a belfry spirelet as the centrepiece of a double-gable frontage with a corner-turret. The Service court was also rebuilt in conformity with the remainder, the eastern block being twin-gabled to answer the south end of the main block, and the western as a single-storey asymmetrically gabled block like that on the entrance front at Sorn. The original house was now completely re-cased and had the appearance of a new house. These alterations largely followed on from an earlier unexecuted scheme dated 6 August 1878 which was made for a Mr Younger, presumably a prospective purchaser. The house seems to have been too small for his family as a large north wing was also pencilled in.

Internally the modifications made in 1859-60 were relatively modest, with the chimneypieces of the Georgian house retained or re-used, but the drawing room was given a fine Jacobean ceiling, the drawing for which was dated 19 June 1860. An extensive internal remodelling was carried out, in conjunction with alterations to the south-eastern corner of the main block, by Robert Lorimer for H.W. Hutchinson in 1923.

Hallyburton

Only a perspective survives of the scheme for Hallyburton which was designed for Lord John Frederick Gordon-Hallyburton of Pitcur, third son of the 5th Earl of Aboyne. He married the widowed Augusta Kennedy Erskine, née Fitzclarence, daughter of William IV in 1836. Since they also had House of Dun they were in no hurry, and the project for a new house lapsed when Augusta died in 1865. The drawing is not dated, but must be about 1859-61.

The scheme was related to Bryce's Plan-type A and had elements of both Kinloch and Glenforsa (see below). The entrance tower was to be very similar to that at Kinloch, but with a cap-house oriel as at Morrison's Academy (see Chapter 14), and again there was a quarter-drum lavatory for the business room in the re-entrant angle. To the right of the tower there was to be a crowstepped gable, to the left a recessed link to the gable of the garden front, with the three-light window of the hall-corridor and a dormerhead window above. The gable itself had square corner-turrets resulting in an entrance front which echoed that of Sorn in reverse. The garden front, similar to that of Sorn but with a Bryce-type cantilevered balcony and only a single-light centre window at the library, was thus at right-angles to the entrance front, an arrangement adopted in nearly all of Peddie & Kinnear's larger houses of the 1860s and earlier 1870s. The pioneer examples of the entrance-towered version of this plan-type were Burn's unbuilt design for Fonthill and his executed design for Buchanan, but whether Kinnear had seen these is unknown. A more certain source is Eastburgh, Pinner, the only Bryce house with that arrangement, which was exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy of 1858 and illustrated in The Building News of 16 November 1860.

Glenforsa (Gruline)

Glenforsa - subsequently Gruline - on the island of Mull was built for David Greenhill and replaced the eighteenth century house of the Macquaries, which was retained as a detached annexe. The working drawings were dated 10 February 1861, although only the original plans, no elevation or section, still remain within the archive, together with

those for the alterations of 1897-1902 for the Greenhill-Gardynes.

On plan the two-storey and attic main block was a clever adaptation of Bryce's Plantype C, the northern half being off-set westward of the southern with the top-lit central stair-hall and the service wing interlocked into the resulting north-eastern re-entrant angle. As first designed the west-facing principal apartment elevation consisted of only two very wide bays, its maximum 56 feet breadth determined by the cubic framework within which the house had been conceived; it had a canted bay corbelled to the square at the drawing room - its details a simplification of those at Sorn and Kinloch - balanced by a broad asymmetrical gable over the dining room. The single-storey service wing to the east increased the length of the elevation as a whole by a further two-thirds, to 94 feet 6 inches.

Although the entrance elevation was much shorter and lower than those of Sorn or Kinloch, its entrance bay was almost the equal of their towers in area at 15 feet 6 inches square. Adopting the precedent at Sorn to this shorter frontage, the re-entrant angle was filled by a very similar circular tower containing the library, en suite with the adjacent drawing room. The entrance bay, although it shared the same roof-ridge, was in essence a shortened and simplified version of the tower at Kinloch with rounded angles. A simple doorway without an architrave was sheltered by a gablet projecting boldly forward on stone brackets, as at Block E in Cockburn Street.

Starly Hall

None of the principal working drawings which related to Starly Hall near Burntisland, the house designed for the ship-owner James Taylor in March 1861, remain within the archive, but copies reverse and the drawings for the modest alterations proposed in October 1875 provide a fairly complete record.

Starly Hall was a brilliant variation on Bryce's Plan-type C, adapted to a steeply-sloping site overlooking the Firth of Forth, and exploiting it to maximum effect. As in that plan-type the entrance vestibule was at the right-hand corner of the entrance front, here on the east, but at Starly Hall Peddie & Kinnear re-orientated the hall-corridor through 90° to be at right-angles and to the rear of the vestibule. This enabled the library to take the place of the hall-corridor on the entrance front. With the drawing room and dining room on the south front it formed a compact "L"-plan suite within the 50 feet cube of the main block, the service stair providing a pivotal link to the service wing and stable-court on the west.

The elevations gave little hint of the cubic origin of their proportions: the south and west fronts were three-storey but the entrance was only two-storey at the raised forecourt while the dominant element of the composition - the five-storey tower-house of early sixteenth century appearance which contained the dining room at the south-west corner - broke through the cube with impunity. The tower-house was orientated on a north-south axis, its southern gable projecting boldly with the cantilevered balcony of the dining room windows jutting out from it. Its angles were rounded and rose into a corbelled parapet with bartizans at the gable of its cap-house: had this gable not had a chimney-stack, its height would have been three times its 22 feet breadth. Still higher rose the circular service stair-tower at its north-western corner. Its spirelet roof 76 feet 6 inches tall was more than one-and-a-half times the height of the cubic framework,

resulting in a wonderfully picturesque profile from every angle: it had an especially commanding appearance from the seaward side, where the retaining wall of the forecourt contributed as much to the composition as Thomson's did at Holmwood.

Starly Hall was impressive out of all proportion to the modest villa-scale of its plan. It was a highly successful formula for sloping sites and was soon to be repeated.

Newtonaird

Newtonaird near Dumfries was designed for Peter Smith in March 1865. Built of hammer-dressed red sandstone, it was a much bigger house than Starly Hall. Although similar in profile, especially at the main tower, on plan Newtonaird conformed to Bryce's Plan-type A but with the entrance front on the west rather than the east because of the orientation of the approach. It had the familiar three-room suite of dining room, library and drawing room along the south front, the last en suite with the morning room at the north-east corner. As at Crawfordton, designed two years earlier in 1863, and Kinnettles designed in the same month (for both see below), the entrance front was similarly at right-angles to the southern garden front but on the east. It also differed in not having the vestibule and the central stair-hall en axe, and it followed the Bryce formula of entering at mid-floor level with a flight of stairs to the hall-staircase and principal apartments, as at Sorn and Kinloch. The service court was to the rear on the north and, except for its fine bartizaned gateway, played little part in the composition.

At 52 feet 6 inches broad the western entrance elevation was the shortest of any of the practice's major country houses, but it made up for it in height and sheer mass by locating the main tower-house section over the dining room at the south-west angle. As at Starly Hall, the entrance bay was a gabled projection rather than the tall entrance tower adopted at Sorn and the other Plan-type A houses. Again as at Starly Hall and, as will be seen, many of the practice's other houses, the proportions were determined at least in part within a square framework, the gabled entrance bay rising 50 feet high; but it differed from Starly Hall in that the entrance bay was not integrated into the rectangular mass of the house, but linked to it by the stair-turret of the main tower-house block. Moreover, there was no lower floor on the south since the house stood on a high raised terrace with an arcaded parapet. Instead it broke through the square framework well above the entrance bay, in accordance with a related, more vertical, proportional framework of its own to provide the accommodation required.

Newtonaird was a more elaborately detailed house than Starly Hall. The main tower-house block was more consistently treated, the bolder corbel-course and panelled parapet returning round onto the entrance front where two third floor dormerheads broke up into the roof of the cap-house, pitched sharply to a 59 feet ridge and crowned with brattishing. It looked (and was intended to look) as if an old Scots tower-house had been incorporated within much more extensive, if lower, additions. On the garden front the main tower-house block had a stone-roofed oriel corbelled out from a buttress at the dining room.

In order to ensure the dominance of the tower-house block the frontages of the library and the drawing room were on the same plane, the only expression of the drawing room's importance being the Kinloch-style bow. As first planned the height of the south front was to be 62 feet, exactly equal to its width.

The demolition of Newtonaird was not recorded and nothing has been discovered of its interior. Surviving photographs of the exterior show significant differences from the drawings. The parapet of the main tower was raised to a higher level and on the south the dormerheads were replaced by a chequer-corbelled parapet with a dormered attic to provide a further floor of bedrooms.

The Binn

In October 1865 Peddie & Kinnear issued working drawings for The Binn at Burntisland, a Scottish baronial villa for David Landale. It followed Bryce's Plan-type A, albeit in a heavily disguised form. It was of quite moderate size, but was brilliantly designed to give the impression of a much larger house, memorably sited high across a terraced ridge on a wooded hill above the town.

As at Starly Hall the terraced site resulted in a two-storey entrance elevation but three-storey elevation expressing the drawing room, library and dining room, but at The Binn the former was parallel with the principal apartments, facing north, rather than at right-angles. Nevertheless, although almost 10 feet longer, at 60 feet 6 inches, and articulated into four bays rather than three, the entrance elevation of The Binn borrowed substantially from that at Starly Hall. The relationship between the projecting gabled entrance bay at the right-hand end of each composition, juxtaposed with a simpler recessed central bay lighting the hall-corridor at The Binn and the library at Starly Hall, was obvious; the manner in which The Binn's circular stair-tower overlapped the gable at the far left-hand end, rendering it asymmetrical, was a variation of the left-hand bay at Starly Hall, where the gable-end of the south front was made asymmetrical by the circular south-eastern oriel. But at The Binn the service court played a more important part in the composition, its screen-wall and bartizaned gateway forming an "L"-plan forecourt.

On the south front the borrowings from that of Starly Hall were substantial but the proportions and detail were considerably modified. The four-storey tower containing the library had neither the bartizans nor the cap-house of the earlier villa, and was thus less like a tower-house, but a relationship was evident in the paired round-headed windows which lit the library. The stepped corbel- and bracket-course derived more from the entrance towers at Crawfordton (1863), and at Kinnettles, which immediately pre-dated The Binn (March 1865; for both, see below). On the east the composition extended into the set-back service wing, and on the west into the high retaining wall of the forecourt as at Starly Hall, all silhouetted against a backdrop of trees and rocks.

The demolition of the house was not recorded and (as yet) nothing is known of its interior.

Crawfordton

Designed for Major George Augustus Walker M.P. in March of 1863, Crawfordton near Moniaive has been taken slightly out of date sequence as the first of four closely-related houses of the Buchanan-type discussed in the introduction to this chapter. It was a major country house at the heart of a prosperous estate of 7,600 acres, the project including extensive stables and farm offices designed in February 1865. Even larger

than Sorn and more expensively detailed, it comprised three blocks laid out on a "Z"plan within the confines of a square 125 feet 6 inches in breadth and depth, generally conforming to Bryce's Plan-type A but simpler in arrangement than the Kimmerghame prototype. As had been proposed at Hallyburton, the entrance front and garden front were at right-angles, their respective dimensions being 80 feet and 75 feet 6 inches. Very unusually for that date the family wing was on the entrance front, which formed the centre bar of the "Z." A luggage entrance stair-turret formed the pivot to the service wing, resulting in an "L"-plan forecourt and a very long basement corridor which ran under the entrance hall to the dining room service stair - an arrangement closer to Burn's houses of the 1830s and 1840s than anything by Bryce. Following Bryce precedent, however, the house entered at an intermediate level with a long flight of stairs to the large central stair-hall, and the ground floor, as at Sorn and Kinloch, was entirely given over to services. Whereas at Sorn and Kinloch the entrance had been in the tower, at the rather bigger Crawfordton a single-storey lead-roofed entrance porch 17 feet 6 inches square (and thus with a bigger footprint than the towers of either of the earlier houses) fronted a tower which broke only slightly forward of the main elevation, and housed the steps to the upper vestibule and principal floor level, where a glazed screen opened into the stair-hall. This had a very long and grand dog-leg stair to the bedroom accommodation, more generously lit from a tripartite window than the top-lit stair at Sorn.

Although Robert Kerr's The Gentleman's House did not appear until the following year, 1864, the plan corresponds to his recommendations on orientation, the principal apartments facing south-east (identified simply as east on the plans). The entrance forecourt was on the north; as at Sorn, the dining room and drawing room were of similar dimensions. Following the precedent of Starly Hall, the dining room was orientated north-south while the drawing room was orientated east-west at the southern end, the boudoir in the south-western corner being ideally for the panoramic views from its corner oriel, enjoying sunlight throughout the day. Somewhat unusually, the private wing was entered from a discreetly placed door beneath the main stair. A passage accessed the family bedroom, Major and Mrs Walker's dressing rooms, and their personal bathroom and water-closet.

Although the 63 feet 6 inches high entrance tower was modelled on that of Sorn, it was a more robust and mature design with a machicolated and crenellated parapet. The chamfered angles of the Sorn design were omitted, and at the upper levels the tower was boldly jettied out on a stepped corbel-table, partially on brackets and partially moulded at the second floor window. This was asymmetrically placed to the right to balance the candlesnuffer roof of the stair-turret on the left: the latter's 80 feet height precisely answered the length of the design.

In composition the eastern elevation returned to the Bryce formula seen at Sorn, with the addition of a Bryce-type first floor balcony. But since the different orientation of the dining room and drawing room made the library window off-centre, the opportunity was taken to make the whole asymmetrical. The drawing room bay was corbelled to the square in different stages from that of the dining room and clasped on the right by a conical-roofed tourelle containing closets for the library and the bedroom above - a concentration of interest at the south end which was clearly intended to balance the entrance in the more distant views.

Internally, economies appear to have been made in the final stages. The main stair was very handsome with slim twisted balusters, but the Jacobean ceiling proposed for the drawing room (shown on the drawings in reflected plan) does not appear to have been executed, the principal apartments having deep floral cornices throughout.

There were, however, few if any economies in the gardens. Masonry terraces elevated these as a level plateau above the surrounding parkland - as at Burn's larger houses of the late 1830s and 1840s - integrating the house into the landscape to a far greater degree than at Sorn. This concept was to be developed still further at Kinnettles.

Kinnettles

Designed in March 1865 for James Paterson of Heathfield and Lawside Works, Dundee, who had bought the estate in the previous year, Kinnettles near Forfar was in essence a smaller but even finer variation of Crawfordton, although there were significant differences in layout, and the site, high on a wooded hillside, was a more picturesque one. On plan it was similarly arranged in a "Z" formation, but the entrance front was on the east and the principal apartments on the south and west. The footprint was of identical length east-to-west at 125 feet 6 inches, but rather shallower in depth north-to-south at just 106 feet. This resulted in the three-storey "L"-plan main house-again occupying two wings, hence "L"-plan in form - being conceived within a much smaller cubic framework: whereas the 80 feet framework of Crawfordton's main block was answered by the height of the entrance tower turret spirelet, Kinnettles' 63 feet corresponded to the height of the tower parapet.

Externally the major difference between the two houses was Kinnettles' omission of Crawfordton's single-storey entrance porch and the re-design of the tower. At Crawfordton the tower had been fully integrated into the main block, but at Kinnettles it was boldly projected as the entrance hall, and the northern section of the entrance front projected further forward than that to the south - as at Burn's Buchanan - the tower and the change of plane cleverly disguising the transition to different floor levels. While the southern section of the entrance elevation was, in a slightly narrower form, articulated very similarly to that at Crawfordton with a stair-drum in the re-entrant angle providing dinner service, the northern section was a simpler two- to three-windows-wide owing to the shorter overall length, there being no private apartments at principal floor level: it was an industrialist's house rather than a landed gentleman's and reflected a slightly different lifestyle.

As at Morgan's Hospital (see Chapter 14) the lower part of the tower was supported by angle buttresses. The fenestration of the upper floors of the tower was very nearly a mirror-image of that at Crawfordton, single third floor window off-set left, fourth floor right, although only at the level of the prospect room was the tower frontage corbelled out slightly, and then in simpler form. The crenellated parapet was again brought out on brackets, but at Kinnettles, unlike Crawfordton, there were bartizans at the corners and boldly projecting water-cannon.

Because the southern frontage of Kinnettles was much shorter than that of Crawfordton at 63 feet, the library was not located between the dining and drawing rooms in Plan-type A fashion, although the drawing room's bi-cameral plan reflected

that ancestry; instead, it was laid out analogous to Crawfordton's boudoir, the consequential "L"-plan layout of these three rooms echoing Kinloch's. However, since the library faced north and west rather than south and west, it was lit on its western side by a great half-octagon bay with a prismatic roof, rather than by a corner-turret oriel as at Crawfordton; sliding doors opened it into the drawing room so that it could enjoy the noonday sun and accommodate larger social gatherings. Little of this was in evidence in the elevation, which was in classic Plan-type A arrangement very similar to that of Crawfordton, but with two central bedroom floor windows instead of three and no tourelle.

The interiors were a good deal richer than those at Crawfordton. Again there was a tunnel-vault of steps from the entrance hall to the long gentle main stair, which had the same big window and twisted balusters with neo-Jacobean pendants and finials. Remarkably, the handsome stone chimneypiece was under the second landing, which called for some ingenuity in the disposition of the flue. The dining room had a compartmented ceiling and a black marble chimneypiece. The drawing room had distinctive non-period detail: a single screen of columns with foliate capitals rose into cantilever brackets, and a lozenge-plan compartmented ceiling; the white marble chimneypiece was more elaborate than that of the dining room.

As at Crawfordton, masonry terraces elevated the immediate gardens above the surrounding landscape; but at Kinnettles the steep hillside site made them particularly impressive, the elevated forecourt resulting in two tiers of bartizaned terraces. These were more impressive even than in the published view, as an arched double-stair was substituted for the simpler balustraded one first intended. The Bryce-type conservatory shown in that view was not carried out.

Glenmayne

Like Kinnettles, Glenmayne near Galashiels was designed for a wooded hillside site, the client being the immensely wealthy wool merchant John Murray, who also had extensive Australian interests. The working drawings were prepared in September 1866, and developed themes from both Crawfordton and Kinnettles. As at Kinnettles in particular, the east-facing entrance elevation of Glenmayne was tightly composed around the tower, the dinner service stair-drum filling the re-entrant angle with the near-identical gabled dining room frontage to the left. To the right of the tower a single bay with a corbelled wallhead and different sized windows expressed smaller service apartments on different floor levels, the circular north-east tower of Kinnettles being reduced to a corbelled angle-turret with a square cap-house.

Unlike Crawfordton and Kinnettles, however, Glenmayne was almost rectangular and had no forecourt as the single-storey service block extended along the northern elevation beneath the big main stair window, its north-eastern bell-turret just visible on the approach. Every major element of the design, both on plan and in elevation, was conceived within quite a precise framework: the length of the main entrance front was 72 feet, the total length including the service wing 94 feet 6 inches (almost 3-to-4); the height of the pyramid roof of the tower - not executed - was to be 85 feet; and the length of the south front also 85 feet.

The same principles extended into the subsidiary parts: of the 72 feet length of the entrance elevation, the frontage to the left of the tower, including the canted bays of the south front, accounted for half - 36 feet - and the tower and the right-hand bay for one-quarter each, 18 feet. The eaves of the main house were 36 feet above ground, the ridge 48 feet, the height of the tower parapet 61 feet, and the height of the spire 85 feet, the composition thus being built up in 12 feet multiples. The service block was also 18 feet broad (ignoring the belfry), and rose into a crowstepped gable 24 feet high, a ratio of 3-to-4.

The design of the tower was an enriched amalgam of its predecessors. Its corbelled wallhead parapet was to have had corner bartizans (in the event omitted), as at Kinnettles, but unlike its predecessor it was not crenellated, perhaps because of the pyramid-roofed cap-house with gableted dormerhead windows which was then planned. The south-facing garden elevation was also very similar to that of Kinnettles, not only in its appearance, but also in the way it rose from lower ground than the entrance elevation, although the site was banked rather than terraced. Again as at Kinnettles, the drawing room frontage was stepped forward of the dining room with angle-turrets on both sides.

Glenmayne differed from Kinnettles in having a straightforward Plan-type A arrangement with a central library. The dining room was lit from the east as well as the south, and the drawing room was similarly lit by a French window in the projected end-bay of the rear western elevation. This opened onto an elegant balustraded stairway to the gardens (the subject of a detail sheet of 27 June 1872), with a first flight down to a half-way landing, from which two further flights continued to ground level on each side - an arrangement similar to the forecourt stair at Kinnettles. Above the window the frontage was corbelled out slightly over an arch, and then rose into a crowstepped gable with a corbel-table. The remainder of the west elevation expressed

the great length - 33 feet 6 inches -of an important new principal apartment never before found in a Peddie & Kinnear house, the billiard room, which was in fact larger than any of the more traditional public apartments, and was lit by four round-headed windows with transoms.

If Glenmayne were less impressive in the outworks than Kinnettles, lacking its forecourt and masonry terraces, its interior was decidedly more impressive. The main stair was of the imperial type with elegant cast-iron work instead of twisted balusters, and a big chimneypiece, the latter further enriched by Lorimer in 1913; the drawing room had a double screen of columns separating it from the library, and a further single screen of columns at the other end. At the library end an ingenious use of mirrors conveyed the impression of still more columns than there actually were. The details were very similar to those of Kinnettles, with Corinthianesque capitals and enriched cantilever brackets over the columns, a detail which can be related to the Bank of Scotland headquarters proposals of 1859-60 (see Chapter 20). The ceilings were compartmented with diapered coves. These survive, but the bookcases disappeared from the library when Lorimer provided a new one in 1913.

Although the terraces were embanked, the garden works and buildings were extensive: designs survive for the garden walls (October 1867), stable-offices (29 February 1868), reservoir and ice-house (27 July 1868), gate-lodge (December 1868), principal entrance gate (8 March 1869) and conservatory and vineries (3 April 1869).

Cargen

Cargen at Troqueer near Dumfries was built for the geologist Patrick Dudgeon, the first designs being prepared on 1 March 1870 and then modestly revised on 12 March.

Cargen was a very large house on the scale of Sorn and Crawfordton, but the estate was only 871 acres. The rent-roll was less than half of that at Crawfordton, a difference reflected in its severer detail. Its plan was essentially similar to that of Sorn, with the principal apartments on the south and the family wing integrated into the main block on the west. It differed from Sorn in having its east-facing entrance front at right-angles to the garden front as at Crawfordton; the single-storey entrance porch fronting the tower also followed the Crawfordton precedent in simplified form, but these were placed at the northern end of the elevation, as at Starly Hall and Newtonaird. As at Glenmayne, there was no forecourt, but the composition of the entrance front extended northwards into a two-storey wing with a tall billiard room over the kitchen and low screen-wall of the kitchen-court. The plan of the main block was essentially square-based, the length of the entrance elevation being 65 feet 6 inches in length and the garden elevation 64 feet but the entrance tower was less happily proportioned than at Crawfordton with a height of only 58 feet 6 inches: it may have been the subject of savings. There were, however, some interesting points to the design. The southern end of the entrance front was of massive appearance, and was itself composed within two square frameworks. The breadth of this frontage, including the projecting bays, was at 47 feet 6 inches almost equal to the 48 feet 6 inch height of the roof-ridge. Since the eaves were 37 feet from the ground, the ratio of 3-to-4 which had determined eavesand ridge-heights in the past was thus very nearly honoured.

At the northern end the kitchen and billiard room block was similarly conceived

within simple proportions: 27 feet breadth, 28 feet depth and 26 feet 6 inch tall to the eaves indicated not just a square, but a cubic framework up to the eaves. Since the kitchen had to be of considerable height, the top-lit billiard room was at a mezzanine level. It was approached by a corridor and steps from the outer stair-hall, enabling players not welcome in the house itself to access it directly, as at Mayfield and Livilands (see Chapter 16). A mullioned and transomed window with a balustraded balcony enabled Dudgeon to observe who was in the drive.

On the south front the arrangement of the dining room, library and drawing room resulted in an absolutely symmetrical Plan-type A composition as at Sorn, simplified in detail without turrets, but with a first floor balcony as at Crawfordton, Kinnettles and Glenmayne. The western elevation was a more innovative composition, with a wilful asymmetry at the drawing room bay and the gable above it; the candlesnuffer-roofed oriel of the boudoir neatly turned the re-entrant angle into the double-gabled private wing where the position of the family bedroom and the principal bedroom above it were marked by a tall stone-roofed canted bay.

Like Newtonaird and Crawfordton, Cargen was built of a dark hammer-dressed red sandstone, its rough texture more obtrusive than at those more richly-detailed houses. Old photographs show a fine layout of masonry terraces and garden stairs to the south and west of the house.

Threave

The Threave estate near Castle Douglas was bought as a holiday retreat by William Gordon, a Liverpool merchant, in 1870. As at Kinnettles and Glenmayne, there had been no previous house onat the site. The drawings were dated 7 April 1871.

Although smaller than Cargen, Threave was a much more successful design, and quite different from any of its predecessors. The hillside setting and the elevated forecourt it entailed were similar to those of Kinnettles and Glenmayne, but the northern approach and the west-facing aspect of the site called for a different solution which - although very different in architectural treatment - had points in common with The Binn. As at that house, and as at Taypark (see Chapter 18) Burn's medium-sized Plan-type A houses of the 1830s were taken as the model for the plan, the entrance front being parallel with the garden front, with the entrance at one end and the service wing at right-angles to it at the other, forming a sheltered forecourt. But Threave represents the point at which the gradual curvature of evolutionary development in Peddie & Kinnear's house design suddenly verged towards coincidence with an earlier project, the composition of which offered a new way forward: the Cockburn Hotel (1859, see Chapter 13).

The derivation of the eastern elevation of Threave from the Market Street frontage of the Cockburn Hotel is unmistakable. They were closely similar in length - Threave 81 feet, as against the hotel's 84. Each had a circular entrance tower, boldly projecting from the right-hand corner. At 19 feet diameter, Threave's tower was slightly smaller than the Cockburn's - 20 feet - but continued the progressive tendency in the country houses towards bigger entrance towers. With a balustraded parapet rising 58 feet 6 inches above ground, the tower was not exactly the same height as that at Cargen, but had clearly been designed on a height-to-diameter ratio of 3-to-1.

At the south or left-hand end of the forecourt elevation the entrance tower was answered, Cockburn Hotel fashion, by a gabled cap-house bay very similar to the entrance bay at Newtonaird - narrower than the entrance tower, and correspondingly lower since based on the same 3-to-1 ratio, but advanced to a similar degree. Its 16 feet breadth fell a little short of the Newtonaird entrance bay - 18 feet - but exactly equalled its 50 feet height. Within its re-entrant angle was a circular service stair tower which made Threave's resemblance to the hotel less obvious. The linking section of frontage between this stair and the entrance tower was 35 feet broad, precisely equal to its 35 feet eaves-height; this was, in turn, three-quarters the height of the main roof-ridge, so adhering to the ratio which determined the roof-lines of earlier houses.

That the design of the entrance tower derived from Castle Fraser comes as no surprise since the concept of the Cockburn had been developed from Bryce's Birkhill (1855), where the entrance tower had been of the Castle Fraser type. As at most of Peddie & Kinnear's larger houses, the elevated level of the principal apartments over a ground floor of services and nurseries required an external stair to the entrance doorway, which had a string-course stepped over it as a hoodmould enclosing a panel, much as at Birkhill.

The garden elevation, which had the familiar three-room arrangement of drawing room, library and dining room, evolved from those of the earlier country houses. The dining room frontage was broken forward slightly to express its east-west orientation in contrast to the north-south arrangement of the drawing room, so recalling Crawfordton, Kinnettles and Glenmayne, while the drawing room end was a double-gabled composition with a canted bay corbelled off a pilaster buttress, modelled on the entrance elevation at Cargen: the resulting asymmetry was balanced by the service wing to the north.

Inside, Threave differed significantly from Peddie & Kinnear's earlier Plan-type A houses, the usual central stair-hall being absent. The stair from the entrance hall and the main stair were concentrated together in three parallel flights in the north-east corner, opening into the hall and upper corridor through three-bay screens, the lower arcaded and the upper shouldered. The billiard table was in the hall, as in Bryce's houses. Apart from the stairs, which had turned balusters, the interior finishes were relatively simple - Minton tiles and a thistle cornice in the circular entrance hall, a diapered cove in the drawing room, and a rich floral cornice in the dining room. It has the only original surviving chimney-piece, large but plain in a grey-veined marble.

Although much was spent on the stables and landscaping the park, Threave was a less expensive house than either Kinnettles or Glenmayne, having no masonry terraces and no clearly defined private wing or family suite. While built of the same red sandstone as Crawfordton, Newtonaird and Cargen, hammer-dressed masonry was not specified and, indeed, was not to be used again.

Kilberry

Kilberry in South Knapdale was an ancient site. A panel over the entrance doorway records that it was in occupation by 1497, another immediately beneath adds that it was "Plundered & Burnt By C[a]p[tain] Proby an English Pirate 1513 - Rebuilt by J.C. 1844."

J.C. was the antiquarian John Campbell, whose architect, Thomas Brown, had designed the new Kilberry Castle (drawings dated 25 January 1844) on a generally symmetrical three-bay cruciform plan, three storeys and attic in height, the elevations and massing evocative of an old Scots tower-house. The height of the conical roof of its stair-tower was equal to the breadth of the entrance frontage at 60 feet (the eaves-line being almost exactly half this height): like Peddie & Kinnear, Brown was a classically-trained architect brought up on conceiving entrance elevations within squares, who applied the same principle to the vernacular.

John Campbell's son, also John, succeeded in 1861. Although the estate was of some size the rent-roll was modest and the work had to be economical. Two similar sets of drawings survive for the remodelling and enlargement of the house, one at Kilberry and one (with copies) in the archive, dated 31 March 1873.

In these only modest changes were made to Brown's entrance elevation. The original square-headed doorway was to be altered to a round-arched one. At first it was intended that this doorway should have an oversailing hoodmould: the relocated historical inscriptions were an afterthought.

Internally and at the rear, however, the alterations and additions were more radical. As in many of Peddie & Kinnear's earlier houses Brown's entrance vestibule was not at main floor level, but on a mezzanine level. Beyond a screen, the old dining room now became a central stair-hall with a short first flight to main floor level and then a grand stair up to a cantilevered second floor landing. The southern division of Brown's house was now largely given over to service provision: the northern contained a smoking room (in the Kilberry drawings) or business room (archive drawings) and a bedroom, but most of the living accommodation was now within Peddie & Kinnear's new western addition.

In Plan-type A fashion the three new ic apartments were arranged in line as a second pile of accommodation added across the rear of Brown's house, resulting in a much longer garden front facing west. The dining room was orientated east-west and corresponded in breadth to Brown's northern wing; it was expressed by a massive, full-width canted bay corbelled to the square with only a crowstepped gable at the attic. As at Crawfordton the library and its window were off-centre because of the north-south orientation of the drawing room. The latter had a much narrower and shallower canted bay than the dining room, resulting in an intentionally asymmetrical elevation. At the north end the drawing room led into a conservatory, as had been planned at Kinnettles. Adjacent to it was the single-storey and basement billiard room block, its gable projecting slightly forward of Brown's east front.

The drawings show that Peddie & Kinnear planned to remove Brown's dummy turrets and rebuild the corners square in conformity with the remainder. Had this been done, Kilberry would almost have had the appearance of being built completely anew, the difference between the two phases of construction being discernible only in the slightly lighter stone used in 1873.

Wemyss Castle

In 1874 Mrs Millicent Erskine Wemyss, a grand-daughter of William IV, and step-daughter of Kinnear's client at Hallyburton, instructed the practice to make radical changes at Wemyss Castle, a very large "U"-plan house mainly of 1669 but incorporating earlier fabric. The courtyard was infilled with a large two-storey five-bay wing with a projecting porch and low clock-tower with crenellated parapets.

Externally the new wing was somewhat unprepossessing. Internally, however, it contained a magnificent wainscoted great hall in a pure early seventeenth century neo-Jacobean idiom, with mezzanine galleries down the inner sides, an arcaded frieze, and an elaborate ceiling, the square and lozenge patterns of which were adapted from the King's bedroom within the castle.

As part of the same programme of works an arcaded terrace and bay-windows were added to the east front, and the old drawing room and the Earl's bedchamber united as the library, again with a ceiling modelled on the King's bedroom. The historicist character of the interior work at Wemyss was unique in Peddie & Kinnear's domestic practice and was doubtless dictated by the client, who was both aesthetically minded and strong-willed.

No drawings remain in the archive. Peddie & Kinnear's work was demolished after the Second World War when the castle was returned to something nearer its seventeenth century appearance.

Dryburgh

Before its remodelling and substantial extension by Peddie & Kinnear for the Honourable Charles Baillie, Lord Jerviswood, Dryburgh House was a three-storey Georgian mansion with a 67 feet broad entrance elevation facing south towards the Abbey. It presented a symmetrical pedimented appearance even if the left-hand bay were fractionally longer than the right.

Peddie & Kinnear's surviving pencil sketches for its remodelling and new west wing illustrate two alternative "U"-plan proposals enclosing large courtyards. In one of these, for which only a single plan remains, the rear service range faced north. All the other plans, however, relate to the proposals which were actually executed, in which the service range was built behind the old house's eastern bay. Only a single elevational drawing survives, a sketch of the entrance elevation, which appears to have been the same in both schemes.

In this sketch scheme, and in the working drawings and copies of 19 August 1876, the old house was only slightly remodelled with twin gables substituted for the pediment, although riders offered more extensive changes which were not adopted. In contrast to the old house, the new wing was a very vertical composition with an oblong tower-house on the Starly Hall-Newtonaird model at the south-west corner: indeed, if its chimney-stacks were taken into account, at 64 feet it was almost as tall as the old house was broad. Its southern elevation was 34 feet wide, plain, with a south-east turret and rounded angles corbelled to the square. At first floor level it contained the drawing room, lit by a central canted bay. Attic level was marked by a corbel-course and three gablet dormerhead windows above, the eaves being 47 feet 6 inches above ground and ridge 59 feet above ground, indicating that it was designed on a ratio

between roof-lines of 4-to-5.

The layout of the principal apartments on the western elevation followed Bryce's Plan-type A, but in a heavily disguised form. On this side the tower-house containing the drawing room had a narrower frontage, 24 feet 6 inches wide, with a five-light canted bay rising through all three floors. At the top was a massively corbelled parapet with square bartizans and a cap-house. Recessed between the drawing room and dining room, the narrow library bay was just 15 feet wide, the 39 feet height of its eaves and 54 feet height of its roof-ridge broadly respecting the practice's usual 3-to-4 roof-lines ratio. The dining room was orientated north-south, resulting in its 32 feet 6 inch frontage being much the widest element of the composition, almost the equal of the other two combined. Its breadth was emphasised by the plain frontage to either side of the three-light rectangular bay of the dining room and the stepped second floor string-course. A double-gable linked by a crenellated rectangular bartizan, modelled on that at Crathes, gave it a picturesque roof-line.

Lord Jerviswood died in 1879, soon after work was completed. The old house was subsequently further remodelled and enlarged on the eastern side, and then converted to an hotel with additions on the northern side, resulting in extensive changes to Peddie & Kinnear's interior work.

Kinmonth

Kinmonth, in Rhynd Parish, Perthshire, was designed for John Henry Pelly Simpson, son of Sir George Simpson, whose trustees had bought the estate on his behalf in 1864. The Simpson family crest - a falcon valant proper - with the motto Alis nutrior, "I am fed by birds," was carved over the main entrance in the north elevation, and his monogram appeared on the eastern wall. Although the house was completely new, its hillside site was ancient, with a large dovecote nearby, and its tall Scottish baronial form was clearly designed to evoke the atmosphere of the tower-house which had one stood there. The drawings are dated 15 May 1876.

It was the partners' first large new house for five years - since Threave in 1871 - a measure of the steep decline in major domestic commissions after 1870. Although still following Bryce's Plan-type A in general arrangement if not in elevation, it represented a significant advance on its predecessors in the way that it was conceived: its design was based not on a single proportional framework, but on two related ratios.

The main entrance elevation formed a shallow "L"-plan forecourt with the single-storey service court at the north-west. It consisted of a tall gabled entrance bay at the eastern end, a principal stair bay, and a broad western bay rising into paired double gables, and it was drawn out within a framework 60 feet 6 inches broad by 48 feet tall to the roof-ridge: 5-to-4. Its massing, indeed that of the composition as a whole, was very powerful, skilfully balanced through proportion, fenestration and detail. The eaves of the roof at the central stair bay were 32 feet 6 inches above ground, and so the roof itself accounted for a third of the height: the paired gables of the western billiard room bay generally honoured these roof-lines, the short linking crenellated parapet (reused from Dryburgh) being of the same height. To balance the broader mass of the paired western gables, the entrance bay rose above the eaves into a corbelled cap-house with Maybole-type skews which rose above the 48 feet main roof-ridge to a height of

56 feet (6-to-7). The breadth of the main block was exactly answered by the height of the candlesnuffer roof of the service stair at the south-east corner of the entrance bay, at 60 feet 6 inches. Although outwith the proportional framework of the entrance elevation, it was nevertheless related since its exposed diameter, 8 feet 6 inches, was exactly half the 17 feet breadth of the entrance bay; the stair bay, at 14 feet 6 inches, was half the 29 feet breadth of the western double-gable bay.

The plan was based on exactly the same framework as the entrance frontage: as against breadth of 60 feet 6 inches, the depth between the northern and southern elevations was 48 feet. The total depth, including the projection of the entrance bay and the canted bay of the drawing room, fell a little short of perfection at 57 feet, but was close enough to suggest that the house had been conceived within an over-riding square framework like those of the mid 1860s. As at Gruline, the northern half was stepped westward of the southern half, an arrangement which facilitated a picturesque treatment of the end-elevations. The eastern re-entrant accommodated the circular tower of the service stair while the western provided the billiard room with a circular oriel facing south-west. The south elevation was determinedly asymmetrical with a single canted bay at the drawing room, but was turreted at both ends.

The plans and sections show that, in addition to the usual timber joists and rolled iron beams, the structure of Kinmonth incorporated French beams similar to those used at the City of Glasgow Assurance Company four years earlier in 1872 (see Chapter 21).

Stanerigg (Stoneridge)

The reconstruction of Stanerigg near Coldstream was commissioned by General John Cockburn Hood when he had just married and was about to retire from India. Two sets of drawings, the first prepared on 14 June 1879 (revised 5 August and 5 September) and the second on 4 October (also with later revisions) chart the reconstruction and extension to a more fashionable form of a mid Georgian vernacular house which had itself been reconstructed from an earlier house of 1631.

This three-storey house faced south-east and was five windows and 55 feet 6 inches broad by 42 feet deep, the lower service accommodation forming a rectangle at the back. The pedimented entrance elevation was symmetrical and unbroken with a columned porch, and its windows set in margins, those at second floor being immediately under eaves only 25 feet above ground. Short corridor-links, each 15 feet 6 inches long, connected the main house to set-back two-storey pavilions 26 feet 6 inches broad, resulting in a total frontage of 139 feet 6 inches.

First Proposals, June to September 1879

Peddie & Kinnear's initial scheme proposed minimal demolition of the original structure and only relatively modest alterations, but would nevertheless have resulted in an impressive baronial display on the entrance elevation, the composition being modelled on that of Kinmonth, but with signinst its left-hand gable on the south-west, entirely filling the angle between the old house and the corridor-link to its west wing. A new porch 16 feet broad by 14 feet 6 inches in depth and height was to be built into the re-entrant angle between the old house and the new block, the transition between which was eased by a candlesnuffer-roofed turret in the same re-entrant. Except for

the turret this was more a Flockhart's villa-type arrangement (see Chapter 11) than a country house one, but the stair was to be on the main front with a three-light window as at Kinmonth. The circumstances of the commission made the design very much a compromise.

Proposals of 4 October 1879

The second set of drawings, that dated 4 October, proposed the almost total demolition of the original main house, the reduction of its pavilions in both depth and height, and the construction, in effect, of an all-new house in their stead: but the design which resulted was so close to the original proportions, in external appearance, in plan, and in dimensions, that the decision to rebuild must have been driven by structural problems, probably after work had begun. The entrance frontage, although rebuilt entirely anew, was exactly the same 74 feet 6 inch length as that in the June-August scheme and articulated in almost the same way, reflecting a plan which had been determined by the old house and was not what the practice would have designed had they been building the house from the beginning.

The most important changes to the plan concerned the services, which in the 4 October drawings were basically turned right-to-left. The main service corridor now ran along the rear of the house to the servants' hall and washing-house in the rebuilt south-west pavilion; but on 21 October the whole of the service provision was again rethought, with a symmetrically arranged kitchen and servants' hall linked by a transverse service corridor.

General Cockburn Hood did not return until 1880, the earlier stages of the commission having been conducted by correspondence from India. Unsurprisingly there were other late changes when he came back which considerably aggrandised the house. On 15 April that year plans were drawn up in which the new coach-house was accommodated within the north-east pavilion, and new stables erected over the site of the old. Detail drawing no 77, of 26 July 1880, provided a first floor conservatory (since rebuilt) over a ground floor arcade which extended from the library across the south-west pavilion to an ogee-domed stair-tower containing the heating apparatus. Sheet no 98, 14 February 1881, illustrated the richer doorpiece and balustrading at the entrance porch. Other designs included a gardener's house (13 January 1880), vineries (7 February), and a further extension of the stable-offices, including provision for dogs, pigs, hens and ducks (12 November).

The interior was relatively simple but the entrance hall was panelled and the principal rooms had good enriched cornices. The best feature was the dog-leg stair which had very elegant twisted balusters, some of them at least probably re-used from the mid eighteenth century stair.

The plans indicate a number of different types of beam: iron beams supporting the turret above the porch roof; a French beam within the projecting bay at ground floor; two cast-iron beams at first floor; and flitch beams supporting the stair-landings.

The Franco-Italianate and Early French Renaissance Houses

In The Victorian Country House, Mark Girouard classified English houses in the Franco-Italianate and Early French Renaissance styles as "Nouveau Riche." There had in fact been a few precursors commissioned by the nobility and gentry, notably Burn's Montagu House in Whitehall and Anthony Salvin's remodellings at Oxon Hoath and Marbury, but none of these was published, and Salvin's houses did not have the same Second Empire qualities. From Paxton & Stokes' Bellevue, Halifax (1856) onwards, most English manifestations of the Second Empire style were built with new money.

In Scotland it was slightly different. David Bryce's Kinnaird and Peddie & Kinnear's first domestic venture into the château idiom at Lathallan were both built for nobility and old landed gentry but, like Salvin's houses, they arose from a desire to impart a more fashionable gloss to plain Georgian houses. More directly related to Girouard's English examples was Mayfield, important as the first Peddie & Kinnear building in which the "louvre" roofs of the Bank of Scotland Headquarters proposals (see Chapter 19) were actually constructed. As will be seen it was designed slightly before its earliest English counterparts, J.T. Knowles' Hedsor (1865) and Habershon, Brock and Webb's Normanhurst (1867): at the time it must have appeared novel to a degree difficult to appreciate now.

Lathallan

Although not built anew, Lathallan near Colinsburgh was one of the most sophisticated of Peddie & Kinnear's houses, the concept developing rapidly through five stages, fortunately all recorded, between May and August 1864. The client, Stamford Robert Lumsdaine, was of an ancient Fife landed family. The estate had originally belonged to the Spens family of Lathallan, Stirlingshire, but had been bought by Lumsdaine's grandfather, Major Thomas Lumsdaine, a younger son of the Innergellie branch of that family, in 1800. He probably built the house Peddie & Kinnear remodelled and enlarged, a plain rectangular building 45 feet 6 inches broad by 62 feet deep, three storeys high and three windows wide on all four frontages, with a kitchen-court on the north. The principal apartments were at first floor with a Serlian doorway at that level on the south and the main stair was in the central compartment at the back. The site was a fine one with panoramic views across the Balcarres estate to the River Forth.

The Sketch Plans

Peddie & Kinnear's sketch scheme is dated 17 May 1864. It consists only of tinted floor plans but is particularly helpful as the plans of the later sets have not survived: only their elevations are left. The plans show that despite the palatial Franco-Italian Renaissance appearance of the house in old photographs, Peddie & Kinnear did not significantly add to the principal apartments, although the family bedroom accommodation was augmented within the attic by the addition of dormers, the servants' bedrooms now extending into the north and south ranges of the kitchen-court. Enlargement of the dining and drawing rooms, together with the principal bedrooms

above, was achieved by substituting canted bays for the outer windows of the south front. These were to be linked by a cantilevered terrace with a garden stair.

Since the reconstructed house was to enter at ground floor, the main stair had to be rebuilt: it was to be pushed out on the north, probably to secure a gentler rake. It was now to rise to first floor only, a stair to the bedroom floor being formed in the northeast corner. Most importantly, the entrance itself was to be moved from south to east, its walled forecourt sheltered on the north by building a new kitchen-court $(43'6 \times 73'6)$ to the east of the original kitchen offices. These original offices were now to be reconstructed and raised a storey as the nursery wing, while the north and west ranges of the original kitchen-court were to be demolished so that it looked into the garden. A 16 feet 6 inch square tower in the angle of the forecourt, probably a cistern tower as well as an outlook tower, now became the dominant feature of the composition.

On the west elevation the main feature was to be a large winter garden $(42' \times 15'6)$ at main floor level. The effect of these changes was to produce a "Z"-plan layout similar to that of Crawfordton, 120 feet deep (north-south) by 111 feet 6 inches broad (eastwest), even if the linking section were so reduced in area from the Crawfordton scheme that it consisted of just one room at each level and the new service stair.

Apart from the change in position of the entrance hall, the usage of the rooms was probably not significantly altered: male preserve at ground floor level with a business room at the south-east, a billiard room at the south-west, and a parlour in the middle; at first floor, dining room on the east and drawing room on the west, the latter extended into the adjoining room by a screen of columns; the library, formed from the old entrance hall, was between them as in all the symmetrically-fronted houses following the Bryce Plan-type A model.

The First Set of Elevations

There were essentially five schemes for the elevations, none of them with any significant change of plan, which show the progressive development of Peddie & Kinnear's French-roofed idiom. The first elevations were in pencil and included some revisions in the ground floor plan, the position of the business and billiard rooms being reversed. As re-designed the eastern entrance front was conceived within a square. The new entrance was to be sheltered by a Doric-pilastered porte-cochère and the centre bay above it made tripartite, rising up to a bipartite dormer, supported by scrolls. It was to be flanked by French attic dormers. The design of the Italianate tower was fairly simple at this stage, with an open belvedere as at the later Dunblane Hydropathic (see Chapter 30), and was to have had a leaded pyramid roof. On the south front the original Serlian doorway became a window. The new canted bays were to be relatively simple, but had the segmentally pedimented dormers with canted scrolls which distinguished the final scheme. Although the cantilevered first floor terrace was retained, the proposal for stairs to the garden was dropped, probably to avoid darkening the parlour.

The Second Set of Elevations

The second scheme, dated only "1864" but probably prepared in June, was essentially the working out of the first pencil scheme in pen and wash. The difference between

them was most noticeable at the tower, where the pyramid roof was now to be slated rather than leaded, truncated and crowned by a clock-turret with a pointed domed roof. Although the position of the clock was different, its profile was adapted for the tower of St Cuthbert's Poors-house, Edinburgh (see Chapter 25), designed two years later.

The Third Set of Elevations

Of the third scheme, probably prepared in June or July 1864, there survive only two pencil elevations, the south and east, subsequently used for copy reverse sheets in November of the same year. These mark the beginning of a significant increase in the aspirations of the client. The platformed pavilion roof of the Georgian house was to be made "H"-plan by the addition of curvilinear neo-Jacobean gables over the canted bays, while the French oculus dormers were to become conventional pedimented ones linked by pierced parapets. The angles were to be given ogee-roofed corner-turrets at second floor, and the character of the tower was to be completely changed by substituting square-headed tripartites for the arched windows at the top stage and crowning it with an ogee leaded roof. Its profile was probably modelled on that of Burn's St Fort House, also in Fife, though with the concave and convex elements reversed. A corbelled semi-circular stair-turret projected from the south face of the tower. On the west side the conservatory was given a more stylish convex roof which ended in a square-domed pavilion.

The Fourth Set of Elevations

The fourth scheme is again undated but was probably prepared in July 1864. As in the exactly parallel proposals for Morgan's Hospital (see Chapter 14), the dramatic increase in the sophistication of the detail suggests a study-tour of France, or perhaps some important accession to the practice's library (see Chapter 25). It exists as a pencil set of elevations, with one drawing in ink. There were slight variations, as some drawings show the topmost window of the tower architraved, others in a recessed panel as at St Cuthbert's Poors-house. This scheme retained the original pavilion-roof as in the first and second schemes, but in a much-enriched Frenchified form with the addition of an iron balustraded belvedere platform at the roof and moulded rather than plain architraves at the openings. The tower, now 62 feet high to the wallhead and 75 feet 6 inches to the apex, was similar in profile to that in the third scheme, but the top stage returned to the much more satisfactory arched window treatment. Prospect balconies were to be provided on all four faces, one on the south over the stair-turret answered by semi-circular corbelled ones on the other three sides. On the east front the portecochère was now to have a depressed arch, as at the later Mayfield, and on all elevations the dormers were to be given a rich François Ier treatment, while at the corner-turrets spirelet roofs were to be substituted for ogee ones.

The Fifth Set of Elevations, August 1864: the House as Executed

The fifth (contract) scheme of August 1864 was closely based on the fourth. Only the drawings for the east, west and north elevations survive. The plan was modified at the eastern range of the kitchen-court, but the most noticeable change was at the tower, the wallhead of which was heightened to 66 feet. The top stage now became an open belvedere with Serlian Roman Doric openings. The lower part of the tower roof remained concave but was platformed with an octagonal cupola, bringing the total

height to 91 feet, and in some degree reverting to the general concept of the second scheme. On the other elevations the dormers were amended to a segment-headed pattern and the arch of the porte-cochère eliminated; and the garden stair on the south front was reinstated as proposed in the original sketch scheme.

In November 1864 there would seem to have been second thoughts about some aspects of the fifth scheme. Copy reverses were somehow taken from the third scheme, evidently very hurriedly: they were printed on the backs of the Jacobean scheme, washed in and re-dated November 1864 as the final design.

The house was burnt out in September 1949 and is unfortunately very poorly recorded. The few photographs show that the fifth scheme was built very much as contracted for in September, but the garden stair was omitted. The cantilevers of the balcony on the south front must have caused some anxiety as a colonnade of slim castiron columns had been inserted. The only other major change had been at the tower, which was glazed in with round-arched windows as in the last-minute revision of November 1864. Nothing is known of the interiors, which were probably similar in character to those at the next house of this type, Mayfield.

Mayfield

Mayfield - built for Francis Molison, export merchant and son-in-law of William Baxter of Baxter Brotheers, the linen manufacturers - took its style from Lathallan. Although it was a suburban mansion, standing in a 24-acre landscaped park between Broughty Ferry Road and Arbroath Road (then just outwith the boundaries of Dundee) it was comparable in size with the practice's larger country houses. Like Kinnettles and Glenmayne it was a product of the unprecedented demand for sailcloth, sacking and uniforms created by the American Civil War.

In general arrangement Mayfield derived from Bryce's Plan-type A. It differed, however, in being two-storey and attic rather than three-storey, and it had no basement. The entrance was on the west instead of the more usual east or north, and the office court was at the rear. As represented in the surviving designs dated May 1866, which were revised on a still grander scale in execution, the broad four-bay western entrance frontage was 74 feet in length, the south-facing garden frontage of principal apartments 79 feet, and the proposed but unexecuted tower 75 feet in height, dimensions close enough to indicate the original cubic conception of the scheme. The ratios of the divisions on the south front were 3-to-4-to-3 and that of the walls to the roof-ridges 2-to-3, the dimensions generally being multiples of 8 feet.

Although square on plan at ground floor, the main block was "U"-plan at first floor: just two months after its initial appearance at Glenmayne, a billiard room again featured amongst the principal apartments at Mayfield, but here it was top-lit and discreetly located within the "U" on the northern side of the stair-hall. Gentlemen could slip away discreetly to the billiard room through a doorway under the main stair. Those players not welcome in the house itself could enter or leave unseen by the service passage to the lavatory and the outer entrance hall, the first provision of an arrangement which was to be a noticeable feature in several other houses.

In style Mayfield closely followed Lathallan of two years earlier, but had what were

described at the time as "louvre" pavilion roofs at the corner bays. With the principal floor at entrance level, there was no need for long flights of stairs, only a few steps within the monumental open porch which - as originally planned - broke forward of the tower to accommodate the full depth of the entrance hall. Above the guilloche parapet of the porch, a first floor boudoir was lit by a semi-cylindrical oriel with an imbricated semi-dome roof. As first planned this entrance bay was to rise into a tower with a belvedere top-stage of Doric round-headed arches on all four sides, set between clasping pilasters, which would have echoed that of the simplified Lathallan scheme of November 1864. In execution a semi-circular pediment supported by scrolls was substituted for the tower, and the original asymmetrical elevation re-designed at the northern end to produce an impressive near-symmetrical front with the central three bays recessed between generously proportioned corner pavilions.

On the five-bay south front the corner pavilions had large five-light canted bays rising up into scrolled dormers with conch pediments as at Lathallan. These bays lit the drawing room on the west and the dining room on the east, the three windows of the library being recessed between them. The east front was asymmetrical because of the exceptional size and north-south orientation of the dining room, which had a rectangular bay off-centre within the south-eastern pavilion. Big stacks with bracket-cornices flanking the louvre roofs gave the house an effective profile.

The interior was on a truly impressive scale. The hall-corridor was arcaded in five equal bays, the centre three opening into the big dog-leg stair with turned balusters. The drawing room and the dining room were both over 30 feet long and 20 feet wide, necessitating an extensive use of iron girders. The finest room was the drawing room which opened into the library by sliding and folding doors pocketed into the wall. Like Kinnettles and Glenmayne it had lozenge-compartmented ceilings and columns bearing cantilever brackets at the canted bay, but the Second Empire-style, partly-fluted columns had Corinthian capitals which were pure Greek, as was the enrichment of the deeply coved cornice.

Mayfield was built under the supervision of Alexander Johnston, who thereafter set up practice in Dundee. After Francis Molison bought Errol Park in 1872, he rebuilt the house there in a somewhat similar style in 1875-77, omitting the dormers and the louvre roofs. The mason at Mayfield was Sturrock & Sheriff, but the contract drawings do not identify the plasterer.

St Martin's Abbey

St Martin's Abbey near Balbeggie was a large plain classical house built in 1791-93 for William McDonald W.S. of Perth. It was of three storeys with a five-windows-wide entrance front to the south and a central bow on the north. To this a simple chapel was added on the south-east in 1842-43.

In 1860 Colonel William McDonald McDonald, born William Farquarson and son of Major General Farquarson, Governor of the Windward Islands, called in David Bryce who re-orientated the entrance to the north and added a single-storey frontal wing on that side with a new porte-cochère, entrance hall and billiard room. At about the same period Alexander Roos re-landscaped the park.

Colonel McDonald was elected M.P. for Angus Burghs in 1868. By that date he had greater ambitions and consulted Peddie & Kinnear. Their sketch elevations for turning St Martin's into a château on the model of Maitland Wardrop's Callendar, dated February 1869, were exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy of that year. The sketch plans which must have accompanied them are lost. The design seems to have been a celebration of the practice's acquisition of Sauvageot's Palais, Châteaux, Hôtels et Maisons de France (1867) and was presumably intended to further the Colonel's political ambitions, but after he lost his seat he bought the adjoining estate of Bandirran instead and the proposal was not pursued.

On the south front circular angle-towers with corbelled wallheads and conical roofs were to have been added, as at Callendar; at the centre a canted bay and flanking turrets were to replace the Georgian tripartites and were to rise up through two levels of dormers into a pavilion roof surmounted by wind-dials; the outer bays were to be remodelled with pilasters and Lathallan-type dormers; and an arcaded square-domed conservatory similar to that at Lathallan was to be added on the west, balancing the 1842 chapel on the east. The chapel itself was to be richly remodelled with sixteenth century French gothic tracery, buttresses and a flèche.

Without the plans the additions on the north front are less easy to follow, but the bow of the original house was to be reared up into a Chambord-like structure; a huge ballroom was to be built at the north-east; Bryce's new wing was to be transformed into a long gallery of shouldered arches with a central pyramid-roofed pavilion; and a new wing, probably a private family wing, fronted by a turreted entrance hall and bartizaned porte-cochère, was to be added at the north-west, the forecourt being raised and balustraded with stairs to the park.

Livilands (Brentham Park)

Livilands - Brentham Park - at Stirling, was designed in April 1870 for Robert Smith of Hayford Mills. Like Mayfield it was a large suburban villa which originally stood in a landscaped park with its own lodge.

Livilands resembled Lathallan in being an almost square-plan house with a brattished pavilion roof and slated spirelet angle-turrets, but it was a much smaller two-storey and basement building with details which related to the Scots baronial houses and the François Ier of St Martin's. Like several other Peddie & Kinnear houses it was built

into a terraced bank. The west-facing entrance front was thus rather lower in height than the remainder with steeply battered walls at the sunk floor. It was almost symmetrical, divided into three bays of near-equal breadth, the central one being an octagonal entrance tower with a prismatic roof truncated by a cupola ventilator. Steps led up to the doorway, the entrance hall being at an intermediate level. The flanking bays had transomed three-light windows at principal floor level and, as originally proposed, two-light windows with conch dormerheads above, the composition being made asymmetrical by a stair-turret in the northern re-entrant angle. In execution the details were slightly varied: the dormers in the tower roof were stone rather than timber and the dormerheads were re-designed in a more Lathallan-like form. As usual the house was mathematically proportioned. Since the length of the elevation, 65 feet, increasing to 67 feet at its base, equalled the height of the prismatic roof of the tower at 67 feet, and the depth of the main block, including the entrance tower, was again 65 and 67 feet, it is evident that the composition as a whole had been cubically conceived, although the basic plan was rectangular, just 55 feet deep on the flank elevations.

In general arrangement the interior of Livilands was a simplified version of Bryce's Plan-type A. The vestibule was flanked by a cloak-room on the left and a water-closet and lavatory on the right, conveniently arranged off the short passage to the billiard room which occupied the south-western corner of the house: the arrangement was reminiscent of Mayfield, but at Livilands the passage was the only entrance to the billiard room, an even clearer indication that some players were not welcome within the house itself. All the other principal apartments, ranged along the eastern garden front and the southern flank, were accessed from a central, double-height and galleried inner circulation hall, 20 feet 6 inches square and lit by a shallow dome on pendentives. The principal stair was on the northern side; the butler's pantry and service stair, and the mezzanine rooms above, were in the north-west corner, all lit from the entrance front by the three-light windows which answered that of the billiard room.

On the symmetrical east-facing garden elevation, the drawing room and dining room were orientated east-west and were each lit by five segment-headed lights in semi-cylindrical bows. These were corbelled into gableted octagons at the top reminiscent of Block A at Cockburn Street (see Chapter 13). Flanking them were corner-turrets answering those on the entrance front.

On the north flank the service court was kept very low, with its outer walls blind and its roofs concealed beneath parapets; on the south was the conservatory, similar to that of Taypark (see Chapter 18). Raised to first floor level on a substructure containing the heating apparatus, its delicately arcaded dome must have glittered like a jewel with the flourishes of colour provided by the plants within it.

Livilands was a particularly well-finished house, built of finely stugged ashlar. Its external details were of comparable quality to those of E.M. Barry's much larger Nouveau Riche château at Wykehurst, Sussex (1871), most notably at the semi-circular dormer pediments of the entrance front and the conch dormerheads. But whereas Wykehurst was as expensively French inside as it was outside, there was no such consistency at Livilands. The interior has been sub-divided, but enough remains to indicate predominantly Greek-influenced interiors comparable with those at Mayfield. At the central saloon a dome with glazed coffers was proposed, but in execution a Royal Bank-type dome with glazed stars was substituted, making the house a classic instance

of the difficulties often experienced in distinguishing the work of Peddie from that of Kinnear.

Designs also survive for the peach-house and vinery (26 October 1870), the stable-offices (16 December 1870; revised 25 April 1871, 3 August 1871) and the gate lodge, garden and garden gate (all 25 April 1871). Of these the lodge survives.

Auchmore

Auchmore was a commission which grew piecemeal but nevertheless achieved a unified result. Sited at the head of Loch Tay near Killin, it was built for Gavin Campbell, 7th Earl of Breadalbane and a prominent Liberal, who had succeeded in 1871 and preferred Auchmore to Taymouth at the other end of the loch. Created a marquess in 1885, he was Peddie & Kinnear's grandest client, and the commission may have come through politics. It was rather more Italianate than the other houses in this group but its tower was closely related to that of Lathallan and the centre of its garden front to that proposed for St Martin's Abbey. Although the other Breadalbane houses are well-documented in the muniments at the Scottish Record Office, nothing survives for this phase of works at Auchmore.

Before its alteration by Peddie & Kinnear, Auchmore consisted of an early Georgian house facing south-east, five broadly-spaced windows and 51 feet 6 inches wide across its entrance front and 28 feet deep. It was two storeys high with an attic in its tall roof and it had a basement exposed at the back. To this house there had been added, on the right, a conservatory; and, on the left, a straggle of four further bays, of different breadths, heights and depths (and different dates), bringing the total length of the frontage to 172 feet.

The commission began modestly enough with the enlargement of one of the single-storey additions to three storeys. This tall hipped-roof structure provided a steward's room and a housekeeper's room in the basement, a billiard room on the ground floor, and bedrooms above. A new entrance porch and alterations to the rear were all part of proposals dated 3 May 1872. Of these the most notable was the addition of a conical-roofed circular tower, scarcely more than 7 feet in diameter but four storeys in height, which was built into the re-entrant angle of the main house's rear stair-bay. Further drawings of 31 May provided for the demolition of the single-storey addition at the left-hand extremity of the entrance front, which was rebuilt in a shorter, deeper two-storey form, the octagonal pantry being incorporated into the new structure and increased in height to form a prismatic-roofed tower. The drawings for these works, all of which were executed, survive.

What has been lost is the set of working drawings for the complete reconstruction of the eighteenth century house and its early nineteenth century additions, and since Auchmore itself is now demolished the survival of a scaled pencil sketch design showing the entrance elevation much as built is a unique record. In this rebuilding, the house and additions were either heightened or rebuilt to a consistent three-storey symmetrical form with advanced end-pavilions and a slim 16 feet wide tower modelled Fronting the tower was a projecting porch with consoled on that at Lathallan. doorpiece and ball-finialled parapet, designed as a balustrade but executed as a guilloche, like that at Mayfield. The detail was repeated at the rectangular tripartite bays grafted on to the pavilions, these forming balconies for the segmentallypedimented windows above. The 45° piended roof had bracket-eaves throughout, very similar to those of the Dick & Stevenson building in Glasgow which was designed in the same year (see Chapter 21). As proposed, the tower was to have had a distyle in antis Roman Doric belvedere, its truncated pyramid roof rising into an iron-balustraded platform with a square-domed cupola; in execution the belvedere was re-designed in a more Lathallan-like form with a spirelet, although the gallic oculus dormers were

retained.

The garden elevation was remodelled in the same style, but was less symmetrical as a result of the incorporation of earlier fabric. The centre bay projected with tripartite windows at first and second floors and a pedimented dormer at the attic. It was flanked by octagonal turrets with spirelet roofs and had a balustraded balcony and an asymmetrically-placed double-stair to the garden at the inner flanking bay to the left, the general outline being taken from the St Martin's Abbey design. The end-pavilions differed in treatment, that on the left having a three-windows-wide semi-elliptical bow and that on the right a four-light canted bay at ground and first floor only. The end-elevations had pairs of arched link stacks. Although the house had good stone details, the greater part of it was rendered to unify the patchwork of earlier fabric.

No photographs of the interior have been found, but the archive contains some indications of interior work befitting the Treasurer of the Queen's Household.

Houses in the Manorial and Picturesque Villa Styles, 1859-78

Stylistically, Peddie & Kinnear's middle-sized houses between 1859 and 1878 tended to derive from such houses as Busby and Lismore (see Chapter 12), but were usually built on level sites and were intended for domestic convenience, comfort and durability rather than picturesque effect: sadly, the wonderfully elegant detail of Lismore was not repeated. In plan they generally related to the Burn and Bryce "cottage houses" of the later 1820s, 1830s and early 1840s, the arrangement of which had been steadily perfected from one to another, and thus they reflected Kinnear's growing influence within the practice. These plan-types were often very similar to those of the practice's smaller- to medium-sized baronial houses, the difference between them being more a matter of scale and architectural pretension, although two, Munches and Trearne, were very large indeed.

In their introduction to the catalogue entries of Mr David Bryce, Valerie Fiddes and Professor Rowan made a useful distinction between plain Jacobean houses with straight gables, which they described as manorial, and those with bargeboarded gables, which they described as picturesque villa style. Their conventions are adopted here, although in Peddie & Kinnear's work, and to a lesser extent in Bryce's, there is a further subdivision of the latter into those which have plain bargeboards, as at North Trinity House and Craigruie - the pioneers of this group - and the relatively few which had carved bargeboards as at Seafield and Trearne, but their features were otherwise so similar that they are best discussed together.

The Italianate villas form a more clearly defined group, having roofs of a flatter pitch, and are discussed separately although their plan-types are essentially the same.

North Trinity House

North Trinity House was built in 1859 for Peddie's uncle Donald Smith Peddie on land feued by David Bryce for the Colonial Life Insurance Company: the site was adjacent to Trinity station on the Granton line, enabling Peddie to commute to his office in George Street. Only a site-plan survives in the archive, and the titles show that the house was built further to the west than it should have been. The main block was two-storey double-pile, a reduced version of Bryce's Plan-type C, with the entrance and stair on the south, and the two principal rooms on the north, looking out over a terraced garden to the Firth of Forth. The kitchen wing was on the east. Stylistically North Trinity House belongs to the picturesque villa plain-bargeboarded group.

The entrance elevation survives as built with a broad gable on the west, a gableted central oriel with a round-arched window lighting the first floor landing and a narrower projecting gable containing the entrance hall; the asymmetry of the composition was balanced by the low single-storey and attic service wing on the east. The detailing is very simple, but the door is segment-headed under a stepped square hoodmould with a monogram panel, and the staircase window has two-light gothic tracery in timber. Tall square-shafted chimneys with pyramid copes give it a picturesque profile as seen from Lennox Row. Within, the main stair is part of the original construction with good twisted balusters, console-bracketed lintels and a canted ceiling.

The house was seized by Donald's commissioners in bankruptcy on 2 January 1883, at which date it was burdened with £19,500 in bonds. Dowell's offered it for sale by public roup on 21 February at an upset price of £4,750 and again on 21 March at a reduced price of £3,750, when John Dick Peddie was the only bidder. As one of the bond-holders "left out of view" he bought it only to clear the bonds of the first- and second-ranking bond-holders, of whom the Mitchells of Alloa were his father's clients. In October he re-sold it to the biscuit-maker William Crawford for £3,770, partly recouping his loss when he was commissioned to reconstruct the principal rooms on a deeper plan with a larger canted bay.

The titles do not indicate any link with the slightly smaller house for Robert Paterson to the immediate south, but it is similar in detail with a Tudor-gothic porte-cochère reminiscent of Peddie's railway bridge at Warriston Cemetery (see Chapter 2). Peddie certainly designed the three terrace houses built on the Christian Bank margin of Donald's feu in 1861: he prepared mildly Jacobean designs for these, but in the event they were built in conformity with their Georgian neighbours.

Craigruie

Craigruie near Balquhidder, built for John McDonald, was rather larger than North Trinity House: the drawings, dated 10 February 1859, show that it provided a similar scale of accommodation to Tor Aluin (see Chapter 12), but arranged quite differently and more compactly on account of its more level site. It comprised a square two-storey main block, entered through an open porch at the north-east corner which was largely integrated into the envelope of the house, as at Miss Thomson's Laurel Bank (see Chapter 11) and at Tor Aluin. The elevations of the main block were slightly longer than those of Laurel Bank, the symmetrical eastern double-gable being 46 feet wide while the south-facing principal elevation was 46 feet 4½ inches. The services were here in a substantial western wing rather than in the basement, its dormered attic providing additional bedrooms and a bathroom at a mezzanine level.

The south elevation of the main block, chimney-stacks apart, was symmetrical: twin canted bays, corbelled to the square and gabled at the top, lit the dining room on the west and the drawing room on the east, the first floor bedrooms having single lights only. Between these bays the window of a shared dressing room broke through the eaves-line with a small dormerhead gablet.

The plan was related to Bryce's Plan-type C, especially at the corner porch, but with the service wing on the same axis. Since there were neither services nor library within the main block of the house, a parlour was provided at ground floor level on the east side and a bedroom on the north; the vestibule and inner hall were lit from the north and formed a neat "Z"-plan arrangement with the stair to minimise draughts at this exposed site.

The composition of the north elevation was very carefully considered, particularly the irregular stepping-up in size and height of its three gables: since the smallest was on the left over the single-storey vestibule, and the larger asymmetrical pair on the right, they exactly repeated the configuration of gables at the entrance front at Tor Aluin.

Craigruie still exists, completely unaltered. As at North Trinity House the combination of Peddie detail with plan-types which had come to the practice through Kinnear makes it impossible to distinguish the work of the individual partners in houses of this type.

Mr Craigie's Cottage

On 11 July 1860 Peddie & Kinnear issued drawings for "Mr Craigie's Cottage," the site of which has so far defeated all attempts to identify it.

The house was in fact quite a substantial villa, its main block 43 feet square and a single-storey service wing with a frontage of 18 feet on the entrance elevation, exactly the height of its eaves. The bargeboarded elevations were very plain with only a margin round the door and bracketed eaves. The interesting features of the house were its plan and entrance elevation, the former deriving from Craigruie and the latter from Mr Lumsden's Cottage at Grange. The vestibule and inner hall divided the plan into two unequal halves. The southern was the larger, divided into drawing room and dining room. The northern half was further divided by the central stair, with library/business room at the entrance front on the western side where the internal divisions of the plan were expressed by linking the left-hand gable-front with that of the entrance bay on the same plane and recessing the drawing room bay by two feet.

As will be seen later, this simple hall-and-stair "T"-plan division of a square plan was particularly suitable for small country houses and villas wherever there was enough garden for the entrance front and principal apartments to be at right-angles. Although not pursued at the time it was to re-appear in Baillie Hamilton's house at Dunblane in 1871 (for which see its derivative, George Greig's villa) and at Newpark and Blackyett (all below).

The Gows

The Gows at Invergowrie was built for W.M. Paton in 1861. No drawings survive in the archive, although exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy of 1865, but the house is monogrammed and dated.

The Gows was one of the largest houses - certainly the most imaginative - within the picturesque villa group. It followed Bryce's Plan-type A with the entrance front facing west, the principal apartments at right-angles facing south, and an eastern set-back service wing with its upper floor on a mezzanine level, as at Craigruie. The entrance front was similar in arrangement to that at Starly Hall (see Chapter 15) of the same year, the porch again being in the end-bay, but here on the left at the north-west corner. It was similarly of two storeys, with splayed angles corbelled to the square, the doorway segmentally-arched in an architraved surround as at North Trinity House. The first floor was jettied out over a cavetto-cornice, a treatment extended to the bay-windows of the south front. On the right was the drawing room gable, and in the middle the narrow bay of the hall-corridor.

The south front was a picturesque gabled composition with big square-shafted stacks. The drawing room was orientated east-west and the dining room north-south: as a result the three-light window of the library was off-centre as in a number of the baronial houses, an attempt being made to balance it up with an inscription panel. The four-light canted bay of the drawing room on the left was corbelled out to a lozenge plan at first floor, with a two-light bedroom window and a French roof punctuated by a gablet; the three-light rectangular bay of the dining room and principal bedroom on the right rose into another French roof pierced by a masonry dormer lighting the attic. The rear elevation consisted of three very irregularly sized and pitched gables reflecting the divisions of the south elevation. These originally rose over single-storey service buildings which have been demolished, although the service wing itself survives.

The interior has been extensively re-planned as offices.

Glenlair

Glenlair is something of a mystery, the drawings - dated January 1864 - being addressed 134 High Street, Dumfries. Since no Dumfries architect was recorded at that address in the Architects and Civil Engineers' Directory of 1868, the presumption must be that it was a temporary branch office opened for the purpose of supervising Crawfordton, Newtonaird, and the Bank of Scotland at Kirkcudbright, probably as a convenience for W.F. Lyon who had useful family connections in the area and whose home was nearby at Kirkmichael.

The commission was chiefly notable for its client, the great physicist James Clerk Maxwell, who was a neighbour of Kinnear's future in-laws rather than a relative. He had inherited a diminutive two-storey Scots vernacular house with small square windows designed by the Dumfries architect Walter Newall in 1830. A new dressing room wing was added to the south-west, linked to the old house by a porch in the reentrant angle and a very large stair-hall with service stair behind it, all clearly intended as the first instalment of a much larger scheme. Whether Peddie & Kinnear actually designed it or Lyon was allowed to do it on his own can only be guessed, but the

segment-headed door with a panel above was a Morgan's Hospital detail, one which was to re-appear at Bruntsfield Place as late as 1875 (see Chapters 14 and 24). The canted bay corbelled to the square was equally characteristic, but not unique to Peddie & Kinnear.

Kinnear returned to Glenlair in February 1884, the client now being Andrew Wedderburn Maxwell of Middlebie. The dining room was enlarged with a prismatic-roofed canted bay reminiscent of that at Kinnettles, the re-entrant angle being filled by a billiard room. This enlargement was clearly different from that planned in 1864 since the service stair of that date was demolished.

Adelaide Lodge

Adelaide Lodge was built for J.G. Murray, Anstruther's draper who had married the daughter of the United Presbyterian minister of Pittenweem. The house takes its name from Adelaide, Australia, where a son had settled.

The drawings were prepared in April 1865, but survive only in copy reverse form. The two-storey main house, in a very simple snecked rubble idiom, was based on an almost square plan 41 feet 6 inches broad by 41 feet deep. Its front elevation was divided almost exactly into two, the gabled left-hand half projecting forward to accommodate the longitudinal orientation of the dining room and the first floor drawing room above it. Originally it was intended that the canted bay lighting these rooms should be simply roofed over, but this was subsequently altered to the executed parapet. Within the re-entrant angle, the entrance doorway was enclosed within an elegant neo-Jacobean timber porch; the single window to the right lit a parlour, the dormerheaded window above a bedroom, and another over the porch its dressing room. On the southern flank elevation the "M"-roof rose into twin gables with a corbelled central chimney-breast. Although relatively modest in size Adelaide Lodge had a service stair which gave access to a mezzanine servant's bedroom as in some of the Trinity houses.

Bowcliff

Lewis Campbell was a professor of Greek at the University of St Andrews. His house, Bowcliff at 3, The Scores, was designed in March 1867. It differs from Peddie & Kinnear's other houses in having details of the same school as the baronial houses, although of a very simple kind, with rounded angles corbelled to the square and skews rather than crowsteps or bargeboards. Its plan was conceived more-or-less within a square, the length of the southern entrance elevation being 45 feet (in execution, 47 feet) and that of the eastern flank 46 feet (48 feet). Because of the north-south orientation of the dining room at the south-western corner, the western flank broke through the 45 foot cube to 54 feet (55 feet 6). This resulted in a stepped "L"-plan tower-house-like front in which the cap-house top of the entrance bay was orientated parallel with the main roofs and punctuated by a semi-circular dormerhead. Pencil sketches indicate that consideration was given to re-orientating it north-south. The eastern flank had a double-gable as at Adelaide Lodge and the north elevation had a single canted bay, in-taken from a square base and corbelled out again to the square at the top.

Internally, the principal stairs were arranged more-or-less centrally on the eastern

flank, and lit by a 12 feet tall round-arched window; the top-lit service stairs were on the other side of the entrance bay corridor. On the northern side of the house the canted bay of the drawing room $(17' \times 24')$ looked out to sea, as did the paired windows of the library. These rooms had no direct connection between them: the latter was a scholar's retreat and not an overflow apartment for social gatherings.

House for John Broad, Melrose

John Broad's house was a very late example of the bargeboarded gothic idiom of the 1850s, drawings being issued in July 1867. It was a two-storey, three-bays-broad villa with services extending into a set-back single-storey and attic side wing with a frontal gable. The plan was conceived within a 41 feet square framework. The front elevation was stepped, the left-hand gable-front being linked with that of the entrance bay on the same plane, and the right-hand bay recessed, as in Lumsden's Cottage (see Chapter 11) and the unidentified house for Mr Craigie, both of 1860. At the gable-front the dining room and the drawing room had a canted bay corbelled to the square. The ground floor windows and hoodmoulded door had depressed arches, while those of the upper floor windows had trefoiled heads, exactly as at Tor Aluin and St Mary's Mount (see Chapter 12).

The rear elevation was unbroken, but raised into a bargeboarded gable on the right-hand side to accommodate a "V"-fronted oriel which was the subject of a separate detail sheet.

Seafield

Seafield in Broughty Ferry for Alexander Bell was the subject of two (possibly more?) sets of designs, the earlier of which, dated February 1868, survives only in copy reverse elevations, section and roof-plan - indicating a Bryce Plan-type A arrangement - while the executed set has been lost wholesale, together with the house itself.

Had it been built according to the earlier proposals, Seafield would have been an extremely well-detailed "picturesque villa" with Tudorish details and carved bargeboards. The entrance front was to have been 76 feet 6 inches long and articulated into four carefully-proportioned bays: the broad gabled bay at the left-hand end was to be 21 feet, the stair-hall bay 25 feet, the gabled entrance bay 14 feet and the right-hand end-bay 17 feet 6 inches, or approximate proportional widths of 6-to-7-to-4-to-5: the eaves-line, at 24 feet above ground, related closely to the breadth of the stair-bay, which was thus almost square; while the 38 feet 6 inch height of the long continuous roof-ridge was close to the 39 feet breadth of the stair-bay and entrance bay combined.

The entrance bay was to have been very similar to that of The Gows. It differed slightly in position from those at The Gows, Starly Hall and The Binn (see Chapter 15) in that it was not quite at the extreme end of the elevation, there being an almost blind bay to the right with a chimney-breast rising up into four octagonal shafts, perhaps intended to be of fireclay. To the left would have been the big four-light mullioned and transomed window of the stair-hall, hard up on the eaves.

The garden front was also to have been an interesting composition. A five-light eastern canted bay lighting the dining room was to rise through two storeys, and

cavetto-corbelled to the square at the top; the similarly-sized five-light western canted bay of the drawing room was to be single-storey only with an asymmetrically windowed double-gable above. Between them was to have been the library with a large three-light window. A single-storey service wing on the east and a conservatory on the west were to have completed the composition.

Although - like Paterson at Kinnettles - Bell must have been fairly flush with American Civil War profits, he was in no hurry to build as there was already a house on the site. The executed house was based on the 1868 scheme but had a central entrance hall on the south in place of the library, and gables of flatter pitch and bargeboards with patterned tympana as at Prior Bank, Melrose (see below), suggesting a date of around 1875. It may have incorporated parts of the previous house.

Trearne

The 1868 scheme for Seafield was substantially realised at Trearne, near Beith in Ayrshire, but the earliest drawings concern its immediate predecessor. This was a small two-storey, three-windows-wide Georgian villa, symmetrical with a columned doorpiece, and dwarfed by its adjacent stable-offices. In September 1867 the owner, William Ralston Patrick, was sent proposals which envisaged its remodelling and enlargement to an "L"-plan format by the construction of a taller wing providing a larger drawing room and dining room. A very large new service court was to have linked the villa to the stable-offices, which were to be increased in height and given a fine segmentally-arched and gabled entrance gateway. The result would have been a building group of impressive extent but with relatively little living space.

Ralston Patrick quickly realised that retaining the old house would be a false economy and commissioned an entirely new one, which was one of the largest and finest houses of the picturesque villa type. Given that it was demolished in 1954, the loss of the main elevations from the working drawings is regrettable. The surviving plans and sections dated February 1868, when taken together with one photograph illustrating the north and east elevations, and another which gives a distant view of the south elevation, provide just enough information to illustrate its derivation from Seafield, designed earlier in the same month, and Kinnettles designed in March 1865 (see Chapter 15).

The plan of the main floor was adapted from that of Kinnettles, which was of the same depth, but Trearne was marginally longer at 67 feet 6 inches, and its principal apartments faced east. The rooms corresponding to the drawing room and dining room - here the billiard room - were curtailed to admit of a library in the middle of the main garden front, returning to the classic Bryce Plan-type A arrangement. The south-western room - the library at Kinnettles - then became the dining room, the main stair being scaled down to enlarge it and allow for dinner service areas. As Trearne was built on a flat site and had no basement, a kitchen wing with a long service corridor ran along the back of the house, extending into a laundry wing to form a two-sided forecourt as at Kinnettles; and again as at Kinnettles, there was a stair-tower in the re-entrant angle, here octagonal with a prismatic roof. The main differences in plan were the omission of the link block, reducing the "Z"-plan arrangement of Kinnettles to a simple "L"-plan, and the position of the entrance tower, which was moved east to create a right-angled "Z" approach into the hall-corridor as at Mayfield, well-lit from a rectangular mullioned and transomed bay linked to the tower.

The elevations were built of dark snecked rubble with light freestone dressings. The northern elevation was articulated into three bays and conceived within a square, 55 feet broad, and 55 feet tall to the crenellated parapet of the entrance tower. The four-stage tower was surprisingly simple, with a footprint 16 feet 6 inches square: its lowest stage, demarcated by a string-course, was similarly 16 feet 6 inches in height. The segment-headed doorway followed the familiar North Trinity House type, but had a very shallow rectangular oriel above. The top floor was the prospect room, with large hoodmoulded, mullioned and transomed triple-lights facing north, east and west.

The gabled bay to the right of the tower contained the business room, accessed from the inner vestibule formed by the glazed screen to the hall-corridor, so that those calling on estate business did not have to enter the house. Above it were lower mezzanine bedrooms at different levels from the main floors, these being accessed from the service stairs, as at Kinnettles.

The east elevation was almost identical to that proposed for the marginally shorter Seafield, which must have had a very similar layout of principal apartments. The bargeboards were carved throughout, as intended at Seafield.

Munches

Munches near Dalbeattie was the estate of Wellwood Herries Maxwell, M.P., father of Jessie Jane Maxwell whom Kinnear married in August 1868. The house was designed in the same year, but all the drawings relating to it have disappeared from the archive since 1979.

Although the Maxwells also had Liverpool interests, the economy of the estate was founded on its granite quarries, of which there were eight; the house was thus built of granite, hammer-dressed throughout with only the slimmest of margins. The house previously on the site had been designed by Walter Newalland extended by the Glasgow architect Hugh Hough Maclure in 1858, and it may be that an economical desire to reuse the granite of the Newall-Maclure house determined the character of the new. All that can be said of it is that, although one of the largest houses the practice ever built, it was also one of the plainest, with elevations which bear only a very slight relationship

to their other work.

The main house was tall two-storey and attic, laid out in Bryce Plan-type A arrangement, with a very large three-storey block of the same height containing the private wing and services. The entrance front consisted of three very similar gables, the two on the right being paired, with a three-windowed entrance bay between the first and the second. The flank elevation was of four bays, identical except for the linked gables over the centre pair. The garden front was asymmetrical with gables at each end, that on the right of shallow projection with a two-storey canted bay lighting the drawing room, and that on the left of much greater projection reflecting the orientation of the dining room.

The house has been institutionalised and is now much altered and extended.

The Grove: Extension for Maxwell Hyslop Maxwell

The commission to alter and extend The Grove, near Shawhead in Dumfries-shire, was received from Maxwell Hyslop Maxwell in 1869, just after Kinnear's marriage. The existing house, built in 1833-35 for the Liverpool merchant Wellwood Maxwell, had been designed by Thomas Rickman (then based in the same city) on a 70 feet square two-storey and basement plan. The symmetrical western entrance elevation was divided into three sections of equal length, a three-bay projecting entrance tower rising into a corbelled and crenellated parapet, and two-bay wings. Its details were late fourteenth century gothic with mullioned and transomed crosses at the ground floor windows, but the first floor windows were conventional Georgian sashes.

The northern bays of the entrance front contained a morning room opening into a conservatory, but the answering fenestration of the library on the south was blind, that room being lit by a canted bay on the southern frontage where it formed part of an asymmetrical three-room suite with the drawing room and the dining room. The stair-hall lay centrally in the plan, the lesser rooms being accommodated on the north side an older house incorporated by Rickman - and in a short service wing concealed by the conservatory. To the north of the house was a large court of offices, presumably also of earlier date, which appears in outline in Peddie & Kinnear's ground floor plan.

Peddie & Kinnear's major extensions, for which the surviving drawings are dated 31 May 1869 - the first floor plan and entrance elevation are lost - paid homage to Rickman's design. His square framework was acknowledged, but increased to 121 feet to discipline the arrangement of a large court of ground and basement floor services and first floor bedrooms which completely replaced the older buildings Rickman had incorporated on the north and east. On the west this new service court was largely concealed by the additions to the entrance front. These comprised a new billiard room on the site of Rickman's conservatory, and a replacement conservatory further north. The gable of the billiard room wing was 24 feet broad, very nearly the same as Rickman's tower and wings, and seamlessly continued their style in the same stone, but with larger three-light plate-glass mullioned and transomed fenestration. Its gable took its details from the southern frontage. The rebuilt conservatory, 28 feet 6 inches long and mullioned and transomed with a quatrefoiled parapet, returned more to Rickman's astragalled glazing. Behind it, and at right-angles to it, was the new northern elevation with a central entrance to the kitchen-court. This was

comparatively plain, although its western two-storey block continued Rickman's style. It provided a school-room and a business room facing north and a gun room and servants' hall looking into the rebuilt kitchen-court. Its canted bay was a late amendment.

Although largely devoted to improved services - laundry, kitchen, and housekeeper's and butler's apartments - Peddie & Kinnear's new eastern elevation made a virtue of the three-storey height resulting from the fall in the ground to create a manorial composition. Rickman's broad-gabled dining room bay was respected as it was, but the remainder was completely rebuilt in a simple, effectively grouped gabled idiom, given a whiff of Tudor by its tall clustered chimney-shafts. Although necessarily devoid of any Scottish baronial motif, the treatment of the extension on this side echoed Peddie & Kinnear's earlier houses in the way in which, in particular, the paired gables over the kitchen and housekeeper's rooms on the east were contrasted with a single but very similar gable facing south. The stone-roofed mullioned and transomed window of the housekeeper's room, which skilfully disguised the fact that this was the service side of the house, was an afterthought.

D.C. Alexander's House, Selkirk

D.C. Alexander's house was the first of three middle-sized houses for Borders magnates which took their style from Seafield and Trearne, the drawings being issued on 16 February 1870. Like North Trinity House and Craigruie, Alexander's house followed Plan-type C with the dining room, drawing room and parlour arranged around the "L"-plan stair-hall, but it differed in being conceived as a single mass with a unified roof-line. The main part of the house was two-storey with dormerheads, and the two-storey and attic kitchen and laundry block was incorporated into it instead of being treated as a separate single-storey and attic wing.

Alexander's appears to have been conceived within a double-square framework, 78 feet by 37 feet 6 inches. The main block's entrance front had a projecting off-centre double-gable with the entrance bay on the left and the staircase bay on the right; the doorway had a Tudorish hoodmould and the large stair window a mullion and transom cross. The fenestration of the service part of the house was random with a gablet over the stair balancing the parlour chimney-breast to the right of the main stair-hall.

On the garden side the dining room projected as an off-centre gable with a mullioned and transomed canted bay corbelled to the square, the dormerheads to the left of it being balanced by an attic gable on the right. The bargeboards were plain with braces and finials. It was a successful formula, giving greater presence to a house of moderate size.

Newpark

The designs for Newpark near Annan for Rear Admiral James Dirom are dated 4 June 1872. It cannot have been an altogether satisfactory commission as the Admiral required the retention of the kitchen and service wing of the old house to be incorporated, a low vernacular building 93 feet long, its roof-ridge sloping with the fall of the ground. This he planned to screen with a very large conservatory.

The new main block was further removed from Bryce's Plan-type C than its square-plan predecessors, and had its origins in the plain and as yet unidentified villa -described as a cottage - which the practice had designed for Mr Craigie in July 1860. Its southern entrance front followed the formula of Broad's villa at Melrose in having the drawing room and entrance bay gables linked together on the same plane on the left, and a set-back bay with a dormerhead on the right, but at Newpark the architecture was much more austere. It had only the simplest of bargeboards and a first floor string-course which dropped down as a hoodmould over the entrance door and its side-lights.

Inside, the hall-corridor divided the plan - 50 feet 6 inches by 52 feet 6 inches - in two, with the drawing room and dining room in the southern half and the gun room, principal and service stairs in the northern half, the latter providing access to the servants' mezzanines in the north-eastern corner. The western frontage of principal apartments had twin canted bays, almost identical to those at Craigruie; at the northern elevation the gable of the dining room was balanced by a gable over the servants' mezzanines and a projecting dairy and larder wing with further servants' bedrooms in its attic.

Further plans dated 15 January 1873 were provided for a top-lit billiard room entered from under the main stair, which together with the conservatory screened the kitchen wing as planned in the previous year.

The plans for the living room and two-bedroom lodge-house are dated 6 September 1872. The latter's elevation was a miniaturised single-storey version of the entrance front of the house.

George Anderson's Villa, Selkirk

George Anderson's villa in Selkirk, for which the original drawings are dated 15-16 March 1875, was designed to stand within a corner of its garden ground, and was in consequence unusual in having all three of its principal apartments on the entrance elevation. Two storeys high in a relatively plain bargeboarded style, the basic dimensions were probably conceived within a golden section framework, depth at 39 feet 3 inches - and perhaps in the preliminary sketches, he5-to-8 with the length of the entrance elevation length at 62 feet 9. The articulation acknowledged the public apartments and entrance hall clearly: dining room, and bedroom above, lit by a broad canted bay expressing their full breadth at the left-hand end, at 20 feet 9 inches exactly a third of the total length; answering drawing room gable advanced with a narrower canted bay at the right-hand end; and central section with the timber porch on the right, and the two-light library window on the left. The most interesting detail was the five-light dining room bay, the splayed faces of which were slightly corbelled out, and crowned by a prismatic roof with a gablet, resulting in a form similar to that of the corresponding bay at The Gows.

Prior Bank

Prior Bank, Melrose, was reconstructed and enlarged for Mrs Black (widow of the publisher Adam Black), the drawings being dated 26 June 1875. As then existing it was large but inefficiently planned, the nucleus being a very slim two-storey, basement and attic house, three windows wide and of early to mid eighteenth century date. To

this had been added a rear wing of the same height with a canted bay and two squareplan set-back wings at the gables, probably for William Tait of Tait's Magazine, the rival journal to Blackwood's. Peddie & Kinnear turned the planning of the house around back to front, increased the wings to the height of the main block, and re-roofed the whole so as to rationalise the layout and provide a larger drawing room, a billiard room and additional bedrooms. The major changes were at the new front elevation, where the basement was exposed as a full-height floor. This now had a big classical porch at a mezzanine entrance level: the porch was similar to that first proposed for Auchmore, well-detailed, with curving steps, ball finials, consoled doorpiece and balustraded parapet. The stair within the porch led up to a grand new inner stair-hall filling the whole of the re-entrant angle between the original house and the erstwhile back wing, the canted bay of which was given bracket-eaves and three small dormers to produce a more picturesque profile at its prismatic roof. To the right of the entrance and stair-halls a new dining room wing was added with a big four-light canted bay rising through two storeys, and asymmetrical windows under a double-gabled roof at the bedroom floor, as originally proposed at Seafield. The gables were low-pitched with tympana under the apices, similar to those of Seafield as built.

George Greig's Villa, Balcurvie

George Greig's bargeboarded villa at Balcurvie in Markinch parish was designed on 4 July 1878 and was closely modelled on R.G. Baillie Hamilton's house at Dunblane, 1871, the drawings for which are very incomplete. Both houses were related in plan to Beatson Bell's Italianate villa, also of 1871 (see Chapter 18).

All three had the same near-square two-storey plan, but at Balcurvie the main block had an attic. The service wing to the north was single-storey only and different in plan from the others with a cantilevered shelter. The entrance elevation faced west, with two principal apartments, the dining room and the drawing room, on the southern side of the main block, and the business room and the kitchen on the northern side with a "T"-plan stair-hall between them. The result was basically a reduced and reversed version of the plan at Newpark, the relationship to which can be seen in the linked gables of the entrance elevation, although not in the others.

Although Balcurvie was a simply detailed and relatively inexpensive house with only a first floor string-course stepped down to form a hoodmould for the door as at Newpark, both the west-facing entrance elevation and south-facing principal apartment elevation had surprisingly studied mathematical proportions. The design of the entrance front was determined by the ratio of 5-to-8, as at the similarly arranged front of Beatson Bell's. The central entrance bay was 10 feet 3 inches wide; the broader, taller-gabled business room bay, 16 feet 6 inches wide, answered by the 16 feet wide flank of the drawing room to the right with a re-entrant angle chimney-breast rising through the eaves. The total length of the entrance front was thus 42 feet 9 inches. The height of the eaves, at 21 feet, was thus half the length of the elevation, and the roof-ridge at 34 feet 6 inches was five-sixths of the length, the roof-lines thus relating to each other on a ratio of 3-to-5. The single-storey service area presented a frontage 21 feet broad, its gable rising to 18 feet in height, a ratio of 7-to-6.

The formula adopted at the south elevation was simpler; its 37 feet 6 inch frontage was articulated into two bays of almost equal breadth, the canted frontage of the

drawing room being 19 feet, and the flank of the dining room 18 feet 6 inches, probably the result of some necessary adjustment.

The Hawthorns

Designed for James Cochrane in September 1877, the Hawthorns at Galashiels was a late and rather plain version of the smaller Bryce Plan-type A houses developed in the early to mid '60s. The general arrangement of both the house and the disposition of its service court to form an "L"-plan forecourt was modelled on the earlier Taypark (see Chapter 18), but the plan was more compact and the position of the kitchen and other services substantially different.

The gabled entrance bay was at the far end of its elevation, as at Taypark, with the large mullioned and transomed window of the stair immediately adjacent. Within, the cloak-room and w.c. beneath its landing were accessed off the vestibule rather than from the stair-hall. The tighter planning of the main stair at The Hawthorns admitted of a ground floor parlour and first floor nursery on the entrance side: they formed a projecting double gable splayed at the angle to avoid overshadowing the stair window, and to improve the sight-line from the parlour window so that any arrivals or departures could be kept under discreet observation.

On the garden elevation the drawing room was orientated longitudinally and the dining room transversely, with the library window off-centre as in other houses with this arrangement. At The Hawthorns the dormerheaded first floor bedroom window was centred over it, with a small dressing room window to the left. To make the design fully asymmetrical the wide canted bay of the drawing room and principal bedroom was cavetto-corbelled to a gable, but the three-light bow of the dining room had a semi-conical stone roof.

Blackyett

The bargeboarded elevations of Blackyett near Ecclefechan were similar in character to those of The Hawthorns, but better balanced. It was the house of a small estate rather than a suburban industrialist's villa, a difference reflected in certain aspects of the plan. The drawings were dated 4 August 1879.

The main house was approximately 50 feet square. It derived from Andrew Beatson Bell's house (see Chapter 18) and, in reversed form, from Newpark, but it was both more sophisticated and more space-efficient in arrangement. The main garden front containing the drawing room and dining room was at right-angles to the entrance front as in these houses, but at Blackyett the area of the dining room was considerably enlarged by shortening the hall-corridor. The vestibule occupied the area of the library at Bell's (or the gun room at Newpark) resulting in a double right-angled entrance to the hall-corridor which had its own window on the entrance elevation as at Sorn, Mayfield and Trearne. The displaced library - the business room or estate office at Blackyett -was located immediately to the left of the porch so that callers did not have to enter the house. It had windows both to the front and side elevations, and the service wing was no longer an appendage to the rear elevation as at Bell's, but a skilfully-disposed single-storey wing providing sheltered garden areas.

The elevations were simple but neat. On the entrance elevation the gable of the drawing room was balanced by grouping the entrance bay with a chimney-breast as at Seafield. The garden front was made asymmetrical by having a canted bay at the drawing room only, with a gable over the dining room.

The details of the entrance bay and the canted bay were closely similar to those of The Hawthorns.

The style of The Hawthorns and Blackyett continued beyond Peddie's withdrawal from the partnership, reaching its finest expression at the much larger Airds (1884).

Italianate Villas, 1860-70

In Part Fourth of Robert Kerr's The Gentlemen's House (1864), Italianate villas were classified as either "Rural-Italian" or "Cottage Style," which was "an inferior sort of Rural-Italian." Kerr's illustration of "Rural Italian" was a much purer Renaissance than any of Peddie & Kinnear's Italianate houses, which were closer to his "Cottage Style" illustration but more refined in detail.

In Scotland the term "Cottage Style" had been more usually applied to the smaller, mildly neo-Jacobean un-turreted houses of the Burn and Bryce school, from which the Peddie & Kinnear designs examined in Chapter 17 derived. But Kerr did correctly observe that the difference between the Italianate villa and these neo-Jacobean houses (and their English and Welsh counterparts) was often slight, noting that "if the carved wooden bargeboard used in the Elizabethan period be added to the gable roof ... the principle of Mediaevalism generally stops there, except that the pitch of the roof is usually increased." As will be seen, several of Peddie & Kinnear's houses are classic illustrations of that statement. For Culross School, as has been seen in Chapter 9, the practice provided a tracing which offered the option of Italianate or Picturesque villa elevations for exactly the same plan. It has survived because it was stuck down on cartridge paper. The probability must be that where private clients did not have a clear idea of what they wanted the same options were offered and that the poor quality tracing paper available at that time explains why there are so few sketch-designs to be found in the archive now. The decision on style may sometimes have been taken on strictly practical grounds: Italianate roofs required less material and were cheaper, but the lack of headroom in their attics made them much less useful for travelling trunks and other lumber.

The Larger Rural Italianate Villas

Stenton

By 1864 Kerr was merely summarising the types of design which had been in use for some forty years. Stenton, the earliest known Peddie & Kinnear house of this Italianate school, falls within Clarke's definition of "pictorial architecture" (see Chapter 12), its towered composition deriving from such houses as Playfair's Dalreoch (1832). It was designed for its romantic site high above the River Tay with the wooded crag of Stenton Rock rising behind it.

As first built, Stenton was a two-storey five-bay Scots vernacular classical house of 1745 with a gabled roof. In 1859 Thomas Graham Murray, W.S., asked Peddie & Kinnear to substantially enlarge it. Following the preparation of sketch proposals on 9 November, they issued a presentation plan showing how a new block enveloping the right-hand side of the 1745 front elevation might be combined with an existing ancillary block nearby to create a large residence at an economic cost.

The ancillary block, however, lay at an angle to the main house, and Murray subsequently decided that it would be better to find more money over a longer period than compromise. He phased the extension of his house by first building a wing which

provided an entrance tower, stair-hall, public apartments and services, and accepted the retention of the eighteenth century house until accumulated income allowed completion of the work.

First Phase of Extension, 14 January 1860

Consequently in the plans prepared on 14 January 1860, revised on 26 February 1861, the ancillary block was demolished but the 1745 house was retained. The original house and the new block related to each other as in the 1859 plans, and what remained of the original house's front elevation now formed, with the western elevation of the new block, a two-sided forecourt dominated by the entrance tower at the south-east corner. The entrance itself was architecturally impressive with steps leading up to a shouldered architrave doorpiece, which was sheltered by a stone balcony with ball finials at the first floor window. Above, the tower rose into an observation room with triple arched windows and a broad-eaved pyramid roof with a weathervane. To the left of the tower the gabled stair-hall had stepped lights at the lower flight and a single round-headed window at the top landing, with an Italianate glazing pattern similar to that of the stair window at North Trinity House (see Chapter 17).

The south-facing principal elevation of the new wing was 73 feet broad, comparable in length to Tor Aluin (see Chapter 12), and like that house was planned along a spinal corridor at ground floor. The tall projecting gable-front flanking the tower contained the ground floor dining room and first floor drawing room and had a very stylish canted bay. At the drawing room its central window was a round-arched two-light, its curvature elegantly answering that of the cavetto-corbelling as it brought the splayed sides to the square. The remainder of the frontage was mainly services, kept substantially lower to correspond in scale with what remained visible of the original house.

Second Phase of Extension, 20 August 1870

On 20 August 1870 working drawings were issued for the second phase of the work. A two-storey and attic block was to have extended the original house into a longer western wing, resulting in a better-balanced composition. Old photographs show that this second phase was not built, although Murray returned to the practice in 1880 for alterations and additions to his stable-block. The house still exists but Peddie & Kinnear's tower, staircase, dining room and drawing room were demolished after the Second World War to reinstate the 1745 elevation.

While the towered composition of Stenton was to make a late and relatively undistinguished re-appearance at William Cornelius' villa in Trinity in 1876, the later houses of the Italianate school were to be less consciously picturesque and strictly functional in their planning.

Taypark

Although it had no tower, Taypark was much the largest and finest of Peddie & Kinnear's Italianate villas. It was designed in February 1865 for William Robertson, an iron and metal broker, and stood on a fine site looking out over the Dundee-Arbroath railway line and the beach to the Tay Estuary.

In general arrangement Taypark followed the Bryce Plan-type A, although it derived even more closely from some of Burn's medium-sized houses, particularly Lude (1837) which one of the partners may have seen. Unusually for Peddie & Kinnear the entrance and garden front were parallel rather than at right-angles, with the main entrance at one end and the service court at the other to form an "L"-plan forecourt as at The Binn (see Chapter 15): at that house the arrangement was dictated by the narrow terraced site and at Taypark by the width of the feu.

The main block was broadly rectangular with the vestibule in the north-western corner, interlocking with the spacious "T"-plan hall-corridor and stair, with the cloak-room and w.c. neatly tucked under the mezzanine landing. On the south the hall-corridor opened into a symmetrical suite of drawing room, library and dining room. The drawing room and library opened into each other with folding and sliding doors which pocketed into the walls as in other Peddie & Kinnear houses of this vintage; the dining room was separate and deeper, entering off the end of the hall with the service corridor and pantries behind it in the north-east corner, and the butler's pantry and kitchen in the set-back service wing to the east of it. On the west the tripartite window of the drawing room opened into the conservatory, which consisted of a corridor-link to a circular dome with arcaded elevations, similar to the slightly later example at Livilands (see Chapter 16).

The elevations developed the style evolved at Stenton in a richer form, with broadeaved roofs of low Italianate, segment-headed windows at the ground floor, and the keyblocked arched windows at the upper floor. The twin canted bays of the dining room and the drawing room had an early Italian Renaissance treatment of the central two-light arched windows at first floor, similar to those of the Corstorphine Convalescent House, but without colonettes.

Taypark had very stylish elevations. On the north front the gabled entrance bay had an arched and consoled doorpiece and an arched and keyblocked first floor window: the first floor was jettied out on a cavetto corbel course, an Italianised version of the similar arrangement at The Gows and other houses of the Picturesque villa and baronial schools. The stair had three big keyblocked lights with circular keyblocked windows at the cloak-room and w.c. beneath the landing. A broad gable over the pantries and the (very large) servant's bedroom linked to the service court and stables. On the symmetrical south front there were very handsome twin canted bays at the dining and drawing rooms, cavetto-corbelled to the square at the top with two-light early Italian Renaissance windows, similar to those of Corstorphine Convalescent House, but without colonettes. The roofs were very low-pitched and broad-eaved with tall elegant columnar chimney-shafts of yellow fireclay. At the set-back service wing there was an ingenious feature, a segmentally-arched recess containing a garden seat, back-to-back with the kitchen's cooking range for warmth.

The proportions of the garden front were characteristic of Peddie & Kinnear: the central bay on the south front was a square from the base-course to the eaves, and the height of the canted bays to the apices of their gables was exactly twice their width. A similar application of square-based proportions was evident on the entrance front where both the ground floor and the first floor stages of the entrance bay were square-based; the eastern gable was similarly equal in height and width up to the eaves.

The scheme was slightly revised in September when the coach-house and stable were raised to provide a low attic floor of bedrooms. The house was then built much as in the drawings, although the ball finial at the gable of the entrance bay was replaced by metal acroters and the yellow fireclay shafts of the chimneys were taller. The conservatory may not have been built as the house was subsequently extended over its site by a wing with a projecting gable to the west of the entrance porch, the replacement conservatory being of different design. This addition was presumably by Peddie & Kinnear since it is pencilled in on the February ground floor plan, although the working drawings are missing. A shallow Corinthian-columned porch with red granite shafts was also added about that time.

The house has been demolished but the interior is remembered as having rich cornices and large plain chimneypieces. Its best feature was the spacious stair which had a large greenish stained glass window, probably acquired during the second phase of construction, or perhaps installed by a later owner, Victor Frankel.

Rosehill

The detail of Peddie & Kinnear's remodelling of the late Georgian villa of Rosehill, Brechin, as originally proposed for the Reverend A.L.R. Foote, was of the same free Italian character as that of Taypark, but its symmetrical form with generous canted bays and low, broad-eaved hipped roofs related more to the plainer villas of the mid 1860s, particularly Mrs Scott's villa in Hawick (see below). The roof took its form from the Georgian one, but as Kerr noted, "sometimes the gabled roof is not used, but the ordinary hipped roof of the Italian villa."

The form of the remodelling was largely determined by the existing house, two-storey, three-bay symmetrical with a Doric-columned doorway, recessed single-storey single-bay wings, and piended roofs. The plan was single-pile, the ground floor apartments being linked by a rear corridor, with a semi-circular staircase at the back en axe with the entrance hall and inner lobby. At the rear there was a further small wing behind the left-hand one, and on the right a larger service wing extending back towards an angled stable-block and forming a quadrilateral court.

The presentation drawings appeared on 21 February 1868 and the working drawings in March. They proposed the reconstruction of the main front with two-storey four-light canted bays flanking the doorway. At the ground floor the dining and drawing rooms' central windows were to have been treated as arched two-lights of the Taypark type, sheltered by bracketed hoodmoulds; at first floor a balcony with a guilloche balustrade supported on cantilever brackets and a central pair of columns was to have linked the canted bays and sheltered the doorway.

At the rear the stairwell was to have been rebuilt, the left-hand wing lengthened and raised, and the right-hand service wing rebuilt to connect with the stable-block: although these wings were quite different on plan, they were so designed that when seen from the front they appeared to be identical pavilions rising up behind the single-storey wings, with parallel roof-lines resulting in an effective layered composition of receding planes.

In execution the house never achieved this Italianate villa form: the set-back wings and the first floor balcony were omitted, and the design of the canted bays simplified.

Caidmuir House

All the drawings for Caidmuir House have been lost except for the site-plan which gives the client as a Mr Romanes - presumably of Romanes & Aitchison, Kinnear's tenants at 1 South Charlotte Street - and the date as 1869: the house itself is monogrammed and dated 1870. It stood in a small park on the northern slope of Caidmuir Hill, just to the south of Peebles, with a combined lodge and stables on Edderston Road.

Caidmuir's tall two-storey main block was almost square on plan, with the entrance elevation facing west. A single-storey service wing hinged to it by a mildly baronial tourelle with a slated spirelet, so forming a welcoming two-sided forecourt. Although economical in construction, harled rubble with a sparing use of ashlar dressings, the scale of the house's three asymmetrical frontages rising from embanked lawns on the hillside presented an impressive appearance in the landscape. Its broad-eaved elevations had a similar character to those of Taypark, notably at the entrance bay which had a similar doorpiece and arched first floor window, but Peddie & Kinnear's usual two-storeyed canted bays were absent. The principal rooms were arranged in Bryce Plan-type C fashion, much as at Starly Hall (see Chapter 15) although the vestibule entered on a different axis: library projecting as a gable-front at the west end of the north elevation behind the vestibule; drawing room at the north-east corner with a canted bay; and dining room in the south-east corner with an east-facing bow. The orientation took advantage of the panoramic views over Peebles to the hills beyond.

House for Andrew Beatson Bell near Cupar

Designed in March 1870, the house built for Andrew Beatson Bell W.S. of Kilduncan was one of the practice's more austere compositions, only just falling within the definition of Italianate because of its low-pitched roofs with consistent 23 feet eaves and 31 feet ridge-heights. Its distinctive appearance was wholly dependent on good proportions. The plan of the main block was conceived within a square, breadth 49 feet 6 inches and depth nearly the same at 48 feet, and was similar to those of Newpark (in reverse) and Balcurvie, being divided into two unequal halves by the hall-corridor. The entrance was on the south and the two principal rooms, the drawing room and the dining room, in the eastern half of the square. A lower service wing outwith this square framework ran along the west flank, its end-elevation forming part of the composition of the south front.

The architectural detailing was simple, only a first floor string-course, plain lugged architraves at the windows, and a consoled doorpiece. The south front was just slightly stepped as at Newpark, the eastern half being recessed with a two-light window at the drawing room and a dormerhead bedroom window above. The western half consisted of paired gables, that on the left over the library - the gun room at Newpark - and that on the right over the entrance bay, their division corresponding to the golden mean. The east elevation followed a similar formula with paired gables over the canted bay of the dining room on the left and a dormerhead bedroom window over the tripartite window of the dining room on the right.

Designs for the stable-offices were also prepared in March 1870. The service block was re-designed in two-storey form on 25 May.

House for John Brown

Working drawings for John Brown's house in Selkirk, a large two-storey Italianate villa with an entrance tower and Service court, were issued on 22 April 1871. On plan the house was very similar to Taypark but reversed with plainer elevations closer in character to Beatson Bell's house. Internally it had a more compact stair which, together with the relocation of the kitchen offices, enabled a pair of large nurseries to be accommodated on the entrance front, facing south. Although this elevation was 66 feet 3 inches long and the depth of the main block 51 feet, the planning of the family apartments was conceived within an approximately square framework, the length of the north-facing principal apartment frontage being 55 feet 9 inches.

The entrance tower was oblong, its form determined by the entrance hall, and rose into an arcaded prospect room with a gabled roof. On the entrance elevation it was balanced by a double gable over the nurseries. The principal apartments were laid out exactly as at Taypark except that the drawing room did not open into the library, probably to maximise shelf-space. Although its cavetto-corbelled canted bays at the dining and drawing rooms were identical in form, the elevation was not symmetrical as the eaves of the eastern one spread out to express the width of the dining room, a downpipe skilfully disguising the off-centre position of the library. Sketched in at the kitchen gable was a garden-seat recess, again exactly as at Taypark.

The Smaller Italianate Villas

In the 1860s Peddie & Kinnear designed a number of smaller villas with the low-pitched hipped roofs and timber-bracketed eaves described by Kerr. Although one of the earliest had an element of asymmetry as in the larger houses, the later examples were uniformly symmetrically-fronted and had canted bays or bows, with details drawn from the Italian Romanesque branch-banks at Stonehaven and Brechin (1862 and 1863-64, see Chapter 20). Also of this group were the semi-detached houses at 13-14 Laverockbank Terrace (1864; see Chapter 11) and the original broad-eaved designs for the Fife & Kinross Asylum (1863, see Chapter 25).

Kingussie Manse

Although designed in April 1864, three months later than Mrs Scott's villa in Hawick (see below), Kingussie Manse must be discussed first because it illustrates the

derivation of the smaller Italianate villas from Hartwoodhill (see Chapter 11) and the Royal Bank at Drymen (see Chapter 20).

Kingussie Manse is best described as a Craigie Cottage-type plan compressed into a near square rectangle, 37 feet wide on the entrance front and 41 feet deep on the flanks, with a low-pitched piended roof truncated by a lead platform and bracketed at the eaves. The entrance was on the north-west: the plan was divided by a narrow off-centre spinal corridor of outer lobby, inner lobby and pantries, the central stair similarly dividing the north-eastern half of the plan into kitchen and study. The south-western half contained the dining room and drawing room, as in other houses of the Craigie Cottage type. Since the drawing and dining room half of the house was necessarily larger than that containing the study and kitchen, the entrance front had the same disconcerting asymmetry as Hartwoodhill with a symmetrical disposition of windows left-of-centre on the entrance front. On the south-west elevation the symmetrical disposition of the two paired drawing and dining room windows expressed their identical size, but again purely functional considerations ruled the design at first floor, the central dressing room window being uncomfortably narrower than the bedroom windows flanking it. Much of this was doubtless dictated by economy, as the drawings show the timber porch, bracket cills, and even the first floor string-course crossed out. On the north-east side a servant's bedroom and a washing-house linked to the "U"-plan manse offices which were on a surprisingly large scale with a barn a byre, a cattle-shed and court, and a stable for five horses, eloquent of the scale of the glebe.

The house still exists and is now an hotel.

Mrs Scott's Villa, Hawick

Although intended to look like a square-based villa of considerable size, Mrs Scott's villa in Hawick (designed in January 1864) represented the most compact possible rendition of Bryce's Plan-type A, its "L"-shaped layout being determined by the absence of an outlook to the rear.

The dining room, library and drawing room and three bedrooms above presented a tripartite symmetrical frontage, very simple broad-eaved Italianate in character, but carefully determined by mathematical proportions. The 15 feet wide centre bay was flanked by four-light canted bays like those at Rosehill each 20 feet 6 inches wide, a ratio of 4:3:4; the eaves were 21 feet above ground, making the canted bays square in appearance, while the ridge-height of the low-pitched hipped roofs was almost twice the width of the centre bay at 29 feet 6 inches. The ground floor windows were segmentally-headed (as at the Bank of Scotland, Stonehaven, see Chapter 20), the bedroom windows square-headed under the eaves-brackets of the hipped roofs. The receding planes at their lintels were a distinctive feature, also found in some of the practice's branch-banks, e.g. the Royal Bank of Scotland at Brechin. The chimney-shafts were of fireclay as at Taypark (1865, see Chapter 18) but square with a chamfer.

The flank entrance elevation was almost equal in length to the principal front, 52 feet as against 56, but it was a much plainer composition with only a canted bay porch with a hoodmoulded segment-headed doorpiece and three large windows - one above the porch lighting a dressing room, and two others the ground floor kitchen and first floor bedroom in the rear wing.

Within, neither the dining room nor the library was quite so deep as the drawing room, however, because of the need to accommodate the tightly-planned vestibule and top-lit inner stair-hall. The drawing room had a canted bay with a French window opening onto the garden which neatly answered the porch as seen from the front. At the back a single-storey and attic block in the re-entrant angle contained the services and a servant's room.

Archibald Ormiston's Villa, Melrose

Archibald Ormiston's villa in Melrose, the drawings for which are dated March 1865, was designed in the same simple Italianate idiom as Mrs Scott's in Hawick, but on a much more conventional plan with the entrance elevation to the front and the principal apartments at the rear for privacy. The front elevation was three-bay symmetrical: a central hoodmoulded, transom-lit entrance was flanked by paired windows lighting the ground floor library and bedroom, all with segmentally-arched heads; the upper windows were square-headed and brushed the timber brackets of the eaves. The relationship to Mrs Scott's villa extended into the details, all openings being chamfered with receding lintels. The chimneyheads again had fireclay shafts, here circular as at Taypark. The proportions of the frontage were determined by simple mathematical proportions, the height of the wallhead - 25 feet - relating 5-to-8 (the golden mean) with length at 40 feet.

The main house was essentially square-based: the flank elevations were 36 feet deep, the canted bay which lit the dining room and drawing room making up the difference. The kitchen was incorporated within the envelope of the main house, but all the other services were accommodated within a low single-storey and attic side-block.

William Laidlaw's Villa, Galashiels

William Laidlaw's villa at Galashiels, for which the drawings were prepared in February 1868, was another example of this simple symmetrical Italianate style, and while it was less obviously based on mathematical proportions and its detailing was slightly plainer, it was still of quite distinctive design.

As at Mrs Scott's its outlook, especially to the rear, was limited, so the principal apartments had to face to the front. The plan was conventional, 47 feet broad at the main elevation with a central vestibule, the drawing room to the left and the dining room to the right both on the ground floor. These rooms were equal in size with elegant bows of 12 feet 6 inch diameter.

The privacy of the principal apartments was protected by the sloping site, which kept the windows above eye-level and resulted in an imposingly tall frontage showing off the geometry of the bows to good effect. In contrast to the Scott and Ormiston villas, the ground floor windows were square-headed rather than segmentally-arched; all were stop-chamfered, but they did not have receding lintels. The stacks had simply moulded copings: the fashion for tall fireclay chimneypots had passed.

To the rear of the house at ground floor there were a smoking room and kitchen. The washing-house was in a low annexe at the back, with the servant's bedroom in its attic accessed from the main stair's mezzanine landing.

The Bank of Scotland Headquarters Designs

In the autumn of 1858 Alexander Blair, Treasurer of the Bank of Scotland, requested designs from Peddie & Kinnear for the enlargement of its Headquarters on the Mound in Edinburgh. Since the correspondence from the practice is in Kinnear's handwriting, it may be assumed that he took the lead in the commission. He probably knew Blair through long-standing family connections, Thomas Kinnear, his father's cousin, having been one of the Bank's directors.

The enlargement of the Headquarters was not a new subject. Thomas Hamilton had prepared designs in 1851 - although these were not directly commissioned by the Bank - as had Robert William Billings whose proposals had been more cosmetic, making the Market Street side of the Headquarters look grander as seen from Princes Street. Subsequently, in 1854, Blair had consulted David Bryce about the enlargement of the telling room, and it may have been the cost of his scheme, which included a high-level colonnade to present an even more impressive architectural display towards Princes Street, that caused Blair to turn to Kinnear and request a scheme more on the lines of that of Hamilton, who had died earlier in the year.

The original Headquarters had been designed by Richard Crichton and Robert Reid in 1801-03. It consisted of three storeys, but the five-bay south-facing entrance frontage to Bank Street was treated as two, with a giant Corinthian order at the upper level. The northern elevation looked out across the valley towards the New Town, rising on a substructure of basements: the two lowest were merely cellars, masked by an arcaded screen-wall fronting Market Street.

From Bank Street the building opened into an entrance hall 21 feet square, with columnar screens to the main stair in the western bay, and an ante-room in the eastern bay. Beyond the entrance hall was the double-height elongated octagon of the telling room extending across the breadth of all three, 48 feet broad, 39 feet 6 inches deep, and lit by big Serlian windows in the shallow canted bay of the north elevation. On the east and west sides there were smaller offices for the business of the Bank. The upper floor was similarly laid out, with an exchange room over the telling room.

Peddie & Kinnear's earliest sketch plans, set no 1 of 29 October 1858, indicate only modest changes, but on 29 December Kinnear wrote to Blair enclosing ground floor sketch plans nos 2 and 3. These suggested extension to a seven-bay frontage of either 160 or 175 feet and the rebuilding of the north front's canted bay to the square to provide a larger telling room.

Nothing further was done at the time as Blair became ill and died in February of the following year, and it was left to his successor John Mackenzie to revive the project late in 1859. Although sketch plans A of January 1860 also proposed seven-bay frontages 165 feet in length, and a square telling room on the north side, these were architecturally more ambitious. They retained Reid and Crichton's south frontage with rebuilt end-bays but radically remodelled the remainder. Ground floor plans B-I and B-II sent at the same time also offered the possibility of extending the existing structure to seven bays and 177 feet, B-I retaining the northern canted bay intact and B-II

squaring it off. In both schemes the remodelling added a new entrance porch to Bank Street, 25 feet broad and 19 feet deep. This allowed them to offer a deeper telling room 47 feet by 52 feet, with new stairs in the outer bays of the original structure, the main one being on the west side. The porch approach found favour and was revised in plan C-I of 7 February and C-II of 16 February 1860. They had 178 and 180 feet frontages respectively, with porches now spreading across three bays, and a near-square telling room and exchange room, only slightly smaller at 46 feet by 50.

Four sketch schemes were prepared for the north-facing elevation to the New Town, Designs I, II and III on 12 January 1860 and Design IV, of which there are two versions, on 16 April. Each of these rose from above Crichton and Reid's screen-wall - which was enriched by keyblocks, paterae and urns in Designs III and IV - and each expressed the same five-bay structure of the original building, the centrepiece now being a three-bay rectangular projection. The new eastern and western additions were to be single-storey and basement only.

Of these Design I was the least expensive and remained closest to the post-Adam neoclassicism of the original design. The double-height telling room had three tall arched and keyblocked windows with single central Corinthian columns, a concept apparently taken from Schinkel's Hamburg Theatre, although the entablatures were of an unusual bracket shouldered form, the precursors of those of the drawing rooms at Kinnettles and Glenmayne (see Chapter 15). Within the end-bays of the original structure, paired round-arched and keyblocked windows were inserted to compensate for the loss of the windows in the east and west elevations, the upper windows being enriched only by architrave frames. The wallhead was balustraded with pedimented dormers providing an additional floor in the existing roof. The new single-storey wings were to be flatroofed: they continued the round-arched theme of the new ground floor windows at the end-bays, but as three single windows rather than a pair, and were similarly balustraded with Barryesque angle-stacks.

By contrast Design II and the richer Design III were "Modern French," the first appearance of this style in the work of the practice. In each the telling room's arcade of windows was the same as in Design I, but in Design II the windows were set in plain pilasters - a treatment extended to the end-bays - these pilasters rising through the second floor string-courses and balustrade into rusticated angle-stacks. In Design III the telling room windows were set in a giant order of Corinthian columns, answered by panelled pilasters at the floor above. In both Designs II and III, all the other windows at ground, first and second floors were two-light. The ground floor treatment was common to both designs, with the same stilted segmental arches as at the practice's exactly contemporary Leith Corn Exchange (see Chapter 21), but at the upper levels there were some very significant variations. In Design II the first and second floor windows had architrave frames, those at second floor being shouldered with rosettes, but Design III had Ruskinian colonettes with shouldered lintels, the first occasion in which the practice mixed classical and Romanesque or gothic motifs. The dormers were more elaborate and the new French pavilion or "louvre" roofs afforded better headroom. This higher roof-line enveloped Crichton and Reid's dome, but in Design III the dome was raised and crowned with a cupola as the central feature of the composition. In both designs the new wings were revised from Design I with two pairs of segmentally-arched windows and French roofs. A rider variant on Design III offered the alternative of leaded square-domed roofs at the central block. At this point

the only issue seemed to be securing a foundation for the telling room and the new wings, Kinnear reporting to Mackenzie the results of a trial pit on 24 March.

Mackenzie (or whoever was advising him) seems to have been very conservative: the French roofs and relatively small-scale detail appear to have caused concern. The result was Design IV produced three months later on 16 April 1860, which was clearly intended to have even greater impact than the Corinthian giant orders of the Commercial and British Linen Banks. Accordingly, the three central bays were overlaid with a giant tetrastyle portico of attached Corinthian columns with a sculptured pediment and a leaded roof. This giant order encompassed three storeys rather than the traditional two at the outer bays, where the round-arched treatment of the ground floor extended into pedimented wings. In a rider there was an attempt to overcome the problem of the three-storey giant order and at the same time increase the floorspace by deepening the wings to extend over the outer bays as a continuous window arcade, the division between main block and wings being acknowledged by pilasters.

Although there were now fewer mixed motifs, Mackenzie was still uneasy about any design that was not pure classic. He therefore instructed Kinnear to obtain the opinion of Bryce, evidently unaware that Blair had consulted with him before. Kinnear was ill and in bed, but perhaps to emphasise the confidential nature of the matter he wrote from home on his own writing-paper on 21 April. Whether he knew of Bryce's designs for the headquarters cannot be established but he was clearly uncomfortable and apprehensive of Bryce's reply:

"However we might have viewed such a proposal had the reference been to anyone else Mr Peddie & I have not had the slightest hesitation in cordially agreeing to lay our Sketches before you as head of our profession here and as my former Master from whom I have always readily received advice on any former occasion that I may have had need to ask for it - The Directors are anxious to have your opinion as soon as possible, and therefore I shall be obliged, if you will let me know at what hour on Monday, or any other day thereafter, it would be convenient for you that I should call with the plans to go over them with you."

Predictably Bryce wrote back two days later to say that "If the Directors of the Bank of Scotland wish my opinion on your designs, the proper course is for them to apply to me directly." Kinnear replied on the same day:

"I do not suppose that you think I could act with so little consideration as to ask you on my own account to sacrifice the time necessary to enable you to pronounce an opinion on the designs for the Bank of Scotland such as was asked - I can only therefore conjecture that your difficulty has arisen from my not having stated in my first letter in explicit terms, as perhaps I ought to have done, that we were authorised by the Bank to consult you professionally on their behalf. ... I am sorry if any misapprehension has arisen on this point, but I certainly could not have anticipated it."

Still on that same day Bryce wrote to Mackenzie, reminding the Board of his designs of 1854 which Blair had seemed "to approve very much," and asking him to bring the matter before the Directors as his understanding was that his scheme had been deferred only because of the circumstances at the time.

There is no record of whatever decisions were then taken, but it seems to have been decided informally that Bryce would retain the Bank of Scotland Headquarters and the New Town branch in George Street (eventually built by Kinnear & Peddie in 1884) while Peddie & Kinnear would have the other branch-banks. It was left to Mackenzie's successor as Treasurer, David Donaldson (who took over in 1863) to implement Bryce's revised proposals of May 1864. Peddie & Kinnear were brought in after Bryce's death to rebuild Crichton and Reid's screen-wall as a pilastered terrace with angle pavilions in 1877.

Although nothing was built, the proposals of 1860 were extremely significant. The mixed Renaissance and Romanesque motifs may have been the issue on which the scheme foundered, but the concept was pursued in the branch-banks throughout the decade. The French "louvre" roofs would have been a completely new innovation at the time. In adopting them Peddie & Kinnear had been influenced not only by Visconti's New Louvre of 1851-55 which had received wide coverage in the building journals, but by the competition of 1857 for the government offices in Whitehall, in which most of the competitors had adopted French roofs to achieve the accommodation required. They would soon re-appear at Mayfield and St Cuthbert's Poors-house, and in the unbuilt designs for the Caledonian Station Hotel (see Chapters 16, 25, 22).

- CHAPTER 20 -

The Branch-banks of the 1860s and 1870s

The branches of the Bank of Scotland and the Royal Bank of Scotland built by the practice in the 1860s and 1870s were essentially similar in their plan-types to those of the 1850s, discussed in Chapter 6. They divided broadly into three categories, palazzo structures, Scottish baronial buildings usually on corner sites, and smaller villa-like designs.

The Palazzo Branch-banks

Although none of them had French roofs, the palazzo branches of the 1860s tended to follow the Romanesque-influenced detailing of Designs II and III for the Bank of Scotland Headquarters (see Chapter 19), the Royal Bank at Leith being the unique instance in which the details were still taken from Letarouilly. Their plan-types were all drawn from those of the 1850s.

The Bank of Scotland, Galashiels, and the Royal Bank of Scotland, Brechin

The Bank of Scotland at Galashiels and the Royal Bank of Scotland at Brechin were based on the Royal Bank building at Maybole of 1857 - near-cubic form, three-storey, three-windows-wide elevation with a central entrance to the bank-offices, paired windows at the outer bays, and the door to the upstairs bank-house in the flank.

Galashiels (April 1863) was the simpler of the two, the effectiveness of its design depending almost solely on good proportions and the contrast of its dark whinstone with its buff sandstone dressings and string-courses. The openings of the ground floor bank-offices were segment-headed, their entrance having a bracketed cornice and their windows bracketed cills. The bank-house's openings were square-headed, with a bracket-cornice running across the top floor windows. Sketched in in pencil was a tall French roof with three dormers which would have made the elevation square-based - and thus the design as a whole cube-based - but this was not carried out.

Brechin, built of local sandstone in 1863-64, was a palazzo-type in plan more than elevation, with early Venetian details as at the villa-type Stonehaven (see below). The angles were recessed, perhaps for nookshafts which were never installed. The entrance to the bank-offices had the same bracket-cornice as at Galashiels, but the two-light windows had colonette mullions with sculptured capitals and stilted lintels with receding planes. At the second floor the windows had ball-finialled dormerheads breaking through a jettied wallhead with an iron-bracketed cast-iron rhone-cornice. The roof was piended as in Renaissance buildings of this type, but with a central wallhead gable on the three-windowed eastern flank elevation, acknowledging its prominent corner site. The sculptured capitals were by a Mr Roddis of London.

The Bank of Scotland, Kirkcudbright

Probably built about 1864, the Bank of Scotland at Kirkcudbright was remarkable for its sheer size, since it had to accommodate the legal chambers of its agent, and for being of a consistently Romanesque-early gothic character. Its hammer-dressed entrance

frontage was an adaptation of the standard five-bays-wide format for larger banks, but at the three central bays the windows were two-light.

The identical doorpieces at the end-bays were massively Romanesque with stout Corinthianesque colonettes and stilted arches, their outer hoodmoulds being non-concentric with those beneath. At all three levels the two-light windows were divided by colonettes: at ground floor they had stilted segmental arches and at first floor stilted depressed arches, the splays of which died into the jambs; those at second floor had stilted lintels with receding planes. The eaves had a shallow arcaded corbel-table bearing a cast-iron rhone. The detailing was similar to that at Brechin, the quality of the sculpture suggesting the hand of Roddis.

No original drawings have survived for this building either in the Dick Peddie & McKay archive or at the Bank of Scotland archive, which contains the drawings for the 1882 alterations only. There were no reports in the building journals.

The Royal Bank of Scotland, Montrose

The Royal Bank at Montrose, now unfortunately altered, was perhaps the practice's finest provincial bank-branch of the 1860s, superbly executed in Fife sandstone in 1864. It followed Dumfries in being three-storey and five-windows-wide with a central door to the bank-offices, and because it was immediately abutted by older buildings the bank-house door similarly had to be in an end-bay (here on the left rather than the right), out-of-line with the windows above.

The ground floor openings were architraved, the door to the bank-offices having a well-detailed console-bracketed cornice. A Vitruvian scroll frieze announced the first floor of the bank-house, where the windows were shouldered with rosettes in architrave frames, and above these a second shallow frieze ran under the segmentally-arched two-light windows of the second floor. A bracket-cornice of the Hawick-Kilmarnock type distinguished the wallhead.

Peddie's site-agent was a Mr Clunas: whether David or William was not specified.

The Royal Bank of Scotland, Portobello

The Royal Bank at Portobello, built in 1864-65, was similarly a well-detailed design. Its plan-type and elevation followed the Irvine model, having identical entrances to the bank-offices and bank-house in the end-bays, and three windows grouped together in the middle on all three floors.

The drawing for the elevation shows that the angles were to have had spiralled nookshafts, but these were omitted in execution. The doors were set in Ruskinian doorpieces, with Corinthianesque columns bearing segmental arches in block-pediment-like gablets, unfortunately removed in 1935. The three ground floor telling room windows had Corinthianesque colonettes bearing stilted segmental arches, a treatment which was to have extended to the first floor, but in execution shouldered openings of the Montrose type were substituted, albeit with the colonettes retained. Their rosettes, now a dull alloy, must once have been gilded, and are probably 1935 replacements. The low second floor windows were treated in the same way, but

without the colonettes, and the cornice was bracketed with paterae, as at Montrose. The elevation was nearly, but not quite, square-based.

The most remarkable feature of the building was the sculptured frieze under the first floor windows which consisted of vignettes within a regular foliate pattern of circles, instead of the usual guilloche or Vitruvian scroll. One of these represented a bird feeding her young, as in the tympanum of the door at Bonnygate Church, Cupar (see Chapter 10). The sculpture was probably by Roddis, and was similar in character to that of Daymond at James T. Knowles' Thatched House Club in St James' Street, London, built in 1862.

The Bank of Scotland, Arbroath

Designed in 1865, the Bank of Scotland in Arbroath marked the beginning of a trend towards junction sites for landmark branches, with their entrances right on the corner. Arbroath was the first of only two palazzo examples, the other being the Royal Bank at Bridgeton, Glasgow (see below). From at least 1870 it was realised that the Scottish baronial style offered greater possibilities of giving emphasis to the corner and did not require to be in polished ashlar, which represented a considerable saving in cost.

The site at the junction of High Street and Commerce Street was deep, making it possible to retain the existing garden. The building therefore had three frontages, with the entrance to the bank-house on the garden side (facing south), accessed through a handsome stone gateway on Commerce Street.

The north-facing High Street frontage was five windows wide, the windows of the bank-offices on ground floor being round-arched and regularly spaced with polished ashlar pilasters, but the bank-house storeys were of stugged courses. Their windows were square-headed and set within architraves, the central three on each level being grouped together, as at Irvine. Those at first floor had cornices, the centre three with segmental pediments. At the canted corner, the bank door was to have been emphasised by a bold consoled cornice, but this was simplified to an armorial in the tympanum. The west-facing frontage to Commerce Street followed the same detail with paired first and second floor windows, a canted return to the garden side making it neatly symmetrical on the upper levels.

The plan followed the usual pattern, but the corner entrance allowed for a very neat arrangement of vestibule, telling room and waiting room, a private door to the agent's office providing clients with the maximum possible discretion. The bank-house had a lozenge-plan stair in the Commerce Street corner.

The Royal Bank of Scotland, Leith

Built in 1871, the Royal Bank's Leith branch was one of its most important, as was clearly expressed by the richness of its detailing and the scale of its "L"-plan bankhouse, too big to correspond to any previous example.

The main elevation to Bernard Street was a return to the Letarouilly-based style of the later 1850s, but with some 1870s details. Five windows wide, the entrance was originally central as at Dumfries and Duns but was subsequently moved to the end-bay,

its sculptured pediment being similar to that of Henry Leck's building in Glasgow (see Chapter 29). The ground floor windows were segmentally-arched, their architraves set in channelled masonry; the arched first floor windows were quattrocento with sculptured spandrels, their cornices linked by a Greek key frieze; panelled aprons were set between these and the shouldered second floor windows, linking them vertically as well as horizontally. As at Portobello, the elevation was square-based, breadth in this instance being equal to height up to the base-line of the bracket-cornice.

The flank elevation to Constitution Street was cranked, the left-hand section being the blind return of the main elevation. The rear wing elevation was as big as that of a provincial branch: three-bay, the centre bay with paired windows, and the bank-house door squeezed in between the second and third bays.

The Royal Bank of Scotland, London Road, Bridgeton, Glasgow

Designed in 1874, the Royal Bank at Bridgeton was the last classical branch to be designed during the partnership of Peddie & Kinnear, built on a wedge-shaped site at the junction of London Road and Charles Street, Glasgow. It was unusual for that date in having no bank-house: the insurance brokers A. & J. Waddel held four east-end agencies. The first floor contained a five-room, kitchen and bathroom flat, probably for the accountant, and the second floor two suites each with parlour, bedroom and kitchen for unmarried staff.

Nevertheless Bridgeton was a quite remarkably stylish city landmark with a High Renaissance bracket-cornice and a three-windows-wide circled corner rising into a low panelled drum and leaded dome - a classical version of the corner-towered baronial branches discussed later in this chapter. The ground floor was channelled with an arched and consoled doorpiece to the bank-offices at the circled corner. The arched first floor windows had Corinthian columns and console-bracketed cornices, the four windows on the London Road elevation being two-light versions of the three light ones at Rothesay Place (see Chapter 23). The second floor windows were unusual in Peddie & Kinnear's repertoire, architraved and segmentally-arched with keyblocks.

Bridgeton had a very short life, being demolished about 1897. Nevertheless, it was an extremely influential design which provided a model for others on similar Glasgow sites, notably Neil C. Duff's savings-banks at New City Road and Shawlands Cross of 1905-06.

The Scottish Baronial Branch-banks

The pioneers of the Scottish baronial bank-branch appear to have been David Rhind at his vigorously towered and turreted Commercial Bank at Linlithgow, 1859, and David MacGibbon who built four for the National Bank, Alloa, Falkirk, Forfar and Montrose, in the early 1860s.Both these architects were closely associated with the practice, Rhind as Peddie's master, MacGibbon as Kinnear's fellow Volunteer and the business associate of both partners. Peddie & Kinnear themselves did not turn to Scottish styles for bank-branches until they designed the Bank of Scotland in Castle Douglas in 1863, and that was gothic rather than baronial with details closer to the second and third schemes for Morgan's Hospital (see Chapter 14).

The Bank of Scotland, Castle Douglas

The Bank of Scotland at Castle Douglas, for which drawings were issued in July 1863, was a relatively small two storey and attic branch, but it stood on a prominent corner site. Its gable front to King Street was just 30 feet 6 inches broad. As originally designed it had three segmentally-arched ground floor openings of which that on the right was the doorway with hoodmould and panel; four closely-spaced first floor windows with their lintels in depressed-arch recesses; and two second floor windows united by a circular panel and an over-arch at the attic. The Church Street frontage had three two-light windows at ground floor and four single-light windows above, with the same treatment as on the King Street frontage, and an attic gablet; it extended into a single-storey wing with separate accommodation for the agent's private practice.

Within the ground floor accommodation comprised of the telling room, only 16 feet 3 inches by 18 feet 6 inches, agent's room and bank-house dining room. The entrance to the bank-house was to be from the garden, as at Arbroath.

The design was significantly revised on 20 August 1863. Following the precedent of Arbroath the bank entrance was moved to the corner, which was now splayed and corbelled to accommodate it; as a result, the spiralled nookshaft downpipes were lost. A single two-light window now lit the ground floor from the King Street side. Clearly, there had been some thought as to how a bank should be laid out in the intervening months. Some re-design also took place on the Church Street frontage to give the bank-house a door from the street rather than from the garden.

The Bank of Scotland, Oban

Designed in May 1870, the Bank of Scotland at Oban followed the three-storey palazzo format but with minimally Scottish baronial elevations. The ground floor openings were round-arched, with identical entrances to the bank-offices and the bankhouse at the ends; the first floor had two tripartite windows and the second floor two two-light windows under crowstepped gables, with a dormerhead squeezed between them.

The Bank of Scotland, St Andrews, and the Royal Bank, Dalkeith

In 1870 the practice designed two rather similar three-storey and attic branch-banks, the Bank of Scotland at St Andrews and the Royal Bank of Scotland at Dalkeith. These were much more adventurous in design than Oban, with circled corners rising up into very tall conical roofs, corner entrances as at Castle Douglas, and flanking gables. The concept derived from the rather similar corner at Block E in Cockburn Street (see Chapter 13), but was almost certainly influenced by Deane & Woodward's Scottish Provincial Assurances Office in Dublin, published in The Builder in 1868.

Of the two, the now-demolished St Andrews, designed in 1870, was the better-detailed. Its circled corner tower was finer in treatment, the entrance to the bank-offices being sheltered by the cantilevered balcony at first floor. The stilted segmentally-arched ground floor windows were regularly laid out, but at the upper levels the baronial idiom allowed random fenestration as best suited the requirements of the bank-house. Its plan could scarcely have been convenient, however, with an

isolated ground floor kitchen at the front door on Queen Street and its accommodation spread over four floors rather than two as at the palazzo-type branches.

Inside, the bank-offices were well laid out, a circular entrance hall giving access to a large telling room from which a waiting room could be divided off. French beams supported the upper floors at both St Andrews and Dalkeith.

The Bank of Scotland, Cumnock

As at St Andrews and Dalkeith the elevations at the Bank of Scotland, Cumnock (1871) derived from Cockburn Street, but it was a smaller building, three-storey with dormerheads rather than three-storey and attic. The angle was splayed to accommodate the door to the bank-offices, was corbelled out at first floor to support the two-light oriel of the drawing room, and again at second floor to a diagonally-set cap-house with finialled gables. The elevation to Ayr Road was simple and irregular, with two dormerhead windows and a wallhead stack; the elevation to Glaisnock Street was more elaborate in treatment with an asymmetrical crowstepped gable over the telling room, linked to the corner cap-house by a jettied attic with dormerhead windows.

The Bank of Scotland, Moffat

The Bank of Scotland at Moffat, a very big three-storey branch-bank in the local whinstone with contrasting sandstone dressings, was designed in August 1874. Surprisingly the entrance was not in the rounded corner - which was corbelled to the square to take an angle oriel with a conical roof - as it had been at St Andrews and Dalkeith. The elevation to the High Street market square followed the design of Cumnock's elevation to Glaisnock Street, but with a double gable; the elevation to Church Gate was a very irregular two-gable composition with the entrance to the bank-offices on the left and a pend to the bank-house on the right.

The Bank of Scotland, Elgin, and the Bank of Scotland, Paisley

Designed together in February 1875, the Bank of Scotland branches at Elgin and Paisley were quite different from any of their predecessors: their gothic style was closer to Wauchope House (see Chapter 28) of the following year, so suggesting the hand of John More Dick Peddie, who had returned from Scott's office at about this time. A number of drawings relating to the evolution of Elgin, including an early entrance elevation, are preserved in the Dick Peddie & McKay archive; floor-plans only for Paisley are preserved in the Bank of Scotland archive.

Elgin was unusually large. The Bank's agent was the County Clerk, and it had to accommodate his legal chambers as well as the bank-offices and the bank-house on the ground and first floors. The early drawing for the entrance elevation shows a nine-bay ground floor arcade with hoodmoulds, the centraa stone-roofed canted oriel, flanked by narrow windows under a wallhead gable. At first floor these lit the bank-house's drawing room, while the two-light windows to the right lit the dining room and the two-light windows to the left lit the County Clerk's chambers.

The surviving plans correspond more closely, although not exactly, to what was built: a ground floor seven-bay arcade with broad pilasters - evidently akin to the penultimate

design for Aberdeen Public Buildings (see Chapter 14) - first floor windows chamfered with transoms, a four-light canted oriel wider than that shown in the early entrance elevation, and the tympana in the arch-heads of the outer windows diapered.

Although Paisley rose from a ground floor arcade just five bays broad it was still more richly treated, the centre bay having two first floor windows, a single second floor window under a gablet, and flanking stone-roofed canted bays similar to those of Elgin under the crowstepped gables.

The National Bank of Scotland, Paisley

The National Bank of Scotland's Paisley branch was designed in March 1875, just one month after the Bank of Scotland branch and for the immediately adjoining site on the High Street corner. It returned to the St Andrews formula of the circled corner with a first floor balcony sheltering the bank door, but it had gothic telling room windows, as at Elgin. The bank-house was much larger than at St Andrews, resulting in a long St Mirren Street elevation ending in a French-roofed pavilion with a gothic dormerhead. The gothic-arched bank-house door was correspondingly grander with a gabled hood similar to that of Cockburn Street Block E.

The Royal Bank of Scotland, Falkirk

Built in 1879, the Royal Bank's Falkirk branch stood on a gusset site with the bank-block facing High Street and the lower private office wing facing New Market Street. The High Street elevation had a round-arched ground floor and was symmetrical in its general outline, three-bay with the outer bays rising into crowstepped gables of equal height and flanking a smaller central dormer gablet; but while the left-hand entrance bay was boldly projected, the frontage of the right-hand bay was corbelled out only slightly above the first floor windows, its gable asymmetrical with a chimney-stack breaking up on one side. The short tower-house-like elevation between the High Street and New Market Street fronts was distinguished by a big oriel rising through first and second floors into a gable, similar to those at Elgin and Paisley.

The Villa-type Branch-banks

Although Peddie & Kinnear did not design their first two-storey three-windows-wide branch-bank until 1859, the type was not completely new. George Angus and David Cousin had built some for the British Linen Bank and James Smith had built one for the Bank of Scotland at Blairgowrie, all generally following the same format of a central vestibule with the telling room on one side and the bank-house dining room on the other.

The Royal Bank of Scotland, Drymen

Drymen, designed in November 1859, differed from previous banks of this type in being much smaller in scale. It followed the model of Lord Deas' villa at Hartwoodhill (1857, see Chapter 11) and stood high above the road within a large garden. It was, however, symmetrical, with a frontage 42 feet wide. The main feature was its chamfered doorway which enclosed a deep-shouldered transom-light, and was set in a very slender plain surround with brackets supporting a corniced segmental block-pediment, the field of which bore the words "ROYAL BANK" as executed. To each side the narrow paired window openings - their sashes astragalled, and perhaps with crown rather than expensive plate-glass - were also chamfered. The piended roof was flanked by gable-stacks and had barge-couples instead of a cornice at the eaves.

Within the plan was divided in two by a narrow central division containing the mutual entrance lobby, the inner house lobby, the safe and a servant's bedroom. As in the earlier examples of this type, only the right-hand half of the ground floor was occupied by the bank-offices, the front room being the telling room and the rear room the agent's. The left-hand half contained a small square parlour at the front, the stair in the middle and the kitchen at the back. Somewhat inconveniently, the dining room was at first floor over the telling room to secure a sufficiently large apartment (15' \times 20') for entertaining clients. There were just three bedrooms, the minimum necessary to segregate sons from daughters, and the annexe provided only scullery, larder, coals and a separate entrance and water-closet for servants and tradesmen. It was a markedly less generous provision than in the three-storey branch-banks.

The Bank of Scotland, Stonehaven

The best of the earlier symmetrical villa-types was the Bank of Scotland at Stonehaven of 1862, with raised angle quoins and Ruskinian details anticipating those of the Royal Bank at Brechin. The Royal Bank at Stewarton was very similar to Stonehaven, with a doorpiece like that of the Drymen prototype, but was subsequently increased a storey and took on an appearance closer to the Royal Bank at Maybole - a measure of how closely the villa and smaller palazzo types were related.

Other Examples of the Villa-type Branch-bank

Not all of Peddie & Kinnear's villa-type banks were Italian. Drawings for gabled versions survive for the Union Bank at Dunoon (1861) and the Bank of Scotland at Motherwell (1867). A later variant of the type is to be seen at the Bank of Scotland, Morningside, Edinburgh (1873) which was designed to look like a pair of semi-detached villas with entrances at each end giving separate access to the bank-offices

and bank-house. The architectural interest of these later examples tends to be limited.

Commercial Architecture, 1860-76

The urban buildings designed by Peddie & Kinnear between 1860 and 1876 varied considerably in style. Peddie can be assumed to have taken the lead responsibility for the Graeco-Italianate University Club of which he was a member (see Chapter 22), and the French-influenced Crown Insurance Building, where there was a family link, but it is more difficult to identify the principal authorship of the other buildings, a measure of the extent to which Kinnear had absorbed Peddie's Italian Renaissance manner as well as Bryce's. In a few instances essentially classical designs were infused with Ruskinian Romanesque features - a development foreshadowed in the designs for the Bank of Scotland Headquarters in 1859-60 and pursued into the branch-banks discussed in Chapter 20 - which paralleled rather than followed similar developments in the work of London architects such as James T. Knowles, F. & H. Francis, the third Thomas Cundy, James Giles and - just slightly later - Charles and Edward Barry.

In 1872-76 the practice experimented with structural ironwork in the frontages of three Glasgow buildings (the Scottish Lands & Buildings Company headquarters, the Drury Street warehouse, and the Virginia Street warehouse discussed in Chapter 29) but Kinnear and the younger Peddie did not pursue its use into the 1880s.

Leith Corn Exchange

Designs for Leith Corn Exchange were first prepared in April 1860 and revised on 24 August, the executed building differing in a number of details.

As was usually the case with corn exchanges, it was funded by a consortium of farmers and merchants, in this case with army volunteers since it doubled as a drill-hall for the Leith Rifles. The war-scare of 1859 may have been the catalyst for its construction. The commission seems to have been the result of a local competition, as Jonathan Anderson Bell exhibited a design for it in the Royal Scottish Academy exhibition of 1861.

The building was cleverly planned in relation to its angled site at the north-east corner of Baltic Street with Constitution Street, the longer frontage, nearly 150 feet, being to the latter although the corner had to be rounded. This configuration required the six-bay market-hall, approximately 84 feet long and 75 feet wide, to be at the north end on Constitution Street. At its southern entrance end the hall had an apse 45 feet in diameter with an auctioneer's/orchestra balcony, the kitchen and lavatories (gentlemen only) occupying the small area east of the apse on Baltic Street. A two-storey suite of merchants' chambers with bow-ended rooms and a central stair were cleverly fitted into the remainder of the Baltic Street frontage and on the Constitution Street side a "D"-plan stair-hall gave access to one large bow-ended office on each floor. Between these was the three-storey octagon containing the vestibule which turned the corner with a radial entrance hall leading into the apse, an arrangement subsequently adopted in the earlier schemes for Aberdeen Public Buildings (see Chapter 14).

The concept of the domed octagonal corner may derive from W.B. Gingell's General Hospital at Bristol of 1852-57, but at Leith the relationship to the adjoining elevations

was quite different since the drum was contained within the building-lines on each side. The drawings show a paired round-arched window treatment of the top stage akin to the work of the Glasgow architect Charles Wilson, but as built these windows had dwarf Romanesque pilasters, the earliest executed instance in Peddie & Kinnear's work of neo-mediaeval motifs being introduced to an otherwise classical treatment.

The elevations were distinguished by their absolutely regular superimposed arcading, stilted segmental at ground floor and round-arched and keyblocked at first floor, which may have owed to Durand or to W.J. Smith's Imperial Khiosk, Constantinople, published in The Builder in 1853. As ever mathematical proportions were in evidence, the seven-bay Baltic Street frontage being a double- square with the first floor cornice running at exactly half-way height.

As shown in the drawings, the hall had a blind, semi-elliptically arched elevation, its pilasters being the buttresses of the trusses inside. In execution a more satisfactory treatment of round-arched windows and a long sculptured frieze by John Rhind of putti bringing grain to Leith was adopted, the concept of the frieze probably being taken from Moxhay's Hall of Commerce in London's Threadneedle Street (1842).

125 Princes Street, Edinburgh

Kinnear inherited outright ownership of no 125 Princes Street, a plain three-storey and basement, three-windows-wide terrace house, on the death of his Greenshields grandmother. He reconstructed it in 1863-64 with William Beattie as his contractor, extending the ground floor across the railed front basement area to form a shop, and adding a new third floor and attic. Regrettably no drawings survive in the archive for this badly-recorded building, which was demolished in the redevelopment of Darling's department store in 1969. The remodelled entrance front was doubtless intended to advertise how effectively the practice could transform New Town houses.

The new ground floor was a carefully balanced arrangement of arcaded house and shop entrances, with a central plate-glass window framed between pilasters with paired consoles. Its entablature formed a railed balcony with stone vases for flowering plants in summer. The first and second floors were expressed as three-bay early Italian arcades with conch tympana, set in panelled pilasters with roundel portrait-busts of Walter Scott, James Watt, Adam Smith and David Wilkie, all sculpted by John Rhind. The third floor had three close-spaced architraved windows between lozenge-panelled pilasters, these pilasters rising through the bracket-cornice as panelled corner-stacks with shafted angles. The stacks framed a French pavilion roof with a Serlian dormer, very similar in detail to the centre window in the south front of Lathallan (see Chapter 16).

Although the first and second floors developed themes from the de Ville-inspired scheme for the Scottish Provident Institution (see Chapter 6), the top floor gave an impression in miniature of what Design II for the Bank of Scotland Headquarters (see Chapter 20) would have looked like, had Peddie & Kinnear been called on to execute it.

The remodelled elevation was much admired by The Building Newsbut not by The Builder, whose Edinburgh correspondent was frequently hostile in his reviews of work

by Peddie & Kinnear. In relation to Rhind's portrait-busts he wrote:

"What is the meaning of such being placed there? Merely a freak and fancy of the moment? Had the [University] club-house been similarly adorned with the portraits of the celebrities of the Universities (the Stewarts, Playfairs, Hamiltons &c) would there not have been appropriateness and good sense in the arrangement?"

Crown Insurance Company, 67 George Street, Edinburgh

As Peddie & Kinnear found it, the Crown Insurance Company building at 67 George Street had also been a New Town house, three storeys, attic and basement in height, and three windows wide on a narrow 22 feet 6 inch feu.

The practice probably received the commission through Dr Alexander Peddie, the company's medical consultant. They made survey drawings in March 1866 and on 20 June issued sketch plans showing it deepened across the basement area, with a new frontage four windows wide: ground floor was now at street-level, with a single entrance off the pavement giving access to all floors.

The executed three-bay proposals appeared at the end of the year. Alternative pencil sketch elevations, of which that preferred by a Mr J.S.W. Todd survives, were issued in December, and working drawings on Christmas Eve.

The new frontage, like that of the branch-banks, was remarkable for its elegant simplicity and refined detail, particularly at entrance level where it rose from within a small railed area. Broad pilasters with paired console-brackets at the entablature framed round arches on inset Doric pilasters, the door and window openings being treated identically. At first floor apron panels ornamented with lion's heads gave a lift to the slightly smaller arched first floor windows, suggesting a piano nobile; this impression reinforced by the console-brackets and balustraded balconies above them. In contrast to the recessed window panels of the ground floor, the first floor window surrounds were set in subtly raised panels to integrate them with the balconies above. These balconies similarly gave presence to the second floor windows, which were slightly shouldered within elegantly moulded architrave frames with shallow cornices. The windows at these levels had a "T"-plan glazing pattern with Continental casements, themselves gently shouldered, a remarkable innovation at the time and especially so in Scotland. The low proportions of the third floor attic were treated as a frieze of oblong windows set in panels as at the University Club and the Corstorphine Convalescent House (see Chapters 22 and 25). The bracket eaves cornice shown in the drawings was refined to a simple cornice with a plain upper frieze in execution. The hipped roof was steeply raked, French-fashion, with a bold lip at the top and a now-vanished crown of brattishing.

The narrowness of the feu resulted in a design of remarkably slim elegant proportions, rather French in character even if the details were predominantly Italian and were described as such at the time. The taller buildings subsequently built on either side have somewhat diminished the impact it must have made when it rose a full floor above the adjoining New Town houses.

It is difficult to suggest precedents for this sophisticated design, but Sir James

Pennethorne's Ordnance Office in Pall Mall, London - although slightly wider and with conventional sashes - had similar qualities, especially at the top floor and the roof.

The builders were John Watherston & Son.

The City of Glasgow Assurance Company Head Office

The City of Glasgow Assurance Company's head office was, at least in its main elevation, a realisation of the de Ville-inspired alternative sketch design made for the Scottish Provident Institution in 1860. The commission was probably Kinnear's since he had a cousin on the Board and its detailing was of a very similar school to his building at 125 Princes Street, albeit on a much grander scale than that narrow frontage. Nevertheless, the use of a Corinthian order in an arcade without dosserets was related to that of the slightly later Palmerston Place United Presbyterian Church in Edinburgh (see Chapter 27), which was a Peddie commission, underlining the difficulty of separating the work of the partners at this time. Because the elevation was "readymade" there are no surviving preliminary studies, only a single set of drawings and copies reverse dated 11 August 1870, and an alteration sheet relating to the safes.

The building stood on the site of St Mary's Episcopal Church and formed a large three-storey and basement rectangle on a sloping site between Renfield Street and the graveyard, which limited the depth of the building and precluded the conventional head office arrangement of front office building and rear telling room or public office. The requirements of the client also entailed some very complex internal divisions to maximise rental income from the business chambers included in the project, although these were clearly planned with the Company's own future expansion in view.

Thus the front elevation had no fewer than five doorways, the central one leading to the vestibule of the Company's main offices, which consisted of a large square telling room, a board room, managerial offices and a safe. The flanking doors led to stairs in each case, but while that on the left directly accessed suites of rented chambers at first floor, that on the right led to an inner stair-hall with lavatories at entresol level and in turn to first and second floor chambers. The entrances at the end-bays each gave onto ground floor suites, again for rental. The Company's own clerks occupied the lowest grade accommodation, big work-rooms in the basement and attic, entered separately from adjacent stairs at the south gable; a small stair from the telling room provided direct access to the records and lavatories in the basement for the counter staff.

The elevation to Renfield Street was broader than the Scottish Provident Institution. The Scottish Provident design had to be considerably adapted, particularly at the ends where there were now pylon-like bays of channelled masonry answering the ground floor pilasters. The central door was pedimented with paired console-brackets and those at the ends corniced with single brackets. At first floor the end-bays were blind with niches in pedimented architraves and as in the design for the Scottish Provident the Corinthian arcade with conch tympana enabled the windows to be closely spaced without looking crowded. At second floor the windows were set in square-headed architraves with plain panels between them, so producing a deep panelled frieze as in the Scottish Provident design. Above was a deep bracket-cornice; and above that the end-bays rose into monumental segmentally-pedimented pavilions without windows which, surprisingly, contained water-closets for the attic. The side elevations had

generous channelled returns from the main elevation but were otherwise informally composed to meet functional requirements.

The Builder was often unkind in its reviews of the work of the practice, but in commenting on the Royal Scottish Academy's exhibition of 1871 it singled out the City of Glasgow Assurance building for particular praise:

"It is with feelings of deep regret that we leave the "North Room" without retaining a pleasing recollection of any design, save one. The design in question is no 999, New Head Offices in Renfield Street, Glasgow, for the City of Glasgow Assurance Company, Peddie & Kinnear, architects. There is nothing superfluous about the building, it is characterised by a business-like propriety combined with gracefulness of proportion and elegance of detail. In their Italian designs this firm never uses the orders for merely decorative purposes: where pillars are used, as in the arcading of the principal floor in this instance, they have a duty to perform and are a constructional necessity, and the effect depends entirely upon the fenestration and the cornice. This, we take it, is the right course to follow if truthfulness be an object worth aiming at, and it is only by persevering in such a course that progress can be made."

The building was singularly lacking in provision for escape from the second and attic floors in the event of fire, no doubt one of the reasons for its demolition in the early 1920s. No photograph of the interior has been found, but the sections show that the entrance hall was Corinthian-pilastered in three bays with an arched ceiling, while the telling room was handsomely finished in the French manner with a deep fish-scale cove in the ceiling; this resulted in the offices on the first floor above being at a higher level than the others. The wide span of the telling room was made possible by the use of Robert McConnell's patent beams, although French beams were also used in the construction.

The Competition for the Clydesdale Bank Headquarters

Late in 1870 the Clydesdale Bank held a limited competition for a new headquarters building in St Vincent Place, Glasgow, to replace their 1840 building in Queen Street. At that date the bank had vacant possession of only the central and western parts of the new site, and still had to buy the eastern part. The boundaries between the three sites thus determined the architectural divisions as only the central part, and possibly the western part, could be built at the time. On 13 February 1871, Peddie & Kinnear issued two designs for the entrance elevation, both in pen with pencil shading; and two alternative sets of plans, Set A in black ink, to which these elevations directly related, and Set B in pen and wash, which were quite different internally but to which the elevations could readily be adapted.

In both elevations the four-storey section, consisting of three bays between pedimented pavilions with square-domed French roofs, represented what could be constructed immediately, and was designed as a complete architectural unit on its own. In profile it was strongly reminiscent of the French-roofed Design III for the Bank of Scotland headquarters (see Chapter 19) but the treatment was more monumental. The ground floor was to be channel-pilastered, as at the City of Glasgow Assurance Building, but the doorpiece was to have caryatids. Its double-leaved doors were to slide into pockets in the masonry, resulting in a more spacious open porch during

business hours. Although toned down for Scottish tastes, the source for this doorpiece - the Imperial Entrance at Charles Garnier's Paris Opéra - may be established from the first and second floor giant order of coupled and fluted Corinthian columns, and the columned first floor window treatment, all of which were clearly modelled on the Opéra in five- rather than seven-bay form but with windows at second floor instead of roundels containing busts.

The triangular pedimented version represented a slightly less expensive option as the outer bays were pilastered rather than columned. It also differed at the base: whereas in the more Opéra-like segmentally pedimented design the plinth rose directly from the pavement with oblong basement windows, in the triangular pedimented version the frontage rose from behind a high balustrade screening a sunk area which made the basement floor better-lit and more useful. Further options were offered at the roof-line: in the triangular pedimented elevation the domes were to be distinguished at their bases by antefixae ornaments and sculpture groups with putti, and lit front and sides by pairs of oculi; in the segmentally pedimented elevation, they were to have single large oculi only, and flanking chimney-stacks giving the skyline a stronger profile.

Both designs were tied together by a carefully considered mathematical framework. The central division, domed pavilion bays, and the outer divisions were very precisely related to each other in length by a ratio of 6-to-4-to-5: the central division was approximately 34 feet long, the pavilions each 23 feet, and the end divisions 28 feet 6 inches. The central division and its pavilions together accounted for three-fifths the total frontage, the end-bays one-fifth apiece. Similarly the height of the ground floor at approximately 22 feet related to the breadth of the pavilions; the height of the colonnade, at 53 feet above pavement level, was two-thirds the 80 feet breadth of the five central bays, and the height of the wallhead parapet, at 57 feet 6 inches, was three-fifths of the total breadth of the frontage.

Inside the building, the central entrance in the Set A plans shows a colonnaded hall-corridor like that at the University Club, 28 feet long by 16 feet broad, leading to the 52 feet square cupola-lit telling room which was to have coupled Didyma antae. At first floor the principal apartments were to be the proprietors' room $(22' \times 35'6)$ and the directors' room $(19' \times 31')$, both with impressive ceilings shown in reflected plan. The outer divisions were to be offices, initially for rental but available for expansion if required.

The rear block to East George Lane was to be plainest classic, four storeys high and 80 feet, broad corresponding to the entrance elevation's centre and link bays. It looked very much like a tenement block with flanking houses, but its ground floor was to contain the offices of the Secretaries and their clerks to the rear of the telling room and the first floor a printing-press for banknotes. The second and third floors were to be flats for the porters.

The Set B plans offered generally similar accommodation to Set A, but assumed that the eastern section of the site could be acquired, the Bank's own premises extending throughout the central block and the eastern division of the site. The main entrance to the Bank premises was now to be in the right-hand pavilion, the door in the left-hand pavilion giving access to the accountant's house. The caryatid central entrance thus became redundant and was omitted. In formal terms Set B had less to recommend it,

but it did result in a more concentrated layout.

The competition was won by John Burnet senior. His design was not so impressive externally, but its superimposed columns and pilasters were much less expensive, and it offered a taller cortile-like telling room. Peddie & Kinnear did not publish their design or exhibit it at the Royal Scottish Academy, but a similar revival of giant Corinthian columns for tall commercial buildings was to be seen in Campbell Douglas & Sellars Glasgow Herald and City of Glasgow Bank buildings in 1876-78.

Dick & Stevenson's Property: the Scottish Lands & Buildings Company Headquarters

In February 1872 Dick & Stevenson, solicitors, commissioned the Glaswegian practice of Haig & Low to design a block of shops and offices for the use of the Scottish Lands & Buildings Company as its headquarters in Glasgow. This block was to be built on West George Street, between its junctions with St George's Place and West Nile Street - a site 64 feet 6 inches broad and 31 feet deep - and was to consist of four storeys over a basement, the eaves being 41 feet 6 inches above ground, and the roof-ridge 55 feet. The ground floor was to comprise four shops with a central stair to the chambers above.

The West George Street frontage was to be articulated into a five-windows-wide central division between minimally-advanced corner pavilions. Except for the Serliana in the corner pavilions at first floor, both first and second floors had round-arched windows in recessed panels. Above a cornice there was to be a low third floor, also with round-arched windows. A very shallow entablature formed the eaves of the French roof. It was a weak design but had some bearing on the final one.

Peddie & Kinnear's First Proposals

Shortly afterwards, however, Dick & Stevenson approached Peddie & Kinnear to produce a new scheme for the site, in relation to which a number of preliminary pencil sketches for the plans and elevations, and a washed copy reverse sheet of the main front, are preserved within the archive.

Owing to the constraints of the site, breadth and depth were almost identical to the Haig & Low design. The earliest proposals, draughted out with economy uppermost in mind, involved some retention of the fabric of the two-storey buildings pre-existing on the site; their first floor, however, was to be completely reconstructed and a new second floor built. There were to be six square-headed windows at each level, four grouped together in the centre and single windows at each end, although there was no formal break in the frontage.

The Composite Sketch Elevation

Thereafter a composite sketch of the main elevation was produced for an all-new structure, four-storey and basement like Haig & Low's design and with a similar wallhead height. The ground floor of all three elevations was almost wholly formed in iron and glass, with masonry pilasters at the angles only. Above the cornice of the shop fascia, the West George Street frontage was expressed by nine equally-spaced windows on first floor and second floor, and nine pairs of windows at third floor beneath the eaves.

On both sides of the composite design the first floor windows were square-headed and the second floor windows segment-arched. The windows on the left-hand side were in simple frames, since the elevation was bound together by band-courses with circular roundels containing decorative motifs; these were almost certainly anchor plates, indicating some very adventurous form of construction bound with wrought-iron. The window openings on the right were set into Doric pilastrades, and were variously shown with stilted lintels, stilted segmental arches and round arches, a Durandesque treatment reminiscent of Leith Corn Exchange. The pairs of lights at the third floor were set in simple surrounds on the left-hand side of the design, with brackets at the eaves; on the right-hand side, however, each pair was split by a slim mullion, and embraced by the longer brackets of the eaves, as at Auchmore (see Chapter 17).

The Executed Scheme

The executed scheme took its cues from the right-hand side of the composite design but was slightly richer in treatment. Above the glazed ground floor level - which had three doorways on West George Street - the Doric pilastrades had stilted segmentally-arched windows at first floor and round-arched windows at second floor; above the third floor band-course the pairs of attic lights were formed just as they had been in the right-hand side of the composite design, the height to the cornice being exactly 60 feet. It was a very simple scheme but extremely sophisticated, a brilliant essay in economy of means. The roof contained a single large "saloon."

Drury Street Warehouse, Glasgow

On 30 May 1874 Peddie & Kinnear issued working drawings for a simple but elegant warehouse in Glasgow's Drury Street, the details of which were more Italian Romanesque than Renaissance. Sadly, both the building itself and most of the original designs have been lost, but a good indication of the quality of the design is provided by copy reverse sheets, supplemented by preliminary pencil sketches.

This four-bay, four-storey basement and attic composition was conceived within a 50

feet cubic framework: it was 49 feet 6 inches broad, 51 feet 6 inches from street-level to wallhead height (before and after revisions) and a maximum 51 feet in depth. The ground floor was largely given over to a shop, and a single entrance on the left-hand side gave access to the basement cellarage.

The plain masonry pilasters between the ground floor doors and windows supported iron beams carrying the cornice and the frontage of the upper floors. These warehouse floors were themselves supported on iron columns and McConnell patent beams to allow clear spaces capable of bearing heavy loads.

Pilasters rose through the first and second floors to form giant arched recesses, each enclosing one pair of square-headed windows at first floor and one pair of segment-headed windows at second floor, the arches of the recesses acting as over-arches to produce two-light windows like those of the Royal Bank at Montrose. These windows were divided by Ruskinian colonettes; the division between the windows were marked by decorative spandrel panels.

At third floor was a low pilastrade of triple-lights, giving the impression of an eaves-gallery: the brackets at the top of their mullions carried a shallow wallhead entablature, enclosed by bigger, bolder consoles at each end. The tall kerb roof accommodated a capacious attic floor, lit by roof-lights.

Drury Street was the last bank or commercial building Peddie & Kinnear designed in this idiom, which was an early to mid 1860s style related to Chalmers' Hospital (see Chapter 25) rather than an 1870s one. By that date the practice had turned more to Alexander Thomson for inspiration, as will be discussed in Chapter 29.

- CHAPTER 22 -

Princes Street, Edinburgh: the University Club, Hotels, the Ross Fountain and the Proposed Improvements to the Gardens

John Dick Peddie's interest in the improvement of Princes Street valley was first aired in his 1851 paper, "On the Architectural Features of Edinburgh." He found the street "level, regular, and, on the whole, tame" with the "glaring offences" of the "ugly object" of the Bank of Scotland (see Chapter 19) and the Scott Monument, which, although "a beautiful building,"

"stands most awkwardly ... in front of the terrace of Princes Street, like a great intruder judged unfit to join the general rank, and it overpowers the whole street with its immense height, reducing houses, by no means high, into insignificance. ... How beautiful the valley itself might have appeared - how it might have combined statues, monuments, and fountains I need not now describe."

But describe them he did in a series of six giant water-colours exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1866-70. The first pair have not been traced but according to contemporary descriptions they showed a widened upper terrace at the western gardens with monuments and statuary, a theme to which he was to return. As to the architecture of the street, Peddie found "a want of window dressings, cornices and other mouldings," and in the University Club he set out to show what the architecture of Princes Street should be.

Although the final design of the University Club evolved only gradually it was perhaps Peddie's supreme masterpiece as a classicist. The alumni of British universities resident in Edinburgh formed themselves into a club in 1864 and bought two houses at nos 127-28 Princes Street. In December Peddie & Kinnear produced two schemes: the first of these suggested a radical internal reconstruction, which could never have produced a satisfactory result since the house frontages were of unequal width and had later canted bays, themselves of unequal size; the second scheme was for a completely new building occupying the whole of the site, 61 feet wide, 150 feet deep, but with a broadly similar layout of accommodation. This second scheme was revised in April 1865 prior to execution.

For the first scheme only pencil draft floor-plans survive, but the drawings for the second and the executed schemes survive intact. Although (as will be seen) a tentative sketch design for a central entrance proved the catalyst for the final design, most of these schemes had the principal entrance in the right-hand bay as executed. It was to be tripartite with narrow side-windows expressing the closet and porter's room which flanked the six-bay columnar hall-corridor, lit from the eastern internal court at its far end. On the left the hall-corridor was to open into the grand principal stair with huge tripartite windows in the rear elevation. The first and second schemes both show a central four-light canted bay like those of Lathallan and Mayfield expressing the ground floor morning room (24' × 40'). Behind the morning room, and linking with the principal stair, was to be the service stair, the well of which enclosed a lift. Beyond the service stair was to be the dining room (22'3 \times 47'), partly within the main block and partly extruded from it: it was to be entered from the principal stair and lit from both the western internal court and the ceiling. Along the east side of its pantries was to run a corridor which linked to a rear block on Rose Street Lane. This was to contain a private dining room lit from the same internal court as the hall-corridor, members' and strangers' billiard rooms (an interesting division, reflecting the separate access to billiard rooms provided in Peddie & Kinnear's larger houses) and servants' bedrooms.

At first floor within the main block the principal apartment was to be the great library and writing room (24' × 57'3) extending the whole width of the frontage, but divided into three compartments by columnar screens which provided structural support for the bedrooms above. Behind this was to lie lay the card room, committee room, secretary's room, stranger's bedroom for non-members, and attendant's room, the secretary's room being on a mezzanine level. Although there were numerous amendments, particularly at the Rose Street Lane block, the general arrangement remained the same as throughout the development of the project, except that in the final scheme the main stair rose only to first floor rather than to second floor.

Three designs for the entrance elevation are preserved within the archive. The earliest, undated, differs from any of the surviving plans in omitting the canted bay to achieve a tall Roman palazzo five windows wide with raised quoin ends and a massive modillioned cornice: it was to be set back within a basement area, guarded by a balustrade of cast-iron panels mounted on a plinth. At ground floor the doorway was set in coupled Ionic columns, and the windows in Ionic-columned aedicules without pediments, while at first floor the windows were set in Corinthian-columned aedicules with pediments; at both levels the windows had balustraded aprons. At second floor

the windows had architrave frames with consoled cornices, and at third floor they were set in panels, forming a deep Bridgewater House-type frieze under the cornice, as at the Crown Insurance Building (see Chapter 21). As so often before, the details of the design derived from Letarouilly, although nothing with a similar bay design is to be found there, the nearest being the Palazzo Sora.

The two subsequent elevations omitted the quoins and featured a central hemi-cycle bow - a concept probably derived from Alexander Thomson's Holmwood of 1857 - the character of the design now subtly changing from pure High Renaissance to Graeco-Italian.

A fascinating thumbnail sketch made on a third floor plan illustrates how the original canted bay came to be metamorphosed into the executed bow. Although far from clear, this sketch appears to suggest that the ground floor should be re-planned with a central columnar entrance supporting a balconied canted bay at first floor level, and a tripartite window at second floor; but however stately that would have been, it would have deprived the club of its large morning room. It therefore had little chance of being approved, but it probably gave Peddie the idea of achieving a similar effect by adopting a two-tier hemi-cycle of Corinthian columns.

In this final design the entrance now became a refined architrave frame with a consoled cornice enclosing double-leaf doors within side-lights and a transom-light. The aedicules flanking the bow were then reduced to architrave frames to avoid having columns of different size in close juxtaposition, but the second and third floors were retained much as in the High Renaissance scheme. In the event, however, the modillioned cornice was remodelled to a magnificent enriched cavetto of almost Egyptian character with lions' heads at the cymatium.

As usual, mathematical proportions were in evidence. The height of the elevation above the basement area balustrade was equal to its width; the height-to-width ratio of the lower peristyle of the bow was 6-to-7, the same ratio as the height of the upper tier in relation to the lower; the proportions of the flanking bays at ground floor were square from the base-line at entrance level to the first floor cornice, and those of the first floor square above the cill-course at first floor.

The interior was of considerable splendour, but is poorly recorded. The principal rooms were subsequently wainscoted by J.M. Dick Peddie and the hall-corridor and morning room disappeared in 1956 when the ground floor and basement became a shop, the remainder being destroyed more recently. The Building News described the arcaded hall-corridor as being "flanked by columns of polished granite, bearing an entablature in Caen stone on which the ceiling rests, and paved with ornamental tiles." Both the morning room and the library had distyle in antis screens of fluted Corinthian columns, while the main stair had a deep diapered cove and a very elegant cast-iron rail.

The club cost £13,000, the masonwork being by W. & D. MacGregor, the woodwork by John Watherston & Sons, and the plasterwork by James Steel of Glasgow. As at 125 Princes Street, the building was very favourably commented upon in The Building Newsbut not in The Builder. In its main report the latter commented that:

"The evident aim and object of the architects has been to produce a work displaying classical refinement and harmony and in this they have been fairly successful. It is a building that would not have seemed out of place in ancient Athens, had modern club life been in operation there; but is it a work appropriate and in keeping in "Modern Athens," in the grey metropolis of the north? In the clear and sunny atmosphere of Greece or Italy the detail (which is almost effeminate in its delicacy of treatment) would be brought into strong relief, but here it is lost in our cold and cloudy sky, and rain and soot will soon clog it up completely."

The Builder's review of the design when it was exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy, perhaps by the same writer, had been worse -

"some buildings are made up of quotations, and "the Sermon in Stones" by Messrs Peddie & Kinnear (18), 'The University Club, Princes Street,' is made up of quotations from the Greek authors without reference to the text"

- a comment which perhaps tells us a great deal more of the hostility the Peddie family had aroused in Established Church circles than of the quality of the design.

What The Builder's correspondent had failed to mention in his bitter dislike of Peddie & Kinnear and their architecture was that the University Club was a landmark building. Although a club-house it was also an hotel in all but name - the first major hotel built anew in Edinburgh since the 1820s, apart from the practice's own Cockburn and David Bryce junior's Star at the east end of Princes Street - and its passenger-carrying lift was probably, in Scottish terms, an innovation in itself with far-reaching consequences for the future.

The Railway Hotels

Although there are no designs relating to it in the archive - only plans relating to the valuation of lands required in order to build it - it appears likely that Peddie's earliest hotel design was the proposal for St Enoch's Station, circa 1864-66, which was based on Edward M. Barry's Charing Cross in London and which was illustrated in a rather crude wood engraving of 1867. The Glasgow Union Railway employed John Fowler, of London, and J.F. Blair of Grainger & Miller's office (whom Peddie probably knew) as its engineers, but Peddie's cousins the Blyths were also involved for the Glasgow & South Western Railway's interest. The engraving shows the station's hotel element to be four storeys in height, with a high mansard attic providing additional accommodation, and with two-bay end-pavilions under tall French roofs; it extended into a four-storey wing with a rather odd clock-tower. The trainshed was shown lit by eight thermae-like windows, and was connected to the hotel by an Italianate block of offices. The probability must be that the scheme never got beyond the outline stage required for the Parliamentary legislation necessary to build it. Nevertheless the knowledge of London hotel design which Peddie & Kinnear had acquired was soon to prove useful. The design of the hotel closely anticipated that of Callander Hydropathic (see Chapter 30) and the design of the trainshed that of the Caledonian Station, Edinburgh (1890-94).

The North British Station Hotel and Waverley Market

In 1865 negotiations between the North British Railway and the Caledonian Railway on the building of a joint station in Edinburgh broke down. In the following year the North British held a competition for the rationalisation of the three stations it owned at Waverley as a result of its acquisition of the Edinburgh & Glasgow and Edinburgh, Perth & Dundee Railways. Three Peddie water-colours, two of them for the same scheme, relate to this competition and envisaged the building of a hotel at the corner of Princes Street and North Bridge and a market on the site of the Edinburgh, Perth & Dundee station. It is not known for whose submissions they were prepared, but probably at least one was for B. & E. Blyth. That in the possession of Mrs Scott Duncan is the finest and shows a classical three-storey and basement hotel designed to answer Matheson's Post Office, an open market with a terrace over two tiers of segmentally-arcaded galleries and a magnificent neo-classical screen-wall stretched between pedimented pavilions at the station itself. Among other things it also shows the National Monument completed, and the Ross Fountain (see below) on the terrace of East Princes Street Gardens between the Scott Monument and the Royal Institution.

The other two water-colours, now in the possession of the Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland, are inferior as works of art but they show a much more ambitious hotel, three-storey and attic with a twenty-nine bay elevation overlooking the market. It was to be set well back from Princes Street to show off the flank elevation of Matheson's Post Office, and to accommodate a huge awning with ample cover for carriages and cabs. With its French-roofed corner pavilions, Corinthian portico and domed central tower it would have looked more like the city's municipal buildings than its station hotel, but it anticipated the scale of what was to be built thirty years later. In this scheme the market site was roofed over to form a garden with the Ross Fountain at the intersection of its gravel paths, but The Builder report indicates an alternative version of the same scheme with an open market as in Mrs Scott Duncan's water-colour.

The Ross Fountain and the Search for a Site

The competition for Waverley Station was won by Charles Jopp and ended any thought of locating the Ross Fountain at Waverley Market.

The issue of a site for this fountain had first arisen in 1864 when the gun-maker Daniel Ross of Rockville, Merchiston, had offered £2,000 towards erecting it on the upper terrace of West Princes Street Gardens, either at the foot of Frederick Street or the foot of Castle Street. Peddie's 1866 water-colours showing a widened terrace almost certainly relate to that proposal. Ross had seen a half-size version of the Fountain at the International Exhibition of 1862 and set his heart on the 60 feet high original which had already been fabricated and was on the market. It was of bronzed cast-iron, and was the work of A. Durenne, "Maître des Forges Sommevoir Haute Marne." It consisted of mermaids, a huge scallop shell, seated figures representing the Arts and Sciences, an upper basin and smaller basins, and a female figure at the top with a cornucopia from which water flowed in a bell-shaped jet. It required a 60 feet diameter basin in which to build it. As subscriptions came in towards the balance of the £3,500 the Fountain was to cost, Peddie & Kinnear began work on its concrete foundation but suddenly the female figure became a problem: she was not merely "beautifully modelled" but voluptuous and insufficiently clad. Dean Ramsay of St John's

Episcopal Church and others raised an agitation against it, the Dean describing it as "grossly indecent and disgusting: insulting and offensive to the moral feelings of the community and disgraceful to the City."

Although it had won the approval of The Scotsman, The Builder agreed with Dean Ramsay, commenting that "we should be better pleased to have this money spent in the production of a fine fountain by English [!] artists."

In the face of this outcry Peddie now turned his mind to a site where the objections of the Dean could be ignored.

The Caledonian Railway Station Hotel (1868)

In September 1864 the Caledonian Railway announced that it would seek an Act of Parliament enabling it to acquire St Cuthbert's Poors-house and build a new station and hotel at the Lothian Road-Rutland Street junction, the existing station of circa 1848-50 having become inadequate. The discussions first with the Edinburgh & Glasgow Railway and then the North British Railway on the possibility of a joint station delayed matters throughout much of 1865, but after the merger of the North British and the Edinburgh & Glasgow later in that year the Caledonian proceeded on its own with its Parliamentary bill, which became an Act in 1866. The engineers were Peddie's Blyth cousins, but Benjamin died in the same year and it seems to have been not until some time in 1867 that the hotel was commissioned, Peddie & Kinnear's drawings being dated 2 January 1868. The Builder reported on 25 January that "the site is a good one and the building promises to be highly ornamental: a large hotel as at Charing-Cross and Cannon Street, is to form the chief feature." These hotels by Edward M. Barry were indeed the inspiration of the design, as at St Enoch, but at five-storey and double-attic they were a storey higher and appreciably larger. The Builder later acknowledged (5 March 1870) that the Caledonian design was "not an echo of any of them," having a central pavilion as well as end ones. It was indeed more individual in its details and, like the competition design for the Clydesdale Bank, had similarities of profile to Design III for the Bank of Scotland Headquarters in its adoption of "louvre" roofs (see Chapters 21 and 19).

The hotel was to have been laid out in three blocks with Franco-Italianate elevations. The main block, four storeys, double-attic and basement in height, was to have been orientated north-west/south-east across the apex of the site, looking out across a cabyard and lawns towards the junction of Lothian Road and Rutland Street with Princes Street and Shandwick Place, where the New Town meets the West End.

Access to the platforms was through the main block's public offices on the ground floor; the hotel accommodation above was to be reached by means of a stylish circular entrance tower, in the re-entrant angle with the Rutland Street block. Both the tower and the Rutland Street block, which incorporated one of the original houses on the site, rose through two storeys and basement. The wedge-plan range running south along Lothian Road, single-storey and basement only, was intersected at basement level by a 40 feet broad segmental tunnel-arch to St Cuthbert's Lane.

Notwithstanding the near-symmetrical grandeur of the main block's composition as a whole, at ground floor the entrance arrangements and the station offices were very

asymmetric because of operating requirements within the station itself: what appeared to be the central entrance was in fact fractionally off-set to the left, and while three of its portals opened into the booking office, the fourth and fifth were glazed, and lit the eastern of the two waiting and retiring room bays which flanked the booking office on This arrangement resulted in the horse-carriage and pedestrian exits between the western waiting room block and the west pavilion being much wider than the pedestrian-corridor on the eastern side. The east pavilion contained the parcels room, left luggage and private stair to the hotel, the western was largely occupied by the principal stair to the hotel from the circular entrance hall, but also contained a restaurant. The unbalanced composition of the ground floor was, however, masked to a considerable degree by the shadow of the awning running between the end-pavilions. Above this awning, the four-storey main elevation of the hotel appeared completely symmetrical: the end-pavilions were here increased to equal breadth, even if the higher middle one were not quite central. Its principal features would have been the canted bay of Serliana at the square-domed central pavilion, and the semi-circular bows of the louvre-roofed end-pavilions, the windows being arched throughout. required a great deal of structural iron: the canted bay was supported from beneath the awning on massive iron columns; the bows by an iron collar-beam-like assembly, concealed within the porticoes of the end-pavilions; and the hotel floors by a massive framework of iron beams. Behind the hotel the station roof was to have been a segmental iron arch rising up to the eaves of the hotel, presumably a tied bowstring, with a span of 170 feet.

The internal arrangements are of considerable interest as purpose-built hotels were then rare in Scotland. The first floor was largely given over to its principal apartments. On the north side of the spinal corridor running the length of the main block from the principal stair, a very large coffee room extended through the centre pavilion and most of the western side, its service room occupying the remainder, with the ladies' room in the western pavilion: these similarly enjoyed views of the major thoroughfares. The smoking and billiard room - as much a male demesne as in a private house - were at the back looking out into the arched station roof. On the east side of the main front there was a reading room and a very grand private suite of apartments with a bowed sitting room, and at the rear a number of single bedrooms. Adjacent to the main stair there was to be a "rising room," or lift, back-to-back with a set of smaller lifts on the same model as those provided by Easton, Amos & Sons at the Brighton Hotel in 1864. Within the entrance tower there was a bar together with bar parlour, dining room and further bedroom within the Rutland Street block.

The second and third floors were laid out more-or-less identically to each other. They had eight bedrooms on the main front, arranged between three sitting rooms in the centre of the main front, one in each of the end-pavilions, and seven bedrooms to the rear. The second floor enjoyed the benefits of the singularly elegant domed conservatory which crowned the entrance tower. Both levels had small dining rooms reserved for visitors, upper servants and lady's maids.

The lower attic storey, although not accessible from the principal staircase, was to have provided 27 bedrooms, 15 on the main front and 12 to the rear, there being no sitting room or dining room at this level. At the upper attics there were to be 20 bedrooms segregated between male and female servants, each with their own stairs.

Peddie's hotel was to have stood well back from Princes Street with lawns and paths in front of it. In the middle of these he intended to site the Ross Fountain, nearly opposite the door to St John's. The situation must have been uncomfortable for Kinnear: not only was he a member of the congregation, the Dean was a client. But on 28 November 1868 The Builder, quoting The Scotsman, reported that "the suspension of the Caledonian Railway Company's Station works at the west end of Princes Street has indefinitely postponed the prospect of a site being found in that quarter."Some months later Edward Blyth was instructed to build a temporary cast-iron and timber station on the same site, and much to his embarrassment a faulty casting brought about its collapse, fortunately without any casualties, as it was about to open. It finally became operational on 2 May 1870.

The Erection of the Ross Fountain and the 1870 Water-colour Proposals for Princes Street Gardens

By the autumn of 1869 a compromise was reached on the location of the Ross Fountain whereby it was sited in the lower gardens and not on the upper terrace, so making it less prominent, and it duly arrived in 122 pieces. A marked-up engraving of the Fountain preserved in the archive appears to relate to the instructions on how it was to be pieced together.

A superb water-colour of Peddie's proposals for West Princes Street Gardens, which included not only the Fountain but a domed winter garden and the proposed Caledonian Hotel in the distance, can be identified as that described in The Builder on 5 March 1869:

"The drawing represents a winter garden at the extreme west end of the Princes-Street Gardens with the Ross Fountain, now being erected in front of it. This garden has frequently met with the special attention of Mr Peddie, many of his suggestions being appropriate and suitable to the locality: but we have doubts whether the placing of a Crystal Palace under the Castle Rock would be an improvement in an architectural or artistic point of view. ... Mr Peddie had better look out for another position for his winter garden."

Surprisingly The Builder did not comment on the masonry terraces and pavilions with which Peddie proposed to enrich the gardens, and which were presumably a re-working of his proposals of 1866. A huge pavilion like the Monteath mausoleum he built at Ancrum (probably in the same year), but enriched with a great deal of sculpture, was to close the view along Frederick Street, with a monumental double-stair to the south of it down to the Ross Fountain; another large arched and columned pavilion was to stand at the foot of Castle Street with stairs down to the paths to the winter garden. It was all purely speculative but it did bring a commission to design the Bandstand in 1872. The winter garden was later pursued by Robert Morham, though on a more modest scale.

Hotel, 104-05 Princes Street, Edinburgh

Peddie & Kinnear got a second opportunity to build a hotel on Princes Street - albeit on a smaller scale than their proposals for the Caledonian - from the Scottish Lands & Buildings Company which had bought nos 104-05 early in 1874.

The site was occupied by two Georgian houses, each three storey, basement and attic, which had already been converted for hotel and retail use: they were connected by a link-block extending across the depth of their former gardens to more modest three-storey, basement and attic buildings in Rose Street. Since each of the Georgian houses occupied a 30 feet feu they presented a combined frontage of 60 feet, exactly equal to their total height above street-level and to their depth. The total depth of the site back to Rose Street Lane was 144 feet.

Although Peddie & Kinnear's designs for a purpose-built hotel, prepared in June 1874, involved the demolition of the existing houses and link-block so that only their mutual gables and side-walls were retained, the new structure was to correspond quite closely to the previous hotel in general layout, with a new main block to Princes Street consisting of four storeys, basement and attic accommodation, and a new link-block running back to the Rose Street Lane buildings, which were themselves to be somewhat reconstructed.

The new hotel was to be built out over the basement area, allowing passers-by direct access off the street to the hotel and shops. The hotel doorway was right (east) of centre, and gave onto an entrance hall with steps leading up to the larger square stair-hall. The entrance hall axis extended past the stair-hall as a long corridor which gave access to the bar, the lift and a very large billiard room on its left-hand (west) side, ending in a second stair-hall at the Rose Street block. This layout determined that of the shops. The central shop was very small, its depth curtailed by the square stair-hall; the left-hand shop was wider and larger, extending back to the billiard room; and the right-hand shop was much the largest, with a big top-lit saloon in the corresponding position to the billiard room.

Had it been built the hotel would have been a very elegant design. To maximise light within the shops their fronts were to be wholly plate-glass between the slimmest of masonry pilasters acknowledging the bay divisions above; the off-centre hotel entrance itself was to be distinguished only by a slender panelled architrave supporting a shallow cornice above the fascia-frieze. Above it was a low balustrade which formed a balcony for the principal apartments of the hotel.

Above the shopfronts the main elevation was to be slightly set back and carried on rolled iron beams. It was to have been a storey higher than the Georgian houses with the tall mansard attic and garret roof characteristic of the new generation of city hotels from the late 1860s, but it still honoured their 60 feet cubic framework, this now being the height to the main cornice. It was to have been "Modern French" with three elegant segmental bows between superimposed pilasters. Each bow was to have had three windows at each level: the centre bow was to rise through first and second floors only to form a balcony for the bedroom windows at third floor, the outer bows were to have risen through all three floors into two-light scrolled and pedimented dormers similar to those of Lathallan and Mayfield. The main cornice was to have been a finely sculpted cavetto of the University Club type with a balustraded parapet and urns linking the dormers. The upper attic was to have had five small French-looking arched dormers, probably cast in metal.

The hotel's principal apartments were laid out over the first floor of the main block.

The very deep dining room was to have occupied the whole of the western bay, lit from front and rear, while the drawing room was to have extended across the other two bays, extending back into an "L"-plan with a screen of columns; the parlour behind it was to be lit from the rear. Meals were to have been brought up quickly from the basement kitchen area by means of the lift, which opened to the public corridor and the servery.

At second floor level the bedroom accommodation was to be very up-market: each of the bows lit a parlour. At third floor only the outer bows expressed parlours, the two centre windows lighting bedrooms. Bathrooms were to be provided for both of these floors on a mezzanine level. The Rose Street block's four storeys of accommodation were given wholly over to bedrooms, for commercial travellers and less wealthy visitors, but were still to have had bathrooms on all but the attic level.

The hotel would have been a most elegant building and came tantalisingly close to fruition, the tenders being received in August 1874. There is no known record of what happened but William Hamilton Beattie produced a scheme for a somewhat similar hotel which included a glass-roofed shopping arcade between the front and rear blocks. It must have seemed to offer a higher rental from the retail element, and was duly built and opened as the Clarendon Hotel. It was to be in Glasgow, not Edinburgh, that Peddie & Kinnear were to build a truly great hotel, as will be seen in Chapter 29.

Developments in the West End of Edinburgh

The Heriot Trust and Learmonth Estates

In 1858 John Chesser (1820-92) succeeded Alexander Black as the Heriot Trust's Supervisor of Works. Chesser was not at that stage of his career an architect, having learnt the business of building from his father William, clerk of works on the Dalmeny estate. From there he secured a post as master of works on an estate in Lincolnshire, before succeeding his

Following his appointment at Heriot's, Chesser was one of the first to take a house in the Peddie family's Chalmers Street development (see Chapter 5), and it is thus probable that John Dick Peddie helped him to find his feet as an architect in his early years. Chesser's two-storey terraces with quadrants at Bellevue, built 1860-62, certainly suggest that he had seen Peddie's competition designs for Gilmorehill; more importantly, his 1860 design for Buckingham Terrace, with its excellent proportions, was more than might have been expected of a clerk of works. Its four-light architraved canted bays were innovative at the time and were very similar to those Peddie & Kinnear were shortly to design for Lathallan, Mayfield and - as first proposed - the University Club (see Chapters 16 and 22), suggesting that they had some hand in its design. Peddie & Kinnear were certainly heavily involved in the early development of Buckingham Terrace, designing nos 19-20 and 32-34 - no 33 being for Peddie himself- which were all built in 1862-65; and also at Lennox Street, a more modest twostorey, basement and attic development, where they produced drawings for nos 9-11, 14-20 and 24-26, although nos 24-26 remained unexecuted. At least one of these houses was built speculatively by Peddie himself and another was built for Alexander Thomas Niven, the chartered accountant behind most of Peddie's property companies.

The Walker Estate: Development in the 1860s

Peddie & Kinnear's first professional acquaintance with the Misses Walkers' Easter Coates estate came in 1861. Melville Street and Melville Crescent had been planned by Robert Brown as long ago as 1814, but the central crescent - actually a diagonal square like Laura Place in Bath - had never been built up because of the wedge-shaped sites at the corners and the expensive attached Ionic porticoes which Brown had designed for the central houses on each of its four sides. In 1855 the Walker Trust's architect John Lessels simplified the elevations, reducing the columns to pilasters in an attempt to secure completion of the development. Peddie & Kinnear then built nos 2 and 3 on the north-west side in 1861-62 and nos 7, 8 and 9 on the south-east side in 1863-65, these houses having rich classical details with palmette friezes in their drawing rooms. No 2 was especially palatial, built for the railway engineer John Miller of Leithen. It had Greek details of similar character to those of Sydney Place Church (see Chapter 8) with Ionic columns in the entrance hall and a screen of Corinthian columns in the drawing room.

Peddie & Kinnear were also building speculatively in Chester Street from 1861, where John Lessels had prescribed the elevations, and in Manor Place between Chester Street and Rothesay Place from 1864, partly for the Scottish Lands & Buildings Company and

partly on their own account. At Manor Place it is probable that Peddie & Kinnear were allowed to revise Lessels' designs to meet the needs of their clients, their terraces being less regular than his and composed of three-storey and basement two-bay units, each with a consoled doorpiece and two ground floor windows set in channelling, single windows and pedimented tripartites at first floor, and single windows and bipartites at second floor. The first floor windows were similar to those of Peddie & Kinnear's Bank of Scotland at Arbroath (see Chapter 20) built at the same date. Surprisingly no attempt was made to mirror the plans to achieve symmetry, the result being asymmetrical fenestration, but with a regular rhythm, running across the two-houses-wide central pavilions.

Robert Matheson's West Coates Estate

In 1863 the Office of Works architect Robert Matheson bought West Coates House, a mansion by David Bryce, to develop its small landscape park. It was reported that:

"The plan is a more extensive one than any which has been for many years projected in Edinburgh. The arrangements are now so far advanced that the plans and elevations have been determined, the ground is being broken up for laying off the streets and crescents, and several of the feus in the latter have, we believe, been taken by leading citizens. The area which is nearly square, extends westwards about 900 feet, and has a nearly equal depth northwards, embracing all in a space of about fourteen acres."

A copy of this plan exists in the archive. Matheson designed the scheme as two crescents, Grosvenor to the north and Lansdowne to the south, Grosvenor Street dividing the latter to make connection southwards to Haymarket. Grosvenor Street represented the eastern boundary of the site at this point, the Palmerston Place land to the east being largely on the Walker Trust estate.

Matheson developed West Maitland Street, Grosvenor Street and Lansdowne Crescent in a simple astylar Italianate, very similar in character to the Airlie Lodge designs of twenty years earlier (see Chapter 5) which Peddie may well have shown him: Matheson was, however, an able enough Italian Renaissance designer to need no help from anyone. Peddie's first involvement with the development came in 1867 when his father took a feu in Lansdowne Crescent and built a house to his son's design. At that point Peddie & Kinnear took over Grosvenor Crescent from Matheson together with his sites on Palmerston Place, and obtained the remainder of the west side of that street from the Walker Trust.

Grosvenor Crescent

Although there is no written evidence, the drawings show fairly clearly that Peddie & Kinnear were allowed to completely re-design Matheson's elevations for Grosvenor Street, if indeed he ever prepared any. Grosvenor Crescent consisted of nineteen three-storey, basement and attic houses on a concave frontage between square end-pavilions, which were very large single houses rather than paired houses as at Buckingham Terrace. Very unusually their entrance halls were in their central canted bays.

The houses on the curve were very similar to those of Buckingham Terrace, with canted bays lighting the dining and drawing rooms and single-light windows over the

entrance. The canted bays, however, were three-light with plate-glass rather than four, and the doorpieces were tripartite and Ionic-pilastered, the three central houses nos 10, 11 and 12 being distinguished by Ionic-columned porches over their entrance platts. As at Buckingham Terrace the attics were screened by a balustrade.

The archive shows that some of the interiors had lavish plasterwork, and that Peddie built no 5 and Kinnear nos 6 and 12, all three of these houses being designed in 1869. The Sasines also indicate that, besides these, they were also responsible - at least - for designing nos 1-3 in 1871, no 5 in 1869, and nos 15-20 in 1869-70. The drawings for these are in the archive. John Watherston & Sons, a firm closely associated with Peddie & Kinnear and architects as well as builders, contracted for nos 7-10. Several of the houses designed by Peddie & Kinnear were taken by families associated with them in business. Kinnear adopted no 12 as his permanent residence, but Peddie's interest in no 5 seems to have been purely speculative: he sold it to Thomas Aitken of the Edinburgh & London Shipping Company in 1873.

Nos 32-34 Palmerston Place

The building of Grosvenor Crescent left a relatively small frontage to Palmerston Place south of the Heriot Trust feus. On this Peddie & Kinnear built a giant three-storey, basement and attic semi-detached block in 1879-80, mirror-plan, with ground floor rectangular bays and five-light canted bays above rising into French roofs with pedimented dormers. Between these the porches were linked together, their flat roof forming a continuous first floor balcony with an ornamental iron rail which extended across the canted bays on cantilever brackets - a motif adopted from Alexander Thomson (cf. Westbourne Terrace), although there was no Thomsonian detail. The finance to build no 32 - £4,000 - was borrowed from the Trustees of the Scottish Liberal Club.

Nos 2-26 Palmerston Place

In 1869 Peddie & Kinnear, initially in association with the accountant Alexander T. Niven, took the whole of the west side of Palmerston Place from Lansdowne Crescent to West Maitland Street, intending to building a continuous terrace of houses. The site was Matheson land at the north end and Walker Trust land at the south end, the irregular diagonal boundary between the two estates requiring adjustment. Since a unified treatment was desirable the Walker Trust waived the requirement to adhere to Lessels' elevation which had already been built on the east side, but appears to have insisted that the West Maitland Street corner-block answer Lessels' eastern Coates Place corner. The terrace was designed in 1869 and Matheson granted the first feu charters for the north end in October 1871. Design work on the West Maitland Street corner began in 1872, with the Union Bank as client, but then the project ran into difficulty. Because of the angle of West Maitland Street to Palmerston Place the site was much smaller than that of the Lessels' corner block, and there were difficulties in designing elevations to match it. After much experimentation a compromise scheme was proposed but evidently not accepted, and the Lessels design had to be compressed with unsatisfactory results. The Union Bank never occupied the building, probably sickened off by the interminable delays.

Further delays arose at the central section, which was on Walker Trust land. In

March 1872 the managers of Rose Street United Presbyterian Church sought a 90 feet feu for a new church there which necessitated adjustment of the frontage widths of the adjoining houses (see Chapter 27), but in October their minister died. The commission was put on hold and might have been cancelled, entailing the re-design of houses already contracted for, but in the event the church was built.

The houses themselves followed the three-storey and basement, entrance bay and canted bay formula of Grosvenor Crescent, but with reduced frontage widths and an Italianate bracket-cornice, the details being very similar to the later houses in Chalmers Street (see Chapter 5). The canted bays were architraved and had iron-railed balconies at second floor level rather than balustraded ones. The most interesting features of these houses were the bracketed cornices of their doorpieces, which provided iron railed balconies at first floor level. The design of the brackets had no particular historical precedent and they were sculptured with art-foliage, each one being an individual work of art.

Later Developments on the Walker Trust Estate

In 1872 Peddie & Kinnear were given responsibility for the feuing of the Walker Trust estate in succession to Lessels, who was still in practice, but by then sixty-four years old. Probably this was in appreciation of their developments having so substantially increased the Trust's income when outgoings on the construction of St Mary's Cathedral were at such a high level: perhaps the reward was encouraged by Henry John Coventry W.S., one of the legal agents of the Walker Trustees.

37-44 Drumsheugh Gardens

Peddie & Kinnear's drawings for the west side of Drumsheugh Gardens survive both in the archive and with the Walker Trust. Although designed in 1874 the sites remained untaken until John Watherston & Sons, took over and erected first nos 38-44 in 1877 and then later no 37 with a modified bay-window design in 1899.

Drumsheugh Gardens was a magnificent development in the same Graeco-Italianate style as the University Club (see Chapter 22). It was tall three-storey, basement and attic. Four-windows-wide end-pavilions (which returned into Chester Street and Rothesay Place for a generous five bays) framed intermediate houses with rectangular bays rising through ground floor and first floor, and three windows on second floor; the attic level was not hidden behind a balustrade as in the earlier terraces but treated as a deep panelled frieze like that at the University Club, with a bracket-cornice above. The rectangular bays were architraved at the ground floor and had distyle in antis Corinthian columns at first floor within a framework of Didyma antae. They formed a regular rhythm, alternating with tripartite doorpieces sheltered by cantilevered balconies. Although not Thomsonesque in detail, the rectangular bays and other details suggest the inspiration of Walmer Crescent and Westbourne Terrace in Glasgow.

Rothesay Terrace

Rothesay Terrace was designed in 1874 as a continuation of the north side of Drumsheugh Gardens to its junction with Palmerston Place. Only one pair of houses, nos 1-2, were built to Peddie & Kinnear's designs. They followed the same general pattern as nos 37-44 Drumsheugh Gardens but were considerably wider, with four second floor windows rather than three. The entrances were again tripartite, with two-light windows above at first floor and second floor: the first floor windows were Corinthian monostyle in antis, and were answered by the bows of the drawing rooms, which were similar to that of the University Club's but shallower and with saucer semi-dome roofs. The second floor treatment was simpler in style to acknowledge that of

the adjoining houses designed by Lessels. Peddie & Kinnear's scheme was abandoned in 1883 when John Ritchie Findlay built no 3 to Sydney Mitchell's design. The remainder was thereafter built by John Watherston & Son to a design of their own, based on Mitchell's.

Rothesay Place

While Drumsheugh Gardens and Rothesay Terrace had the Greek detail particularly associated with Peddie, the supremely elegant three-storey and basement Rothesay Place houses were Italian Renaissance in character, making attribution less clear. Each house unit had an architraved door and dining room window at ground floor under a continuous cast-iron railed balcony cantilevered out on stone brackets. This created a sufficiently strong horizontal division along the terrace to enable the three-light first floor drawing room windows to be centred in the elevation, out of alignment with the dining room windows. The drawing room windows had arches resting directly on the Corinthian capitals of their columns and were sheltered by cornices with console-brackets at each end, a detail which is to be found in the early scheme for Chalmers Street, but was also paralleled in Kinnear's building at 125 Princes Street (see Chapter 21). The top floor had three regularly spaced architraved windows under a bracket-cornice.

While both of the Rothesay Place terraces were built, it was not possible to unify them with the existing higher corner pavilions at the Manor Place intersection, and the scheme was not quite completed at the western end where a very inferior design was substituted in 1888. Had the Terrace section of the scheme been completed as Peddie & Kinnear had planned it, Rothesay Place and Rothesay Terrace would have rivalled Drumsheugh Gardens, Grosvenor Crescent and Eglinton Crescent as the finest formal spaces in the Victorian area of the Western New Town.

- CHAPTER 24 -

Tenement Housing in Edinburgh, 1860-79

Although Peddie & Kinnear designed relatively few tenements, four of their developments were on an impressive scale. Perhaps because of the United Presbyterian Church's interest in social issues, Peddie followed the housing debates at the Architectural Institute of Scotland closely. He chaired the meeting at which Edinburgh's City Architect, David Cousin, delivered his paper on the subject - "The Present State of the Dwellings of the Operative Classes in Edinburgh" - an analysis of the issues provoked by the sudden collapse of a tenement in the High Street in 1861.

Workmen's Houses, Dumbiedykes

Dumbiedykes was originally part of Holyrood Park and derived its name from the local dumb institution, but as Edinburgh grew it became by far the most populous part of the city, accommodating some 15,000 of the working people within half-a-mile square in the mid 1850s. To answer the ever-increasing call for workmen's houses, the builder Robert Hunt bought the rubble of Shakespeare Square (which had been demolished in 1859 for the new Waterloo Place Post Office), and transferred it to wasteground at Dumbiedykes, where he built "humble yet commodious and comfortable houses with three rooms, fitted with good firegrates, good gas-fittings, good water-supply and excellent water closets."They were filled with tenants at once, and such was the demand for more that within a few years the waste-ground was developed as five parallel rows of tenements, varying in height according to the fall of the ground and orientated north-north-east and south-south-west.

The scale of this development was beyond Hunt's resources and in September 1862 it was reported that "the majority of the buildings at Dumbiedykes are being erected by public companies, but some of the blocks belong to private parties." One of these companies was the Metropolitan Building Association, formed by John Dick Peddie, Edward Blyth, Richard Hunter and the chartered accountants A.T. Niven and R.C. Cowan. It was financed by a £7,000 bond from the National Bank and built Lower Craig View Row and Prince Albert Buildings. In December 1863 it was reported that the Prince Albert Buildings were completed and that "rents range between £9.10 and £13, the majority being £10.10 and £12.12. Several of the houses have been sold at prices from £150 to £185. A dividend in the meantime of $2\frac{1}{2}$ % was recommended."

Peddie & Kinnear's drawings, dated 17 June 1862, were for a long bowed terrace at Dumbiedykes - identifiable as the central one, third from the west - arranged in blocks of three or four storeys. Every flat (there were 122 in all) consisted of a kitchen and two rooms, a cupboard, a press, and an internal water-closet. Besides the kitchen range at least one of the other rooms had a fireplace.

To minimise construction costs, there were just four common stairs: although these were within the blocks, access to the flats above ground-level was from long external metal balconies. Built of Hunt's salvaged rubble, the terrace was severely plain, the four-storey blocks having piended roofs.

Headquarters of the Midlothian County Artillery Volunteers, Grindlay Street,

Edinburgh

As related in Chapter 1, Kinnear joined the Midlothian County Artillery Volunteers during the war-scare of 1859 as a lieutenant. In 1866 when senior major, he and two brother-officers took out bonds to fund a new Regimental headquarters for which he was architect. Since this had to provide not just offices and stores but a drill-hall, a substantial site was required, and so it was decided that the headquarters should form part of a larger tenement development, the rents from which would help service the bonds. A feu with a 147 feet frontage was taken from the Merchant Company on the south side of Grindlay Street, immediately to the east of an existing four-storey block of shops and flats designed by David MacGibbon at the junction with Lothian Road on the west. Although it remained in separate ownership, Kinnear incorporated this block into a balanced tripartite composition in which a taller central block was to give the Regiment an architectural presence in the city centre.

The drawings in the archive are incomplete. The earliest dates from 15 February 1866 and shows the ground plan, which consisted of seven shops and two common stairs, one in each block, together with a cross-section of the drill-hall behind them. In late April and May the scheme was revised and an additional entrance inserted in the larger block. It led to a ground floor office which formed part of a sizeable first and second floor house. This may have been intended as a residence for the sergeant-major, who certainly had ex officio living quarters after the alterations of 1888. This house and the entrance to the Volunteers' rooms in the eastern block had arched and consoled doorpieces, the latter with a pediment; the doors to the common stairs were plain and integrated into the plate-glass shop-fronts, which had recessed entrances.

At the upper floors both of Kinnear's tenements were six windows wide, reflecting their two flats per floor internal division. The eastern tenement was carefully designed to answer MacGibbon's in height, chimney disposition and window pattern: divided by a central downpipe into two three-bay units with paired windows at the outer bays, it was, however, much more refined in detail than MacGibbon's with segment-headed windows, those at first floor and second floor set in lugged architrave frames. Between them Kinnear's western tenement rose higher with a palazzo-like roof and bracket entablature, punctuated by two panelled wallhead stacks. The end-bays, which contained the dining rooms, had keyblocked Serlian windows at first floor with consolebrackets supporting boldly projecting cornices; these formed the balconies of the segmentally-pedimented tripartite windows at second floor, which were very similar in detail to the centre window of the Bank of Scotland at Arbroath (see Chapter 20). The treatment of these windows was answered in simpler form at the single-light bedroom windows, which were segment-headed at first floor and architraved and corniced at second floor.

The accommodation within both tenements were on a fairly generous scale. The two-storey house in the western consisted of a dining room, parlour, bedroom and kitchen on first floor, and a drawing room, four further bedrooms and a bathroom on second floor. The flats each had a dining room and two bedrooms looking onto Grindlay Street, and drawing room, further bedroom and kitchen facing to the rear; the larger bedrooms had bed-closets. All had water-closets but none had a bathroom.

The Volunteers' premises consisted of an orderly room (identified by a pair of windows in a lugged architrave), armoury and smaller offices laid out around the corridor which ran through the building to the big drill-hall occupying most of the rear of the site. At 54 feet by 105 feet it was almost exactly half as deep as it was broad. It had a shallow double-pitch roof of rod trusses with roof-lights.

In April 1888 however, after Kinnear had become colonel, and had secured the War Office's agreement to concentrate the headquarters in Grindlay Street, he increased the size of the Regiment's offices by annexation of the first floor flats, which enabled him to heighten the drill-hall. The old orderly room was then converted into an eighth shop. In its remodelled form the drill-hall was used simultaneously for infantry and artillery drills with the new 17-pounder guns - the Grindlay Street entrance was widened to help them pass through. A new wing provided parlours for both ladies and gentlemen, who could watch the training sessions from the gallery.

Nos 182-240 Morrison Street/19-21 Torphichen Place, Edinburgh

Only a very incomplete series of drawings is preserved for the feus acquired by William Duncan at the west end of Morrison Street, Edinburgh, on its north side. Some of these bear dates in April, May and October 1870.

Morrison Street had originally been developed in the 1820s by the builder Thomas Morrison, but building halted when he died in 1826. The remaining site, Morrison's Park, was a large one, its length at 394 feet 8 inches allowing for seven blocks of shops and flats, and its depth at 122 feet 1 inch for substantial outbuildings to the rear. The four eastern blocks, nos 182-90, 192-200, 202-10 and 212-20 conformed to a generally symmetrical five-bay design, with four shops framing the central common stair entrance to flats above and below. The next two blocks, nos 220-228-234, both conformed to a four-bay design, also generally symmetrical, with three shops flanking the common stair entrance. The westernmost block, nos 236-40, at the corner with Torphichen Place, then Thomas Street, had only three asymmetrical bays. All seven blocks were stepped into the sloping site with their floor levels, eaves and roof-ridges, all at different heights.

The earliest dated designs, a ground-plan and full copy reverse drawings issued respectively on 20 and 30 April, together with an undated pencil section, relate to the easternmost block, nos 182-90. To bring the shops to the heel of the pavement, there were no basement areas as at Morrison's earlier tenements, the sunk floor, although residential, being completely concealed on the street side, with its windows lit from grids in the pavement. The right-hand bay was thus bowed at its eastern end to link up with no 180 on the original building-line.

At street-level, within this block as in all six others, the shop-fronts were of slender cast-iron stanchions with shouldered lintels set between pedimented common stair entrances and masonry pilasters. The stair was laid out on a tight scale-and-platt plan, but in the other five-bay blocks geometrical stairs were adopted. The shop-windows were protected by timber shutter-boards like those at Cockburn Street.

At the five-bay blocks the frontage was articulated into three centre bays with single-light bedroom windows at each level, framed by end-bays with paired windows at the

dining rooms or parlours as at Grindlay Street. The four-bay blocks were single-windowed, the windows to the left and right being grouped together; in the three-bay block, only the right-hand bay had paired windows. This canted corner at nos 236-40 was distinguished by a sculpted eagle at the corbel over the shop-front with Duncan's monogram "WAD" All of these tenements were well-constructed with ashlar-faced elevations. String-courses connected the bracketed cills at each level, the main feature of the design being the segmentally-arched and chamfered second floor windows. The two-light windows were over-arched, and were similar to those at Fife & Kinross District Asylum (see Chapter 25). Surprisingly for such a functional set of buildings, the proportions were carefully considered. In the eastern block, the breadth of the three centre bays, 30 feet 6 inches, was almost exactly equal to its height from the cornice over the shop-fronts to the cornice at the wallhead, 31 feet; while the total breadth of the block, at 64 feet, related to the height of the wallhead cornice above the street, 48 feet, on a harmonic ratio of 4-to-3.

Within this eastern block each shop contained a front room and a back room with a fireplace. The shops flanking the common stair entrance within the breadth of the centre three bays were much smaller than those in the end-bays, but unusually for that date, they had their own water-closets. Behind this block there was a large plain pool or billiard hall, entered off the common stair, and lit chiefly by cupolae in its low-pitched roof of rod trusses: the idea for this appendage, which would greatly increased the return from the site, must have come from the drill-hall at Grindlay Street. Stable-offices, probably for hire establishments, faced onto Morrison Street Lane (see designs of 22 April and 16 May).

The surviving plans of the eastern block show pairs of flats on the upper floors, each with two rooms overlooking the street (presumably living/dining room and first bedroom) and two at the back (kitchen and second bedroom). As at Grindlay Street each flat had its own water-closet, and the bedrooms had bed-closets. Some thought was given to revising the partitions, but while the eastern block was built as in the drawings, different plans were adopted in the other five-bay blocks, the centre-bay-windows being blind at the internal gable divisions between the flats.

Laing's Tenement, West Nicholson Street

The drawings for a tenement built for "the Trustees of the late Mr Laing" were dated 17 August 1872. It was of four storeys and four bays with four ground floor shops flanking a central entrance to the common stair. It was built of good ashlar with string-courses under the windows which were bipartite at the outer dining room/parlour bays, as at Grindlay Street.

Although the entrance to the common stair had a door and transom-light the flats were much less up-market than at either Grindlay Street or Morrison Street. The lavatories were mutual, two at each level at the turn of common stair which had winders rather than platts. The flats consisted of a dining room or parlours and a bedroom at the front, and a living-kitchen and a bedroom at the back, the drawing room and kitchen having large bed-closets, the kitchen-closets being lit from the gable in the eastern flats. At the top flat all the bed-closets were lit by roof-lights.

Nos 22-43 Bruntsfield Place, Edinburgh

In the early 1870s the Merchant Company developed its Gillespie's Hospital land at Bruntsfield Links, much of the site being taken by the builders W. & D. MacGregor. Their tenements were designed by David MacGibbon, architect to the Company. Peddie & Kinnear were, however, also commissioned to design a large block of flats on the new feus. The archive shows that their tenements were originally to be built in Gillespie Crescent facing the Hospital, then at the bottom of Bruntsfield Place (Leven Street), but were ultimately constructed on a better site further up at nos 22-43, with an open eastern outlook over Bruntsfield Links.

All designs for Block 1, nos 22-26, are lost. The surviving drawings for Block 2, nos 27-31, were issued between 2 May and 3 July 1872, for Block 3, nos 32-36, between 19 May and 9 July 1873, and for Block 4, nos 37-43, on 14 October 1874, the executed building being monogrammed and dated 1875. They were all very similar in appearance, since they were based on the five-bay blocks in Morrison Street in general arrangement, but Blocks 1 and 3 were slightly bolder in their treatment above the wallhead than Blocks 2 and 4.

All blocks rose through four floors over a concealed basement for shop storage, with plate-glass shop-fronts at street-level and ashlar frontages expressing the layout of the three residential storeys above. These comprised three centre bays of single-light bedroom windows framed by end-bays with paired windows at the living/dining rooms, and dormer gables or gablets over the wallheads. Block 4 had additional double-gabled bays, stepped slightly higher, at nos 42-43, forming a conclusion to the group at its southern end.

Although in a much simpler Scottish style than the baronial blocks of Cockburn Street, but extremely well built with ashlar frontages of higher quality sandstone, the Bruntsfield Place blocks were similarly on a slight curvature. At ground floor the shop openings were all square-headed and protected by roller-shutters, their housings incorporated into the iron fascia-lintels, rather than by the now-outdated external wooden shutter-boards used at Cockburn Street and Morrison Street.

The common stairs to the flats above were entered through central doorways in each five-bay block - nos 24, 29, 34 and 39 - and no 42 in the double-gabled bays at the far end. All were chamfered with hoodmoulded transom-lights and had panelled double-leaf doors, a sign of tenements of the better class. The transom-lights were segment-headed with sopra porte panels in the five-bay blocks, but square-headed at the double-gabled southern end. At the upper floors the windows were four-pane sashes set in raised long-and-short surrounds over cill string-courses.

As at Morrison Street the proportions were carefully considered. In Block 2 the three-windows-wide centrepiece presented an exactly square frontage, 28 feet wide from downpipe to downpipe, and 28 feet in height from first floor string-course to wallhead - half the total 56 feet height, when taken through the centre-line of the common stair entrance. In Blocks 3 and 4 the whole of the five-bay frontages nos 32-36 and 37-41 were conceived from street-level to roof-ridges within frameworks 60 feet square. Block 4's double-gabled end-bays nos 42-43, which were 46 feet in length and again 60 feet in height, were conceived within a ratio of 3-to-4. In the five-bay frontages of Block 2, nos 27-31, and Block 4, nos 37-41, the third floor windows all rose into dormer gablets, but at Block 1, nos 22-26, and Block 3, nos 32-36, the end-bays rose into gables with small attic windows to give a varied roof-line.

As at Morrison Street, the shops had fireplaces in their back areas, but not all of them had water-closets. The flats each contained a dining room, kitchen, two or three bedrooms, closet and bathroom with w.c., the provision of a bath being a significant advance on Morrison Street. The dining rooms and kitchens had bed-closets, but these were now on a more generous scale. Similarly the basement level, instead of containing low-grade flats, provided common cellarage with washing-houses and back greens for clothes-drying and recreation.

In 1879 a similar but larger development was planned for Great Junction Street in Leith where an existing two-storey Georgian terrace was to be replaced. A new street was also planned but only one block, at nos 64-70, was built, doubtless because of the severe recession of the 1880s. Although following the same gabled formula as those in Bruntsfield Place, it was much less expensively constructed in snecked rubble.

Asylums, Poors-houses and Hospitals

Although distinctly different building-types brought into being under different circumstances, the standard designs for poors-houses, asylums and hospitals in the early to mid Victorian period were related, all being laid out on symmetrical "T"-, "E"- and "H"-plans of two, three or four storeys which usually provided identical segregated accommodation for male and female inmates. In the basic "T"-plan the "upright" consisted of a central block with the main entrance hall (often no more than a short corridor) flanked by administrative and medical offices, and large communal areas - ground floor dining room, with the kitchen quarters in immediate proximity, and in the asylums and poors-houses a recreation room above, one or other doubling-up as a chapel. These rooms were shared by the inmates of the wings, which extended out on each side to form the "cross-bar" of the "T."

In all three building-types the "cross-bar" frontage of accommodation wings represented the building's principal elevation, but there was a crucial distinction between poors-houses and hospitals on the one hand and asylums on the other. In the poors-houses and hospitals the wings flanked the main entrance in the central pavilion - the head of the "upright" - to present a long symmetrical frontage, usually open to public view (inverted "T"); in the asylums the accommodation wings were set well back, extending from the communal rooms to form a long frontage looking into private grounds. The kitchen-court formed the "upright," by-passed by corridor-links to the entrance hall and administrative offices in a small block forming the bottom serif (upright "T"), resulting in a more introspective, back-to-the-road arrangement. Since they were thus determined more by functional than architectural considerations, in the asylums' the central sections of the "uprights" were very broad to contain the whole of the service provision, which in the poors-houses was laid out within a low and narrow single-storey rear range, parallel with the main front.

The accommodation wings, which in the poors-houses and asylums usually had spinal corridors, might contain single bedrooms or dormitory-wards or both, and sometimes day-rooms. In the poors-houses some had school-rooms for children, whose accommodation was kept separate, even to the extent of having their own stairs. Supervision was usually provided from nurses' or attendants' rooms. Sometimes the arms terminated in small end-blocks, or from the mid 1860s ablution blocks, to produce serifed "T"-plans; in the larger institutions these end-blocks could result in "E"- or even "H"-plans. The wings and end-blocks often had their own entrances, which in the poors-houses and asylums allowed for further segregation of inmates into different classifications (doubtful, dissolute etc.), each with their own separate airing yards.

A further distinction of the poors-houses, and one peculiar to Scottish and Irish examples, was their provision of detached reception blocks with baths and probationary wards as a hygienic precaution against infection: in the earlier English and Welsh workhouses these tended to be accommodated within the central entrance block. The models for this more sensible arrangement were the work-houses designed for the Irish Poor Law Commissioners by George Wilkinson of Oxford, whose standard plan was published in 1839.

Although the poors-houses were laid out on inverted "T"-plans, usually presenting long formal entrance elevations to the road, they were more private, self-sufficient, railed- or walled-off worlds than the hospitals, separate from mainstream society. Where hospitals stood within extensive grounds, as in the case of Peddie & Kinnear's Corstorphine Convalescent House, these were attractively laid out and maintained as formal gardens by the staff for the pleasure of patients and visitors. The extensive grounds of the poors-houses and asylums were largely cultivated for crops by the inmates, but at the poors-houses the inner areas were high-walled airing yards segregated by gender and classification. These grounds helped them to blend into the broader landscape, but more importantly provided the inmates with useful work, and so with a degree of self-respect. Farm produce, and goods made in the workshops, were sold to help cover the establishments' running costs. The workshops and the laundry facilities were often separate buildings with their own associated dormitories for those who operated within them. Where poors-houses and asylums had their own hospitals or infirmaries these were also kept separate to minimise the risk of infection.

Very early on in his career Peddie became a specialist in such buildings, his main rival being William Burn's pupil William Lambie Moffat, who had gained relevant experience in England.

Poors-houses

As a building-type the Scottish poors-house, the equivalent of the English, Welsh and Irish work-houses, came into being with the Poor Law (Scotland) Amendment Act of 1845, eleven years after the English and Welsh Poor Law Amendment Act.

Prior to 1845, the Scottish Poor Law of 1579 had been administered by the Kirk Sessions and the heritors of each parish and funded by collections and assessments. It had operated mainly through outdoor relief, although a few of the larger burghs had either town's hospitals or endowed hospitals for those unable to care for themselves, and in some areas - 230 parishes by 1845 - it had become necessary to introduce poorrates.

The catalyst for change was the Disruption of 1843 which resulted in the Established Church being unable to carry the burden. A Royal Commission was appointed in 1844, and the Act followed less than twelve months later. It set up annually elected parish councils which either individually or in combination were charged with building and administering poors-houses under a central Board of Supervision. In its Second Annual Report (1847) the Board published a model plan. It was based partly on the alms-house-like buildings which George Gilbert Scott had introduced in England in the late 1830s, and partly on George Wilkinson's published plan of 1839, and specified long symmetrical two- or three-storey corridor-plan structures with gables and chimneystacks breaking the skyline. The scope for original design was limited and in many instances the competitions held by the parish councils were little more than a matter of fee-bidding. Nevertheless meeting the particular requirements of individual parish councils and in turn the Board could entail much adjustment, as is evident from the South Leith and Inveresk drawings, and from 1862, as a result of Lord Kinnoul's amendment to the Lunacy Act of 1857, the project could include an asylum wing in areas where the number of lunatics did not justify a separate institution.

South Leith Poors-house

Peddie's poors-house (with associated school-house, see Chapter 3) for the parish of South Leith was one of the earliest built in Scotland, and in the initial stages he may not have had the Board's model plan to guide him. Amongst the many drawings he prepared for it, two sets have been preserved fairly intact, Scheme II dated 29 December 1848 and Scheme A dated 1849.

These show a main elevation comprising three-storey accommodation wings flanking a relatively narrow four-storey gable-fronted administration block. This extended to the rear as a hall - dining room and chapel - in the "upright" of the "T." At the rear was a single-storey service and workshop wing, parallel with the main front and of almost the same length.

The design was simply proportioned and detailed with chamfered openings and raised quoins, but showed a great deal of effort in trying to achieve a building of some architectural quality within a very limited budget. The gable-fronted central entrance block represented in the Scheme II drawings was 30 feet broad (subsequently widened to 32 feet in Scheme A), 45 feet 6 inches in height to the eaves, and 62 feet in height to the pinnacled apex, implying a governing ratio of 2-to-3-to-4. Each of the flanking wings was two-and-a-half times the width of this central gable, 75 feet: the centre gable therefore accounted for one-sixth the total length of 180 feet. Reflecting the fact that these wings were three-storey rather than four, their eaves- and ridge-heights were almost exactly three-quarters the height of those of the centre gable, thus 34 feet and 44 feet 6 inches.

As first designed in 1848 the elevation was absolutely regular with raised quoins at the openings and at the angles. The square-headed door was closely flanked by the single windows of the master's and matron's rooms; above, the three windows at first floor lit the chaplain's room and the surgeon's room, and the three windows at second floor the nurses' dormitory, all similarly closely spaced; at third floor a pair of windows lit inmates' dormitories. In the 1849 scheme the windows were more widely spaced, the two-light attic window being framed by date panels with a circular quatrefoiled window and a bellcote instead of a pinnacle. The raised quoins were omitted.

In the flanking accommodation wings the windows were spaced out at wider intervals: five at each level, except at ground floor in the 1849 designs, as a consequence of their more sophisticated internal arrangements. The gablet dormerheads alternated with square-shafted stack in the 1848 scheme produced a very striking roof-line, but in the 1849 version the stacks were limited to the centre bays as a result of a reduction in the number of fireplaces.

In both schemes the wings had spine walls directing them into rooms lit from the front and rear. There were no corridors. In the 1848 scheme this resulted in very long narrow wards; within the left-hand male wing the rear ward at ground floor was reserved as a school-room, presumably for boys only, but all the others were used as dormitories-cum-day-rooms, with beds tightly spaced together and some containing more than one occupant. The master and matron had bedrooms linked to their offices within the wings at ground floor, opposite the stairs for close supervision.

Although the sheer numbers of people to be accommodated for very modest cost meant that bed-sharing was inevitable, the 1849 revision suggested major improvements. By accepting smaller, less institutional dormitories, space became available for a second stairway within each wing for convenience and safety, and school-rooms at the far ends now provided for the education of both boys and girls. These changes may reflect observations from the Board.

Peddie noted that:

"The rooms for the Inmates are occupied both as Dormitories and Day-rooms.

"The advantages of this mode of arrangement over that which is usual in England and that shewn on the plans of the Board of Supervision are:

"Ily That for the same amount of accommodation the cost is fully one fourth less.

"Illy That at any given moment each inmate has the use of an area greater by one half than afforded by the usual arrangement.

"For while the total space allowed for each inmate by the usual arrangement is greater by one fourth than that allowed by this arrangement, only one half of it is available by day and one half by night, as the dormitories and day-rooms are separate apartments. The amount of air allowed to each inmate becomes thus too small during night when a copious supply is most necessary.

"The presence of beds in the rooms is prevented being an inconvenience during the day by their being arranged along the ends and sides of the rooms opposite the windows and by their being made as is now frequent in England to fold up.

"The Board room, Pay rooms, Inspectors' rooms, stores and Probationary ward, are in the Lodge connected with the Poors house.

"In a very large house it would be well to make the classification more perfect by providing a third external door in each wing, and having a passage between the wards connecting the various parts of the house."

Clearly Peddie was none too impressed by the Board of Supervision's model plan and was suggesting radical changes for the future. He appears to have been allowed to build South Leith as planned, but the non-standard accommodation provided eventually led to the building of a new poors-house on another site in 1903-07, Peddie's being demolished in 1908.

Inveresk Union Poors-house and the Peebles Poors-house Competition Designs

Inveresk Union Poors-house: First Scheme, Designs of June 1853 and September 1860

The decision to establish the poors-house complex for Midlothian in Inveresk - "a pleasant, old-fashioned place, whose trees and gardens, last-century mansions, and more recent villas give it somewhat the aspect of a Thames-side village" - doubtless stemmed from its particularly healthy climate, which had long since earned it the sobriquet "The Montpelier of Scotland." The poors-house was discreetly sited down a lane and, in the first scheme, was designed to look like "a more recent villa" in the distant view.

Peddie issued his first designs on 13 June 1853. The building faced south and was approached from the back, its drive being guarded by a cottage-like reception lodge. This lodge was to contain a bathroom-cum-search room, pay room, board room and waiting shed, linked to an out-house containing male and female probationary wards

with airing yards and closets. The main building was to be largely concealed by its walled garden and high perimeter walls from both the village and the lane, but since the sloping site made it a prominent object in the landscape as seen from the south, its two-storey 77 feet 6 inch elevation was to be given a symmetrical neo-Jacobean appearance similar to that of Tor House at Murrayfield (see Chapter 11) with a five-bay elevation recessed between advanced curvilinear gables.

The three entrances in the central block expressed the segregation of the plan, which was symmetrical in layout: the main entrance, with segmentally-arched hoodmoulded transom-light, led through a short passage past master's and matron's rooms towards a transverse corridor and double-height dining room-cum-chapel; the male day-rooms and dormitories were entered through the doorway to the left, and females entered on the right. The bathroom was to be shared.

At the back the building was to be three full storeys in height to provide adequate lighting in the attic and avoid dormers on the front elevation. A link corridor was to lead from the dining room-cum-chapel to the 95 feet 9 inches long single-storey rear range, which was to contain, the usual workshop, oakum and refractory cell, scullery, kitchen, washing-house, drying room and laundry. Behind the rear range was to be a separate, single-storey "U"-plan block making pre-1857 Act provision for "idiots."

Nothing was built at the time, but seven years later Peddie was commissioned to provide revised designs for a larger site, these being dated September 1860. A completely new reception lodge, still cottage-like but now containing only porter's room, bathroom and board room, was to guard the access to a main poors-house building re-dressed in a simple symmetrical Scottish vernacular (akin to that of Tobermory Court-house, see Chapter 14) and laid out at a sharp angle to the gate at the lodge. The main building's central entrance was now square rather than segment-headed, but set in a lugged architrave; the advanced gable-fronts at the ends now had rounded angles, corbelled to the square just above first floor level, and crowstepped gables. A central wallhead gable and timber dormers replaced the attic skylights originally proposed. Notes on these plans indicated that the ground floor dormitories accommodated 13 males and 13 females, the first floor dormitories 29 males and 29 females, and the attic dormitories 10 of each - total, 104.

Peebles Poors-house Competition Designs

Shortly after preparing his 1853 designs for Inveresk Poors-house, Peddie entered a competition for that at Peebles with a similar set of plans, the only surviving elevation among which is the entrance front of the reception lodge. For identification he adopted the same red cruciform motif as for his Royal Arch and one of his Gilmorehill designs.

On the basis of his submission he was then invited to produce further designs - for which no elevation survives - for a much larger poors-house, these being signed and dated 12 March 1855. The drawings were endorsed on 17 May but in the event William Lambie Moffat received the commission, which departed from the standard inverted "T"-plan layout and substituted a simple rectangle with a central dining room.

In this second entry the two-storey main block was again articulated into a five-windows-wide centre section with projecting gables presenting a frontage of 101 feet 6 inches, much longer than that proposed at Inveresk, and lengthened still further to 148 feet 6 inches by recessed bays containing school-rooms.

Because of the greater length of the centre section than at Inveresk, and because no end entrances for male and female inmates were planned, each of the windows flanking the central doorway expressed a single room, to the left the matron's room and bedroom, to the right the master's. These were to be accessed from the spinal corridor extending through the building to the school-rooms. The projecting gables were again to contain the day-rooms lit by paired windows, but to the rear the dining room-cum-chapel was re-orientated at right-angles to protrude outwith the back elevation and could thus be lit through its flanks. This re-arrangement permitted flanking male and female stairs and a better disposition of the dormitories, accommodating 17 male and 17 female occupants at ground floor.

The end-bays were to contain segregated children's class-rooms and teacher's rooms. They were to have their own entrances and lavatory facilities, and their own stairs to first floor, which was to have two dormitories with a total of 37 beds on each side. There was to be only a small six-bed ward for adults at this level: given its immediate proximity to the surgeon's room and bathrooms, probably a sick-bay. The remainder of the adult sleeping accommodation was to be in the attic.

The single-storey rear block - 154 feet long, 22 feet deep - was to be linked by a short corridor flanked by the heating apparatus and coals. It was to contained the usual services, laundry, workshops, refractory cell and dead-house.

Inveresk Union Poors-house: Second (Executed) Scheme, December 1860

Although the Peebles commission was withdrawn, the second scheme had a considerable bearing on that executed in Inveresk.

In December 1860, three months after the Scottish vernacular re-styling of the original Jacobean proposals of 1853, Inveresk was re-planned in more sophisticated fashion. Although the entrance frontage was shorter than in previous schemes - a centre section three-windows-wide flanked by projecting gables, total length 70 feet 9 inches - the plan was bigger and more efficient. As in the second Peebles scheme there was now a single entrance hall and corridor leading through the building to the dining room-cum-chapel at the back, which was orientated parallel with the main front but projected from the rear elevation so that it could be lit from its flanks. Behind it were the kitchen and scullery. Flanking the corridor were top-lit male and female stairs giving access to the day-rooms in the gable-fronts and to the dormitories which were in an "L"-plan arrangement at the rear. At first floor the corresponding rooms were all dormitories, with a further dormitory over the dining hall at the back, and as at Peebles bathrooms were provided. There was no clearly defined provision for children.

As re-planned the two-storey main block was now 98 feet 9 inches wide. In style the elevations followed on closely from the Tobermory-like vernacular scheme of September, but the abandonment of attic use dispensed with the central wallhead gable, dormers and skylights of the earlier schemes, and the additional floor at the rear

elevation, thus simplifying the roof.

Stirling Combination Poors-house

Stirling was one of the very largest of the first generation poors-houses but the drawings are almost completely lost from the archive and the Board of Supervision set is also missing. The surviving sections and outline floor-plans are dated 29 August 1855. The building itself, latterly Orchard House, has been largely demolished.

The main building was of three storeys with advanced gable-fronted wings at the ends and set-back two storey wings, with a lower dining hall and chapel at the back in the usual "T"-plan arrangement. Although plain it had small-paned sash windows and an effective grouping of gables and big stacks.

Inside a central stair and male and female stairs in the wings led to corridors at each level. The accommodation consisted mainly of dormitories.

Copies reverse of the same date survive for the single-storey lunatic block at the rear, inverted "U"-plan with the usual symmetrical division of day-rooms and dormitories. Both buildings were opened in 1857.

Prestonkirk Poors-house, East Linton

Peddie & Kinnear designed Prestonkirk Poors-house in 1863. The drawings are still extant, but could not be made available during the period of this study. The building itself is under reconstruction as housing at the present time and could not be photographed.

Very unusually Prestonkirk Poors-house was Italianate. Small and simple, it was nevertheless a distinctive two-storey inverted "T"-plan design, built of red snecked rubble with white sandstone dressings. The main front was seven windows wide, the centre three being recessed and the pairs in the advanced end-blocks close-spaced. The ground floor openings were segmentally arched throughout; the roof was piended and low-pitched with a very effective disposition of stacks flanking the end-blocks.

The ancillary buildings have been demolished and the grounds developed.

St Cuthbert's Poors-house, Edinburgh

St Cuthbert's was the finest poors-house ever erected in Scotland. Its superior layout and architectural detailing arose from the well-funded circumstances of the commission.

It had its origin in St Cuthbert's Charity Work-house on the west side of Lothian Road, built in 1759-61, and known as St Cuthbert's Poors-house after the 1845 Act. This building was inadequate by 1834 and sales of land to the Caledonian Railway had resulted in a restricted site. By the early 1860s the St Cuthbert's Parochial Board was considering rebuilding, in part as a result of the report on Edinburgh's three poors-houses by Sir Henry Littlejohn, appointed the city's Chief Medical Officer in 1862. An acting committee of the Board met Peddie & Kinnear on 19 January 1866 to consider whether to rebuild on the same site, which was regarded - surprisingly - as being of "singular suitableness," or to find another site with a "freer and healthier exposure in a

rural district," as recommended by Littlejohn. The issue was decided for them by the Caledonian Railway, which gave notice that the whole of the site of the existing poorshouse would be required for further works. The Board petitioned against the Caledonian's bill in Parliament but negotiated a settlement, the land being valued at £115,000; compensation of a further £25,000 was offered, the final figure being eventually determined by a Parliamentary Committee in May 1868.

Although Sir Henry Littlejohn, backed by The Scotsman, had attempted to persuade the Board to combine with the city parishes to build a single poors-house for 1,500 inmates at Craiglockhart, it determined to build within its own parish. It rejected the land offered by the Caledonian Railway at Dalry and feued ten acres at Porterfield from the Fettes Trustees in 1866. Peddie & Kinnear surveyed the levels in October, and the eastern half of the site flanking the approach was laid out as a crescent and terraces of houses. No drawings survive in the archive for these, although the crescent was partly built.

Relatively few drawings for this project survive in the archive, but a more complete set for the executed buildings is preserved in the Scottish Record Office. The Lothian Road poors-house was surveyed for compensation purposes in April 1866 and the first proposals for a new building to accommodate 624 inmates, perhaps for the Dalry site, were produced in May. The main building followed the conventional "T"-plan layout, fronted by a separate single-storey porter's lodge and offices, and with an infirmary (see under Hospitals below) to the rear left, and a lunatic asylum on the rear right. The ground plan has been ripped in two and one half lost, but the men's accommodation was on the left and the women's on the right with the usual classifications of "aged," "decent," "doubtful" and "dissolute," together with school-rooms and day-rooms for boys and girls. The main building was to be of three storeys and is of interest as many of its details anticipated what was actually built. It consisted of a three-windows-wide central pavilion crowned by a flèche as proposed for Ayr, with male and female wings nine-windows-wide linking to end-pavilions two-windows-wide, the centre and endpavilions being distinguished by raised quoins and the ground floor windows by segment-heads. Again as in the final scheme there were doors in the centre of each wing. The infirmary and the asylum were two-storey with the same male and female divisions and were similar in architectural treatment, while the porter's lodge and offices were also of some architectural pretension with a central archway.

The drawings for the final scheme on the Craigleith site were issued in January and February 1867. Although the south-facing main building remained generally similar in layout to that in the May 1866 scheme, the layout of the remainder was radically different. The approach was now from the east by a 150 yard avenue from Granton Road (today Crewe Road). It was straddled by the porter's lodge - since demolished - a two-storey, three-bay segmentally-arched gatehouse flanked by admission wards, resulting in an impressive forebuilding with a frontage of 170 feet. It stood at right-angles to the main building rather than parallel to it as in the usual Board of Supervision arrangement. At the far end of the avenue was the "T"-plan infirmary, its central pavilion aggrandised to close the view on the west.

This scheme was approved by the Board of Supervision which authorised the Parochial Board to erect it at a cost of £34,534, the formal decision to build being taken on 25 June 1867. The main contractors were W. & A. Beattie for the masonry

(£21,004) and Bell Scott for the wright work (£7,371). The stone is reputed to have come from Craigleith Quarry nearby, although it is a rather softer and browner stone than that quarried in earlier decades; perhaps the best strata had been worked out. Surprisingly Peddie & Kinnear did not provide any information on the project to the architectural or building journals, the most informative contemporary account of the buildings being that in The Scotsman of 22 December 1868, the day after its opening.

In the proposals of January and February 1867 the scheme of May 1866 was considerably aggrandised. They appear to have taken account of features in the published designs for the smaller two-storey New Oxford Work-house designed by William Fisher of Stroud and published in February 1865. The central administrative pavilion was now a large five-bay block consisting of three bays of bipartite windows recessed between taller pavilions with "louvre" roofs, tripartite windows at first and second floor and paired, arched and keyblocked windows with segmental pediments at third floor. Between them was an open loggia porch of stilted segmental arches with a pierced guilloche parapet and a central arched panel recording Sir James Gardiner Baird as chairman and Peddie & Kinnear as architects. Behind the front roof the 18 feet square clock-tower rose to a height of 120 feet - considerably higher than its counterpart at Oxford - its profile modelled on the earlier schemes for that at Lathallan (see Chapter 16).

The flanking male and female wings were of nine bays with segmentally-arched ground floor windows as in the May 1866 scheme, but their central bays were now advanced with tall arched staircase windows of two lights and small "louvre" roofs. These bays contained staircases both to the front and the rear of the spinal corridor as in Fisher's New Oxford Work-house. The end-pavilions now had three-light rectangular bays rather than the paired windows of the May scheme, and again had "louvre" roofs, but these were built over when John Bryce was called in to extend the building into an "H"-plan in 1880. The poors-house had a higher number of female inmates than males, this being resolved by making the east pavilion part of a symmetrical eleven-bay east wing facing the approach avenue, its central feature being a stair-hall similar to those on the main front. Throughout the design the divisions were marked by channelled pilasters rather than the raised quoins of the earlier scheme, with ball-finials at the angles of the pavilions and at the apices of their lead roofs. The treatment of the angles at the tower was simpler, but it had a strong bracket-cornice and more elaborate finials.

Behind the main staircase in the central administration block was the six-bay dining hall, 54 feet by 38, and the kitchen, 30 feet by 20, flanked by airing courts for the depraved. Those classified decent and infirm had greater liberty to enjoy the gravel walks and grassed plots.

The rear range contained workshops for tailors, shoe-makers, wrights, smiths etc. on the west and laundry on the east.

Peddie & Kinnear's design conformed to a general trend towards larger towered institutions on both sides of the Border, beginning with Perkin & Backhouse's Leeds Union Work-house of 1858-60 which they may have looked at, since it has the same two-light window with circled tracery as seen at St Cuthbert's. In Scotland James Thomson's Govan Combination Poors-house of 1862-67 was very similar to St Cuthbert's in profile but inferior in detail, with a tower more closely modelled on Fisher's at Oxford, while at Craiglockhart George Beattie & Son won the Edinburgh parishes' competition with an austere Scottish baronial design in 1867. This had a central tower as at St Cuthbert's and Govan, but a much greater degree of classification and segregation was achieved by dividing the building into five blocks linked by corridors.

Asylums

Peddie & Kinnear built two asylums, Haddington in 1860 and Cupar in 1863, and extended a third, David Cousin's pioneer Lochgilphead, in 1879. But they were invited to compete for at least two more, Inverness in 1859 and Ayr in 1864, their designs for which were rather more architectural.

The surge in asylum building from 1860 onwards was a direct consequence of the Lunacy (Scotland) Act of 1857 which set up a central supervisory Board of Lunacy and divided Scotland into administrative districts, each with its own lunacy boards. These boar

As described in the general introduction the asylums were upright "T"-plans with the reception block in the bottom serif, but they had a more sophisticated classification of the inmates and a much higher provision of single rooms than the early poors-houses.

The Inverness District Asylum Competition Designs

The designs which the practice submitted in the limited competition for Inverness District Asylum in 1859 represent their first essay in the Franco-Scottish style (see Chapter 14). A great deal of effort was put into winning, their submission comprising at least five different schemes of which A, D and E survive, all with layouts based on the recommendations of the central Board.

Most of the drawings relate to Scheme A. This could be laid out either on a "T"-plan, with a central northern entrance block - flanked by pavilions - leading to a central dining hall, and identical accommodation wings which formed a southern main frontage of 669 feet length; or, on an "E"-plan, in which the wings extended for 473 feet before returning back to link with the pavilions to create twin courtyards. Scheme E, for which no elevation survives, was similar to Scheme A; Scheme D, for which there is a

neat pencil sketch elevation, showed the asylum laid out in a number of smaller blocks, the largest again "T"-plan, but with a main elevation of only 270 feet, and flanking blocks each of 175 feet length.

The drawings for the tripartite front of the northern entrance block have not survived, though the eastern elevation is shown. The plans in Scheme A show that its centre bay was to contain a very modest entrance hall flanked by a porters' room and a clerks' room or ante-room, with the board room and the visiting room lit by large canted bays at the projecting end-blocks. A transverse corridor running behind these rooms was to lead to open passages which would extend southward down each flank, enclosing the kitchen-courtyard, to directly connect with the dining hall block and the accommodation wings: a staff-efficient arrangement whereby all of the inmates, even if bed-ridden, would have received their food reasonably hot. At 42 feet broad by 60 feet deep, the dining hall was to have been large enough to cater for all of the 200 inmates within each wing at a single sitting.

A note on the plans indicates that the inmates' accommodation was "arranged for seven-fold classyfication [sic] of each sex, one being in the work-places." The great length of the wings allowed twenty-two single bedrooms - besides a six-bed dormitory - on each side at ground floor level; twenty-three or twenty-seven at first floor, depending on whether the "T"- or "E"-plan were adopted; and fourteen or fifteen at second floor, where there were to have been eight wards.

The majority of the single bedrooms were north-facing, but most of the dormitories were in pavilions along the main south front, linked by the spinal corridors. While the separate male workshop block and corresponding female laundry block with their own inmates' accommodation were identified on the plans, the six other classifications and the rooms given over to them were not: however, two groups were probably accommodated on each storey, with the glazed doors at ground floor and first floor marking the divisions between them.

Arranging the larger rooms - day-rooms on ground and first floors, and dormitories on second floor - within the projecting pavilions was to have introduced a lively variety of architectural incident throughout its 669 feet length. The central pavilion was to be very tall two-storey with the dining room on the ground floor and recreation hall-cumlibrary above. It was to have been essentially a square-based composition, 66 feet 6 inches long with splayed angles, and 64 feet 6 inches to the ridge of its French roof, its proportions emphasised by the tall elegant stacks which were to have flanked it. At its centre a broad mullioned and transomed bay of no fewer than nine lights was to have been progressively corbelled out to a still taller French roof, punctuated by the crowstepped dormerhead gable of the recreation hall.

Since they expressed three lower storeys, the windows in the wings were to have been smaller and untransomed. They were to be regular in arrangement, which together with the regular spacing and bold and varied projection of the pavilions with tall roofs and stacks, was the key to breaking up its great length while still maintaining a unified composition. The design of these pavilions - three along each wing of the main front if the 473 feet span of the "E"-format were preferred, four if the longer 669 feet of the "T" were selected - was based on a gable-front of 26 feet length, rising at the wallhead into a French roof of 60 feet height, and flanked - or not - by either one or two very

French-looking towerlets with octagonal spirelets. The pavilions first and third from the centre block - the latter at the end of the "E"-plan arms - were to have contained day-rooms on the lower two storeys, and dormitories on the top storey (all 33' \times 20'6), their flanking towerlets containing lavatories and attendants' rooms. The pavilions at the far ends of the "T"-plan arms were also to contain day-rooms and dormitories (again 33' \times 20'6). They too had flanking towerlets, providing attendants' rooms and bathrooms at each level. The pavilions second from the centre block in each wing had a much shallower sub-centre projection as they contained only bedrooms and had neither canted bays nor flanking turrets.

The elevation only, not the plans, shows ventilator towers rising up on the entrance block side behind the third pavilion from the centre within each wing. These towers were to have been 15 feet broad with corbelled ventilator stages and double-stage French pavilion roofs 106 feet 6 inches in height, their profile anticipating the final form of those at Morgan's Hospital.

In architectural if not practical terms Inverness was a brilliantly imaginative design which, had it been built, would have been the finest hospital building of its generation in Scotland, and indeed one of the very finest in Britain.

In the event the competition was won by James Matthews with a simpler and more compact twin-towered design.

Haddington District Asylum

On 30 April 1860 designs were issued for Haddington District Asylum. The plans survive, the elevations and sections are lost, the buildings themselves (as extended with a larger dining hall by Sydney Mitchell) are still in use, but as a general hospital.

The Haddington drawings represent an asylum much more conventional in its extent than the gargantuan Inverness proposals, although the planning of the entrance block, kitchen-court, and symmetrically disposed laundry and workshop blocks, together with the linking screen-walls, was all very nearly identical. The wings were two storeys in height (a third storey was optional, but not implemented), and plain gothic rather than Franco-Scottish in style, but built in the local sandstone - a beautiful russet colour - with white sandstone dressings. It was arranged on the standard plan, inverted serifed "T," with the central entrance block on the north, the kitchen-court and flanking passageways in the middle and the male and female wings extending out from the large communal rooms on the south to form a long symmetrical elevation with advanced wings to the south. In execution the design of the entrance block was simplified, the canted bays being omitted.

In Plan A the ground floor dining room and recreation hall and first floor library and chapel were lit by a canted bay framed by single windows, in Plan B they were arranged longitudinally as at Inverness and were rather larger, lit by a broader canted bay flanked by paired windows. In execution Plan B was preferred but the canted bay was omitted and the fenestration generally simplified so that (before Sydney Mitchell's intervention) there were just three windows at each level with shallow gothic-arched heads, those on the upper floor rising through the eaves into dormer gablets. Breadth at 34 feet was almost equal to height at 36 feet, suggesting a square framework, and the roof-ridge

was crowned by a ventilator flèche, since eliminated. Flanking them were projecting gabled bays which contained day-rooms at ground floor and matron's and superintendent's rooms at upper floor, each lit by paired windows.

The planning of the accommodation wings was much more compact than at Inverness. Wide corridors gave access to single bedrooms, which in Plan A faced south to the rear and in Plan B north to the front. In Plan A the wings had lavatory outshots to the rear half-way along the corridors; in Plan B open passages ran across the full span of the north side, shading the windows of the inmates' bedrooms, but effectively extending the centre block passageway so that it was easy to get around the building under shelter but cause minimum disturbance. The arms of the "T" ended in "serif" end-blocks containing day-rooms, single bedrooms, attendant's rooms, lavatories and sculleries.

The windows of the wings and end-blocks followed the square-headed small-paned pattern of the centrepiece's projecting bays, including their pronounced cills, arranged individually in a regular grid with intervals for the flues of the central buttressed wallhead stacks. The gables of the end-blocks, however, had paired windows answering the projecting gabled bays of the central pavilion. In both Plan A and Plan B the breadths of the centrepiece and end-block gables were almost identical; similarly the breadths of the dining room-chapel frontage and the wings were almost identical, resulting in the south elevation forming a spacious, well-proportioned, if simple, "U"-plan composition. Uniquely in Peddie & Kinnear's asylums, the depth of the central service block was equal to the length of the accommodation wings and end-blocks. The design of the building as a whole was thus laid out within a very precise length-to-depth ratio of 2-to-1.

Plan A provided 18 single bedrooms at ground floor, 12 at first floor, and accommodation for 32 more inmates if the option of an additional second floor were specified - thus, for 30 in two-storey form, and 62 in three-storey form. The larger Plan B offered 16 single bedrooms at ground floor, and 12 single bedrooms plus provision of 28 beds in dormitories at first floor, total 56, in two-storey form; or, 16 single ground floor bedrooms, 12 first floor bedrooms plus 12 dormitory beds, and 50 second floor dormitory beds in three-storey form, total 90. An alternative rider increased this to 94. A further 24 inmates could live in the workshop and washinghouse block, and notes on Plan B even made mention of a further 50 inmates accommodated in cottages, although these were not built.

Fife & Kinross District Asylum and the Competition Design for the Ayrshire Lunatic Asylum

Peddie & Kinnear were commissioned to build the Fife & Kinross District Asylum at Stratheden by the local lunacy board in 1861, probably as a result of Kinnear family connections, but work was delayed by Lord Kinnoul's bill to amend the 1857 Lunacy (Scotland) Act. Kinnoul took a personal interest in the project, urging the board not to proceed until his bill became law, but at a meeting in February 1863:

"sketchings of the plan for a proposed asylum were laid upon the table, containing alterations and modifications in accordance with suggestions thrown out at the last meeting of the Board ... Dr Watson Wemyss of Denbrae thought the plans were much

improved, and that as they were now suitable and efficient as well as economical the Board should now be satisfied with them. He moved that the Board should adopt plan no 6, elevation "A" being a building of two storeys with gabled ends and containing 250 beds.

The working drawings issued in the following month survive, the elevations being a very early instance in the use of tracing paper. The general layout of the complex was similar to that of Haddington, with the same arrangement of forecourt, screen-walls, laundry and workshops. The entrance block was on the north as at Haddington and provided the same accommodation, but it was considerably larger, having advanced end-pavilions containing residences for the matron on the west and the assistant surgeon on the east, all plain two-storey with dormerheads and a round-arched main entrance. Behind it was the kitchen-court, wider than at Haddington but not as deep, probably to reduce the walking distances in the open passages which flanked it. The passages made connection with the main building which had a frontage of 410 feet and was more complex on plan than Haddington. The central block followed the same arrangement of ground floor dining room and first floor library flanked by gable-fronted wings containing ground floor day-rooms and dormitories above, but at Stratheden these had attics with gablet dormerheads on the flanks. The inmates were accommodated within the arms of the "T," with the infirmary and refractory wards in the 115 feet long "H"plan serifs. As at Haddington, the accommodation wings had north corridors and south-facing rooms, but their planning differed in having central square-based doublegabled pavilions, a concept derived from Inverness in a much simplified form. These provided additional day-rooms at ground floor with bathrooms on the north side of the corridor - as at Haddington - and dormitories above.

The architectural treatment was even simpler than at Haddington with minimal Italianate details. The dining room-library block had a three-bay centre with two-light windows, those at first floor being segment-headed with an over-arch - poor relations of the round-arched ones at the Corstorphine Convalescent House (see below). The gabled outer bays had tripartite windows with plain keyblocked Serliana at the attics. The double-gabled pavilions had two-light windows with segment-headed windows at first floor, revised to the same over-arched pattern as those of the central block in execution. The three-bay end-elevations of the refractory and infirmary wings had wallhead gables again with segment-headed first floor windows. To the east and west these end-blocks had near-symmetrical "U"-plan frontages focused on gabled staircase bays.

As drawn the buildings were to be broad-eaved with barge-couples which would have given it a more Italianate and much less severe appearance, but in execution the board appears to have insisted on nothing more than rhone pipes to reduce the cost of painting.

The building still exists, but as a result of later developments now forms the north side of an open court. The elevation of the dining room-library block has been overlaid with escape stairs, and the roof-line has lost its chimneys, making it difficult to appreciate the merits of the original design.

The foundation stone was laid in August 1864 with a Mr Thomson as the practice's inspector, the £14,055 contract being mainly secured by Cupar tradesmen, Wallace for the masonwork and Adam for the joinerwork. The loss at sea of the iron (French?) beams for the dining room and library delayed completion, but following inspection by two of the Commissioners, Sir John Wauchope and Dr W.A.F. Browne, it finally opened on 4 July 1866 with 200 patients rather than 250.Two detached blocks to the west were added in 1869 and 1879, with further additions in 1888 and 1891.

Very similar in plan to Stratheden was the design submitted for the Ayrshire Lunatic Asylum, which was probably adapted from the more expensive schemes for the earlier building referred to in the board minutes, although in this instance a sketch scheme has survived. The drawings were issued on 28 December 1864. Their presentation - delineated in black ink rather than brown tint - and the elevations - in neutral wash - was not usual office custom, suggesting they were produced in compliance with competition regulations, but they were signed and addressed from South Charlotte Street. No pseudonym or competition motif was required, which may help explain why the local architect William Railton was successful, although the much smaller executed building does not relate to his still-extant competition drawings.

The scheme for Ayr was slightly smaller than that for Stratheden with a main frontage of 377 feet and end-blocks of 108 feet 6 inches, although provision was made for its extension to 548 feet should that be required. The elevations were almost identical to those of Stratheden in arrangement but were designed in a simple, faintly Jacobean, style, having points in common with the Franco-Scottish scheme for Inverness. Two different designs were provided for the two-storey entrance block: one simple and symmetrical with a recessed centre, the windows of the first floor breaking through the eaves under dormer gablets; the other on the rider a little broader (101' as against 93'). It was to have been generally symmetrical and to have had a projecting central entrance bay - with a hoodmoulded segment-headed doorway - and end pavilions containing staff residences at the ends. These were to have been different in composition, that on the right being a villa with linked asymmetrical gables on the same plane, a familiar Peddie & Kinnear device.

The main front was to have been almost identical to that of Stratheden in the disposition of the windows in the day-room pavilions and the end-blocks, but the treatment of the central block containing the dining hall and library-cum-chapel was much grander. As at Inverness, these rooms were to be lit by large mullioned and transomed windows, here three-light; being double-height, those of the library broke up through the wallhead into a gable with a square clock-face. Above it was to be a lucarned prismatic roof truncated by a louvred cupola. As at Stratheden the gable-fronts flanking them were to be three-storey, since they were to contain inmates' accommodation. They had smaller windows like those of the wings, four windows arranged 1-2-1 lighting each of the day-rooms, and triple-lights each of the dormitories and clothes rooms above.

Hospitals

Peddie & Kinnear's hospitals were all medium-sized buildings similar in scale to the smaller County Infirmaries, John Starforth's Dumfries & Galloway Royal Infirmary of 1869 being related in plan to their Corstorphine Convalescent House. All show an acute awareness of contemporary developments in hospital design in England.

Chalmers' Hospital, Edinburgh

The plumber George Chalmers (1773-1836) left the residue of his estate, some £27,000, to the Dean and Faculty of Advocates to build and endow a "New Infirmary or Sick and Hurt Hospital," half the beds to be for non-paying patients. The funds were allowed to accumulate and reached £70,000 by 1854, when the Faculty felt it had enough in hand to purchase Lauriston House and its seven-and-a-half acres of land for the hospital. The land not required was developed as Chalmers Street in association with the Peddie family (see Chapter 5).

Presentation sketch plans for the new hospital were issued in August 1855. These appear to have been designed with the aim of providing the maximum number of beds within well-lit wards for a cost which would leave sufficient endowment. As a result they were compromised, although in their outlines they influenced what was built. They proposed a hospital laid out on a symmetrical "E"-plan with identical provision for males and females over three storeys, evidently - despite the drawing titles - basement floor, ground floor and upper floor. The projecting central pavilion rose an

additional storey, being three windows above ground, and 41 feet broad: the wings were each five windows and 63 feet 6 inches broad, forming for a symmetrical north-facing principal frontage to Lauriston Place which was 168 feet in length. The two large ward-block pavilions at the ends, extending southwards at right-angles to the main front, were 36 feet 6 inches broad and 52 feet deep. A corridor ran round the back of the building, with large staircases, bathrooms and lavatories in the re-entrant angles. At basement level a spinal corridor could be accessed directly from either end by doorways in the gables, reflecting the sharp drop in the level of the site. Such an arrangement allowed separate access to a well-lit operating theatre and associated small recovery ward, the surgeon's rooms being nearby. This separation from the wards minimised the risk of infection, but the proximity of the kitchen and ancillaries within the central pavilion nearby may have given cause for concern. The servants had their quarters in the western wing and entered from its gable.

Riders suggested that if a central stair were required it should rise between ground floor and first floor within the centre block's rear outshot, in lieu of the porters' room, bathroom and nurses' room. They also offered the options of the five-bed wards immediately flanking the central pavilion being replaced by a committee room and a physician's laboratory, and of replacing the first floor committee and clerk's rooms within the centre pavilion by a single eight-bed ward. The total number of beds available in the hospital thus ranged between 88 in ten wards - including the recovery ward - and 101 in twelve wards.

The Contract Scheme, May 1861

The contract scheme for Chalmers' Hospital was smaller and provided fewer beds, but it was much better planned as Nightingale ward-blocks separated by the hospital's administration and surgeries. This type of arrangement had been developed by the hospital specialist Charles Fowler at the much larger New London Fever Hospital at Islington in 1848,and a compact version similar in general arrangement to Peddie's scheme was built at Birkenhead to the designs of Walter Scott in 1861-63.Both Peddie's and Scott's hospitals were laid out in an "E"-plan over basement, ground and upper floors, with the ground floor main entrance in the projecting central pavilion; this plan was also adopted in France, notably at the Pasteur Pavilion at the Hospital Cochin.However, the entrance elevation was now just 146 feet 6 inches long (21 feet 6 inches shorter than in the sketch plans) and articulated into a symmetrical stepped composition of five bays all in a simple Italianate style with Ruskinian details - centre and end pavilions with low-pitched roofs on timber-bracketed eaves framed by tall gable stacks, linked together by lower single-storey blocks with flat roofs to minimise cross-infection.

The central block was cubic beneath its eaves, 38 feet 6 inches broad by 38 feet 6 inches high by 38 feet 6 inches deep. The end-blocks were to be just 32 feet 6 inches broad apiece - and 20 feet 6 inches above entrance level - but their eaves and roof-ridges were just slightly lower than those of the centre pavilion's. Like the centre pavilion they were to have had three windows at each level. They were to be 26 feet deep, with the ward-blocks extending behind them.

The ground floor windows were to be square-headed and stop-chamfered; the upper floor windows were to be segmentally-arched, again with stop-chamfers, the middle first floor window in the central pavilion being two-light with a central colonette. The main doorway was to have had a segment-headed transom-light sheltered by a segmental hood on console-brackets, an arrangement reminiscent of the doorpiece at the Royal Bank, Drymen (1859, see Chapter 20); indeed, the central pavilion as a whole looked like one of their smaller bank-houses. Colonettes with twisted shafts and sculptured capitals were set into the angles of the centre pavilion at ground floor and upper floor. The linking sections were to have tripartite windows at principal floor level and pierced parapets with urns, their coping continuous with the string-course at first floor cill level. The and the angles of the end-blocks were stop-chamfered like the window surrounds, a treatment which was continued even at the chimney-stacks.

Within the building the basement was to be split between patient care - a day-room in the west wing, and a bathroom in the centre block - and kitchen and laundry in the east wing. All surgical and medical provision was to be accommodated on the ground and first floors: house surgeon's rooms, surgery and laboratory at entrance level, with waiting room and porter's room to the rear, and board room and matron's rooms at first floor. The patient accommodation was to consist of four large Nightingale wards, one on each floor within each end-pavilion. Each was to be lit by ten large windows and heated by two fireplaces, the fireplaces being arranged under the windows to maximise bed spaces. Together the wards could accommodate about forty patients.

The Executed Scheme

After the contracts were let, the hospital was again re-designed as a three-storey central pavilion, 40 feet by 38 feet, flanked by two-storey ward-blocks 82 feet long, resulting in a total frontage of 202 feet. No drawings for the executed scheme exist in the archive and it is not clear why the changes were made, but they were foreshadowed in the similarly-planned Cancer Hospital at Brompton, the arrangement of which was severely criticised in The Builder in April 1860. The Brompton Hospital was in turn very similar in arrangement to the earlier Metropolitan Convalescent Institution at Walton-on-Thames, designed by Joseph Clarke in 1852-54. The type was apparently widely adopted for smaller hospitals in France, being illustrated in Guadet's Elements et Théorie.

The re-designed elevation was richer in detail than the contract scheme. At the central pavilion the first and second floor windows were now in tall segmentally-arched recesses with shouldered windows at first floor level and two-light segmentally-arched windows at second floor level, the spandrels between them being sculptured. The ward-blocks were seven windows long, punctuated by triple-shafted wallhead stacks at the centre bays.

The structure was of polished ashlar throughout "so as to secure it [the hospital] externally from any impurities which might attach to it - all the latest improvements of modern London and Parisian hospitals."It was beautifully executed by W. & D. MacGregor under the supervision of T.B. MacFadzean as inspector. The patient accommodation now extended to forty-eight beds, and that the ward-blocks had beneath them "a large open space ... with a free current of air through it so as to secure the utmost possible dryness in the wards." The wards themselves were 54 feet long, 25 feet wide (as recommended by the Royal Commission on Barracks & Hospitals) and 16 feet high, and had floors of polished oak and skirtings of Parian cement to further

minimise the risk of infection.

The hospital cost £70,000 and was opened in February 1864.

Corstorphine Convalescent House (Edinburgh Royal Infirmary)

In the summer of 1864 William Seton Brown anonymously proposed the Corstorphine Convalescent House with the offer of the necessary funding. The designs for the main building were issued in July 1865 and those for the lodge in July 1866. In general arrangement Corstorphine followed Chalmers', the type being especially suitable for hospitals and convalescent houses which needed only modest provision of surgical and medical facilities in relation to their size.

The Corstorphine Convalescent House was designed on a grander scale than Chalmers' Hospital with a £9,000 rather than a £7,000 budget. It was slightly richer in the Italianate style of its elevations. The three-storey central block was three two-light windows wide at ground floor and first floor and was flanked by ward-block wings five windows wide. These had slim angle pavilions at the far corners containing the ablutions. This type of arrangement seems to have had its origin in the military hospitals: it was recommended by the Royal Commission on Barracks & Hospitals whose plans were published in The Building News in December 1861 (too late to be of any help at Chalmers' Hospital) and in The Builder in 1862. It is possible that Peddie & Kinnear were also aware of David Brandon's Buckinghamshire Hospital, Aylesbury (1861-62), perhaps the first to implement this in a civil hospital, although its plans do not seem to have been published in the architectural journals at the time.

The central block at Corstorphine was not as cubical as that at Chalmers' had been, but having no basement it had to be larger, its length being 48 feet compared with Chalmers' 38 feet 6 inches and its depth 44 feet. The ward-block wings were 68 feet 6 inches in length and 29 feet in depth, the depth being based on the ward dimensions recommended by the Commission. The end-pavilions were almost square-based, 14 feet broad by 12 feet 6 inches deep, and in executed form rose to 48 feet in height, equal to the length of the central block. Total length was thus 213 feet, much longer than the frontages of either of the Chalmers' Hospital schemes. A single-storey annexe in the form of a "T" projected from the rear elevation to accommodate the services.

The central pavilion was simplified in execution. As proposed in July 1865 it was to have had an arched and consoled doorpiece flanked by architraved windows and arched two-light windows at first floor, reminiscent of those at Taypark (see Chapter 18) of the same year but with colonettes instead of mullions. The attic was to have had oblong two-light windows with panels between them as at the University Club (see Chapter 22), the channelled angle-pilasters were to have risen into Barryesque angle-stacks, and the roof was to have had a guilloche belvedere platform with urns. In execution the attic panels, angle-stacks and belvedere platform had to be omitted, slightly reducing the quality of the design. The ward-blocks were also rather more elaborate than those at Chalmers'. The windows were architraved, those at first floor being round-arched with keyblocks, and the wallhead stacks - here with two shafts rather than three - were arch-linked. The ablution pavilions were pilastered to answer the central pavilion and rose into truncated pyramid roofs with square-domed ventilators, also simplified in execution.

The planning of the interior was also rather more sophisticated than at Chalmers'. The entrance hall had two inner doors, that on the left for gentlemen and that on the right for ladies, the spinal corridor behind them having a door at the division wall between the identical staircases at the back of the building. To the right of the hall were the surgeon's office and bedroom, to the left a bye-ward and store; the surgeon's laboratory and further bye-wards occupied the adjacent parts of each wing. The same strict segregation was maintained at first floor in the bye-wards with their respective bathrooms, the matron's parlour and bedroom also being at this level on the female side. Servants' rooms occupied the low second floor, accessed by the right-hand (ladies') staircase.

The wings accommodated day wards on the lower level with under-floor heating supplementing the fireplaces, and dormitory wards upstairs with fireplaces only, the male side containing sixteen beds and the female side fourteen. Each was provided with water-closet and lavatory in its rear corner pavilion; the front pavilions provided porches at ground floor and bathrooms above. As at Chalmers' the dormitory wards had nurses' rooms at the ends nearest the central block, so corresponding to Florence Nightingale's recommendations.

Within the single-storey "T"-plan annexe at the rear, a dining hall catered for both ladies and gentlemen, though perhaps not together given its modest size. Meals were served quickly and hot through a hatch from the kitchen beyond. Nearby were a small cook's room, scullery, crockery and boiler room. Further kitchen ancillaries, together with combined washing-house, drying closet and laundry, were contained in the transverse rear wing which was parallel with the main block, as in the poors-houses.

As at Chalmers' Hospital, the masonry was the work of W. & D. MacGregor. The building was enlarged in 1891 when the central porch, the east and west wings and the verandahs were added.

St Cuthbert's Poors-house: the Infirmary

Three sets of drawings exist relating to the infirmary at St Cuthbert's Poors-house: one in a single presentation sheet with ground, first, second and third floor plans and a pen, pencil and wash perspective; the second and third, both dated January 1867, give only plans, end-elevation and section.

All three schemes show an inverted "T"-plan building on the model of the Corstorphine Convalescent House, but with a basement as at Chalmers' Hospital, and an additional ward-block rear wing for males since children's wards had to be provided. The elevations were in a simple Second Empire style with "louvre" roofs to match the main poors-house building, but the detail was otherwise similar to that of Corstorphine, particularly at the channelled pilaster angles of the central pavilion and the ablution pavilions at the end of the wards. The central pavilion had two-light windows, but the architraves were plainer than at Corstorphine and only the central second floor window was arched, the bracket main cornice rising over it in a pediment panel. The windows of the ward-blocks were again simpler than those at Corstorphine, segment-headed at ground floor and square-headed at first floor.

The Longmore Hospital for Incurables, Salisbury Place, Edinburgh

The Edinburgh Association for Incurables was founded in 1874 and opened a temporary hospital in 1875. When it began raising funds for a permanent hospital, the trustees of J.A. Longmore offered £10,000 towards the building fund and an annual payment towards the running costs, the balance being met by paying patients and voluntary subscriptions. The commission probably came to Peddie & Kinnear because of their considerable experience in building hospitals of the required size.

Amongst the numerous drawings in the archive, mostly for later additions, floor plans and a copy reverse of the main elevation dated July 1878 survive to show the hospital as originally built in 1878-80. Like Peddie & Kinnear's predecessor hospitals, it was designed in the form of a serifed "T," the three-storey main block flanked by two-storey ward-blocks forming the "bar," the nurses' dining room and the kitchen the "stalk," and the scullery, larders, coals and laundry the base serif, parallel with the main building as at Corstorphine. The brief was more complex than for any of the earlier hospitals, resulting in the main block being much larger and the ward-blocks relatively short. The architecture also differed in being of the same Alexander Thomson, James Sellars and H. & D. Barclay-influenced school as the exactly contemporary Craiglockhart Hydropathic (see Chapter 30).

The main block was twelve bays wide, the three end-bays on each side being advanced, resulting in a six-bay centre with a porch beneath the two middle windows. The ground floor was very simply treated, but the advanced entrance was monumental with Doric pilasters and a balustraded parapet, the tripartite transom-light doorway being deeply recessed for shelter as at Kirkcudbright Town Hall (see Chapter 26). At first floor the central section had five columns in antis and the end-pavilions were distyle in antis columns, plain Roman Doric as at Craiglockhart despite the overall neo-Greek character of the design. The end-pavilions had cantilevered balconies at this level to enable patients in the day-rooms to take the air. Above at second floor was a low attic, slightly taller at the end-pavilions which were punctuated by angle-stacks. Its square and oblong windows had the familiar panelled attic frieze treatment. Above the main block's middle pair of windows there was a pedimented inscription panel set in paired balusters. The recessed ward-blocks were four windows wide with Sellars-like pilastrades at the upper floors.

The interior had the same rigid segregation as at Corstorphine. The entrance hall had two inner doors, that on the left for females, that on the right for males. A central division wall with a single door at each level on the axis of the spinal corridors split the building into two near-identical halves, each with its own large stairwell, the only asymmetry being at the front on the ground floor where the matron's apartments occupied the whole of the left-hand side and paying patients the whole of the right-hand side; the rear half contained the nurses' rooms and lavatories. At first floor the central division had two large rooms for paying patients and matching day-rooms at the front, and the same arrangement of nurses' rooms and lavatories at the back. On both floors each ward accommodated ten beds. The low top floor contained staff accommodation only.

The plan is of some interest in that it shows that the lavatory and bathroom towers regarded as such an innovation in the Nightingale hospitals of the 1860s had been given up. The inconvenience of the segregated plan resulted in the twin staircases being demolished less than twenty years later but the present single large stair still has the twin cupola lights of the original stairs.

Public Building Designs of the 1870s

Although Aberdeen Public Buildings had been built without any mishap and had formed the model for a considerable number of similar projects, none of these was secured by Peddie & Kinnear. This was largely due to the spread of the open competition system, which they seem to have avoided as a matter of principle following the Wallace Monument fiasco, and because of the heavy demands such competitions made on office time with no great prospect of success. Apart from the reconstruction of the Commercial Bank at Stirling as Stirling Infirmary (1874), the Longmore Hospital (see Chapter 25), an additional block at the asylum at Lochgilphead (1879), and completing, altering or extending buildings they had designed earlier, they received only one significant public commission in the 1870s and only one invitation, so far as is known, to enter a limited competition.

The Competition for the Edinburgh University Medical School

In 1871 the University of Edinburgh bought the tenements on Teviot Place to provide the site for a new Medical School. Although the Building Committee stated that it was "desirous of seeing due attention to style [but] discouraged elaborate ornamentation," the School was probably intended from the very beginning to be a project which would maintain the University's status in the face of George Gilbert Scott's very up-to-date buildings at Glasgow. Six architects were invited, Bryce (who declined), Maitland Wardrop, Peddie & Kinnear, Rowand Anderson, John Lessels and David Cousin; but since Cousin was in poor health, he threw in his lot with Lessels. The submission date was 1 November 1874, extended to 1 January 1875. Peddie & Kinnear's surviving drawings are dated 31 December, the eve of the deadline.

While both partners travelled extensively, it may be doubted if either had the time in the autumn and winter of 1874 to undertake anything remotely like the study-tour pursued by Anderson, the winner of the competition. Their scheme sited the College Hall at the north-eastern corner as Anderson's did, but their hall was a simple Leipzig-type galleried concert room with a large apse. Both the elevation to Teviot Place and the single great court were absolutely symmetrical with the Museum Hall orientated north-south, rather than east-west as in Anderson's scheme. On the Meadow Walk side their scheme had one long straight elevation, symmetrical only at the centre; this layout resulted in some triangular spaces which would have been of limited usefulness where the buildings on the Walk converged with those on the west side of the court.

From The Builder of 23 January 1875 we learn that Peddie & Kinnear submitted two schemes, one classical and one gothic. All that remains in the archive of this submission are the presentation floor plans drawn in black ink, which may have been common to both schemes. The College Hall was to have had a seven-bay north elevation of two-light windows, whether gothic or Early Italian Renaissance is not clear: the circular columns suggest the latter, but the title is in gothic script.

Kirkcudbright Public Halls

Although Kirkcudbright Public Halls were built in 1878-79, the design had earlier

origins. The site was on the corner of St Mary's Street with Church Street, facing north towards the lawns around the parish church. Seventeen years separated Peddie & Kinnear's executed scheme from the first proposals by an unidentified architect working from 149 West George Street, Glasgow, which in some degree influenced what they built.

Proposals of 23 October 1860

The Glasgow architect's scheme was dated 23 October 1860. It was for a tall two-storey late classical building with keyblocked round-arched windows at the upper level, not unlike a Secession church. The main elevation to St Mary's Street was to be four bays and 51 feet long with superimposed pilasters, those at ground floor being either vermiculated or rock-faced. The flank elevation to Church Street was to be five bays and 64 feet long, the centre three bays being slightly advanced between quoins. A doorpiece of inset Doric columns at the eastern bay of the St Mary's Street elevation was to lead to a stair-hall which accessed a "U"-plan corridor running round a large central meeting room. This in turn gave onto a library and reading room on the St Mary's Street elevation, a hall-keeper's flat on the south, and a second stair-hall in the south-east corner. The two stairways rose to a large first floor hall, the stage occupying the area between them.

Peddie & Kinnear's Proposals

The 1860 scheme appears to have provided the basic brief but with the passage of time there was the additional requirement of a museum. Peddie & Kinnear's Designs A and B, produced on 20 December 1877, provided similar accommodation to the 1860 scheme at ground floor which was now planned around a central corridor. In Design A the main stair was in the eastern compartment of the St Mary Street front as in the 1860 scheme, and in Design B the central compartment. Both designs had their principal elevations to St Mary Street, 51 feet across as before, but now had a longer 87 feet 6 inch flank to Church Street. Although Peddie & Kinnear's public and commercial architecture was then predominantly Thomson-inspired, Design A was in an astylar Renaissance manner akin to the Bank of Scotland at Arbroath (1864, see Chapter 20) and still in general use, notably in the work of John Honeyman and Robert Matheson. The first floor windows were architraved and consoled with a segmentallypedimented first floor tripartite window at the central bay. In Design B, the central staircase version, the upper frontage had coupled Doric pilasters and round-arched windows, the upper landing being lit by a Serlian window with roundels in its spandrels. Mary's Street, 51 feet across as before, but with a longer 87 feet 6 inch flank elevation to Church Street. In both designs, a central glazed entrance screen was set between the pilasters of a doorpiece, and a balustrade over the entablature, its ashlar contrasting with the hammer-dressed masonry of the flanking bays in reminiscence of the 1860 pilasters.

In Design A the Museum was expressed as a low second floor of oblong windows, set between panels as a deep frieze; in Design B it was top-lit and concealed behind a deep inscribed frieze in the entablature - LIBRARY TOWN HALL MUSEUM on St Mary Street, and READING ROOM on Church Street.

Besides the library (A 20' \times 18'; B 25'6 \times 14') and reading room (A 23' \times 18'; B 24'6

 \times 19'), re-arranged on the Church Street rather than the St Mary's Street front, the recreation facilities now included a billiard room (A 24'6 \times 18'; B 35' \times 19'). In Design A this was on the east flank, and the meeting room - now the council room (35' \times 18') - on the Church Street elevation; but in Design B the billiard room was laid out in line with the library and reading room on the west side, and the council room (32' \times 18'6) on the quieter eastern side. In both schemes a small caretaker's apartment was again provided, the upper floor public hall (A 47' \times 47'; B 52' \times 47') being lit by four tall round-headed windows on each flank, with a fifth lighting the rooms on each side of the stage.

In the event the more monumental Design B was preferred, probably because its greater space efficiency resulted in significantly larger rooms, and it was carried into execution in red Dumfries-shire sandstone at a cost of £3,500. The tender drawings dated February 1878 show only minor changes, and it was only afterwards that it was decided to cantilever out the St Mary Street balcony on paired console-brackets.

The Church Designs of the 1870s

Peddie & Kinnear built only two United Presbyterian churches after 1870, but Maxwell connections in the south-west led to Kinnear, and later John More Dick Peddie, receiving a number of important commissions for Established churches from 1878 onwards. The Episcopal Church had been a significant client since 1867, when Kinnear refurnished and redecorated St John's in Edinburgh's Princes Street, of which he was a member. Together with business and possibly family connections with the Walker Trust estate, this led to an invitation to compete for St Mary's Cathedral in 1872, and further work at St John's in 1879-82 when the apse was added (and then enriched in 1889 with a superb reredos, the tile pictures being by W.B. Simpson & Sons).

This shift in ecclesiastical patronage was to be accompanied by stylistic changes. As will be seen, the practice abandoned Continental Romanesque in favour of English gothic at Ladybank Free Church in 1874, a development probably influenced by John More Dick Peddie who was then working for George Gilbert Scott in London.

The Classical Church: Palmerston Place United Presbyterian Church, Edinburgh

Peddie & Kinnear's only classical church of the 1870s was built for the United Presbyterian congregation of Edinburgh's Rose Street Chapel, many of whom would still have had an aversion to Gothic as "Catholic" or "English Church." It was a difficult commission, since they were wealthy but quarrelsome, resulting in their first minister resigning his charge in the space of two years and dying of a chloral overdose. In March 1872 they sought a site on the western side of the street where Peddie & Kinnear were about to build a terrace of houses (see Chapter 23), partly on Robert Matheson's Wester Coates land and partly on the Walker Trust estate.

Peddie & Kinnear acceded to the request on the assumption that they would be the architects. A Memorandum of Agreement was drawn up whereby the church was not to cost more than £8,000 and they would receive 5% commission. They had both prepared and revised sketches by 29 May 1872, when they sent "altered sketches of the church showing it thrown back from the street so as to admit of all the accommodation being got for a waiting room, hall &c. in the front." This resulted in "injury" to Peddie & Kinnear's adjoining house sites, for which £300 was sought.

Matters proceeded smoothly until 17 October 1872 when the minister, Dr Finlayson, died suddenly, and there was agitation to remain in Rose Street, ultimately leading to a schism in the congregation. The building of the church was put on hold, and this in turn halted the building of the adjoining houses which had been adjusted in width to accommodate it: Peddie wrote tersely that "we have in consequence of the negotiations lost much time in our operations, but of that we shall say nothing."

A revised scheme was eventually agreed on 25 February 1873 and working drawings prepared by 4 September 1873, but these were rejected. The revised and executed set followed on 14 December 1874. Gifford, McWilliam and Walker have noted a resemblance to the front of Saint Sulpice in Paris, in profile rather than in style, but the development of the design suggests that that is simply a coincidence. The day-to-day

supervision of the commission was in the hands of Robert Gracie, who dealt with much of the correspondence; the builder was Alexander Henderson. The eventual costs were about £13,000, or £17,550 inclusive of site and fees when it opened in May 1875. It was a very expensive church.

The Composite Sketch

An early composite sketch for Palmerston Place Church suggested alternative treatments for a symmetrical entrance elevation in which a central two-storey, five-windows-wide pedimented front was flanked by tower-bays at the ends and low plinth-like walls concealing a basement. It was arcaded at both levels, the lower entrance arcade, approached by steps up from the pavement, being an open loggia. In both designs the central section and tower-bays were the same width, 78 feet 6 inches, and the pediment 62 feet above pavement level.

Left-hand Side: the Cinquecento Scheme

In the cinquecento left-hand half the entrance level arcade was Doric, the arches resting directly on the capitals as at the City of Glasgow Assurance Building (see Chapter 21), with paterae in the spandrels. A shallow entablature marked first floor level, which had an arcade of windows set in an attached Corinthian portico with a panelled tympanum at the pediment.

The tower-bay was plain, with architraved windows, the upper pedimented with consoles. The third stage - the tower - had pedimented aedicules with coupled columns on all four sides, which enclosed round-arched windows with two-light Early Italian Renaissance detail. A low octagonal drum rose into a pointed dome.

Right-hand side: the Quattrocento Scheme

The Early Italianate Renaissance two-light window motif was also a characteristic of the alternative right-hand treatment, which was more quattrocento in style. The entrance level arcade did not rise quite so tall since the plinths of the columns were lower, the columns themselves having Corinthianesque capitals. At first floor five two-light windows with circled tracery were separated by broad Doric pilasters, whereafter the pediment rose without an entablature. It was no doubt the cheaper option.

First Set of Working Drawings, 4 September 1873

The entrance elevation represented in the working drawings of 4 September 1873 combined a central section based on the right-hand side of the composite sketch - but with Corinthian columns and pilasters between the windows, and an entablature at the base of the pediment - and tower-bays similar to that on the left-hand side of the sketch, with larger windows at their top stages.

The total breadth of the frontage was 80 feet 6 inches. The breadth of the pedimented central section, 46 feet 6 inches, was almost equalled by its height from pavement level to wallhead, 43 feet 6 inches, suggesting that it was initially conceived within a framework 45 feet square, exactly half the 90 feet height of the towers. These followed

the left-hand side of the composite sketch, slightly revised to enlarge the window openings at the top stage. The entrance elevation as a whole was thus conceived within a harmonic framework of 8-to-9. The end-bays were each 17 feet broad, slightly recessed and overlaid by the extremities of the pedimented front.

Second (Executed) Set of Working Drawings, 14 December 1874

On 14 December 1874 the elevation was subtly but significantly revised, evidently with the aim of making economies. The most important change was the decision to recess the arcaded central section between the tower-bays, rather than allow it to extend slightly across them. In consequence the central section's pediment was replaced by a panelled parapet in which two types of acroter were offered, although neither was adopted, and the tower-bays now lost their angle-pilasters.

Although the reduced breadth of the central section still permitted five arches at each level, the antae which had terminated the entrance arcade were replaced by square half-columns. The detail of the first floor was simplified to an arcade as in the right-hand side of the composite sketch scheme, the stone mullions and circled tracery of the windows being replaced by elegant woodwork. To compensate for any perceived loss of quality, paterae were set in the first floor arcade spandrels, and at the tower-bays the executed scheme reverted to the composite sketch in replacing the pediments at the first floor windows.

At the towers, single Didyma pilasters were substituted for pairs at the aedicules and the octagonal drums of the domelets were taller and panelled. Although this latest design was now more classical, the slightly Romanesque treatment of the Corinthian capitals was retained. After the entrance loggia was constructed, the managers objected to the simple lintelled treatment of the doors and windows within it. In December 1873 Gracie declined to change them but was over-ruled, arched heads being inserted at a cost of £146.

The Interior

The entrance loggia opened into a spacious reception hall extending across the breadth of the central section, with the ladies' and gentlemen's retiring rooms in the tower-bays. The double-height auditorium was basically "U"-plan like that at Pollok Street United Presbyterian Church designed in 1851-55 (see Chapter 8), with entrance level corridors curving round each side beneath the galleries towards the pulpit daïs against the rear gable (and vestry annexe on the north side): the auditorium's bowed end provided enough space for well-planned triangular stairwells which gave access to the galleries and the large first floor hall.

Cast-iron columns were dispensed with at entrance level by cantilevering the galleries out on brackets, their rear areas extending back over the corridors. The clerestorey of triple-arched lights was carried on an arcade, which was of polished Peterhead granite shafts rather than cast-iron as at Pollok Street, the ceiling being flat with a central dove. The drawings and the correspondence show that at one stage it was proposed to omit the arcade, but this was reinstated at a cost of £550. Behind the pulpit was Peddie's familiar arched recess, its details taken from the Arch of Hadrian at Athens.

The St Mary's Episcopal Cathedral Competition

The Misses Walker, Barbara and Mary, daughters of Sir Patrick Walker who developed the lands of Easter Coates in Edinburgh's West End, bequeathed their fortune to the Episcopal Church of Scotland with instructions that a cathedral should be built on a site which they also provided, between Manor Place and Palmerston Place on the axis of Melville Street and Grosvenor and Lansdowne Crescents. Their trustees organised a competition limited to six invited architects, three of the recognised masters of the gothic style in England - William Burges, George Gilbert Scott, and George Edmund Street - and three Scottish architects: Peddie & Kinnear, John Lessels, the surveyor of the Walker Trust estate, and Alexander Ross of Inverness. A cost-limit of £45,000 was originally imposed, soon raised to £65,000. The trustees adopted Ewan Christian, architect to the English Ecclesiastical Commissioners, as their adviser, and paid each of the competitors a £100 retaining fee.

Since entries had to be submitted under pseudonyms, Peddie & Kinnear identified their drawings by a white saltire against a blue circle. Following a specified standard of presentation, all the main elevations - west front, north and south elevations and east front with chapter-house - were prepared in black-and-white line with shaded door and window openings and neutral washes, on a scale of one-eighth inch to the foot; detail elevations of a nave bay and a choir bay were similarly presented, but on a scale of half-an-inch to the foot. The use of colour (magenta) was permitted for the transverse and longitudinal sections, which were on the same scale as the main elevation. The plans at ground floor and clerestorey level were prepared on a scale of an inch-and-a-quarter to ten feet. All the drawings were lettered in gothic script.

Despite this standard presentation, when the trustees exhibited the drawings prior to making their decision, the authorship of the entries was for the most part correctly established, although Burges had to issue a correction to The Builder's report. Peddie & Kinnear's scheme was in a later gothic style than the English competitors, and of Ross, and evidently suffered as a result, Christian observing that it belonged "rather to

the later than the early period of gothic art."

It was nevertheless an impressive design, with some points of originality. It was cruciform with central spire and western towers: it had a seven-bay nave, with a spacious entrance area under the gallery in the western bay; two-bay transepts with aisles on the west rather than the east to provide additional seating capacity facing the pulpit, the southern transept having a second spacious entrance vestibule; three-bay choir and two-bay aisleless presbytery; organ chamber and low vestries flanking the choir on the north; and low vestry, eastern entrance hall and large octagonal chapter-house without a central column on the south. The overall dimensions given on the plan were 83 feet 4 inches across the west front and 243 feet 7 inches long from east to west. The roofs were to be 88 feet in height to the ridges. Internally the nave and choir were to be 31 feet and 30 feet 6 inches wide excluding their aisles, which were to be 13 feet 6 inches wide at the nave and 15 feet at the choir.

The west front was a robustly detailed composition. The west door (as in the case of Scott's winning design) was closely based on that of Elgin Cathedral, which Kinnear had photographed in the 1850s and J.J. Laing had measured some twenty-five years earlier. The Elgin design was, however, modified from three nearly equal gablets to one large one and two smaller ones over the flanking niches. Above were three tall closely-spaced curvilinear windows each of three lights, a quatrefoiled gallery and a gable with a rose-window lighting the roof of the nave and blind arcading at the apex: the result was a strongly vertical treatment which both answered the tall proportions of the western towers and tied the design together. While the concept of three tall windows may have come from Dunblane, mediaeval prototypes for three Late Decorated windows rather than one big one are not easy to suggest; perhaps the inspiration was provided by Paisley Abbey, where there were two rather than three, or by Sweetheart which had three unequal traceried windows and which was, in fact, referred to in the architects' Memorandum accompanying the design.

The twin western towers were increased in scale and reinforced in design by massive angle buttresses, broad enough to articulate the west front into three elements of equal width. The total breadth over the buttresses was 94 feet, and was no doubt designed to correspond with the 93 feet height of the nave gable. The design of these towers, although omitting the gallery, appears to derive from St Mary's Tower at Dundee, although the string-course divisions relate more to Elgin. The baptistery and south porch within them were lit by three-light traceried windows, the third stages by 10 feet diameter rose-windows like that at Dundee, and the un-buttressed belfry stage by pairs of two-light Scots gothic openings flanked by niches. The crowns were designed on the model of St Giles: they had eight flying buttresses supporting octagonal lanterns with spirelets rising 153 feet above ground, a detail without any historical precedent.

The crenellated nave elevations were articulated by buttresses which died into the walls at both aisle and clerestorey levels, the aisles having four-light late Scots Gothic traceried windows and the clerestorey paired lancets with quatrefoiled tracery at the heads, which more closely reflected the Early Decorated treatment within: this indifference to strict purity was probably intended to reflect the fact that few mediaeval cathedrals were all of one period. The transept fronts differed in design. The north transept had a great curvilinear window of nine lights, perhaps suggested by the east window at Carlisle, although the divisions in the tracery were quite different. The south transept with its two four-light windows might again have been suggested by Paisley, but Peddie & Kinnear's design differed in having an unmistakably modern full-

width southern vestibule porch beneath. Both transepts had rose-windows lighting the roof, as at the west front.

The central tower was to rise square to a height of 151 feet 6 inches, with octagonal buttressed angles and three tall two-light belfry openings on each face above blind arcading. The lantern stage and spire were remarkable for their choice of precedents. Above the crenellated parapet of the belfry the octagonal stage was to be reinforced by diagonal flying buttresses, from the centre points of the tower as well as from the angles: this was a detail from Caudebec which Kinnear had presumably photographed, but in a heavier Scots gothic form. They supported a spire which was to be banded and lucarned on the model of that of Glasgow Cathedral, and was to reach a total height of 251 feet 6 inches.

The choir elevations were to be markedly richer than those of the nave with two-light clerestorey windows, traceried parapets and Elgin-like buttresses at the east end, although the east window itself had a 39 feet tall six-light window, with wheel tracery 16 feet 6 inches in diameter, rather than Elgin's tiered lancets. The octagonal chapterhouse was to be 36 feet across with four-light windows, its buttresses rising into pinnacles around a prismatic roof 64 feet high.

Internally the cathedral was to have had vaulted aisles and wagon roofs, that of the nave simply boarded, that of the choir and presbytery richly patterned. The nave was to have had a simple Early English treatment, clustered piers with moulded capitals, paired triforium openings modelled on Ripon, and an arcaded clerestorey; the choir was to have had a richer Late Decorated treatment with sculptured capitals and diapered spandrels, and the presbytery was to have had blind arcading around the altar area. The crossing would have been a fine tall space with statuary in the niches above the crossing-arches.

A note on the plans reads as follows:

"Sittings
20 inches wide and
33 inches deep
from front to back

The nave will contain		622
The Nave Aisles		252
The North Transept		99
The South Transept		99
The North & South Transept Aisles		139
The Choir will contain, in stalls	46	
in benches	139	
		202
The North & South Choir Aisles		144
Total Sittings		1557

The Chapter House will seat 150 persons, and the Western Gallery, if needed, would accommodate 120 more."

Although Peddie & Kinnear must have recognised from the beginning that competing against the leaders of the architectural profession south of the Border held little chance of success, an enormous amount of design effort went into their entry: even if they did not win, they were clearly very proud of it as they had their drawings lithographed. In the Memorandum, which made specific reference to Elgin, Dunblane and Sweetheart, they described their design as being "Gothic of the best period, with as much as possible of the Scottish variety ... Scottish gothic is quite distinct from English gothic." Significantly they stated that "It has been sought to make the cathedral, which, from its position and size, will be the cathedral of Scotland [author's italics], thoroughly Scottish Although Professor Rowan has found this approach "a little in character." commercial," the design had a serious political point: St Giles was about to be restored as a Presbyterian cathedral by the publisher William Chambers, and the Episcopal Church was perceived by most Presbyterians as "the English Church." That issue was ignored by Street, whose design (recommended by Ewen Christian) was English; by Burges and Ross wh

In practical terms, Peddie & Kinnear's scheme had much to recommend it. The interior with its big traceried windows would have been a blaze of light compared with Scott's, and the spacious vestibule would have been a much-appreciated facility, albeit not a neo-mediaeval one. The Builder ridiculed the design, commenting that:

"the towers here stand cheek by jowl, like sturdy Highland porters waiting for a job, the large fellow in the centre swinging about his shoulder straps in his impatience to be employed ... Seriously, the two west towers are not improvements upon St Giles and that at the intersection of the crux, which is taken from Glasgow, is spoilt by the addition of great useless flying buttresses."

Clearly The Builder had not recognised the relationship of the design to Caudebec (despite having published it on 4 December 1852), although Christian must surely have done so. His report dealt mainly with practical matters of planning, in which Peddie

& Kinnear scored rather lower than the English competitors; they also lost out on cost, their design being calculated at £59,112. If the incorporation of Early English features in the nave of an otherwise Late Decorated design worried Christian, he chose not to mention it, his only comments beyond a preference for the earlier forms of gothic being that the design of the wagon roofs was inferior to those of the English competitors. The only entry to draw serious criticism was that of Lessels.

Gothic Churches

Ladybank Free Church

The commission for the Free Church at Ladybank, in Collessie Parish in Fife, was Kinnear's and must have come to the practice through the offices of John Boyd Kinnear, some of whose tenant-farmers would have contributed to its construction. It was built on a completely new site. The congregation had previously had a church at Giffardton, but on 14 April 1874 it was decided that it would be "more desirable for the interests of the Free Church that a church should be erected in the village of Ladybank." The main funder was Mrs Haig of Pitlair, a member of the distilling family. Although the drawings for this project are very incomplete, two alternative sheets of proposals, beautifully drawn out in pencil for presentation and dated July 1874, are still preserved, together with copies reverse of the executed scheme.

Design D

One of the pencil sheets, Design D, illustrated a church very similar to that built for the United Presbyterians at Biggar (see Chapter 9), but with a leaded spire lucarned on all four faces. The preaching hall was to be a five-bay rectangle 44 feet broad, 71 feet deep and 37 feet high at the gables.

Design A and the Executed Design

Design A was Early Decorated, but some details were similar to those of Alloa U.P. Church and the tower had points in common with that of Allan Park at Stirling (see Chapter 10). It appears to have been the preferred design and in certain respects it anticipated the executed August scheme.

It consisted of a preaching hall of very similar proportions to that in Design D, 41 feet broad and 69 feet 6 inches deep (reduced to 67 feet 6½ inches in execution) with eaves 21 feet (20 feet) and roof-ridge 43 feet above ground, but it differed in having a single central door and a tower advanced slightly forward from the gable-front. The differences between the sketch design and the executed one were mainly at the west gable and the top of the tower.

In Design A the doorway had single shafts, and in the final design paired shafts, both with timber-boarded doors. On each side of it, three pointed-arch lights - larger in Design A than the final design - lit the vestibule, a continuous hoodmould oversailing their arch-heads. Above a stepped string-course Design A had a wheel-window, but a pair of tall plate-traceried windows were substituted in the final design; the vesica opening which aired the roof became a simple panel. As in Design D, a Celtic cross finial marked the gable apex.

In both Design A and the final design the shaft of the tower, while closely similar to that in Design D, rose from a slightly larger base - 15 feet square and 62 feet 6 inches in height as first proposed, 17 feet 7½ inches square and 59 feet 6 inches tall as built. The main differences, however, were at the belfry stage and the spire. In Design A it was un-buttressed and tapered towards the top, with two tall openings at the belfry stage and a corbelled parapet with water-cannon, so producing a markedly Fife profile as at St Salvator's, St Andrews. As in Design D the spire was then still to be leaded with lucarnes, bringing the total height to 89 feet, but in the final design a much more English treatment was adopted, with one simple Early Decorated two-light belfry opening in each face and a stone broach spire with pyramid-spirelet lucarnes, 100 feet 6 inches high. Pencil sketches on the final drawings suggested clock-faces either at second floor height or at belfry level. They also suggested a spiral stair-turret of very modest diameter at the rear face of the tower.

In both the sketch design and the final design the five-bay flank elevations were buttressed and had two-light windows with simple geometrical plate tracery. The apse was probably intended to accommodate an organ, then still forbidden in the Free Church, when that became possible.

The contract drawings were carried into execution in 1875-76 at a cost of £2,140.

Leckie Memorial (East United Presbyterian) Church, Peebles

The Peebles East United Presbyterian congregation was a Burgher one, established in 1789, Thomas Leckie being its first minister who died in 1821. His large family "prospered in the world" and resolved to build a church in his memory. The managers' minutes refer only to the dinners which marked the progress of its building and the disposal of the old church. The commission probably came to Peddie through his father and brother, the congregation's solicitors.

The new church, which was referred to on the working drawings of 31 May 1875 as the Leckie Memorial Church, was designed by Peddie & Kinnear as a slightly larger, somewhat richer version of Ladybank Free Church, but was built of whinstone with buff sandstone dressings. The presentation of the plans and section conforms to office custom, but that of the finely drawn elevations - although clearly addressed from South Charlotte Street - does not, these being for the most part unwashed black-and-white line with the timberwork, window-glazing and roof-slates tinted: to judge from the calligraphy they are the work of John More Dick Peddie, then newly returned from Scott's office in London. Although slightly hidden from High Street the site was a fine one, on the same level at the top of a steep bank rising from Tweed Green, and thus looking straight out over the river; besides its natural advantages, the site may have been chosen since it lay directly in line with the Free Church (John Starforth, 1872) and St Peter's Episcopal Church (William Burn, 1830-33) facing each other across the High Street, the latter almost exactly back-to-back with the Leckie Memorial: its spire dwarfed them both. The foundation stone was laid on 15 September 1875 and the church was opened in August 1876, a contract period of less than a year.

The five-bay preaching hall was 41 feet 9 inches broad by 74 feet deep, as against Ladybank's 41 feet by 67 feet 61/4 inches. It was also slightly taller at 22 feet 3 inches

to the eaves and 44 feet 6 inches to the ridge. At Leckie the main entrance was slightly projected under a gable, its doorway having three orders of shafts. The drawings show the small individual lights which had lit the vestibule at Ladybank were replaced by pairs of cusped lights, these being surmounted by quatrefoiled roundels and hoodmoulds; but in execution they were simplified to plain lights. Similarly, shafts framed the pair of geometrical traceried two-light windows at gallery level; these were unified by a traceried roundel as a single over-arched window. At the apex three ventilation slits replaced Ladybank's vesica.

The buttress supporting Ladybank's gable elevation was omitted at Leckie, but the tower was reinforced by angle buttresses with deep set-offs almost up to the base of the spire. Its stair was lit between entrance and gallery level by plate traceried two-light windows front and rear. At the belfry stage, in lieu of a single plate tracery opening in each side as at Ladybank, there were now a pair of Early Geometrical traceried openings, and the broach spire had taller and richer lucarnes. The tower rose from a slightly smaller footprint - 17 feet square, rather than 17 feet 7½ inches - but the buttresses gave it a broader profile and it was notably taller: 64 feet above ground to the base of the spire instead of 60 feet, and 117 feet instead of just 101 feet up to the spire apex. In the published version of the design - crossed out in the working drawings - the tower buttresses have blind tracery panels at the top, suggesting that the source of inspiration may have been G.E. Street's All Saints, Boyne Hill; there are, however, significant differences at the belfry openings and the spire.

Although Leckie and Ladybank were both five-bay, there were five plate-traceried windows in each flank elevation at Leckie rather than just four as at Ladybank. The arrangement of the apse and the session-house and vestry at the rear was very similar. The session-house and vestry block was subsequently extended but there are no drawings for this in the archive.

Dalbeattie Quoad Sacra Established Church

The commission for the quoad sacra Craignair Established Church in Dalbeattie, Kirkcudbrightshire (the Granite City of the South, so-called because of its quarrying and polishing activities) came to Peddie, Kinnear & Peddie through Kinnear's relatives by marriage: his father-in-law Wellwood Maxwell was the sole Trustee, and thus effectively the client, although there are references in the minutes to a building fund. It replaced an earlier church which was no longer adequate for the congregation.

As already noted at Munches (see Chapter 17), Wellwood Maxwell had a marked preference for plain architecture. The new church was built of rubble from the granite quarrying, but the dressings were of sandstone to reduce costs. The working drawings, dated 3 June 1878, were developed from those of Ladybank and Leckie and appear to be the work of John More Dick Peddie. Again English gothic in style, it consisted of a galleried preaching hall somewhat broader than theirs at 46 feet (Ladybank 41 feet, Leckie 41 feet 9), substantially longer at 89 feet 6 inches (Ladybank 67 feet 6½, Leckie 74), with shallow transepts to further increase capacity, the span at the crossing being 65 feet. As at Ladybank and Leckie there was an apse, here with five windows, but at Dalbeattie the session room flanked the transept to make it more visible.

The details were simpler than Ladybank's, still more so than Leckie's, although the design borrowed significantly from the latter: its strength as a design lay in its refined proportions as much as its greater size. The layered splays of the arch-ring of its main door were a distinctive feature, even if they died into plain splays. Combining the Ladybank Design A and Leckie proposals, the entrance vestibule was lit on each side by a pair of arched windows, with a single continuous stepped hoodmould returning round the tower and its doorway. At gallery level the gable-front had three stepped gallery-level lancets within a single pointed-arch recess under a hoodmould, a detail probably adapted from Rickman's engraving of a similar five-light window at Oundle: eaves-height at 21 feet 6 inches, and gable-height at 50 feet, were similar to Leckie's (22 feet 3, 49 feet). Dalbeattie similarly had three slit ventilation openings immediately beneath the apex.

As at Leckie the tower was supported by angle buttresses with deep set-offs; a low buttress supported the main gable-front at its opposite end, as at Ladybank. Because of the church's much higher seating capacity the tower had an entrance doorway of its own - with the same splayed detail as the main entrance - providing direct access to the gallery stair. The belfry stage had a pair of deeply splayed and hoodmoulded louvred openings on each side, similar in proportion to Street's at Boyne Hill. Above, the tall stone broach spire was absolutely plain without lucarnes. The tower rose 67 feet to the base of the spire, as against 60 feet at Ladybank and 64 feet at Leckie; the apex of the spire matched the latter's exactly, at 117 feet above ground.

Because of the transepts the flanks of the nave were relatively short, articulated by buttresses into four bays - the first blind, the others with simple pointed-arch lights. The transepts had their own porches at the gables, flanked by tall lancets. As at Ladybank and the Leckie Memorial the pulpit was set in an apse, here with five windows. Considerable trouble was taken over the furniture, which was designed by the architects and mixed mid Decorated and Jacobean elements: drawings for furniture are rare in the archive.

Stonykirk Parish Church

Alternative proposals for a new parish church in Stonykirk, Wigtonshire, identified as nos 2, 3 and 4, were prepared, evidently by John More Dick Peddie, on 11-12 December 1879. Heritors' Records have not survived and there does not seem to be any record of why the church was not built; the acute economic depression of the early 1880s may have been a factor.

Scheme 2

Scheme no 2 was in essence a smaller, slightly richer version of Dalbeattie, but without transept or apse: as at Leckie, the sheets seem to have been drawn with a view to publication. The gable-front was rather narrower than at Dalbeattie, 36 feet 6 inches rather than 46 feet, and the church was not so long, 75 feet instead of 89 feet 6 inches, divided into seven buttressed bays with simple lancets. It differed from Ladybank, Leckie and Dalbeattie in requiring no gallery, hence the eaves were of modest height, 15 feet 6 inches. The gable-front, 40 feet 6 inches high, had triple lancets with a cinquefoil circular window above lighting the roof. There was no door as the tower porch was adequate for the needs of the congregation.

The 17 feet square tower was very similar to that at Dalbeattie, although smaller tower height 50 feet 6 inches as against 67 feet 6 inches; spire apex 106 feet 6 inches as against 117 feet - and with diagonal buttresses. Since it was entered from the side, a pair of windows on the front elevation lit the porch. The treatment of the twin belfry openings was very similar, but at Stonykirk they were set in broad pilaster strips, a detail taken from Rickman's engravings of the spires at Polebrook and Stamford, and divided by shafts. The broach spire was distinguished by slender lucarnes, as at Leckie.

Schemes 3 and 4

Scheme nos 3 and 4, represented only by their flank elevations and a common plan, were very similar to each other, smaller even than Scheme no 2 but with transepts and - an innovation in this series - an entrance tower 15 feet square on the central axis. Again there was no stair or gallery. The nave itself was just 32 feet broad by 63 feet deep, a close to a 1-to-2 ratio; the transept 52 feet broad by 32 feet deep; eaves-height 15 feet 6 inches and ridge-height 33 feet, again approximately a 1-to-2 relationship.

Scheme no 3 had Late Decorated tracery and was considerably richer in design than Scheme no 2, the spire differing in having no buttresses and triple rather than paired belfry openings.

Scheme no 4 was of exceptional interest, anticipating the churches of Dr Peter MacGregor Chalmers a decade later in its economical neo-Norman treatment, with a pyramidal stone spire and simple round-arched windows. John More Dick Peddie was himself to develop these themes in his churches of the late 1880s and early 1890s, notably at Southwick.

The Gothic Country House: Wauchope

Wauchope near Hawick was designed for Walter MacMillan Scott who had inherited the estate at the age of fourteen in 1862, and was thus of quite a different generation from the clients who had commissioned the baronial houses. It had only a brief existence, being demolished circa 1932. It bore no relationship to any of the practice's other houses in its gothic style, which seemingly derived from George Gilbert Scott and Alfred Waterhouse, or in its plan which was equally different from those of its predecessors, and not one either of the founding partners would normally have favoured. The presentation of the drawings, mostly dated 16 October 1876, was also unusual. The coloration of the undated and very neatly drawn presentation sheet of floor plans might result from the unfamiliar type of paper, but the calligraphy of the room titles was very distinctive and appears to be John More Dick Peddie's. By contrast the draughtsmanship of the elevations and sections had nothing of the quality of his drawings for churches, even if the washed-out tones were typical of some copy reverse prints.

Wauchope was not a successful design, even if it looks better in a surviving photograph than the drawings suggest. Stylistically its closest parallels within the practice's work were the bank buildings at Elgin and Paisley (see Chapter 20), some of the drawings for which also bear John More Dick Peddie's handwriting, and it can only be assumed that it was the first major job he handled on his own.

It was undoubtedly a major commission. The main block was 102 feet 9 inches long and 66 feet 6 inches deep and the total length including the Service court was 142 feet 3. The main entrance frontage faced west and was asymmetrical, balanced by the pyramid-roofed pavilion of the service wing. Although the gabled entrance bay and the advanced gable-fronts at the ends followed the traditional "E"-plan of old English houses, the entrance bay was significantly off-centre to the left, while the gable-fronts varied in breadth as well as fenestration, that on the south being 22 feet broad, but that on the north only 20 feet 6 inches. As all three gables coincided precisely with the roof-ridge, this resulted in different pitches. The design was given a central focus by a square ventilator flèche, but it also gave the house a somewhat institutional appearance. Much the most interesting feature was the gabled entrance bay. Its depressed-arch open porch was exceptionally wide, its thrust contained by diagonal buttresses. As executed the shallow first floor oriel in its gable provided rather more interest than the shafted triple lancets originally proposed.

The house also represented a break with practice tradition in respect of its proportions. None of the dimensions related to each other through any mathematical ratio or overriding proportional framework, but were simply determined by the needs of the plan. This was somewhat better organised around a top-lit galleried central hall with gothic arched screens at each end. As in the other houses built from the mid 1860s onwards, a door off the entrance hall gave access to the male demesne, so that some visitors could be admitted without meeting the family. At Wauchope it consisted of a smoking room immediately to the left of the vestibule - the first appearance of such a room in the practice's houses - and a billiard room at the north-western corner forming part of the three-bay north front. The central bay accommodated the library which formed the

"neutral territory" between the billiard room and the drawing room in the north-east corner. The dining room was thus displaced from its normal Plan-type A position and relocated in the south-west corner near the kitchen corridor. The family bedroom and its dressing room were on the east side with their own vestibule off the saloon for added privacy, and their own service passage. All of this was a radical revision of Burn and Bryce's principles driven by changing social mores.

The east elevation, of which no photograph is known, was simpler and may have been more successful than the entrance front. At its north end it had the broad six-light mullioned and transomed canted bay of the drawing room, with a very asymmetrical arrangement of windows above, one with a dormerhead; at the centre a double-gable, with a symmetrical disposition of windows at the first floor and attic; and on the south a lower section containing the housekeeper's room and the servants' hall.

The significance of Wauchope is hard to evaluate, but the east elevation and some aspects of the plan had points in common with the much more successful Airds of 1884.

The Influence of Alexander Thomson, 1872-80

In the earlier 1870s Peddie & Kinnear - and we may be sure Peddie in particular - began to be influenced by Alexander Thomson, a development connected with an increasing number of Glasgow commissions. They must have known him through the Architectural Institute of Scotland since at least the mid 1850s, and considering that Peddie and Thomson were both "philosophical" Burgher United Presbyterians, the only surprise is that it happened so late.

The first evidence of it is in Henry Leck's building in Gordon Street and in a lesser degree Drumsheugh Gardens, both 1873, more than a year too early to suggest Thomson's Haldane lectures as a point of conversion. The reason is much more likely to be Peddie's growing familiarity with German architecture of the Schinkel and post-Schinkel periods when taking his sons to school at Elberfeld, coupled with the practicality of Thomson's commercial architecture with its close-spaced window pilastrades which offered exceptional flexibility in the division of internal spaces.

The influence of the Glasgow Greek revival practitioners was not confined to Thomson: Longmore Hospital and Craiglockhart Hydropathic (see chapters 26 and 30) suggest that Peddie had also looked with interest at the work of James Sellars and Hugh and David Barclay.

Henry Leck's Office

In 1872 the Glasgow accountant Henry Leck decided to build a block of shops and offices on Gordon Street, at its junction with West Nile Street, as an investment. The earliest drawings for this project were dated February of that year and were addressed from 112 West Regent Street, Glasgow, where both John Baird and Hugh Barclay had premises, but the executed proposals were by Peddie & Kinnear, their drawings being dated 26 April 1873.

Although less complex in detail, their elevations were clearly influenced by the blocks of shops, offices and warehouses designed by Thomson, such as the Grosvenor Building (1859) also in Gordon Street, and particularly the Egyptian Halls (1871-73) then nearing completion in Union Street. Like these buildings Peddie & Kinnear's design rose from a retail storey through three storeys of pilastrades, the low third floor having something of the appearance of an eaves-gallery. The wallhead was 56 feet high and the length of the block almost exactly twice that height at 108 feet, the 4 feet difference being made up by the West Nile Street flank - 44 feet 6 inches deep - being angled out slightly, at 98° to Gordon Street rather than 90°. Backing onto a narrow lane, which was not parallel with Gordon Street, the building progressively increased in depth towards the west.

Although the office entrance and corner pilasters were of masonry, the ground floor was largely of iron and glass construction. Within the most slender of frameworks, recessed doorways with glass doors alternated with large plate-glass windows. These varied in breadth, but broadly corresponded with the absolutely regular pilastered fenestration of the first and second floors. Since the Gordon Street elevation was

sixteen windows broad the pedimented office entrance, aligned beneath the ninth bay, was slightly right-of-centre, richly detailed with panelled pilasters, sculptured frieze, console-brackets and acroters.

Although not as complex as Thomson's, Peddie & Kinnear's pilastrades were carefully studied in design with main entablatures and inset sub-entablatures over the windows. Each of the three upper floors had a different order of antae: Didyma capitals as built at first floor (the drawings are unclear); a shallow Corinthianesque order at second floor; and still shallower stylised Thomsonesque capitals at third floor. At that level the windows were each divided into two lights by slim pilasters with modified Didyma capitals bearing stilted entablatures, a faintly Romanesque element in what was otherwise a very pure design. This was a late variation from the original drawing, which showed an absolutely regular third floor pilastrade with two bays in the width of each bay beneath. Above a plain deep frieze the Egyptian cavetto-cornice was sculptured in a regular pattern of palm leaves with acanthus ornament, as at the University Club (see Chapter 22).

The plans show that on each side of the common stair at each level, a three-room suite of chambers looking out over Gordon Street could be used either separately from, or in conjunction with, a two-room suite of chambers to the rear. Towards the western end the shops extended into a top-lit annexe backing onto Peddie & Kinnear's Drury Street building (see Chapter 21).

Virginia Street Warehouse, Glasgow

In April 1876 Peddie & Kinnear designed a simple but interesting four-storey and basement warehouse for a 31 feet feu on the west side of Glasgow's Virginia Street. This feu returned behind the adjacent building to the north, resulting in an irregular "L"-shaped plan which was stepped at its southern angle and enclosed a top-lit single-storey and basement saloon within its northern re-entrant angle. Pen, pencil and wash drawings survive for the first, second and third floors and the roof; the front and rear elevations of the main block are preserved in neat pencil sketches; but the actual building is lost.

The frontage was divided into three bays by superimposed pilasters, those at first and second floors a Doric giant order bound together by mid-shaft string-courses. The basement had loading doors which intruded above ground floor level in the left-hand bay, but the fenestration was otherwise regular with two-light windows, those at entrance, first and second floor levels being mullion and transom crosses, apparently in iron. The third floor had an eaves-gallery-like treatment with simple colonette-mullions between the pilasters. Dosserets rising through the architrave of the wallhead entablature into paired console-brackets at its plain frieze supported the broad eaves-cornice of a hipped roof.

Internally the buildings had a single row of iron columns, supporting timber beams at each level. A small hydraulic lift operated immediately behind the basement loading doors and rose up to all floors. The main stair was laid out at the junction of the front and rear sections, lit from windows in the northern flank elevation over the saloon. The "L"-plan southern and western rear elevation was wholly iron-framed at first floor and above in order to maximise the window area - important given the 68 feet depth of the building.

The Blythswoodholm Hotel

The Blythswoodholm Hotel was a vast project, occupying a complete street-block on Hope Street between Bothwell Street and Waterloo Street. It measured 213 feet from north to south (widening to 218 feet on the west side) and 125 feet from east to west. It was originally commissioned by the Scottish Lands & Buildings Company, the origins of which have been discussed in Chapter 1. The site had been assembled by the Caledonian Railway in the mid 1860s for its Central Station, as planned by Blyth & Cunningham in the Caledonian Railway (Gordon Street Glasgow Station) Act of 1873. Two years later that route across the River Clyde was found to be too expensive in acquisition costs. It was moved 50 yards eastwards, slightly closer to the city centre, the station now being immediately opposite the original site at the southern junction of Gordon and Hope Streets. Since at that date the Caledonian planned to centralise its offices at Gordon Street, the Scottish Lands & Buildings Company bought the original site to build what was to be, in all except ownership, the station hotel, rivalling that built by the Glasgow & South Western Railway at St Enoch.

Peddie & Kinnear's drawings for the original scheme commissioned by the Scottish Lands & Buildings Company were complete by 26 April 1876. No preliminary studies survive, but the scheme had probably been well thought out in advance even if there were little to guide them in relation to a project of this size and complexity. The deep rectangular site dictated a quadrangular plan, and - as it was larger than was thought viable for a hotel alone - the project included blocks of business chambers on Bothwell Street and Waterloo Street, these being designed so that the hotel could expand into them as the volume of business increased. The building was thus to be quite different from the comparable London hotels which had all been single block or "L"-plan structures either backing onto station platforms or on relatively shallow sites without any significant retail element. The closest precedent for the Blythswoodholm site was the Midland Railway's Queen's Hotel at Leeds (1862-63) which was a smaller parallelogram wholly devoted to hotel purposes, but at Blythswoodholm Peddie & Kinnear were required to include shops since Hope Street was on the western margin of Glasgow's central shopping area and was expected to become much busier with the

building of the station.

The elevation to Hope Street was to be a realisation of the Clydesdale Bank competition design (see Chapter 21) in enlarged form; perhaps its quadrangular plan had some influence on that of the Blythswoodholm as well. But it is also probable that the partners had Bryant & Gillman's hotel at Central Park, New York in mind: although Peddie had not then visited the United States, they would be aware of it as it had been published in The Builder in 1867. The New York hotel did not have shops, but it had the same deep plan and configuration of five-storey and double-attic centre with four storey and attic wings. It differed in having corner pavilions as well as central ones, but Peddie & Kinnear's elegantly curved corners were the better solution on a site at which the southern corner was not a right-angle. For the bay design they adopted the highly successful formula of Alexander Thomson's Washington Hotel on Sauchiehall Street, built as a tenement with shops in 1864 and converted to a hotel in 1872. Its giant first and second floor pilastrades and dwarf third floor pilastrade represented a solution to the close-spaced windows such a hotel required in order to make the best use of floorspace, particularly at the bedroom floors, the details being made Peddie & Kinnear's own by the thirteen-bay Corinthian colonnade and their characteristic Didyma capital at the pilasters. For the fourth floor they adopted their equally familiar panelled attic.

The central part of the building rose from basement to sixth floor, with an entresol in the fall of the site between the ground and first floors at the Waterloo Street end. As then planned the hotel was to be entered through a monumental architraved portal in the centre of the Hope Street frontage, guests passing between two porter's rooms to reach the square entrance hall, and the main stair to the principal apartments and bedrooms floors. The only rooms at this level were to be the manager's and, beyond the main stair, the top-lit billiard and smoking rooms to the left and right of central lavatories, urinals and water-closets. Underneath the main stair there was to be a narrower flight which led down to the kitchen area, the servants' hall and staff bedrooms, all lit either from narrow lightwells or pavement lights. To the right of the main stair were to be a service stair and a single lift which extended down to the basement and was to be used for room service as well as for elderly visitors and luggage. Unlike the Queen's Hotel at Leeds and Brodrick's "V"-plan Grand Hotel at Scarborough, there was to be no central saloon: the remainder of the ground floor was seen as valuable street-level retail space, and was to be devoted entirely to shops and office. The shops were arranged symmetrically, with small ones adjoining the porter's rooms, and beyond them two much larger ones; these larger shops had top-lit saloons entered through screens of columns and pilasters - to the rear, which flanked the billiard room and smoking room. Beyond these larger shops were to be two more without rear saloons, lit at the back by triple windows facing into the lightwells in a similar manner to the manager's office. On the Bothwell Street and Waterloo Street frontages there were to be a further six shops, twelve in total, those at the corners having curved frontages. The offices above them at first and second floors were planned as two separate blocks on both Bothwell and Waterloo Streets, each with its own stair. They were not arranged regularly, but provided suites of varying sizes, from a single chamber to two with three chambers plus a safe. These were capable of adjustment to meet the needs of tenants. Each side had two shared water-closets and a coals room, every office having a fireplace. The entresol level contained a further six rather low suites with square windows.

Within the hotel itself the main stair was to lead up to a hall-corridor opening onto a large coffee room, six windows wide, at the centre of the Hope Street front. On the north side was to be a small serving room and a "commercial room" for guests' servants and commercial travellers: it was to be similar in size to the coffee room and again with six windows, three looking out over the thoroughfare and three into the centre of the building. It would have been handsome provision for that class of guest in 1876. Placed on the south side of the coffee room was to be the reading room, with three windows facing the street; while on the rear side of the corridor were to be a private room and a bar, each with two windows facing into the court, and separated by a lavatory and water-closets, all arranged to the left of the main stair. The service stair and the lift were to be on the right.

The double-height dining room, with five windows and a fireplace in each long wall and a deep recess in that to the north, was to be on the west side fronting the lane, and was to be accessed from the main stair by means of a bridge across the internal court from a mezzanine landing. Because of its location it was doubtless to have had stained or etched glass windows. Associated with it on the north was to be an assembly room with a mutual serving room.

The best accommodation for guests was to be on the Hope Street front at second floor where there were to be five parlours and eight bedrooms with vestibules and closets. At the back, looking into the court, there were to be five more bedrooms, and across the upper level of the bridge a further five over the assembly room. At third floor, where the bedroom accommodation extended over the business chambers on Bothwell Street and Waterloo Street, and over the dining room on the west side, there were to be sixty-one bedrooms along a continuous corridor, those on the Hope Street side in pairs with inter-communicating doors. The provision of bathrooms and water-closets was surprisingly low. At second floor eighteen bedrooms shared a single bathroom and water-closet; at third floor the sixty-one bedrooms shared three bathrooms and nine water-closets.

The fourth floor was to contain a further sixty-one bedrooms, those at the northern and southern ends being lit by dormers. Of these, sixteen on the Bothwell Street side were separated from the others, whether for staff, guests' servants or "commercial" clients is unclear. The forty-five guest bedrooms were to share a single bathroom and four water-closets. The fifth floor in the upper level of the attic was to have forty-five smaller rooms sharing a single bathroom and four water-closets. The sixth floor attics were for staff and guests' servants only.

By the summer of 1876 the Scottish Lands & Buildings Company had concluded that it was not viable to build this scheme in a single contract and began to get into financial difficulty. In July 1877 the Blythswoodholm Buildings Company was formed to relieve the Scottish Lands & Buildings Company of the project in association with the Scottish Heritable Security Company, financed partly by £50,000 of new capital and a £70,000 bond.

Peddie & Kinnear therefore re-designed the Blythswoodholm as a two-phase project. The north end was to be built first and function as a smaller hotel while the much more ambitious second phase, comprising the central and southern sections, was under

construction. To achieve this programme the hotel's entrance and porters' rooms had to be moved northwards, with the kitchens in the attics (as at Dunblane Hydropathic, see Chapter 30) to maximise retail space. The billiard room and smoking room and the rear saloons of the shops were eliminated to form the court into a three storeys high shopping mall in white-glazed brick roofed over at second floor level, its middle floor consisting of mezzanines. It measured 30 feet by 130 feet, and was entered centrally on all three fronts, with steps at the Bothwell Street and Waterloo Street entries. The concept was probably adopted from Hamilton Beattie's Clarendon Hotel at 104-05 Princes Street, Edinburgh. This also enabled the ground floor of the western range to become shops, increasing their number to twenty-four, and resulted in the original shops having windows to the mall. Although some had lost their saloons, all now had basement rooms, with a large central storage or stock room area under the court. Gains in retail floorspace were also made at the Waterloo Street end of the building, where the entresol level (as re-planned in drawings of 14 and 20 October 1877) now offered a remarkable degree of variety in the character of the shops. As before the first and second floors of the Wellington Street and Bothwell Street blocks were devoted to offices.

The changes within the hotel as a result of this phased construction programme are documented in drawings of 16 March and 20 October 1877. These vary somewhat from the final version of March 1879, chiefly in the layout of the principal apartments which now occupied most of the Hope Street block and were accessed from a spinal corridor. In the earlier revision proposals the corner of Hope Street and Bothwell Street was occupied by a large dining room with nine windows: next to it was a small serving room, and beyond that was a large coffee room seven windows broad, its ceiling supported by four slim iron columns. Subsequently, when the dining room became the commercial room (19 July 1877), doorways were created connecting the serving room to both of these rooms. But in March 1879 what had once been the dining room and thereafter the commercial room now became the drawing room; on the Hope Street front a three-windows-wide reading room was formed adjacent to it, and beyond were two new dining rooms connected together by twin doorways. The smaller one, again three windows wide, was identified as "private"; the main dining room now occupied the seven centre bays on Hope Street. At the south end of the corridor were the relocated billiard and smoking rooms, respectively with three windows facing Hope Street and two pairs looking into the shopping mall. On the west side, looking into the mall south of the main stair, was the bar, with urinals, water-closets and lavatories all considerably larger than in the original scheme. With the relocation of the dining room the bridge became redundant, the dining room and assembly room areas in the west range becoming suites of business chambers entered from the office stairs on Bothwell Street and Waterloo Street.

In spite of all these internal changes the revised external elevations still bore a close resemblance to the April 1876 originals. The shops had a more intricate treatment of the pilasters, both stone and iron, which articulated the Waterloo Street front's ground and entresol floors. The entresol was now better integrated into the elevation, the offices at that level having been eliminated and their floorspace incorporated into the shops. This resulted in a unified run of shop windows with a continuous fascia across the full length of the building. Only the main entrance to the shopping mall interrupted it: a wide semi-elliptical keystoned arch with sculptured spandrels, flanked by broad pilasters with paired console-brackets. The segmentally-pedimented hotel doorway

was now similar in detail to that of Henry Leck's building, flanked by the windows of the wide entrance hall which were set in channelled pilasters.

The changes to the upper floors were matters of detail. At first floor the inset pilasters of the windows were to be channelled, but this was simplified to plain pilasters in execution. To cut costs the columns at the centre bays on the Hope Street front were reduced to pilasters, making the relationship to the Clydesdale Bank design less obvious. At third floor, the windows now became two-light as in the Leck building; and a Renaissance bracket entablature with square panels was introduced in place of the original Greek one, these changes making the design less obviously Thomson-inspired than it had been. At the attic the dormers now had triangular pediments and the upper attic very French-looking oculi.

Despite these revisions the hotel was not a success financially. Although its rooms were spacious, the interior work was very simple compared with that of the great London hotels, and the retail element had compromised its planning. Crucially, it had been built slightly too early, before an electricity supply was readily available. Its fate was sealed when the Caledonian Railway converted its offices to a hotel: when it opened it had electric light, much more architectural interior work, more lifts and more bathrooms. But even before the Central opened, the difficult trading conditions in the depression of the 1880s had pushed the Blythswoodholm Buildings Company into liquidation to pay off the bond-holder. Eventually in 1890 John More Dick Peddie converted the whole building to offices. But however disastrous it may have been for those who backed it, the Blythswoodholm was the major landmark of its time in Scottish commercial architecture, setting a completely new scale for the office blocks of the 1890s.

"The Union Club": the Royal & Ancient Golf Club, St Andrews

The Union Club - now the Royal & Ancient Golf Club - in St Andrews was originally designed by George Rae in 1853-54 as an elegant classical villa, 72 feet broad by 74 feet deep. It was divided into three parts, the southern entrance and rear northern section being tall single-storey whilst the middle was low single-storey with a two-storey centre. The entrance elevation was symmetrical, with a tetrastyle portico flanked by pedimented windows. The purity of Rae's design had been compromised by a bay-window in the middle of the west flank designed by J.L. Fogo in 1866, and by an additional room with an ugly top-light on the north side.

In 1879 the Club approached Peddie, Kinnear & Peddie to add an additional storey to the building. Their sketch proposals of 9 August, and more finished plans and elevations of 1 September, combined Italianate and Thomsonesque elements. They envisaged that the new upper floors of the entrance and rear blocks should be relatively low, with low-pitched bracket-eaved Italianate roofs, and that Rae's portico might be replaced by a balustraded porch like those at Auchmore and Dunblane Hydropathic (see Chapters 16 and 30). The upper floor of the central east-west division was, however, to rise rather higher to provide an elevated open loggia with Doric columns in antis over Fogo's canted bay, the details being very similar to those of the tower at Craiglockhart Hydropathic (see Chapter 30). Further provision for open-air spectators was to be made by the addition of an elegant iron verandah extending across the lower level of the western front, similar to that at Dunblane. Revised plans were prepared on 20

September but in the event the Club commissioned John Milne to execute an aesthetically less successful scheme in 1880-82.

The Scottish Amicable and Scottish American Investment Trust Building

Peddie had been a founder-director of the Scottish American Investment Trust and clearly had a hand in the design of the premises shared with the Scottish Amicable, even if by the year of its construction he had withdrawn from the practice. It marked his change of career from architect to New Worlds investment manager.

The one pencil sketch for the elevation which remains in the archive was probably his work. It shows a rigorous Thomsonesque pilastraded approach, very similar to that of Henry Leck's offices but on a narrow site. However the executed building, three bays in width and four storeys and basement in height, was less obviously Thomsonesque. The ground floor had square-columned porches at the end-bays for each of the co-occupants, with the tripartite window of the Scottish Amicable's office between them. The first floor had Doric-pilastered aedicules with pediments, rather broad and divided by timber mullions, which looked as if slim shafts, perhaps in castiron, were to have been fitted. The second floor had the familiar Peddie device of linking windows together with panels, the divisions emphasised by projecting cornices supported by consoles. Only at the top floor was there still a hint of the Thomson origins of the design in the alternately broad and narrow pilasters, as in the earlier drawings for the final scheme for the Blythswoodholm Hotel.

`- CHAPTER 30 -

The Hydropathics

Although all three of Peddie and Kinnear's new-build hydropathics date from the half-decade 1875-80 when their commercial architecture was predominantly Thomsonesque, each had a different architectural identity representing the three principal stylistic trends in their work during the '60s and '70s: Italianate at Dunblane, Thomsonesque at Craiglockhart and French Second Empire at Callander. They were, however, so closely related that they must be discussed together.

Hydrotherapy, usually shortened to hydrothapy, was an alternative medicine first introduced by an unqualified practitioner named Preissnitz at Grafenberg in Austrian Silesia in 1826. About 1840 a Scottish medical practitioner, William Paterson, studied there and introduced Preissnitz's methods to Scotland at Glenburn Hydropathic, Rothesay, in 1843. Further hydropathic institutions were founded over the next twenty-five years, but it was not until the building of the Strathearn Hydropathic at Crieff and the Waverley Hydropathic at Melrose in 1868-69 that they began to achieve great size. Of these Strathearn was laid out like a pavilion hospital but Waverley was designed more as a four-storey and attic hotel block with bath-house attached. It set the pattern for the eleven major institutions founded between 1874 and 1878, their sites usually determined by the presence of the appropriate mineral waters and a railway line. Typically these institutions were set in landscaped grounds of ten to one hundred acres with recreational facilities for the patients and their families. They required the services of civil and heating engineers as well as an architect since they used as much as 20,000 gallons of water per day. Most were strictly temperance, and the founding shareholders were often associated either with the Temperance movement or the United Presbyterian Church, charitable funds being set up to enable ministers, missionaries and other church-workers to recuperate in them.

Dunblane Hydropathic

Dunblane was the first of Peddie & Kinnear's hydropathics, and the directors as well as the architects had everything to learn, radical changes being made throughout the design process. The project had its origin in 1873 with the discovery on the Kippendavie estate of a mineral spring which contained 19.200 grains of common salt to 14.400 of muriate of lime, 2.800 of sulphate of lime, 4.00 of carbonate of lime and 1.360 of oxide of iron. A limited company, with a capital of £20,000, and the Dunblane solicitors Thos and Jno Barty as its agents, was set up to feu the spring and eighteen acres of land. The Memorandum of Association, dated 4 December 1874, provided for a:

"Hydropathic Establishment or Institution and Sanatorium and Mineral Well House together with Baths, Offices and other Buildings connected therewith, including Stabling, Coach Houses and other accommodation for a Hiring Establishment."

Peddie had the largest holding among the eight original shareholders with one hundred £10 shares.

The Development of the Original Scheme

The site was a commanding one to the east of the town with magnificent views to the west, north and south. Four floor plans drawn in pencil dated 25 and 26 March 1875 established the symmetrical "H"-plan form of the main building and the location of the bath-houses to the rear, the open corridors linking them enclosing a back court. These were followed by a second pencil set on 8 May which included the earliest proposals for the main elevation, modelled on that of Auchmore (see Chapter 16) but with a simpler and more Italianate tower.

In the first pencil scheme the main block was four storeys high, eleven bays and 143 feet broad, and 39 feet deep. The taller five-storey end-blocks were three bays and 36 feet 6 inches broad, but 92 feet 6 inches deep on the flanks, the projection from the main elevation being 7 feet. Total length was 216 feet. The site was a steep bank and although the lowest floor was wholly above ground on the entrance front it was invariably referred to as the sunk floor, being built into the slope at the back. At this stage the "sunk floor" consisted almost wholly of service quarters. A central porch at the base of the tower led to a stair-hall which gave access to the principal floor, at which level a 12 feet 6 inch wide hall-corridor was to run right along the rear of the building to twin stairs at each end. Within the main block the accommodation at principal floor level comprised an office and a waiting room flanking the entrance stair, and ladies' and reading rooms at the far ends, with bedroom and parlour suites between them. The principal rooms were within the end-blocks which had taller 17 feet ceiling heights, the dining room on the south and the drawing room on the north, both 44 feet by 32 feet. In the drawings these end-blocks were referred to as the dining room wing and the drawing room wing, a nomenclature which has been retained in this account. The eastern section of the drawing room wing contained a two-storey maisonette for the medical superintendent, while the eastern end of the dining room wing contained a servery, a stair and a lift from the kitchen and pantries beneath, and a billiard room.

At the upper floors the planning was determined by the 17 feet ceilings of the dining and drawing rooms, which resulted in higher floor levels above them, the stairs being cleverly planned to serve both sets of levels and the mezzanine water-closets and bathrooms. It was a space-efficient arrangement but had problems for the disabled and was not repeated at either of the two subsequent hydropathics.

At the back these stair-halls gave access to the corridors to the bath-house block which, together with the court they enclosed, were at principal floor level because of the rise of the site. The bath-house was a single-storey building, 90 feet 6 inches long by 43 feet 6 inches deep with a tripartite division, the central part containing a Turkish bath-hall 34 feet wide. At this first stage the Turkish bath-hall was planned to project forward 7 feet 6 inches to provide separate vestibules from the covered passages. These led directly into the cooling room, the hot room being to the rear with a central stove; washing and rain bathrooms were provided on the south, and dressing-boxes between the lobbies. The absence of any central partition suggests that these rooms were for men only. The flanking bath-halls, the southern for gentlemen and the northern for ladies, were entered separately. In contrast to the Turkish bath-halls these were well-lit by windows from both front and rear since, apart from the stamping baths, all the others - the rainwater baths, plunge baths, vapour baths and sitz baths - were enclosed within dedicated cubicles.

The second set of pencil proposals dated 8 May was similar to the first set, but with two important differences: the porch at the main entrance now became the base of the tower which was to project boldly and rise above the eaves into a clock-stage and an open belvedere with a low-pitched bracket-eaved pyramid roof; and while the depth of the central block was now reduced from 39 feet to 34 feet it was increased in length from 216 to 256 feet. It was now seven windows wide to either side of the central tower rather than five and punctuated by three-storey canted bay sub-centres which contained parlours at each level. These changes aimed to increase the number of lettable rooms without unduly raising the cost by scaling down their depth from 21 feet 6 inches to 18 feet and shaving down the width of the principal floor hall-corridor by 18 inches to 11 feet. At first and second floors the corridors were spinal and only 5 feet 6 inches wide, serving bedrooms at both front and back. At the dining and drawing room wings the projection from the main elevation was increased from 7 feet to 15 feet 6 inches, lengthening these apartments from 44 to 48 feet, the columns in the former being eliminated to accommodate longer dining tables: this reflected the increased number of guests. As before, the sunk floor accommodation comprised mainly service apartments, the housekeeper, cook and servants' hall on the south, and the guests' cloakrooms and servants' bedrooms on the north.

The tender drawings, dated 30 June 1875, were drawn out on paper and copied on linen. They retained most of the innovations introduced in the May scheme, but indicate drastic action to reduce costs to stay within the issued capital of the company. The central block reverted to its original eleven-bay format and at 137 feet long was actually shorter than in March; the tower was now set back into the main building, which entailed supporting its back wall with iron stanchions; and it was even found necessary to provide a rider illustrating the scheme without a tower. Also considered, but only as a pencil sketch, was a low and wide Italianate tower rising through the roof, a concept which was to be realised in a fully developed form at Craiglockhart. Another rider offered the possibility of a promenade roof with a pierced parapet, together with the alternative option of a dormered attic to make up for the loss of bedrooms in the shortened elevation. The original proposal for a separate winter garden was given up in favour of a glazed roof over the court.

Although the overall style of the elevations in both the May and June elevations was Peddie Italianate, the design of the end-blocks reflected the practice's interest in Alexander Thomson. The evenly-spaced attic windows running in a different rhythm from those beneath clearly related to Thomson's Westbourne Terrace; and, while their position had been in some degree dictated by practical considerations, the windows on the inner flanks of the dining and drawing room wings had splendidly architectural views along the main elevation in sharp perspective, as at Thomson's own house in Moray Place which Peddie probably knew.

The drawings duly went out to tender and were endorsed on 30 August, the main contractors being Bayne Gillespie & Bayne (Alexander Gray) for the masonwork, Grieve & Lamb for the joinerwork and John Hardie (?) for the plasterwork. The stone specified in the contract was Polmaise.

These offers were made at the end of August and must have come in higher than the company could finance from its subscribed capital. They resulted in the preparation of the fourth set of drawings, now represented by the first floor plan and the front

elevation only, which were dated September 1875. The first floor plan is identical to its equivalent in the contract set as first drawn, before the line of the entrance front was brought forward slightly, an alteration indicated in red ink.

The front elevation shows that Peddie had been forced to adopt the towerless option of June 1875 within seven days of the offers coming in. He also suffered the humiliation of an alternative scheme being sought from Alexander Thomson's successor Robert Turnbull. Turnbull's mansarded scheme, with no rear court and a smaller bath-block at the southern end of the complex, was submitted in October 1875. At that point the directors must have considered their options, but the issue was eventually resolved by an £8,000 increase in the company's capital, Peddie's usual allies Robert Matheson, W.J. Menzies, Sir John Falshaw and Edward Blyth, together with his brother Alexander Peddie Waddell and his client Stamford Lumsdaine of Lathallan, being mustered as shareholders to secure the adoption of his scheme. Kinnear took eighty-five shares, probably in lieu of his proportion of the fees.

The solution drawn up in the fifth and final set of drawings on 27 November 1876 concentrated on maximising revenue per cubic foot. With a much increased capital calling for bigger returns it had to. The main changes took place at the sunk floor and the attic. Belatedly it had been realised that the sunk floor - which had now been renamed the ground floor - was prime revenue-earning floorspace. The service quarters along the main front now became accommodation for elderly or disabled guests with a lift off the cloak-room to enable them to reach principal floor level. This provided a further thirteen bedrooms, twelve of which had excellent views. Their parlour was identified by the northern canted bay and the doctor's consulting room by the corresponding bay to the south. One bedroom within the dining room wing enjoyed a parlour en suite, and behind it was a further billiard room. The displaced kitchen and service accommodation were relocated at the top floor of the dining room wing and the servants' bedrooms in the south attic of the main block, the northern attics becoming lettable accommodation, probably for the servants of guests. At second and third floor level further adjustments were made to maximise the number of lettable rooms.

The entrance elevation was modelled on that in the 1875 tender drawings, with minor changes. The entrance porch was framed by single rather than coupled channelled pilasters, while above its now-solid parapet the central bay was projected forward a little of the main front for the reinstated tower, which differed from that in the 1875 tender scheme only in minor details. The architrave and cornice which now graced the tower's second floor windows were relocated from the first floor of the May 1875 design; and the architraves of the other windows were reduced to simple margins. Only the windows within the tower bay, the windows within the central faces of the canted bays, and the windows which lit the drawing room and dining room within the end-blocks still remained two-light: all the others were now single.

The latest revisions in the plan were also reflected in changes to what had originally been a very severe rear elevation. The roof was now punctuated by a pair of gables to each side of the tower to improve the quality of the attic accommodation without intruding on the main elevation. Within the court and at the bath-houses further amendments were made. The arched winter garden roof was replaced by a less expensive roof of rod trusses, the space it enclosed now being described as "covered court" rather than "winter garden." Groome's Gazetteer referred to it a

The bath-house block was completely re-designed on 25 April 1877. Although it remained a tripartite structure with a central Turkish bath flanked by male and female bath-houses, its plan was now simplified to a rectangle 85 feet wide by 50 feet deep entered by three doors at the rear of the recreation hall. Beyond the glazed double-leaf doors of the central Turkish bath suite those seeking treatment passed through a small entrance area, flanked by a closet and a water-closet, into the cool room: this was the largest room, 28 feet 10 inches by about 20 feet 6 inches, lit by a skylight. A doorway at the far end led into the warm room, 20 feet square, from which it was possible to enter either the hot room, 18 feet broad by about 12 feet deep, or the douche and bathrooms. The warm room had a pendentived dome pierced by a single circlet of a dozen glazed stars around a central oculus of 5 feet 6 inches diameter, a reduced version of the Royal Bank concept (see Chapter 7).

From the douche it was now possible to walk through directly into the gentlemen's bathrooms on the southern side. The north side remained a completely separate entity for ladies, but in every other respect the two were identical. Each had a long transverse passage with four standard bath-closets ranged down one side, and three sitz baths and two dressing boxes down the other.

The gate-lodge was designed in Peddie's bargeboarded neo-Jacobean cottage manner, the drawings being dated 12 June 1877. As well as providing a house for the janitor it included the mineral water room, open to visitors with a separate entrance within the open porch.

Although now somewhat spoiled, this gate-lodge was a very studied design, based on harmonic proportions. The overall length of the front elevation was about 42 feet (all figures approximate), of which the long low single-storey section contributed 24 feet and the taller but narrower two-storey gable-fronted section 18 feet, hence a ratio of 4-to-3. The eaves and apex heights of the gable-front were 16 feet and 24 feet (2-to-3). Its roof-lines intersected with the line of the walls at a height of 18 feet above ground (24-to-18, = 4-to-3), thus precisely dividing the gable of the two-storey block into a square and an isosceles triangle. Centred within it was the canted bay of the kitchen, 12 feet broad across its bracketed cornice (18-to-12 = 3-to-2). The height of this cornice was determined by the eaves of the porch roof of the porch at the single-storey section: at 10 feet above the ground, half the height to the ridge. The length of this roof was divided equally between the breadth of the porch's timber gable and by its eaves, each of which measured just a little short of 12 feet. The apex of the porch gable rose half-way up the height of the roof behind, 15 feet above ground (20-to-15 = 4-to-3; 15-to-12 = 5-to-4).

The grounds were laid out by William Gorrie whose water-colour plan was dated 6 December 1875. It represented the range of facilities the greater hydropathics had to offer, far beyond those of any hotel at that period. Behind and to the east of the main building were to be bowling, badminton and croquet greens, together with a skating rink; and to the west beneath the lower terrace or grand parade were to be archery butts. To the north-west, below the serpentine curve of the drive, there was to have been another skating pond, which was subsequently re-planned as curling rinks. A cruciform greenhouse on the model of the Kibble Palace, and very similar to that Peddie had proposed for Princes Street Gardens (see Chapter 22), was to have been provided for those taking the waters at the gate-lodge, and a great winter garden was to have been attached to the east gable of the dining room wing: the decision to roof the court as a recreation hall rather than as a winter garden must have been taken by then. Neither of these great glass-houses was carried out, but Gorrie's planting is still substantially intact.

Gorrie's layout may have cost more than was budgeted for. The £8,000 increase in capital had proved inadequate by May 1877, when £15,000 was borrowed from the Standard Property Investment Company to ensure the completion of the project. To pay off this bond the authorised capital was increased a second time to £60,000 by the creation of three thousand "A" shares of £10 each in March 1879, but although the Coats and Clark families and several of the local landed gentry had acquired significant holdings in the previous issues, in the wake of the City of Glasgow Bank crash only 214 were taken up.

Poor trading in the severe recession of the early 1880s resulted in the company being unable to pay the interest on the bond. On 29 May 1884 Standard poinded the land, buildings and furnishings; they let the hydropathic to James Bell, an architect with links to both Peddie & Kinnear and MacGibbon & Ross, but this arrangement produced a return of only 1½% instead of the 5% required to service the bond. In December 1884 the superior, Patrick Stirling of Kippendavie, sought a judicial winding up, the liquidator Thomas Whitson eventually selling it in September 1890 for £16,000, approximately one-third of what it had cost to build.

Of the hydropathic buildings only the main block remains. The entrance stair-hall, the north and south stairs with their decorative cast-iron rails, and the dining and drawing rooms are largely intact, although the latter was enlarged circa 1900. They are impressive spaces, the wide spans of their ceilings being accomplished by the use of French beams. Their ceilings have a simple shallow compartmented treatment, that of the drawing room having a richer cornice and mouldings than that of the dining room.

Craiglockhart Hydropathic

Craiglockhart Hydropathic was built on 13 acres of land feued in 1877 from the Craiglockhart Estates Company, formed four years earlier to buy that part of the estate not required for the building of Craiglockhart Poors-house and the City Hospital. Peddie, his brother Alexander Peddie Waddell and Charles Kinnear were among its largest shareholders. The hydropathic feu was the site of the farmhouse and steading on the north-western face of Wester Craiglockhart Hill.

Neither Peddie nor Kinnear was among the original subscribers of the Craiglockhart Hydropathic Company when it registered in February 1877 but their ally A.T. Niven was, and that, together with their influence as superiors, ensured that they got the commission. The Memorandum of Association specified that the establishment was to be for "hydropathic, medical or other treatment, or for mere convenience and pleasure." The first set of drawings were signed on 19 May and within a month both Peddie and Kinnear, together with Kinnear's cousin David Kinnear, C.A., had become shareholders with fifty shares each, probably in lieu of fees. Although superficially similar in layout to Dunblane with advanced wings, a central entrance tower, a hall and a bath-house block at the back, Craiglockhart was a very different building which reflected the experience gained at the earlier project. The sunk floor was here exposed at the back rather than at the front so that the principal floor was at the same level as the entrance, simplifying reception. Although the floor levels in the dining and drawing room wings were slightly adjusted to give these rooms adequate height, the complications at Dunblane were completely avoided.

The main elevation faced west-north-west commanding magnificent panoramic views from the Fife coast to the West Perthshire Highlands, but for simplicity of description it will be referred to as west. The plan-form of the building was established in the May drawings and, unlike Dunblane and the later Callander, varied only in details thereafter. At principal floor level the entrance hall or outer vestibule projected from the tower; it opened into an inner hall which accessed a spinal hall-corridor through a distyle in antis screen of columns. To the left of the inner hall was a porter's office for reception and a stair to the basement, and to the right a bedroom, a rider offering the

preferred alternative of a waiting room and luggage area. Beyond these were, on the front elevation, a parlour and ladies' room on the south balanced by a doctor's consulting room and reading room on the north; at the ends of the hall-corridor were the drawing room in the southern end-block and the dining room in the northern, all very much as at Dunblane but without the intermediate bedroom and parlour suites which were the primary cause of the complications in levels in that building. Both the dining room and the drawing room had five-light canted bays looking west and rectangular bays on the flanks, each being 33 feet by 50 feet with chimneypieces on the inner walls.

Large though these rooms were, they were dwarfed by the recreation hall, 52 feet by 98 feet, here properly integrated into the plan and not an afterthought as at Dunblane. On its inner side was a Thomson-like glazed pilastrade which provided borrowed light for the hall-corridor. On either side of the recreation room the hall-corridor opened into twin stairs: they had lifts within their wells, a significant advance on Dunblane. Since these stairs were lit from the back and the recreation hall was top-lit, the accommodation at the rear was in set-back rectangular pavilions which resulted in stepped north and south elevations. At principal floor level the southern pavilion contained three parlours, two bedrooms (both with dressing rooms) and a bathroom and water-closet; the northern pavilion contained a billiard room, a card room and a suite of lavatories and water-closets. At the upper floors the bedrooms were symmetrical in general arrangement, those at first and second floors having parlours, with dressing rooms at the best accommodation on the west side, and a more generous provision of bathrooms than at Dunblane. The attic level consisted entirely of bedrooms with water-closet provision only.

The sunk floor consisted wholly of service accommodation, as originally planned at Dunblane. A passage ran from end to end linking up the steward's house, servants' rooms, the servants' hall, the wine cellar (as at Dunblane the institution was not exclusively temperance), the kitchen suite and gasometer room. Also at basement level was the bath-house block, the layout of which closely resembled that at Dunblane with the cool room, warm room and hot room of the Turkish bath on the central axis and ladies' and gentlemen's baths to either side, accessed by segregated passages.

The scheme was revised in November-December 1877. At principal floor level the bays to each side of the entrance porch were brought forward to give a more spacious reception area, the number of rooms along the main front between the entrance hall and the dining and drawing room wings was reduced from three to two, and access to the recreation hall improved with two broad flights of steps, rather than one. At first and second floor minor adjustments were made to create additional dressing rooms, and at attic level further changes achieved an increase in the number of bedrooms.

Like the Longmore Hospital (see Chapter 25), the elevations reflected the influence of Alexander Thomson and James Sellars, but in a simple form, related more to Thomson's villas than his urban warehouse and office blocks. As in Thomson's severer buildings, the lower windows had neither architraves nor surrounds and the windows were paired, a detail to be found in some Thomson designs. The top floor window pilastrades had the same discipline as Thomson's work, absolutely regular with pilasters and window openings double-squares of exactly the same width. The cantilevered and balustraded first floor balcony was also a Glasgow feature, paralleled at Burnet's University Gardens of just slightly later date.

The broad entrance tower - foreshadowed in a pencil sketch for Dunblane as described earlier - was a very original design with a five-bay Doric colonnade at third floor and five square windows set in Barryesque panels at fourth floor. The platformed Italianate roof had an anta pilastered prospect room of timber within a decorative iron rail, the whole being clasped between massive chimney-stacks with bracket-cornices.

At the rear the design of the bath-house and laundry facilities was radically revised in July-August 1877. A large swimming pool hall, 28 feet by 65 feet, was incorporated into the bath-house block which was partially re-planned to accommodate it, and a separate laundry and wash-house building provided. The steam-heating system was provided by Richard Murray of Glasgow, whose drawings are dated 13 August 1878.

The plan of the grounds was signed and dated 18 July 1878: Gorrie does not seem to have been involved. The new drive was taken from the north-west corner of the site and aligned on the tower to give an impressive formal approach to the main entrance. As at Dunblane the grounds included "splendid croquet lawns, the largest and finest in Scotland ... the Scottish Championship meeting is held here annually," tennis courts and bowling greens.

In 1880 the capital had to be increased to £45,000, Peddie taking twenty-five additional shares and Kinnear fifty, evidently in lieu of fees; the difference reflected the former's withdrawal from the partnership. Then unpaid calls forced the directors to borrow £5,000 and mortgage the building in September. The hydropathic was somewhat extravagantly run with one servant for every two guests; as at Dunblane, poor trading brought about a judicial liquidation on 18 July 1884. It did not sell until March 1890, when it was bought at the much-reduced upset price of £12,500 by the architect-hotelier James Bell who had lost his lease at Dunblane.

Callander Hydropathic

Callander was the third and last of Peddie & Kinnear's hydropathics, designed just as Peddie was about to withdraw from the partnership. It differed from Dunblane and Craiglockhart in that the commission came to them as hydropathic specialists without their having to inject capital into the client company.

This company was Glasgow-based and incorporated on 5 September 1878. It had a capital of £40,000 divided into four thousand shares of £10 each, the original subscribers being the Stirling civil engineer and architect Francis Mackison, a small consortium of Glasgow and Stirling merchants, solicitors and chartered accountants, and William Hunter Marshall, W.S., of Callander, owner of the estate on which it was built. The Memorandum of Association specified:

"The erecting, fitting up, furnishing and maintaining on said lands all necessary or convenient buildings for a Hydropathic Establishment, Sanatorium and Hotel, for the entertainment and accommodation of guests and travellers including Baths, Coach Houses, Stables, Offices, Gate Lodges, Servants' Houses, Fences, Boat Houses, Landing Piers, Water Wheels, Gas Works and other similar erections - the taking and letting on hire of Horses, Carriages, Tramway Cars and Boats."

As at Craiglockhart, the Memorandum is interesting as it shows that here too lessons had been learnt from Dunblane. The capital was realistic in relation to the size of the establishment, the guests were not to be restricted to patients and their families, while the reference to water-wheels indicates that the hotel was to have an early hydro-electric plant as well as gas. The "said lands" were a fine site on the south bank of the River Teith with significant shooting and fishing rights, and the tramway cars were presumably to provide a link to the railway, as at the much later railway hotels at Cruden Bay and Turnberry. As the most modern and luxurious hotel for tourists visiting the Trossachs it must have seemed impossible for it to fail.

Very unusually the drawings were neither signed nor dated, presumably because the actual construction was to be supervised by Francis Mackison & Son, those drawings which required civil engineering input bearing his stamp. In this instance Peddie & Kinnear may have provided only the drawings and while the elements of the design clearly relate to Dunblane and other Peddie & Kinnear projects, particularly the St Enoch hotel scheme of 1866-68 (see Chapter 22), the brief may have had some input from Mackison as the company's lead professional and one of its principal shareholders. It is perhaps significant that the design was not exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy nor reported in the architectural journals: the credit might have had to be shared. The plan of the first and larger scheme suggests that the commission was at least partly in the hands of Kinnear since it was very similar indeed to those of his baronial country houses (see Chapter 15), adapted to a north-facing site approached from Bridge of Callander on the east.

In its basic arrangement of flat-roofed bath-houses forming a terrace platform for the hotel part of the building, Callander was clearly influenced by Andrew Heiton's Atholl Hydropathic at Pitlochry of 1875 but it was different in both plan and style, and indeed from Peddie & Kinnear's own earlier hydropathics.

Orientated east-west the main building was to have been basically rectangular - approximately 137 feet by 52 - three storey and mansard attic high. It was to have had four-storey corner pavilions with French square-domed attic and garret roofs at each end of the main northern elevation fronting the river and, off-set and outwith the main rectangle on the south-east, an oblong tower of seven storeys with a French pavilion roof. At the south-western angle there was to have been another outshot, the dining room wing with a French roof of attic bedrooms, and kitchen offices behind it. The entrance was to have been on the east, sheltered by a porte-cochère; it was to have led into a large vestibule with the reception office and gentlemen's lavatories, located on the south side in the base of the tower. On its north side the vestibule was to have opened into a hall-corridor 135 feet long running right through the building, and well-lit from two glazed square-plan domes in the lightwells above it.

Ranged along the north front from east to west were a small ladies' room with a cloak-room and a stair to closets beneath, a recreation room and a drawing room. The recreation room and the dining room were both to have been 57 feet 9 inches long and almost identical on plan with semi-decagonal bay-windows, but the drawing room was to have opened into a spacious rectangular bay on its western side.

On its southern side the hall-corridor was to have opened into an immense stair-hall flanked on the west by the gentlemen's room and the doctor's consulting room. The

area to the east was to have contained the housekeeper's apartment accessed from both vestibule and corridor, with her entresol bedroom above; on the same level within the tower there was to have been an immensely tall billiard room, accessed from the vestibule by a small lobby and a stair, an arrangement strongly reminiscent of Cargen. At the western end of the hall-corridor an "L"-plan vestibule was to have opened into the 54 feet long dining room.

At first, second and third floors the plan was to be completely different, with a rectangle of corridor around two lightwells, one on each side of the main stair (eastern $14'4 \times 23'$; western $14'4 \times 39'6$); from third floor upwards the main stair moved to the centre of the building as a top-lit stairwell. The lowest of the three bedroom floors (identified as second floor rather than first floor on the drawings) was to have contained fourteen very large bedrooms, the two immediately over the drawing and recreation rooms having outdoor balcony areas, dressing rooms and parlours with small vestibules between them. These were capable of being locked off with the rooms at the northern corners to form private family suites with their own bathrooms and water-closets. The rooms along the other three fronts were to be smaller with water-closets only.

At second floor and third floor the bedrooms were to be significantly smaller, an inner range of bedrooms being introduced on the north side of the lightwells: these were probably for personal servants or younger family members. Although of modest size the bedrooms along the north front at second floor (or third floor as on the drawings) were still to be very upmarket with their own dressing rooms and large parlours in the corner pavilions. At third (or fourth) floor the parlours became bedrooms, but even at this level the bedrooms overlooking the river were to have had dressing rooms.

The basement level was to have had a considerably longer frontage than the main building, forming a raised terrace with diagonal bastions. From east to west the basement was to have contained two rooms devoted to "special baths," one of which was a spray room; a swimming pool $(54'3 \times 23'10)$; with a plunge bath but only seven changing rooms); a frigidarium $(34' \times 19'6)$; a shampooing room; a tepidarium; and a calidarium. Within the north-west corner were to be the laundry, wash-house and boiler-house.

Externally the building was clearly designed to remind guests of Paris and the Riviera. It is difficult to appreciate the full effect the elevations would have had from the drawings as the details were not fully drawn out, but the corner pavilions were to be emphasised by raised quoins, the wallheads by triglyph and patera entablatures, and the top stage of the tower by a bold treatment of paired pilasters with bracket capitals. The semi-decagonal bays were to have formed iron-balustraded balconies while the northern corner pavilions were to have had very French cantilevered iron balconies, as at MacGibbon & Ross' Edinburgh Osborne Hotel, within which Kinnear owned a shop. The finest features would have been the arched porte-cochère with the very Beaux Arts conceit of an upper order of pilasters enclosing the spandrels, and the great chimney-stacks with coupled fluted pilasters at the shafts and segmentally pedimented copings. The most difficult element of the design was the abrupt change of scale from the ground floor to the first floor, but that was mitigated by introducing transoms to break the height of the ground floor windows and dividing the lower panes by a single astragal.

The scheme went to tender in November-December 1879 but by that date the

financial climate had changed, the City of Glasgow Bank having failed fourteen months earlier. The company was in difficulty from the beginning with £1,165 of calls unpaid in January 1879 and £975 unpaid in April 1880. Bravely but unwisely the directors resolved to proceed by scaling down the project. The main building was shortened by two bays to 125 feet 6 inches; the dining room, the porte-cochère and the second floor balconies were omitted; and the tower reduced in height as a domed pavilion matching the others.

These reductions required radical changes to the plan. At principal floor level the arrangement of the entrance hall/vestibule, porter's office, billiard room, hall and main stair remained much the same, but the doctor's consulting room now moved next to the stair, and the gentlemen's room with which it had changed places became the library and writing room, a facility the original scheme had lacked. The ladies' room and recreation room were both omitted to bring the dining room within the main block, while the drawing room was reduced in size but given a second semi-decagonal bay on the west elevation to compensate for the lost floor area. At the upper levels the reduction in the number of bedrooms was minimised by omitting dressing rooms, but the first floor suites retained their bathrooms.

The changes at basement level were extensive as the whole of the accommodation within the kitchen wing had now to be relocated there. The pantries, still room and servery occupied the area under the dining room, poorly lit from basement windows in the lightwells, with a service stair directly up to principal floor. The kitchen, scullery, larder, and servants' hall were now relocated along the main elevation of the terrace with the laundry and wash-house moved from west to east to concentrate the bath-house accommodation at the western end. Separate passages and stairs from the hall-corridor led down to segregated suites of private baths under the drawing room and terrace, with the frigidarium, shampooing room, and calidarium ranged round the north-west corner. The swimming pool had to be omitted. The revised scheme made much more economic use of the basement floor but in the early 1880s maintaining sufficient artificial light and ventilation at the inner areas must have presented considerable problems.

The surviving records show that as the builders' accounts fell due to be paid an increasing number of shareholders were unable or unwilling to meet the calls for capital made upon them, approximately one-seventh in April 1881 and one-quarter in April 1882. That, together with poor trading, brought about the winding-up of the company in November 1884. It was sold, becoming a hotel rather than a hydropathic. Altered in 1889 and burnt in 1891, it was rebuilt only to be burnt again in 1895, whereafter it was reduced in height and reconstructed on a more extended plan by J.M. Munro of Glasgow.Because of its short life photographic record is slight, but a distant view shows that it was built as in this second set of drawings.

- Conclusions -

Peddie & Kinnear's was the largest Scottish architectural practice in Victorian times in terms of number of high quality commissions, although perhaps David Bryce's was slightly larger in terms of his commissions' value. There were no Peddie & Kinnear commissions quite as large as Fettes or the great country houses of Kinnaird, Ballikinrain and Cortachy. Except in Dumfries & Galloway, Kinnear did not really break into that nobility and greater landed gentry market until Bryce and the extremely well-connected Maitland Wardrop had died. Only Drygrange - outwith the time-frame of this study - was on quite the same scale as Bryce and Wardrop's largest houses. Peddie & Kinnear's clients tended to be more Nouveau Riche, even if in quality Kinloch, Kinnettles, Glenmayne and Lathallan challenged comparison with any Bryce or Wardrop house of the same scale. That Nouveau Riche aspect may explain why their houses, although extremely well-finished, do not have the neo-Jacobean interior work of Bryce's houses. The rare excursion into neo-Jacobean interior work at Wemyss Castle seems to demonstrate the point.

What emerges is that many of the traditional assumptions about Peddie & Kinnear do not hold up. While the notion that Peddie was the classical and Renaissance designer and Kinnear the baronial designer has some foundation in fact from Peddie's independent practice between 1845 and 1855 and G.S. Aitken's reminiscences in 1908, detailed examination of drawings, documentary evidence and buildings has shown that even where the partner responsible for a commission is known or can be safely assumed, motifs crossed from one partner to another: the Franco-Scottish exterior and neo-classical interior of Livilands is an extreme instance. Whatever their political and religious differences the partners seem to have worked together with remarkable closeness, even on private client work.

While it must have been well-known in their lifetime, the equally traditional picture of a partnership whose supreme competence in every aspect of architectural design and construction attracted clients like a magnet and made them very rich indeed is not quite the case either. Certainly the practice was extremely efficient. Their acute awareness of contemporary developments in specialised building-types and technology, their willingness to adopt French methods of construction and their ability to persuade clients to accept it, their innovative use of photography for survey work and of the Watt copy reverse process to progress design work and contracts quickly and efficiently bear that out. No other Scottish architect seems to have matched these qualities in the 1860s, when they were at the peak of their prosperity and must have made a great deal of money in both fees and speculative development. But what has not hitherto been apparent was that on both sides success depended on family connections to a far greater degree than generally supposed, and on creating and financing property, hotel and hydropathic companies. While both architects left roughly as much personal estate as Bryce and Anderson, and nearly twice as much as most other successful Scottish architects of their generation, it must be remembered that that is not necessarily an accurate guide since heritable property and bonds were not declared. The reality of their personal estates is that Kinnear was probably richer at twenty-one than when he died, and that Peddie would have been twice as well-off had they been content to scale down the practice in the 1870s. Their commitment to architecture was such that they did not, and the scale of their losses in directly or indirectly financing the practice is unique in Scotland, far outstripping David MacGibbon's. The only comparable instance

(to this writer's knowledge) is Edward Pugin whose Grosvenor Turkish Baths in London and zany Granville Hotel in Ramsgate landed him in even greater difficulty. What distinguished Peddie & Kinnear - and Edward Pugin - from other architect speculators was their concern for scholarship and for quality in everything they did. While they certainly anticipated some return prior to the financial crash of 1878, the Blythswoodholm Hotel in particular was as much about building a masterpiece which would be the high water-mark of their career, realising the ideas in at least three major projects that did not come off, as making money. In commercial terms there was no need for it to be so refined in design and execution as it was.

That concern for quality of design extended down to the simplest buildings. Even if a house or tenement had to be very plain, it still had to be well-proportioned to a degree which must sometimes have been hard to explain to clients. While mathematical ratios are to be expected in classical buildings, the consistency with which there were followed out into gothic, baronial and picturesque villa design has proved astonishing. It is highly likely that the same holds true for other classically trained architects working in a variety of styles, as would seem to be borne out by Brown at Kilberry and Rickman at The Grove; Anthony Quiney has also recently made passing reference to J.L. Pearson's use of the golden mean in his gothic churches, and hinted at further underlying mathematical ratios. This concern for excellence of proportion lies at the root of the distinctive qualities which distinguish even the smallest of Peddie & Kinnear's buildings from those of their less-disciplined contemporaries. In Peddie's case it certainly had its origin in David Rhind, and perhaps in some degree David Ramsay Hay and his Aesthetic Society whose arcane theories of proportion received extensive publicity at the time, but it seems doubtful if either Peddie or Kinnear attempted anything beyond well-tried mathematical formulae and the occasional use of 6, 8 or 12 feet modules noticeable in their designs.

What place do Peddie & Kinnear stand in the architectural firmament? Even if Peddie's Grand Tour was a rushed one, he saw a great deal more than other architects of his generation who had the money and opportunity to travel in their early years -Rhind, Charles Wilson, James Hamilton and David MacGibbon - and it shows. Kinnear was also well-travelled, but not so widely. While they never received the same opportunities as Bryce at the British Linen Bank, Rhind at the Commercial Banks in Edinburgh and Glasgow and at the Life Association in Edinburgh, or Wilson at Trinity College, Glasgow, the quality of their buildings and the imagination of the Royal Bank dome demonstrates that they were in the same league and had greater range in both style and building-types. Indeed, their Royal Bank branches are generally even better than Rhind's Commercial Bank counterparts. Setting the practice in the context of British architecture is more difficult. They did not have the single-minded commitment to gothic of Scott, Butterfield, Pearson, Burges, Street or Waterhouse, the single-minded classicism of Alexander Thomson, or the progressive approach of the Shaw-Nesfield-Stevenson group: it is perhaps noticeable that it was when the Aesthetic Movement-influenced work of Anderson, Leiper and Sellars appeared in the early to mid 1870s that they began to lose ground, however advanced they might be in other respects. Like every Scottish practice of that time they had no exclusive commitment to any one style, rather they adopted the style which would best suit the brief set by the client. Although Peddie sent his son to Scott's office for experience, the London architects Peddie & Kinnear probably saw as the leaders of the profession were those with exactly the same approach as they had themselves, the younger Charles Barry

whose Dulwich College has points in common with their own work in the mid 1860s, his brother Edward and Philip Charles Hardwick with their great railway hotels, Charles Powell, John Gibson and H. & F. Francis. That is the context in which they themselves would have wished to be judged: only a few of Peddie & Kinnear's commissions were as expensive as those of their English counterparts', but the quality of design is on the same level.

- BIBLIOGRAPHY -

Aitken, George Shaw, History and Reminiscences of the Edinburgh Architectural Association, unpublished typescript in library of the association, 15 Rutland Square, Edinburgh, c. 1908

Bailey, Rebecca, Scottish Architects' Papers: A Source Book, Rutland Press (R.I.A.S.), Edinburgh 1996.

Baker, H.J., The History of Duncan, Flockhart & Company, 1947

Bassin, Joan, Architectural Competitions in Nineteenth-Century England, U.M.I. Research Press - Studies in the Fine Arts: Architecture, An Arbor, Michigan 1975, 1984

Booker, John, Temples of Mammon: The Architecture of Banking, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 1990

Brodie, Antonia; Felstead, Alison; Franklin, Jonathan; Pinfield, Leslie; and Oldfield, Jane, Royal Architectural Library, Royal Institute of British Architects: Directory of British Architects 1834-1914, Continuum, London and New York 2001

Brogden, William, Aberdeen: An Illustrated Architectural Guide, Rutland Press (R.I.A.S.), Edinburgh 1986.

Buttlar, Adrian von, Leo von Klenze: Leben - Werk - Vision, Verlag C.H. Beck, München 1999

Cameron, Alan, Bank of Scotland 1695-1995: A Very Singular Institution, Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh 1995

Cant, Malcolm, Gorgie and Dalry, Malcolm Cant Publications, Edinburgh 1995

Checkland, Sidney, Scottish Banking: A History 1695-1973, Collins, Glasgow 1975

Close, Rob, Ayrshire & Arran: An Illustrated Architectural Guide, Rutland Press (R.I.A.S.), Edinburgh 1992

Cockburn, Henry, Circuit Journeys, David Douglas, Edinburgh 1889 (2nd ed.)

Colvin, Howard, A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840 (3rd ed.), published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British art by Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1995

Cook, E.T., and Wedderburn, Alexander, The Library Edition of the Works of John Ruskin

Crombie, B.W., and Douglas, W.S., Modern Athenians, 1882

Cronshaw, Andrew, Images of Scotland: Broughty Ferry, Tempus, Stroud 1998

Cummingham, Colin, Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981

Davis, Michael, Castles and Mansions of Ayrshire, Spindrift, Ardrishaig 1991

Drummond, A.L., and Bulloch, J., The Church in Late Victorian Scotland

Eastwood, Martin and Jenkinson, Anne, A History of the Western General Hospital, Edinburgh: Craigleith Poorhouse, Military Hospital, Modern Teaching Hospital, John Donald Publishers, Edinburgh 1995

Elliot, John and Pritchard, John (eds), George Edmund Street: A Victorian Architect in Berkshire, Centre for Continuing Education, The University of Reading, Reading 1998

Emerson, Richard, Hand-list of the Dick Peddie & McKay archive, unpublished typescript 1979

Fildes, Valerie and Rowan, Alistair, Mr David Bryce, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh 1976

Fordyce, T.T., Hope Park Church, St Andrews - Fife: A Concise History 1738-1994 with supplement by D.E.R. Watt

Foster, J., Members of Parliament: Scoland: 1357-1882 London, 1882.

Gavois, Jean, Going Up: an Informal History of the Elevator from the Pyramids to the Present, Otis Elevator Company, 1983

Gauldie, Enid (ed.), The Dundee Textile Industry, 1790-1885, from the Papers of Peter Carmichael of Arthurstone, Scottish History Scoiety and T. & A. Constable Ltd, Edinburgh 1969

Geddes, Jane, Deeside and the Mearns: An Illustrated Architectural Guides, Rutland Press (R.I.A.S), Edinburgh 2001.

Gibson, John, The Thistle and The Crown: A History of the Scottish Office. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Edinburgh 1985

John Gifford, The Buildings of Scotland: Fife, Penguin, London 1988

Gifford, John, The Buildings of Scotland: Dumfries and Galloway, Penguin, London 1996.

Gifford, John, The Buildings of Scotland: Highlands and Islands, Penguin, London 1992

Gifford, John, McWilliam, Colin, and Walker, David M., The Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh, Penguin, London 1984

Girouard, Mark, The Victorian Country House, Country Life, London 1971 (later

editions Yale University Press, New Haven and London)

Grant, Francis, The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland 1532-1943, 1944

Grant, James, Old and New Edinburgh, Cassell, Petter & Galpin, London.

Gordon, Esme, The Royal Scottish Academy, 1826-1976, Charles Skilton, Edinburgh and London 1976

Gordon, James, History of Glasgow from the Earliest to the Present Time, John Tweed, Glasgow 1872

Gow, Ian, "The Master of Mercantile Ornament" in R. Brown, The Architectural Outsiders

Grierson, Records of the Scottish Volunteer Force, 1859-1908

Groome, Francis, Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland, William Mackenzie, London (new ed.)

Guadet, Julien, Elements et Théorie de l'Architecture, Librarie de la Construction Moderne, Paris 1901-04

Haynes, Nick, Perth & Kinross: An Illustrated Architectural Guide, Rutland Press (R.I.A.S.), Edinburgh 2000.

Harper, Roger, Victorian Architectural Competitions: An Index to British and Irish Architectural Competitions in The Builder 1843-1900, Mansell Publishing, London 1983.

John Hume, Dumfries & Galloway: An Illustrated Architectural Guide, Rutland Press (R.I.A.S.), Edinburgh 2000

Hunter, Thomas, Woods, Forests and Estates of Perthshire, Henderson, Robertson & Hunter, Perth 1883

Jacques, Richard, Falkirk and District: An Illustrated Architectural Guide, Rutland Press (R.I.A.S.), Edinburgh 2001.

Hitchcock, Henry-Russell, Early Victorian Architecture, 1954

Hunt, John Dixon, The Wider Sea, Viking, New York 1982

Jackson, A.T., The Enterprising Scot

Johnstone, Colin and Hume, John, Glasgow Stations, 1979

Letarouilly, Paul, Édifices de Rome Moderne ou Recueil des Palais, Maisons, Églises, Couvents et autres monuments publics et particuliers les plus remarquables de la Ville de Rome, desinés, mesurés et publiés par Paul Le Tarouilly, Bance Editeur 1860 (3

vols), reprinted as 1 volume by Princeton architectural Press, Princeton, New Jersey and the Architectural Press, 1982, in association with the Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library of Columbia University

Macaulay, James, "James Gillespie Graham and A.W.N. Pugin" in Architectural Heritage VII.

Charles McKean, Banff & Buchan: An Illustrated Architectural Guide, Rutland Press (R.I.A.S.), Edinburgh 1990

McKean, Charles, Edinburgh: An Illustrated Architectural Guide, Rutland Press (R.I.A.S.), Edinburgh 1992

McKean, Charles, Stirling and the Trossachs: An Illustrated Architectural Guide, Rutland Press (R.I.A.S.), Edinburgh 1985

McKean, Charles and Walker, David M., Dundee: An Illustrated Architectural Guide, Rutland Press (R.I.A.S.), Edinburgh 1984

MacGibbon, David & Ross, Thomas, Castellated & Domestic Architecture of Scotland from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Centuries (5 vols), David Douglas, Edinburgh 1887-92

McKinstry, Sam, Rowand Anderson: the Premier Architect of Scotland, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh

McKean, Charles, Walker, David and Walker, Frank, Central Glasgow: An Iluustrated Architectural Guide, Rutland Press (R.I.A.S.), Edinburgh 1989.

Mead, Christopher Curtis, Charles Garnier's Paris Opéra: Architectural Empathy and the Renaissance of French Classicism, The Architectural History Foundation, New York, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England 19XX

Meeks, Carroll, The Railroad Station: An Architectural History, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1956

Melville, Lawrence, Errol: Its Legends, Land and People, Thomas Hunter & Sons, Perth 1935

Millar, Alexander, Fife Pictorial and Historical, A. Westwood & Son, Cupar 1895

Millar, W. Addis, A Short History of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institute, 1846-1948, 1949

Morrison, Kathryn, The Workhouse, English Heritage, London 1999

Munro, Neil, The History of the Royal Bank of Scotland, 1928

Muthesius, Stefan, The High Victorian Movement in Architecture, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London and Boston 1972

Nock, O.S., The Caledonian Railway, Ian Allan, London 1961

O'Dwyer, Frederick, The Architecture of Deane & Woodward, Cork University Press, Cork 1997

Papworth, Wyatt, The Dictionary of Architecture, The Architectural Publication Society, London 1852-92.

Paterson, David and Rock, Joe, Thomas Begbie's Edinburgh, John Donald, Edinburgh 1992

Port, Michael, Imperial London, Yale University Press, New Haven & London 1995

Peter, D.M., The Barony of Angus and the Mearns

Pride, Glen, The Kingdom of Fife: An Illustrated Architectural Guide, Rutland Press (R.I.A.S.), Edinburgh 1990.

Reed, Peter (ed.), Glasgow: The Forming of the City, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1993.

Richardson, Harriet, English Hospitals 1660-1945, R.C.H.M.E., London, 1998.

Riches, Anne and Richardson, Harriet, Scottish Hospitals Survey, unpublished typescript

Robb, Henry, The Church of Allan Park: A Centenary History 1866-1966 (1966)

Rodger, R., The Transformation of Edinburgh, 2001

Rowan, Alistair, "Penetrating the Incognito: St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh" in Frank Salmon (ed.), Gothic and the Gothic Revival, S.A.H.G.B., London 1997.

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Stirlingshire, H.M.S.O., Edinburgh

Ruskin, John, Fors Clavigera, George Bell, London

Savage, Peter, Lorimer and the Edinburgh Craft Designers, Paul Harris Publishing, Edinburgh 1980

Saville, Richard, Bank of Scotland: A History 1695-1995, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 1996

Schinkel, Karl, Sammlung Architectonischer Entwürfe: A Collection of Architectural Designs including Designs which have been executed and Objects whose execution was intended by Karl Friedrich Schinkel: New and complete edition in CLXXIV Plates, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1989 and Butterworth Architecture, Guildford

Seaborne, Malcolm, The English School: Its Architecture and Organisation, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971

Shaw, Donald, The Balerno Branch and the Caley in Edinburgh, Oakwood Press, 1989

Sime, Stuart, The Kirk at Pilrig, 1993

Small, Robert, History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church, 1733-1900, David M. Small, Edinburgh 1904

Smith, Charles, Historic South Edinburgh (3 vols), Charles Skilton, Edinburgh and London 1978

Snodin, Michael, Karl Friedrich Schinkel: A Universal Man, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1991 in association with the Victoria & Albert Museum

Stamp, Gavin, Alexander Thomson: the Unknown Genius, Laurence King, London, 1999

Stamp, Gavin (ed.), The Light of Truth and Beauty: the Lectures of Alexander Thomson, Alexander Thomson Society, Glasgow 1999

Stamp, Gavin and McKinstry, Sam, "Greek" Thomson, 1994

Stirling Natural History and Archaeology Society, Transactions 1907-08

Strang, Charles, Borders & Berwick: An Illustrated Architectural Guide to the Scottish Borders and Tweed Valley, Rutland Press (R.I.A.S.), Edinburgh 1994

Street, George, Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages: Notes of a Tour of North Italy, John Murray, London 1855

Summerson, John, The Unromantic Castle and Other Essays, Thames and Hudson, 1990

Sutherland, James, "Nineteenth Century Iron and Glass Domes" in Andor Gomme (ed.), Domes 2000, S.A.H.G.B. London 2000

Swan, Adam, Clackmannan and the Ochils: An Illustrated Architectural Guide, Rutland Press (R.I.A.S.), Edinburgh 1987

Tarn, J.N., Working Class Housing in 19th-Century Britain, Lund Humphries for the Architectural Association, London 1971

Turner, A. Logan, The Story of a Great Hospital, 1979

Turner, Jane (ed.), The Dictionary of Art Grove, New York and Macmillan, London 1996

Wakeling, Christopher, "A Room Nearly Semi-circular," Architectural History, Vol.

44, 1998

Walker, David M., "The Architecture of MacGibbon & Ross" in David Breeze (ed.), Studies in Scottish Antiquity presented to Stewart Cruden John Donald, Edinburgh 1984

Walker, Frank, The Buildings of Scotland: Argyll & Bute, Penguin, London

Walker, Frank, The South Clyde Estuary: An Illustrated Architectural Guide to Inverclyde and Renfrew, Rutland Press (R.I.A.S.), Edinburgh 1986

Walker, Frank with Sinclair, Fiona, North Clyde Estuary: An Illustrated Architectural Guide, Rutland Press (R.I.A.S.), Edinburgh 1992

Walker, Stephen, "The Criminal Upperworld," Accounting History, New Series vol. 1 no 2, 1996

Warden, Alexander, Angus or Forfarshire, 1885

Webster, Jack, The Scottish Investment Trust P.L.C., Edinburgh 1983

Weir, Ronald, A History of the Scottish American Investment Company Limited 1873-1973, 1973

Wilkie, T., The Representation of Scotland, Paisley 1895.

Williamson, John, A History of Morrison's Academy, Crieff, 1860-1980

Wodehouse, Lawrence, British Architects 1840-1976: A Guide to Information Sources, Gale Research Centre, Detroit 1978

Aberdeen Journal

An Account of the Morgan Hospital with a sketch of the Morgans of Dundee, The Scheme for the Erection and Endowment of the Hospital and the Regulations for its Government, James P. Mathew & Co., Dundee 1870

Architects', Engineers' and Building Trades' Directory, Wyman, London 1868.

Architectural History, vol. 41 (1998)

British Journal of Photography

British Museum Conservation Plan, 2000

Builder

Building Chronicle

Building News

Burke's Landed Gentry The Courant Covenant Dictionary of National Biography Dundee Harbour Trust Centenary, 17 June 1830 - 17 June 1930 Engineering **Edinburgh Evening Courant Edinburgh Post Office Directories Edinburgh Sasines** Fife Herald & Journal Forfarshire Sasines Glasgow Advertiser & Property Circular Glasgow Post Office Directories Illustrated London News Kansas City Star Kelso Chronicle Land and Building News Lathallan School, Brotherton Castle, 1949-1999: Looking to the Future Memorials of Bristo Church A Minor Secession, being the story of Hope Park United Free Church, 1792-1927 Peterhead Sentinel Register of the Society of Writers to the Signet, Edinburgh 1983 Rutherford's Southern Counties Register and Directory, 1866 Transactions of the Architectural Institute of Scotland, Session 1850-51, Paper XI.

Scotsman

Scottish Press

Morning Journal

Souvenir of the Formal Opening of the enlarged and reconstructed Academy by the Right Honorable Viscount Haldane K.T. O.M., 14 September 1915.

United Presbyterian Magazine, April 1893

University of Edinburgh matriculation registers

University of Edinburgh Senate minutes

Who Was Who 1916-28

Who's Who in Architecture, Technical Journals, London 1914

Dictionary of National Biography, s.v. James Peddie (and William Peddie); John Brown. See also R. Small, History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church, 1733-1900, vol. 1, pp. 431f. (Peddie), 516, 544 (Brown), and vol. 2, pp. 552ff. (the Wilson Church lawsuit).

D.N.B., s.v. James Peddie; R. Small, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 12, 49, 614; vol. 2, p. 25; inscription on monument in Warriston Cemetery.

D.N.B., s.v. James Peddie and William Peddie; R. Small, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 432f.; United Presbyterian Magazine, April 1893.

D.N.B., s.v. John Ker; R. Small, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 40.

University of Edinburgh matriculation registers, entries for John, James and Coventry Dick Peddie.

Scotsman, obituary, 13 March 1891. The University of Edinburgh matriculation registers, however, show that he was in the Arts faculty. He never registered for Law.

See J. Macaulay, "James Gillespie Graham and A.W.N. Pugin" in Architectural Heritage VII.

Drawings (Ian Carnegie accession, 1968) in the National Monuments Record of Scotland.

J. Gifford, C. McWilliam and D.M. Walker, Buildings of Scotland: Edinburgh, p. 576; W. Papworth, Dictionary of Architecture, s.v. Edinburgh.

D.P.M. Archive, N.M.R.S. (South Leith Poors-house designs).

D.P.M. Archive, N.M.R.S. (Gilmorehill drawings); J. Gordon, History of Glasgow

from the Earliest to the Present Time, vol. 2, p. 1,143; R. Harper, Victorian Architectural Competitions, p. 53.

D.P.M. Archive, N.M.R.S. (Airlie Lodge development designs); Forfarshire Sasines, 13 June 1851, no 341; 24 May 1852, nos 1,021, 1,022; 1 June 1852, no 1,043; 6 December 1855, no 3,715.

Edinburgh Sasines, 1849, no 6,385.

Edinburgh Sasines, 1849, no 6,385.

Scotsman, obituary, 5 September 1885.

See J. Foster, Members of Parliament: Scotland: 1357-1882.

S. Checkland, Scottish Banking: A History 1695-1973, pp. 296-300.

Edinburgh Sasines, 10 May 1853, no 4,386.

Edinburgh Sasines, 19 April 1854 (two entries); D.P.M. Archive, N.M.R.S. (Laverockbank development designs).

Edinburgh Sasines, 1856, no 1,399; Watson Monument, Warriston Cemetery (opposite Reverend James Peddie's).

D.P.M. Archive, N.M.R.S. (designs for Kinnear and Mosswater farmhouses).

G. Aitken, History and Reminiscences of the Edinburgh Architectural Association, c. 1908, p. 17, unpublished typescript in library of the association, 15 Rutland Square, Edinburgh.

Wall monument, Kinnear enclosure, Collessie Churchyard.

Fife Herald & Journal, 10 November 1920 (published the day of his death); F. Grant, Faculty of Advocates in Scotland 1532-1943; Who Was Who 1916-28, s.v. Kinnear; J.B. Kinnear, Narrative of a Campaign in Italy (1867).

British Journal of Photography, 17 June 1892. See also his death notice, 16 November 1894. Kinnear's minute book is preserved, S.R.O. GD356. I am most grateful to Sara Stevenson of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery for sending me copies of these items. See also D. Paterson and J. Rock, Thomas Begbie's Edinburgh, unpaginated, quoting the Photographic Society's catalogues.

D.P.M. Archive, N.M.R.S. (designs for all of these except Morrison's Academy).

D.M. Walker "The Architecture of MacGibbon & Ross" in D. Breeze (ed.), Studies in Scottish Antiquity, pp. 391-449.

Correspondence between Blair, Kinnear, Mackenzie and Bryce, December 1858-April 1860, Bank of Scotland archives.

Edinburgh Post Office Directories; addresses on the designs.

His will shows that he was still a partner at the time of his death.

See E. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, Library Edition of the Works of John Ruskin, letters, vol. 36, pp. 186-88; Fors Clavigera, p. 9; F. O'Dwyer, Architecture of Deane & Woodward, p. 289.

Personal information from Johnston's partner, David Baxter (1874-1957), communicated to David M. Walker, 1955.

Brodie et al., op. cit., p. 605.

Edinburgh Post Office Directories; S.R.O. wills and testaments, 1911. He was the son of the Reverend John Peddie.

D.P.M. Archive, N.M.R.S. (Newtonaird designs).

H. Colvin, op. cit., s.v. Rickman.

Burke's Landed Gentry, s.v. Maxwell of Munches; date of birth given on wall tablet in Dean Cemetery.

Edinburgh Sasines, 5 October 1866, no 5,313; 16 October 1866, no 5,367.

County Directories: in MacGibbon & Ross, Castellated & Domestic Architecture of Scotland, vol. 2, p. 78 he is mistakenly given as the owner. Groome's Gazetteer correctly gives the owner as the Countess of Seafield; this is confirmed by the Sasines.

Engineering, 18 January 1867; C. Johnstone and J. Hume, op. cit., pp. 54-57; only the valuation maps for the acquisition of the site remain in the archive.

D.P.M. Archive, N.M.R.S. (designs for all of these except for The Gows, Royal Scottish Academy, 1866).

D.P.M. Archive, N.M.R.S. (designs for all of these).

D.P.M. Archive, N.M.R.S. (designs for all these except Grahamston).

See R. Rodger, Transformation of Edinburgh, p. 170.

D.P.M. Archive, N.M.R.S. (Scottish Lands & Buildings Company designs).

Glasgow Post Office Directories.

Edinburgh Post Office Directories, advertisement.

Glasgow Sasines, 18 November 1878, no 16,512.

Edinburgh Sasines, 17 May 1875, nos 19,340, 19,341 and 19,487.

Architectural History, vol. 41, pp. 220ff.

Scotsman, obituary, 13 March 1891.

S. Walker, "The Criminal Upperworld," Accounting History, New Series vol. 1, no 2 (1996), p. 7ff.

All these are listed in Peddie's inventory SC 70/1/294, pp. 343-62. For his chairmanshiop of one of the two New Zealand companies, Kansas City Star, 26 March 1886, per J.I. Dick-Peddie.

Scotsman, obituary 13 March 1891; Dean Cemetery, burial register.

Kansas City Star, 26 March 1886.

Coventry Dick Peddie to William Dick Peddie, 24 June 1886 per J.I. Dick-Peddie.

S.R.O.

Scotsman, obituary, 7 November 1894.

See Kinnear's inventory, S.R.O. SC70/1/337, pp. 34ff.

Builder, 7 November 1863 (re: Scottish Provident Institution). As there, the design has details in common with Sir Charles Barry's Reform Club but in the National Bank design the proportions are much further removed from that building.

Illustrated London News, 7 July 1849; J. Booker, Temples of Mammon: The Architecture of Banking (1990), pp. 71-75.

S.R.O. CH 3/111; see also W. Addis Millar, Short History of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institute, 1846-1948.

Dundee Central Library, Lamb Collection, 227 (20); Dundee Harbour Trust Centenary, 17 June 1830 - 17 June 1930, p. 15, quoting Trust minutes; R. Harper, op. cit., p. 44; Builder, 7 February 1852; two further unidentified designs for this competition survive in Dundee Public Library.