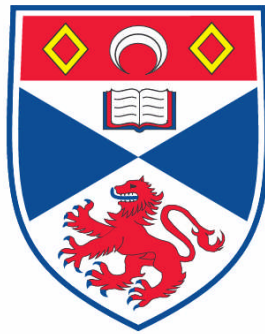


**ARCHITECTURAL EXPANSION AND REDEVELOPMENT IN
ST. ANDREWS, 1810-C.1894**

Robin Dennis Alexander Evetts

Volume I (Text)

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



1988

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**Architectural Expansion and Redevelopment
in St. Andrews, 1810-c1894.**

Volume I (text)

Robin Dennis Alexander Evetts.

**Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
St. Andrews, August 1988.**

Andreapolis.

But lately you were a holy town, venerated by all the world. In all the world was no holier place. Jupiter blushed when he saw your temples, and complained loudly of his small Tarpeian fane. The builder, too, of the Shrine of Ephesus derided and detested his own work, and rightly too, when he scanned this building. The attendant priests matched the temple's marbles with their vestments; there was everywhere a fullness of heavenly splendour. The ruler of the holy order, gorgeous in gold, used here to deal law to all Scotia's priests. The old glory has gone, the temple has fallen, the attendant priests have no more of their former splendour. Still you are a town sacred to the Muses and to Phoebus' votaries, and that is an honour no greater than you deserve. The Dawn, the Muses' friend, beams on you with its roseate steeds. At early morn Thetis murmurs hoarsely beside the halls of the Muses, and bids slumber be short. The links are close by; 'tis here Youth wearied with studies finds recreation, and gathers a new stock of strength. Phocis was once the favourite haunt of Phoebus, Acte of Pallus; both deities have now found settled home in you.

Arthur Johnston, Poemate Omnia, 1642.

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Abstract.

This thesis documents the five principal areas of architectural development in St. Andrews from 1810 to c1894. The Overview examines the factors for change and pattern of expansion, and identifies education, recreation and retirement as the three main pillars of the expanding economy.

Part One comprises a detailed examination of the circumstances surrounding the rebuilding of the United College, and the alterations to St. Mary's College and extension to the University Library from 1810 to 1854. Part Two examines in equal detail the establishment and erection of the Madras College during the 1830s.

Parts Three and Four are concerned with the development of two completely new areas of middle class housing; the 'new town' to the west, and 'Queen's Park' to the south. The stylistic shift from classicism to romanticism implicit in these schemes is highlighted by the new baronial Town Hall.

The development of the Scores on the town's northern boundary with the sea constitutes Part Five. This is divided on a thematic and chronological basis into four sections, identifying issues relevant to changes of style and building type. The final section

re-examines the reasons for the town's expansion and redevelopment, and concludes with observations on the relationship between (a), local and non-local architectural practices; (b), developments within the building community; and (c), the sometimes contradictory attitudes inherent in the creation of nineteenth century St. Andrews, particularly in relation to surviving mediaeval remains.

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University of St. Andrews Library Photograph Collection.
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Abbreviations.

- N.M.R.S. National Monuments Record, Scotland.
- P.R.O. Public Record Office.
- R.C.A.H.M.S. Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland. Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan. 1933.
- R.G.C.1. Ronald Gordon CANT, The University of St. Andrews. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1970.
- R.G.C.2. Ronald Gordon CANT, The College of St. Salvator, Its Foundation and Development including a Selection of Documents. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1950.
- R.G.C.3. Ronald Gordon CANT, St. Andrews, The Preservation Trust Handbook. St. Andrews: The St. Andrews Preservation Trust Ltd., 1975.
- R.I.A.S. Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland.
- R.I.B.A. Royal Institute of British Architects.
- St.A.D.G. St. Andrews Dean of Guild Plan Collection. North East Fife District Council.

St.A.U.L.Ms. University of St. Andrews Library,
Manuscripts Department.

St.A.U.Titles. University of St. Andrews Title Deeds.

S.R.O. Scottish Record Office.

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Introduction.

The genesis of the subject of this thesis can be traced to articles written by Dr. Ronald Cant for the St. Andrews Preservation Trust in 1966, 1967, 1979 and 1980,¹ and by Dr. John Frew in 1978.² These articles constitute an outline study of public and domestic building in St. Andrews, mostly of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Five relevant undergraduate dissertations have subsequently been researched and written under Dr. Frew's supervision in St. Andrews University's Department of Art History, these comprising monographs of the architects Robert Balfour (Patricia Simpson, 1981) and John Milne (Annabel Ledgard, 1982), an account of the James Gillespie and Scott practice (Andrew Nairne, 1983), and two studies of particular areas, Holcroft's Park (Amanda Walker, 1984) and Murray Park (Bronwen Prince, 1985). Significant additional material was unearthed in support of the exhibition 'Building for a New Age', mounted at the Crawford Centre, St. Andrews in 1984 and dealing with aspects of the Victorian and Edwardian architecture of St. Andrews. This was accompanied by a publication consisting of six essays by various authors, including the compiler of this thesis, who also acted as major research assistant to the undertaking.

The account that follows is intended to complement and supersede all previous histories of the

town's nineteenth century development. The length of the period under examination, together with the sheer scale of changes effected, determined at an early stage the necessity for selectivity, leading to the decision to concentrate on five major areas of expansion and redevelopment, not one of which has previously been the subject of a sustained and integrated programme of research. Great care has been taken throughout to maintain a thoroughly comprehensive overview of the town's transformation; although certain areas of architectural activity have inevitably received less attention than those selected for detailed scrutiny (particularly where they have been the subject of previous accounts), no major development has escaped analysis and/or comment.

1810 has been selected as a starting date because of the erection in that year of the Tontine Baths (figs.190-192), one of the earliest structures devoted to the concept of St. Andrews as a resort, and actually conceived as the beginning of the 'new town of St. Andrews'.³ In the same year the University began negotiations related to activities which eventually came to fruition in the alterations at St. Mary's College (fig.44) and the rebuilding of the United College (figs.24,30) from 1829. By the mid 1890s, the major town centre developments were nearing completion, and with the re-commencement of sub-urban villa building at Rathelpie in 1893-94 (Liscombe, fig.267, Thomas Cappon),

a new period of expansion began to the west of the town's traditional limits. This expansion continued throughout the Edwardian period until the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, and was resumed in the 1920s and 1930s; c1894 has therefore been selected as the terminal date for this study.

Sources.

For the University, a principal source of information has been architectural drawings, minute books, letters and documents of the United and St. Mary's Colleges, and papers of the 2nd Viscount Melville, all in the possession of St. Andrews University. Of equal importance have been the minutes, ledgers and documents of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests/Office of Works, in the Scottish Record Office and the Public Record Office. The printed Evidence of the University Commissioners has also been a prime source. The minutes of the Trustees of the Madras College, together with various letters and documents on deposit in St. Andrews University Library constitute the chief source for the origins and early years of this establishment. The published Life of Dr. Andrew Bell by Robert and Charles Southey, and Dr. John Thompson's 150th anniversary publication were also invaluable. For the three domestic areas of development, architectural drawings in the possession of St. Andrews University, the North East Fife District Council (St. Andrews Dean of Guild plan collection), and the architectural

practice of Walker and Pride in St. Andrews were invaluable. The Business Book of David Henry in the possession of his firm's successors (Walker and Pride) supplemented surviving drawings. The minutes of the St. Andrews Town Council and the Commissioners of Police, the Town Council Cartulary and Valuation Rolls, all on deposit in St. Andrews University Library were a constant source of reference. The Hope Scott and Grahame of Morphie papers, and the Gillespie and Scott archive in the same repository have been equally valuable, supplemented by title deeds in private and University ownership. The resources of the National Monuments Record of Scotland have also been widely consulted. Published material of particular value included the St. Andrews Gazette and St. Andrews Citizen, and various nineteenth century commentaries and guides to St. Andrews, which with more up to date architectural historical literature is noted in the text and bibliography. Information often difficult to accredit specifically has been freely and enthusiastically given by many people, but especially by Dr. Ronald Cant and Mr. Robert Smart.

Overview; The Spirit of Change, 1810-1890s.

With the passing of its ecclesiastical pre-eminence in 1690, St. Andrews lost much of its former importance. The cathedral, priory, and monasteries became ruinous and the ecclesiastical hierarchy dispersed, and the town experienced a period of inertia if not actual decline during the following century. In 1728 William Douglass remarked that the town's 945 houses amounted to less than half that of the 'town of old', and of these 159 were ruinous and uninhabitable, and 'many of the others much out of repair'.⁴ St. Mary's and St. Leonard's Colleges were reported to be in good condition but the fabric of St. Salvator's had 'of late become very much out of repair'.⁵ Douglass described the harbour as being in a 'very miserable and pitiful condition', with the trade and fishing which had once flourished there in decline, and of the parish's 4,000 inhabitants, many were 'idle and half starved'.⁶ By the end of the eighteenth century however a more optimistic picture is given by the Rev. John Adamson in the Statistical Account of Scotland in which he refers to the town's emergence 'from the decay of the post-Reformation years', on account of the 'spirited exertion of a few inhabitants'.⁷ Shore dues had risen from £10 per annum in 1773 to £66 per annum in 1793, and such was the demand for houses 'on an improved plan of size, accommodation and elegance', that at least fifty men were employed as wrights, carpenters and masons, and

house building was regarded as a 'profitable application of money'.⁸ There had also been two major building projects in the middle years of the century; the north building of the United College (fig.19, John Douglas, 1754-57), and the reconstruction of the University Library (fig.51, John Gardner, 1764-67), indeed the University was regarded as the 'chief support of the city'.⁹ Adamson's own Church of the Holy Trinity, of which he held the First Charge was reconstructed, apart from the tower and parts of the west front in 1798-1800 by Robert Balfour, an act which while largely destroying the mediaeval building nevertheless indicated a zealous attitude towards 'improvement' and confirmed Adamson's conviction that 'St. Andrews will continue to flourish, and will gradually regain its former lustre'.¹⁰

There were many factors which influenced and encouraged the growth of St. Andrews, but the underlying cause must have been the inhabitants' own spirit of enterprise referred to by Adamson. This coupled with the increasing wealth and optimism of Britain's growing industrial and cultural supremacy produced an atmosphere of self improvement and expansion. But whereas other towns became centres of manufacture and trade, St. Andrews assumed the role of a resort; it became a place of education, recreation and retirement, and enjoyed the fruits of the Industrial Revolution while other towns fuelled its fires. One of the earliest manifestations of St. Andrews as a nineteenth century resort was the

establishment of the Baths in 1810 (figs.190-192, attr.Balfour), when the entrepreneurs had the supreme optimism to invite guests not only to the laying of the foundation stone of the Baths, but also to the 'new town of St. Andrews'.¹¹ Negotiations for the rebuilding of St. Salvator's and St. Mary's Colleges began in 1823 at the instigation of the Senate and the Chancellor of the University, Robert Dundas 2nd Viscount Melville. Work began at St. Mary's (fig.44) in 1829 and at the United College (fig.24) in 1830, and this work upon the University's buildings must be regarded as a major factor in the town's development. In the meantime Dr. Andrew Bell was responsible for founding the Madras College (figs.57-64), and both these projects must have created an atmosphere of impending change and expansion, continuing the example set by the University and the Church in the eighteenth century and the more modest though crucial Baths in 1810. The provision of education was surely the single most important factor for expansion, prompting Grierson to write in 1838 that:

perhaps in no other locality in Scotland are the facilities of a complete and comprehensive course of education so great as they are in St. Andrews.¹²

There were large houses for families to rent and single rooms for students in lodging houses run by 'respectable characters'. In all, St. Andrews was considered a good place to educate children 'away from the vices and injurious habits, which in larger cities and midst a more numerous attendance of students, are prevalent'.¹³ In a report on the Burgh of St. Andrews at about the

same time, the University was mentioned as the 'chief support of the town' on account of its having 'attracted many families to St. Andrews as a residence'. It was likewise considered that the Madras College would 'probably give a stimulus to other improvements'.¹⁴

With the passing of the Burgh Reform Act in 1833 burghs were permitted to become 'Police Burghs' with responsibility for roads, water supply, lighting and cleansing of streets, and the keeping of public order; the Reform Bill of 1832 having extended the franchise perhaps therefore also encouraged a greater civic responsibility upon householders. In St. Andrews the provisions of the Burgh Reform Act concerning lighting and water were adopted in 1838 and extended to include cleansing, paving and public order in 1850 when the Town Council assumed the responsibilities of the Commissioners of Police.¹⁵ Although piped water had already been introduced and the streets lit with oil lamps by 1821, and the main streets repaved by 1823,¹⁶ the cleaner, safer and healthier St. Andrews which must have resulted from the provisions of the Act no doubt contributed to the town's popularity. All was by no means plain sailing however, as Dr. Adamson's report to the Poor Law Commissioners of 1840 shows. Adamson gives a grim picture of the sanitary condition of the town, there being 'few sewars of any extent', none in the principal streets, which had open gutters, and only a few of the better houses possessing their own W.C's.

The suburb of Argyle, with its many pig styes and cowhouses, and gutters which were usually 'filled to overflowing with black foetid mud', and the east end of North Street which had been 'rendered offensive by the habits of the fishermen' were cited as the city's most insanitary areas. Despite such conditions, Adamson concluded that St. Andrews was relatively healthy, and free from infectious diseases, and that 'As a whole...cannot be called a dirty town, at least in comparison with other towns'.¹⁷ Adamson's 1840 report and a subsequent document of 1862, both of which called for increased public cleanliness, better water supplies and improved conditions in the houses of the poor must have had the effect of prompting the rebuilding of much of the older housing stock, also encouraging expansion into previously unbuilt areas, somewhat removed from quarters now identified as insanitary.

The romantic conception of St. Andrews as an ancient seat of the church, education and culture must have played its part in attracting the educated and socially conscious to the town, and in the case of the United, St. Mary's and Madras Colleges it also probably influenced the style of architecture. Although Lord Cockburn was averse to the encroachment of modern buildings and wrote that Robert Reid and William Burn had been responsible for 'most of the recent spoiling of this place',¹⁸ he nevertheless praised the town's antiquity. Cockburn wrote of meditating amidst the

'fragments of St. Andrews', and of there being no place in Scotland where the 'Genius of Antiquity lingers so impressively'.¹⁹ Cockburn was writing of St. Andrews in 1844, little over a year after the 'reforming' provost Hugh Lyon Playfair assumed office. Even before the erection of the new clubhouse for the Royal and Ancient Golf Club (figs.204-206) a decade later, a scheme attributed to Playfair, Cockburn could write that golf was 'as much a staple of the place as old colleges and churches are', and that the pursuit 'actually draws many a middle aged gentleman...to reside here with his family'.²⁰ Playfair, during his long provostship (1842-61) was the catalyst for the development of St. Andrews into a resort, continuing the work which others had begun and in accordance with the pervading trend of municipal reform and 'improvement'. Appropriately enough, Playfair was in the vanguard of the movement to bring the railway to St. Andrews in 1852, which not only gave the town a direct link with the rest of Britain, but also introduced the phenomena of day trips and excursions en masse.

The reasons why St. Andrews expanded during the nineteenth century then are manifold. The result was nothing less than a building renaissance, which concentrated on the provision of middle and upper middle class houses, schools, university buildings, churches, shops and hotels, and prompted one observer to remark on the:

chime of hammer and chisel, which in the course of recent repairs and the erection of new buildings, has, for a few years, continued uninterrupted.²¹

As early as 1844 Cockburn wrote that the 'gentry of the place', mainly those who had migrated to it, consisted mostly of:

professors, retired Indians, saving lairds, old ladies and gentlemen with humble purses, families resorting here for golf and education, or for economy, or for sea bathing.²²

This migration and building renaissance continued at an irregular, if impressive pace until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, which effectively concluded the nineteenth century expansion of the town.

The extent of expansion during the nineteenth century is most readily appreciated by a comparison of Wood's map of 1820 (fig.1) with the O.S. map of 1912, as revised in 1921 (fig.4). It will be seen there was extensive in-filling of gap sites, especially in North Street, but the most dramatic growth took place to the south and west where previously there had been open ground. In-filling and rebuilding of individual sites such as 79-83 North Street (fig.265, Robert Balfour, 1824-25), Albert Buildings, 109-111 South Street (figs.108-110, William Scott, 1844) and 74-76 Market Street (fig.313, attr.John Milne, 1873) introduced fashionable architectural styles, but it was the completely new streets and terraces which were to have most impact upon the shape and architectural character of the town. The areas marked 'Mr. Richard's property', 'Greyfriars' Garden', 'Mr. Armit's property', 'Pilmour

Links' and 'David Erskine Dewar's property' were subject to the most intensive development. These various properties were transformed respectively into Pilmour Links/Golf Place (1830-37), Playfair Terrace (fig.116, 1847-50), Gillespie Terrace (figs.199, 1849-54), 4-5 Ellice Place (1863), all probably by George Rae; North Bell Street (figs.105,106, 1834-44, laid out by James McCulloch), continued as South Bell Street (fig.111-114, 1847-58, overall plan by Rae); Hope Park, including Lockhart Place, Hope Street, Abbotsford Crescent and Howard Place (figs.122-136,138,140,141, 1847-98, elevations by John Henderson, John Chesser and John Lessels); Gibson Place and The Links (from 1859-60, Rae, Jesse Hall, David Henry and others); and Scores Park (figs.214-263, from 1863). Expansion further west at Rathelpie was initiated by the construction of Kinburn House (fig.264, attr.Milne, 1856) and Martyrs' Free Church Manse (Milne, 1856-57) and continued with Rathmore (Milne, 1861) and Westerlee (fig.266, Milne, 1865-67). The concept of the romantic, free standing mansion house or villa established by these houses was continued, together with the double villa, in an increasingly pared down and modified form until the first decade of the twentieth century, creating the ribbon development of Hepburn Gardens, and the rectangle of Wardlaw, Kennedy and Donaldson Gardens. Further expansion within the traditional limits of the town was effected by the new streets of Queen Street (fig.156) and Queen Street Terrace (fig.174), initiated by the

construction of the new Town Hall (fig.143, James Anderson Hamilton, 1858-61), and Murray Park (1876-1900), which connected North Street and the Scores. Without exception all these developments were of middle and upper middle class houses, reflecting the social background of the majority of new St. Andreans. Working class housing was apparently inadequate; Dr. John Adamson had graphically described the often squalid conditions of the poor in 1840 and again in 1862²³ and perhaps partly in response to this and the growing provision of middle class housing, a newspaper report of 1866 states that:

One thing is wanting, and that is the erection of houses for working people. The everlasting pulling down of old houses and building up of mansions or shops will soon amount to a calamity, unless some good samaritan with an eye to small houses comes in the way.²⁴

Four years later the Sea Box Society were responsible for a terrace of sixteen fishermen's houses at Marine Place (Hall, 1870), and in 1892 at North Castle Street David Henry built a 'block of fishermen's dwellings'.²⁵ Modest tenements for the artisan and lower middle classes were built upon sites in Market Street and South Street, (e.g. 91-93 Market Street, Milne, 1889) but the greatest concentration of this building type was in Bridge Street and Largo Road. By the early years of the twentieth century this area of the South Haugh became an identifiable lower middle class suburb with such good quality and commodious schemes as 1-15 Bridge Street (Gillespie and Scott, 1908) and the whole of Park Street (Henry, 1906-08), although such schemes were hardly

working class. The fact is that apart from the fishing community centred around the Ladyhead and the harbour, there was not a large, new identifiable working class seeking houses en masse, such as existed in the expanding industrial towns.

The extent of the town's expansion is also revealed in its growth of population. From c2,875 at the end of the eighteenth century,²⁶ the population had increased by more than fifty per cent to 4,730 by 1851. Twenty years later the figure had risen by about a third to 6,248, and by 1891 had reached 6,853. In 1911 the population was 7,851, representing an almost three fold increase since the end of the eighteenth century. This reflected the growth of the population of Scotland as a whole, although at Cupar for the same period the figure only increased from 3,702 to 4,380.²⁷ More telling perhaps is the increase in the number of houses in St. Andrews; in 1851 there were 623 (including 24 uninhabited), increasing by fifty per cent to 990 (including 78 uninhabited) by 1871. In 1891 there were 1,366 houses (including 65 uninhabited) and by 1911 the figure was 1,831 (including 80 uninhabited).²⁸ In addition to this almost three fold increase since 1851 and extensive rebuilding, there was a major programme of public building, including churches, educational establishments and hotels.

Although many of these building types were designed by architects from outwith St. Andrews, the majority of the domestic commissions were carried out by local architects, and architect builders. Robert Balfour (1771-1868, active 1800-24) is the first identifiable architect working in St. Andrews during the nineteenth century,²⁹ and although there is a gap from 1824 when Balfour seems to have ceased practising, his mantle was eventually assumed by George Rae (1811-1869) in c1838.³⁰ Rae's apparently solitary position was challenged in 1850 when both John Milne (1822-1904) and Jesse Hall (1820-1906) settled in St. Andrews, each establishing his own architectural practice, Milne usually working alone but Hall from 1862 (and from 1874 as a partner) with David Henry (1835-1914). By the time Rae died in 1869, John Harris (active at least 1860-70s) and George Birrell (active 1869-76) are recorded as architects,³¹ and it was as an assistant to the latter that James Gillespie arrived in St. Andrews in c1873. When James Scott joined Gillespie in 1885 (from 1895 as a partner), the seeds were sown for what was to become the largest architectural firm in St. Andrews, and one of the largest in the east of Scotland. Of the St. Andrews builders, John Kennedy and John McIntosh appear to have run the largest concerns; in 1851 Kennedy was employing 30 masons, 12 labourers and 10 quarrymen, while McIntosh had an even larger number with 48 masons, 15 labourers and 14 quarrymen. At Kincapple Alex Meldrum employed 30 labourers in the manufacture of bricks and tiles, and

many other ancillary tradesmen are recorded in the succeeding decennial census. In 1871, for instance, the entrepreneurial John McGregor employed 26 men, 7 boys and a woman to assist him in his own various occupations as painter, joiner, cabinetmaker, upholsterer and auctioneer, and in 1881 two new builders are mentioned, John Carstairs and Robert Smith, employing 27 and 16 respectively. The building and allied trades were clearly an important part of the nineteenth century St. Andrews economy which grew up as a direct result of the town's expansion.

In terms of architectural style, St. Andrews changed markedly over the century, reflecting the various revivals of the period but also responding to its own mediaeval, seventeenth and eighteenth century heritage. Initially it was a simple classicism which was favoured, following the example of Gardner's University Library and continuing with the work of Balfour and Rae. Indeed with the new streets of Pilmour Place/Golf Place, Playfair and Gillespie Terrace, North and South Bell Street and finally Hope Park, St. Andrews seemed set to develop its own 'new town', in the manner of Edinburgh. Such uniformity was on the face of it alien to a townscape which had been evolving for at least six hundred years, but the new houses, built of local stone fitted naturally into the 'thick end of the wedge' of the old town plan. The chaste, regular facades must have appealed to Playfair who went to some trouble to

introduce uniformity to the older streets by removing external staircases and other projections. Even though building of classical elevations continued at Hope Park until 1898, a more sympathetic attitude towards the mediaeval past was manifest as early as 1824-25 with Burn's Episcopal Chapel in North Street (figs.54-56), later to be supplanted by Sir Robert Rowand Anderson's St. Andrew's Church in Queen Street Terrace (fig.174, 1867-69). Reid's east wing of the United College (fig.24, 1829-31) and Burn's Madras College (figs.58-64, 1831-33) were the first major examples of the revival however, and as such can be identified as representing a watershed in the town's architectural history, initiating developments that included the romantically massed, usually free standing castellated villas of the 1860s and 1870s, epitomised by the Scots baronial compositions of John Starforth's University House (fig.216, 1863-65), Milne's Westerlee (fig.266, 1865-67), and David Bryce's Castlecliffe (figs.256,257, 1869-70).

For the University, the nineteenth century was a period of mixed fortune, and the considerable building activity at St. Mary's and the United College during the 1830s and 1840s did not initially herald a period of untrammelled expansion. By 1897 however, student numbers had increased to 236 from 88 in 1800, and by the beginning of the twentieth century, the University 'had entered into a new age marvellously reinvigorated and

magnificently equipped'.³² Some of its new buildings included the University Hall of Residence for Women Students at Rathelpie (Gillespie and Scott, 1895, extended by Mills and Shepherd, 1910) and the Gatty Marine Laboratory at the East Sands (Gillespie and Scott, 1894-95). The Library was extended in 1889-90 (William W. Robertson) and again, at the expense of Andrew Carnegie from 1907 (Robert Lorimer); south of the Library the Bute Medical building had been built by another munificent Rector, the third Marquess of Bute (fig.100, Gillespie and Scott, 1898) and this was extended in 1909-11 to include a museum financed by Mrs. Bell Pettigrew. At the United College, a whole new block was constructed adjoining the west wing, beginning with a Chemical Laboratory in 1891, a Physics Laboratory in 1900, and a Chemistry Research building in 1903 (Gillespie and Scott); Reid's 1829-31 east wing was itself extended in a sympathetic manner between 1904-06 by Gillespie and Scott (fig.24). With the establishment of St. Leonard's School for Girls in 1877, St. Andrews' claim to being a centre of education was strengthened; Gillespie and Scott were responsible for some large new buildings including the St. Rule Boarding House (1894), the Sanatorium (1899) and the Clocktower block (1900). Other private fee-paying schools included Clifton Bank (figs.207,208, Hall, 1856) and St. Salvator's (fig.275, Milne, 1879), both on the Scores. Two new infant schools were provided in the 1840s, the West Infant School at St. Mary's Place (fig.116, William Nixon, 1844, extended

by Henry, 1894), and the East Infant School in Gregory Place. Following the 1872 Education Act, a new Burgh School was eventually built in Abbey Walk (Henry, 1889), providing the compulsory education to the age of thirteen prescribed by the Act.

The present study then examines five major areas of concentrated architectural activity: the renewal and redevelopment of University buildings from 1829 to 1854; the building of the Madras College; the development of what is identifiable as the 'new town' of St. Andrews; the building of the new Town Hall and the associated development of Queen Street and Queen Street Terrace, or 'Queen's Park'; and finally, the evolution of the Scores; areas redolent of the cause and effect of the town's growth from 1810 to the 1890s.

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Part One.

The Rebuilding of St. Mary's and the United Colleges,
1823-1854.

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Chapter 1.

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Introduction.

The University of St. Andrews was established between the years 1410 and 1414, although no University buildings remain extant from that early period. The St. Mary's College site on the south side of South Street has been in the possession of the University since 1419, however, when Robert of Montrose established what may be termed the Chapel and College of St. John the Evangelist. The site was extended to something like its present size in 1430 when Bishop Wardlaw granted a tenement to the Faculty of Arts for the purpose of conducting their Pedagogy. In time, both the St. John and Pedagogy foundations seemed to operate as one, so that by 1538, when St. Mary's College replaced the Pedagogy, the two sites became to all intents and purposes one.¹

The buildings which constituted St. Mary's College were begun by its founder, Archbishop James Beaton and continued from 1539 to 1546 by Cardinal David Beaton. The foundation, which was known as New College until the nineteenth century, was completed by the Beatons' successor, Archbishop John Hamilton by 1571. The University Library building² was begun in 1612 as a result of a donation from the Royal family of 228 books, and the desire of James VI 'to have ignorance banished, barbarity rooted out, virtue advancit, and guide letters to flourish within his Kingdom of Scotland'.³ Prior to

the establishment of the University Library, 'long known as the Public Library',⁴ there existed only the private, somewhat exclusive individual College libraries. The building was not completed however until 1642. Between 1764 and 1767 a major reworking of the entire building was effected under the direction of the local wright James Gardner.⁵ Thus by the early years of the nineteenth century, 'the century which brought more changes to the University than any other period in the whole of its long history',⁶ the buildings on the St. Mary's site were ageing, and as will be seen, in a bad state of repair. Their appearance is well illustrated by John Oliphant's drawing of 1767 (fig.6) and Reid's survey drawings (figs.7-11).

St. Salvator's College was founded in 1450 by Bishop James Kennedy on a site it continues to occupy in North Street; a drawing by Dr. Ronald Cant (fig.12) shows how the College may have looked 'at the close of the medieval period'⁷. The original buildings have been replaced over the centuries, with the exception of the College Church and tower. The interior of the Church has been extensively altered several times, but the North Street frontage has survived with comparatively few changes. The block adjoining the tower to the west may predate the College foundation, but it too has been altered at various times. Oliphant's drawing of 1767 (fig.13), Reid's survey drawings (figs.14-17), and

photographs of c1840 (figs.18,19) show the buildings as they existed in the 1820s prior to their re-building.

II. Early Negotiations: The Memorials of 1823 and 1810.

The first document of substantial relevance to the repair or rebuilding of the University during this period is the Memorial to Treasury,⁸ submitted to the Treasury by Senate in January 1823. Although it was not until after the recommendations of the Commissioners for visiting the Universities of Scotland (1826) had been heeded that rebuilding got under way in 1829, the pioneering work of the Chancellor, 2nd Viscount Melville (fig.20) must be regarded as crucial, notwithstanding the fact that in due course Melville himself became one of the Commissioners. Subsequent correspondence reveals Melville to have been on close and influential terms with successive Treasury officials. Following his death in 1851, Senate recorded in their minutes of 23rd March that Melville had:

by his powerful influence obtained from government a...large pecuniary grant for the renewal and repair of the buildings of the university and colleges.

The authorship of the Memorial is not clearly stated, only that it had been 'drawn up' and approved by Senate on 15th January 1823, having previously been discussed by the Rector (Principal Nicol) and the Chancellor, who was of the opinion it should be transmitted to the Treasury. The Memorial raises the issue of finance, and sets out to make a case for financial support from the Treasury for the University buildings. The main thesis of the argument is the

'defalcation of revenue', and the consequences thereof.

In the first instance it is pointed out that:

the original endowments of St. Salvator's College consisted of Teinds or Tythes; of St. Leonard's partly of Teinds, and partly of estates in land; of St. Mary's wholly of Teinds; and all the successive grants to these colleges were in Teinds of money, or in feu duties which never encrease in value.⁹

The reasons for the 'defalcation of revenue', or reduced income are clearly stated as being the prolongation of leases and the augmentation of stipends, the results of which effectively reduced the income of the Colleges in favour of the leasees and clergy. As a consequence, the salaries of the principals and masters were correspondingly reduced, it being stated that:

within the last thirty years the yearly revenue of the United College has suffered a diminution of betwixt £700 or £800, the yearly revenue of the College of St. Mary's a diminution of about £530.¹⁰

The point about the reduction in salaries was being made for its own sake, and in the hope that they would be increased, but it was also pointed out the masters were still 'burdened with the support of the College buildings'.¹¹ The buildings of St. Mary's were described as 'old and decayed'¹² though kept in a 'tolerable'¹³ state of repair. At the United College things were clearly much worse. A debt had been incurred to make necessary repairs to the Church and classrooms, but:

the buildings are still very ruinous, two sides of the court, presently only naked walls without roofs, and the greater part of the other two sides being in a state of dilapidation which cannot well be imagined by those who have never visited St. Andrews.¹⁴

This seems to be the first recorded use of the word 'ruinous' in connection with the University buildings of

this period, and it continued to be used throughout the various reports of the University Commissioners.

Having stated the case of depleted revenue, reduced salaries and the continued burden of the deteriorating buildings, the Memorialists went on to substantiate their claim. In 1810, when Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville was Chancellor of the University, a similar Memorial had been submitted to the Treasury regarding the reduction in revenues. The consideration for claims under this document was delayed due to the death of both Melville and Mr. Percival, First Lord of the Treasury, and when a reply was eventually received in September of 1812 the conditions had changed somewhat. In the first instance the annual defalcation had apparently risen from £600 to £1,300 per annum and in the second, the Treasury were accused of misunderstanding the claim for compensation for higher salaries. It seems the salaries of the St. Andrews masters were higher than those of any other university in Scotland, although because of the smaller number of students, their actual incomes were lower. The Treasury had taken the salary figures at face value. The 1810 Memorial was unsuccessful but by 1823 was being used to add weight to the claim for compensation, the principle for which, it was pointed out, was established by William III in 1701. In that year, by a Royal Grant, the king:

assigned to the College of St. Mary's 500 merks yearly, being as the Grant bears, 'in remuneration

to them of the damage sustained by a decreat of augmentation of the stipend of Tynningham by which the sum of 500 merks was taken off from the college.¹⁵

Grants had also been made to King's and Marischal Colleges, Aberdeen of £700 and £400 per annum respectively from the beginning of the century. Glasgow University had received a grant of £2,500 in 1809 for building repairs, and 'for a good many years past', Edinburgh had been granted an annual sum of £10,000 for the completion of her University's buildings. Why then, the Memorialists were suggesting, should St. Andrews not be treated likewise? The 1823 Memorial concludes with a plea to restore the revenues of the Colleges, with an affirmation that a proportion of such revenue would be set aside 'for the repair and support of their college buildings'.

III. Summary of Robert Reid's Rebuilding Schemes.

Following the submission of the 1823 Memorial to Treasury, the Barons of Treasury considered it necessary to obtain a report from the King's Architect, Robert Reid.^{16,17} There were two reports made by Reid; the first of 4th July 1825 which describes the condition of the buildings, and the second of 31st January 1826 which quotes for their repair and renewal. Upon receiving Reid's reports, the Barons of Treasury were of the opinion that it was necessary to 'rebuild the United College...in the manner pointed out by Mr. Reid', and put St. Mary's 'into a respectable condition'.¹⁸ The estimated cost was £30,150 for which a grant from Parliament was necessary. In their report to the Treasury of 6th February 1826 recommending the grant, the Barons indicated they were aware of a proposal to grant public money to Marischal College, Aberdeen for their buildings; they therefore considered St. Andrews to be entitled to equal consideration.¹⁹

Consideration was forthcoming, for in a letter from J. C. Herries, Chancellor of the Exchequer, of 22nd September 1826,²⁰ it was stated that the Treasury was placed in the hands of Viscount Melville with respect to the buildings, although 'relying on your lordship for keeping the fancies of the architects within moderate bounds'. Melville was informed that £30,000 was to be held on account 'for the purposes of maintaining the

buildings of the universities in Scotland'. It is not recorded whether the Chancellor regarded the £30,000 as exclusively for St. Andrews or literally for the use of all four Scottish universities, but it is apparent he was anxious to reduce Reid's estimates. Both Melville and Reid were in London during March 1827, and on 21st of that month, Melville informed Reid that his estimates were too high. Accordingly, and with considerable haste, Reid revised his scheme, and a letter dated 30th March 1827 outlines the revised scheme. At the United College expenditure was to be reduced by nearly £8,000 to £20,650, while at St. Mary's it was to be increased from £1,650 to £2,000. For the first time the extension to the University Library is mentioned and this was to be completed for the sum of £2,850. With the additional sum of £1,912 for 'incidental charges' taken into consideration, it meant a projected saving of only £2,738. It may be concluded there was more to Melville's wishes than the comparatively slim reduction in the estimates. The fact that the details of the first scheme are not actually known must be borne in mind when considering that the revision included an extension to the University Library, and a new west wing including a house for the Principal at the United College, but no new buildings or repairs to the existing north wing. This was described as being in a 'tolerable condition' in 1825 and it could be that Melville was willing to compromise the condition of this structure in order to

effect an improvement and enlargement of the University's accommodation as a whole.

In the same year however, there was a further revision; a long and detailed letter sent in December 1827 by Melville to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, J. C. Herries, outlined the proposals which ultimately gained the approval of the Treasury, although not until another full year had elapsed. What appears to be the original draft for this letter still exists, and the complete text is subjoined as Appendix A. In it Melville points out that Reid's original scheme was estimated to cost £40,000; Melville himself had considered the amount of proposed building too large and expensive and requested the architect to modify his plans. The final revision was estimated to cost no more than £23,000. It is curious that the figure of £40,000 is stated, since as has been seen the actual sum in question is clearly £30,150, but it could be that Melville was trying to make his case more plausible by appearing to be more concerned with economy than he actually was. His use of the phrase 'as far as I recollect' in this connection would seem to cast a slim veil over such apparent attempted deception of the Treasury. Given the standing of Melville, however, it is unlikely he was attempting to deceive, and quite probable that Reid had proposed a £40,000 scheme to Melville privately, which was rejected even before the official report of January 1826 was submitted.

This further revision included first the building of the east wing and afterwards the north wing of the United College, also the alteration of the block to the west of the College Church as a porter's house and the laying out of the grounds, all at an estimated expense of £17,008. There were no plans for the west wing and Principal's house however. At St. Mary's there was to be no change of plan. Melville estimated that immediate needs could be covered by a grant of £12-14,000, evidently by completing all the St. Mary's work and only the east wing and porter's house at the United College. The support of the Commissioners was cited, and any claim from Aberdeen University considered to be unnecessary.

The influence of Chancellor Melville is apparent from the tone of his draft 'unofficial' letter, marked 'private' and addressed to 'Mr. Herries', as opposed to the 'Chancellor of the Exchequer'.²¹ Dated 28th December 1827, it clearly was a private covering letter to be included with his official communication of the same day (Appendix A). In it Melville gently reminds Herries that £30,000 had been 'set apart from the Hereditary Revenues of Scotland' for the purposes of repair or new buildings at St. Andrews or Aberdeen. Melville urges Herries to an early reply, and to 'see Mr. Reid and his plans as soon as you can, in order that he may return here to his proper duties'. Melville refers to the letter he wrote to Herries on 6th

September 1826 in which he pointed out 'the great losses which their (the University's) funds had sustained since the Union of 1707', consequent of which was a reduction of salaries and a decay of buildings. Melville also mentioned the question of salaries and that they would no doubt be dealt with in the subsequent Commissioners report, but he was adamant that the 'state of the buildings ought to be attended to without delay'.

Despite Melville's exhortations, there was a delay, for it appears the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Henry Goulbourne was requesting more details. The details were forthcoming in a letter from Lord Rosebery of 17th October 1828. Rosebery was writing 'in the name of the Commissioners'²² and submitted copies of the Minute taken by them on 7th July 1827, including the report on the University buildings given by the St. Andrews architect Robert Balfour (Appendix B). This information, Rosebery stated, entirely coincided with the Report which the Commissioners had made and in which the plans were approved.

There followed the news which Melville and the University had been waiting for so long. On 24th November 1828 Melville heard from the Treasury that the works recommended in the Report of the Commissioners were to proceed.²³ He wrote to the Rector of the University, Robert Haldane, expressing:

great satisfaction in transmitting to you the enclosed letter from Mr. Dawson, one of the

Secretaries of the Treasury, communicating the information that the Barons of the Exchequer in Scotland have been authorized to proceed with the buildings recommended for restoring to a proper state and replacing on suitable footing the means of public instruction in the University of St. Andrews.²⁴

The Rector (Haldane) was suitably exuberant when, ten days later he offered the Senate's acknowledgements for the Chancellor's:

warm interest which from the commencement you have taken in a manner of so much importance to this ancient institution.

Haldane concluded his letter:

To your Lordship's powerful and friendly interposition we are entirely indebted for the pecuniary grant which will supply the means of restoring our decayed buildings to a suitable condition; and for your exertion by which you have conducted this business to a happy termination you are justly entitled to our lasting and affectionate gratitude.²⁵

The actual extent of Melville's influence upon the Exchequer is not known, but it is clear he made great efforts to exert whatever influence he had, which must have been considerable.

IV. Note on the Financial Provision by the University for its Buildings from the late Seventeenth Century, as revealed in an 'Answer to the Letter of Commissioners of H. M. Woods and Forests of 8th November 1849'.

The provision of finance was by no means complete in 1828, and it was to be at least another twenty years before the United College was finally rebuilt, and then only in a modified form. From a document entitled 'Answer to the letter of Commissioners of H. M. Woods and Forests of 8th November 1849',²⁶ it is possible to construct something of a history of the University's financial provision for its buildings, at least from the late seventeenth century. The letter of 8th November 1849 was part of the continuing negotiations between the University and the Commissioners over the completion of the College buildings, and its examination at this juncture will go some way to explain why the buildings were in such a deplorable condition in the 1820s. The specific point of issue was:

whether there are not any funds specially applicable to the maintainance and repairs of St. Andrews College buildings.²⁷

The Answer points out there were in effect no specific funds.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the financial resources of the University were clearly depleted. In the Answer an Act of 1672 is quoted which

had granted to the Scottish universities stipends and benefices of any vacant churches for the period of the next five years. A further Act of 1681 provided for:

half a months cess to be paid in and stocked for the use...of St. Andrews and divided in its just proportions to the several masters and professors in the several colleges therein.

It was deemed necessary to make such provision due to the 'low condition' of the universities, and also for 'encouragement and advancement of learning'. The entire income was intended for the academic staff, and a subsequent Act of 1696 is quoted which states that the proceeds of the lands duly purchased be divided among the Principal and Professors, and that nothing was left for a building or any other fund. It was further stated that rents were increasing from the lands purchased from the half months' cess, and periodically the accumulation was divided by the Professors amongst themselves. In 1784 it was resolved to appropriate in the name of 'diet money' the surplus of the revenue, and eleven years later it was minuted that:

henceforth the whole diet money as well as that payable at the yearly settling of the factor's accounts...shall be considered as part of each master's benefice for the year.

The 1696 Act therefore seems favourable in regard to the academic staff, especially since it also provided for keeping fabric 'in repair' through the vacant stipends fund. There is no mention of actual building and in any case the provision was rescinded in 1814, with the funds being redirected to the ministers' widows' fund. The situation remained as such with temporary building

repairs being attended to from time to time, but with no special building fund, until 1826. It was Dr. Chalmers who brought the whole question to the attention of the Royal Commissioners:

pressing upon them with all the argumentative force of his eloquence the scruples which he entertained concerning the appropriation and division of the surplus funds.

The Commissioners, while not exactly condoning the practice nevertheless declined to make any changes. It is recorded however that Chalmers accepted his share of the annual revenue in the usual manner. The Commissioners of 1840 came to a similar decision, being of the opinion that the 'incomes of the Principals and Professors are at present far from adequate'.

An interesting outcome of Chalmers' objection to the surplus revenue was the setting up of an Accumulating Fund in 1825. The fact that it was established before the Commissioners arrived suggests the University were more concerned at losing the surplus revenue than actually providing a realistic building fund; it also indicates Chalmers had made his views known well before the visitation. Nevertheless, the fund was stated to be established:

for the general purpose of upholding the fabric, but more especially to repair, enlarge, and otherwise render more suitable the class rooms of the several Professors.²⁸

It was agreed to pay £40 per annum from College revenues for the next two years when the subject was to be further discussed. In the event it was not considered,

and with the full grant being obtained in 1828, the matter was quietly forgotten. The zeal of the factor, however, was overlooked because he paid £40 per annum into the Accumulating Fund for the next eighteen years, without specific authority from the College one way or the other. In 1845 when the mistake was revealed the Principals and Professors were no doubt pleased to be able to report that money had in fact been kept back from their salaries and spent upon repairs to the College fabric, as well as the erection of certain farm steadings.

The point of the whole Answer was that the University had always been short of money, there had never been any proper provision for building and repairs, and such repairs which had been done were at the expense of the Principals and Professors. Assuming the evidence in the Answer was correct, it was small wonder that the University buildings were in such a bad state of repair in the first decades of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 2.

- I. Robert Reid's 1825-26 Report and Recommendations for St. Mary's College.
- II. Robert Reid's 1825-26 Report and Recommendations for the United College, and the Revised Scheme of March 1827.
- III. The Evidence taken by the Royal Commissioners appertaining to the Condition of the University Buildings in 1827.

I. Robert Reid's 1825-26 Report and Recommendations for St. Mary's College.

The first report by Robert Reid on the state of the University's buildings dates from 4th July 1825, and was in response to the Memorial submitted to the Barons of Treasury in January 1823. The extraordinary length of time which elapsed between the request from the University and Reid's report is inexplicable. It is worthy of note however that during this period Reid was successful in consolidating his existing position of 'King's Architect and Surveyor in Scotland' with that of 'Master of Works', following the death of James Brodie of Brodie, in January 1824.²⁹ For a salary of £200 per annum, Reid was 'sole Master of our Works and General Inspector and Overseer and Architect and Surveyor of all our Palaces and Public Buildings of whatever kind in Scotland'.³⁰ Of St. Mary's, Reid reported it was 'in great disrepair...and in most of the essential parts in a very decayed state'. The roof timbers were described as 'very much gone', and much of the slating 'ruinous'. The walls were in an equally bad state, being 'in many places rent and otherwise very unsound'. Reid had nothing good to report about the interior, it being generally 'in a very bad state'. The Prayer or Common Hall on the ground floor was reported to be very damp, uncomfortable and with no fireplace, and Reid suggested the walls and ceilings should be lathed and plastered, the floor raised and other interior finishings made

good. The Divinity Hall which ran immediately above the Prayer Hall must have been in a less objectionable condition, it receiving no special mention other than being 'too small and very confined'. Reid advocated removing a dividing wall to take in a room to the south, and raising the ceiling by dispensing with the third storey altogether. Further, in order to render the halls 'in any degree commodious', he proposed raising the first joist to create two halls of more satisfactory proportions. Reid described the walls of the College as 'unsound', and anticipated renewing them altogether in order to bring the building up to a satisfactory standard. This was clearly an ambitious and costly proposal, and the architect concluded that since the buildings were so inconvenient and almost ruinous:

it would be better at once to pull them altogether down and erect in their stead a plain substantial new building more suitable and appropriate for the purposes of this College.

The Principal's house was an exception to the general condition of the College because the Principal himself had recently executed repairs at his own expense. This will be discussed in conjunction with the Evidence taken by the Commissioners. That the majority of the College buildings were in a bad state there can be no doubt, but Reid's anxiety to completely rebuild them may be put down to an inherent desire to create rather than renovate, and perhaps make more of the commission than was necessary. It would seem however that the Treasury officials were content to opt for renovation rather than rebuilding, for when Reid submitted his estimates some

six months later on 31st January 1826, following instructions which he 'sometime ago had the honour to receive from their Lordships the Barons', the sum of £1,650 was quoted 'for the repair and alteration of St. Mary's College'.³¹

The survey drawings of St. Mary's (figs.7-11) and the United College (figs.14-17) bear no original dates, but it would seem reasonable to assume they date from the time of Reid's first report, i.e. July 1825. The drawings for St. Mary's are annotated 1828, although this is clearly not original and perhaps is contemporary with the pencil additions to the drawings in the manner of the accepted proposals of 1829.

II. Robert Reid's 1825-26 Report and Recommendations for the United College, and the Revised Scheme of March 1827.

When Reid inspected the buildings of the United College in 1825 he found them to be in no better condition than those of St. Mary's. Indeed the situation was worse since the south and east sides of the court which had formerly stood to the north of the College Church 'are now altogether ruinous with only a part of the old walls remaining'.³² The west range of buildings, almost undoubtedly dating from Kennedy's original fifteenth century scheme were reported to be:

in a state of great general disrepair. The walls are insecure, being forced outwards by the pressure of the roof. The timbers of the roof are in many places giving way, and are much sunk and bent inwards. The beams and joists of the floors are likewise sunk down and the boarding in general greatly decayed, and the whole interior finishing of the different apartments require to be renewed.

Reid considered the buildings to be in such a decayed and ruinous state that a total renewal should be contemplated. He also found the accommodation itself ill suited to its purpose, with the rooms badly lit, damp and inconveniently situated. The west range consisted of a public hall, kitchen, dining hall, classrooms and other apartments.

The north range (figs.13, 16, 19), erected in 1754-57 to the designs of John Douglas,³³ was understandably in a better state of repair although by no means in pristine condition. Reid considered it 'much

in want of repair', although the walls and roof timbers were in a 'tolerable state'. Classrooms were provided on the ground floor, with lodging rooms for students on the two upper floors, but 'the whole interior finishing is in a state of great disrepair'. Reid concluded the north range to be in a 'ruinous and dilapidated condition', which would be considerably expensive to repair. As he also considered the accommodation to be 'altogether inadequate', he advised the complete rebuilding of the north range.

The Barons of Treasury were more disposed to the complete rebuilding of the United College than St. Mary's, for after considering Reid's report they were:

humbly of opinion that it is absolutely necessary to rebuild the United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard in the manner pointed out by Mr. Reid, and that any temporary repair would not answer the purpose.

In his second report submitting estimates, Reid referred to 'descriptive memorandums' with which the Principal and professors had furnished him. From these he was able to estimate the cost of building to meet their accommodation requirements. The sum of £28,500 which is quoted was presumably intended to cover the cost of building new wings to the north, east and west of the College Church, but since no drawings or written evidence has come to light on this matter it is impossible to say just what the proposals were. It was Reid himself however who observed that the new buildings might proceed by degrees, 'beginning with the proposed

Pile of Buildings on the east side of the court', it containing classroom accommodation more immediately necessary. Once it had been completed, the existing buildings would be demolished and replaced.

The Revised Scheme of March 1827.

That there were drawings actually made at the time of the first and second reports is strongly suggested if not confirmed in the letter which Reid sent to Melville on 30th March 1827.³⁴ At this time both architect and Chancellor were in London and an appointment was made for Wednesday 19th March to discuss the proposed rebuilding. Perhaps it was at this meeting that Reid was informed his original proposals were considered too costly and that revisions should be made. It must be noted however that two plans for the extension of the University Library (figs.50, 52) are signed and dated January 1827, some two months prior to the meeting in question; since the Library extension is not mentioned in the first reports it must be concluded that revision negotiations to include such an extension were already in hand when the letter of 30th March was written. The letter, almost certainly in response to the meeting of 19th March is reproduced here in full:

Craven Hotel
Craven Street
Strand

Mr. Reid begs very respectfully to acquaint Lord Melville that he may give the subject of the buildings at St. Andrews his further consideration, and thinks the best mode of reducing the scheme is by lessening the general dimensions, and he

accordingly proposes that the two ranges of buildings intended on the east and west sides of the college court should be made each 5 feet narrower than by the plans - in that way the classrooms will still be of larger dimensions than those now stated by Dr. Nicol to be sufficient, and with the decreased dimensions of the building generally, and omitting in a great measure, the ornamental points of the exterior elevations Mr. Reid calculates the expense to be as stated in the enclosed abstract.

Lord Melville will be pleased to observe that in this abstract the expense of the great hall and the observatory are altogether omitted, as matters not indispensably necessary. Mr. Reid has not made any further plans, as no satisfactory change of position or arrangement of the buildings has as yet suggested itself to him, but if Lord Melville approved of it Mr. Reid will take back with him to Edinburgh the whole of the plans and papers relating to the business and prepare others, after consulting with Dr. Nicol and Sir Henry Jardine, limiting however the amount of expense to what is stated in the enclosed abstract.

The letter is reverently written in the third person and the plans referred to in the first paragraph could either be the original proposals, or those drawn up in January 1827 of which that for the Library extension appears to be the sole survivor. It is clear that by March of that year all the existing proposals were under review and that Melville had suggested making certain further revisions in order to reduce the cost. Reid was consequently writing to inform his lordship of his proposals to reduce the size of the east and west ranges of the United College. The letter also suggests that Reid had seen the questionnaire sent out by the Royal Commissioners prior to their visitation in the summer of 1827 because he refers to Dr. Nicol's observations on the subject of classroom dimensions. The second paragraph reveals that plans had been made to

include a 'great hall and observatory' in the north range of buildings, but in the interests of economy these were abandoned. The architect, ever anxious to please, also indicated his willingness to redesign the entire project in order to accommodate the hall and observatory, but this appears never to have been done.

From the abstract of estimated expense (Appendix A) it is possible to form an idea of Reid's intentions for the rebuilding of the United College. As has been seen the east range was to be reduced by 5 feet in width 'and the ornamental parts of the exterior elevation in a great measure dispensed with'. There is no indication of the kind of accommodation or architectural style to be employed but presumably it was to have been a more elaborate version of that eventually executed. The west range likewise was to be reduced in width and ornament, although the proposed house for the Principal was to remain. The estimate for the east range was £8,550 and for the west range £9,800. It was also planned to include a porter's house and other alterations at the entrance gateway for £500. With a further £1,800 being spent on drains, enclosing walls and the laying out of the grounds the projected expense for the new United College buildings was £20,650.

If this plan had been carried out the United College would have been well provided with accommodation; it was presumably designed with the

College's requirements in mind since Dr. Nicol's advice had already been heeded. There is no clue to the fate of the old north wing however, but it would surely have been retained and perhaps modified from dormitory accommodation into classrooms. Had the north wing been demolished and the new east and west ranges erected in the manner proposed the open sided quadrangle thus created would have been somewhat unbalanced, and exposed to the elements.

The new estimates for St. Mary's receive no explanation in the document. The sum of £2,000 is quoted for repairs and alterations which is £350 more than the original report of January 1826. Presumably Reid was confident he could bring the building up to the required standard without the rebuilding he had advocated earlier. There are no drawings of these proposals but since the sum of £2,000 is quoted again in the finally approved and subsequently erected proposals of December 1827 (Appendix A) it is assumed they remained unchanged. Likewise the sum of £2,850 for the extension to the Library also remains unchanged, but in this case the drawings dated January 1827 confirm the continuity of design.

The total estimated expense for the rebuilding of two wings of the United College, extending the Library and repairing St. Mary's College was £27,412, the sum including £1,912 being 'seven and a half per

cent incidental charges'. Compared to the first estimate of £30,150 this represents a saving of only £2,738 with a corresponding shift of emphasis from the United College to St. Mary's. Instead of three new wings at the United College and repairs at St. Mary's, there were to have been two new wings at the United College, with repairs and a Library extension for the benefit of the whole University at St. Mary's. All this for £2,738 less, including the retention of the eighteenth century north wing suggests a very worthwhile scheme. Although ultimately Reid's work was carried out in a neo-Jacobean style, at this stage it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that his proposals were of a classical nature; given the severely plain and symmetrical character of the old north wing. While the Collegiate Church is a gothic building in its own right, an attached quadrangle of square headed sash windows and ground floor cloister arcade would not have been an outrageous proposition, nor would it have been visually displeasing. Virtually all Reid's work is in the classical mode and it seems likely he would have continued his style in St. Andrews unless he was particularly conscious of the proximity of the gothic Church. But things were not to proceed as planned, for in the summer of that same year, 1827, the University Commissioners arrived in St. Andrews and the evidence they collected resulted in yet another revision of the plans to rebuild the University.

III. The Evidence taken by the Royal Commissioners
appertaining to the Condition of the University
Buildings in 1827.

Evidence³⁵ contains two sources of information with particular reference to the buildings of the University; a series of written questions and answers, and the edited transcripts of actual interviews with various masters. The written replies from St. Mary's concentrate on the question of living in College. It is stated that there had always been College accommodation provided for students but in the preceding twenty years only very few had availed themselves of it. It appears students preferred lodging in private houses 'as in many respects more comfortable'³⁶ than the College rooms; the watchful eye of the Principal whose residence was adjacent to that of the students no doubt encouraged the trend away from living in College. The Principal's house was established as such in 1702, and in 1827 the Principal continued to reside there. Although masters had ceased to live in College since the 'reformation of religion',³⁷ the Professors of Church History and Hebrew still retained a single apartment in the College, but its use for study rather than domestic accommodation seems more likely. The written answer also states that following an examination of the accounts it was probable that:

a sum of £1,800 upwards had been expended on the repairs of the College buildings during the last fifty years, amounting at an average to the sum of about £36 yearly.³⁸

Principal Haldane was interviewed on 3rd August 1827: he had spent in excess of £150 of his own upon the Principal's house but still stated it was 'at all times very damp',³⁹ largely because the ground level was considerably lower than the street level. He was of the opinion that the accommodation was adequate, but only if the ground floor were made habitable by the eradication of damp. The floors of the second storey Haldane reported to be 'very sufficient',⁴⁰ following inspection by tradesmen, and it was also recorded that much of the house was neither lathed nor plastered when Haldane first took up residence. Haldane's reaction to the proposition that the students' dormitory accommodation be swept away in favour of extending the Library was favourable, if cautious, stating that 'We must have higher authority than our own, for alienating part of the very site of our College'.⁴¹ Regarding the rest of the building, Haldane was satisfied that accommodation was sufficient, even though both the Divinity and Prayer Halls were damp and required repair and attention. The ceiling of the Divinity Hall should be raised, it was suggested, by taking in the students' rooms on the second floor, and the entire hall lengthened by absorbing an adjoining room. The Prayer Hall, if public prayer were to be continued should 'undergo complete repair'.⁴² Haldane also suggested the provision of a further smaller teaching room to facilitate the teaching of more than one class at any

one time. St. Mary's College as a whole was described as being 'in a very dilapidated state'.⁴³

At the United College there were similar written questions regarding the provision and use of students' accommodation. It was reported that free accommodation was provided for about forty students in double rooms, although 'for some time back, only a very few, often not more than five or six of the students, reside within the College'.⁴⁴ As with St. Mary's students those of the United College were still not lost to the almost continuous scrutiny of their masters, St. Andrews being such a small town. No Principal's house was provided, nor was there domestic accommodation for professors although occasionally a professor lodged in a single College room during the session. Financial provision for the College buildings was in practice provided out of the general revenue.

There are transcripts of interviews with four masters which contain pertinent information regarding the buildings of the United College. Dr. John Hunter was interviewed on 1st August and stated the buildings were in 'very bad repair'.⁴⁵ The east range was apparently 'quite ruinous and dilapidated', and had been so for a hundred years. The eighteenth century north range Dr. Hunter understood from tradesmen to be in a 'very bad state', while the fifteenth century west range was 'in

danger of some part of the wall falling', having been bound together by cross beams some ten years previously.

In reply to the question of whether several classes should use the same class room, Dr. Hunter was clearly not in favour. When he occupied a classroom alone 'it was always in most perfect repair', but when he shared it with Dr. Chalmers' students he could never 'by any means prevent the hurting of the classroom'. That very summer he had been obliged to 'get reparations done upon it'. Hunter was also of the opinion that it was essential to present the College in a good state of repair; if the buildings were not respectable then the College would lose credence and attract fewer students:

The meanness of our buildings will lower the Establishment in the eyes of the country and of strangers. For my own part, I am ashamed when any person from a distance wishes to see the College, the exterior of it is so discreditable.

Hunter concluded his remarks on the College buildings by advocating a College Hall suitable for examinations, addresses, and 'for the purpose of administering discipline'.

Dr. Thomas Jackson, interviewed on 4th August was questioned on the accommodation itself rather than its condition. He felt a new set of classrooms were necessary, the existing rooms being too confined and inconvenient. His own classroom was unable to afford 'proper disposition of the apparatus',⁴⁶ and was subject to smoke from the vicinity of the steeple:

Frequently when I go into it in the morning, the smoke is so thick that I cannot see the opposite window as a window...I have to throw up the window and wait till it clears.

He was generally of the opinion that the classrooms were too low, and those in the north range too long and narrow. The existing College buildings he stated were without 'any degree of good taste', and nothing short of a new building should be contemplated 'so that we should not be ashamed to show it to any stranger, especially an Englishman'. Jackson expressed his general wish that the University were 'more resorted to by the young Aristocracy', and towards this end he advocated changes in both curriculum and buildings. Natural history and modern languages he considered 'might afford useful exercise preparatory to foreign travel', while the buildings should be made 'something gravely and chastely respectable, presenting to the eye nothing of unclassic reminiscence'.

Professor T. Duncan, interviewed on the same day felt the first improvement to the educational system at St. Andrews should be 'new buildings for the whole of the United College',⁴⁷ followed by the erection of an observatory for the study of meteorology and astronomy. Like Jackson he complained that classrooms were too small and too low, and also that each required a closet:

The general appearance of the buildings, too, is certainly not respectable for a great Seminary of Education, and it is apt to degrade it in the eyes of the students, as well as of the public.

Dr. Thomas Chalmers had few but pertinent words to say about the College buildings. He joined the chorus of too small and too low classrooms, stating that his Political Economy class occupied a low classroom for the fourth successive hour, and consequently felt the 'heat and stifling' atmosphere to be quite intolerable:

I would go so far as to say that we should not only have a complete suit of classrooms but a fabric of somewhat creditable aspect, that would announce itself to be a College, and not be mistaken for an old cotton mill; something in keeping with the character of a venerable Literary Institute.⁴⁸

Given such evidence it is quite clear that major changes were necessary. All the buildings mentioned were either redundant, inadequate, dilapidated, or a combination of either. It has been suggested that the information contained in Evidence is of a somewhat contrived nature, presenting an overtly negative view of the condition of the buildings, and this may well be the case.⁴⁹ Certainly the contributors are unanimous in their statements, which appear to be carefully edited and not in any way complimentary to the condition of the buildings. It must be accepted however that the buildings were in an unsatisfactory state and in need of attention. As has been seen, Viscount Melville had already been successful in negotiating with the government for new buildings, and to some extent the Commissioners were simply going through the motions of their remit. That they were so favourable suggests the influence of Melville himself, even though the plans accepted previously were required to be revised. In

their report of 1830, the Commissioners acknowledged that:

the subject of restoring [the buildings] had been very properly brought before the notice of Government by Lord Viscount Melville, the present Chancellor of the University. In that capacity, as Chancellor, his Lordship had urged the necessity of the buildings being repaired, or of new buildings being erected, before this Visitation was appointed.⁵⁰

Melville must therefore be acknowledged as the prime motivating force behind the rebuilding work, both before and during the Commissioners' Visitation.

Chapter 3.

- I. The New Buildings for the United College as Proposed in December 1827 and Approved in November 1828.
- II. The Completion of the New Buildings of the United College: The Interim Period 1831-44, and William Nixon's Proposals of February 1844.
- III. William Nixon's Revised Proposals for the Completion of the United College, February 1845.
- IV. The Estimate and Contract.
- V. Completion of the North Wing.
- VI. The Second Phase of William Nixon's Work at the United College, 1846-48.
- VII. The Completion of William Nixon's Scheme by Robert Matheson in 1851.

I. The New Buildings for the United College as Proposed
in December 1827 and Approved in November 1828.

The Abstract of the Estimated Expense (Appendix A) written by the architect in December 1827 provides a good if undetailed account of the intended new buildings at the United College. The general plan referred to is missing from the surviving collection of drawings, but there exists a coloured perspective sketch of the whole scheme (fig.21), and separate elevations of the north (fig.22) and east (fig.23) wings signed and dated; Robert Reid, Edinburgh, December 1829. The drawings are annotated 'copy' in red ink, and are presumably faithful copies of the original December 1827 proposals. A rough pen and ink drawing of the north elevation and perspective is also extant.

The plan was L shaped, one room deep and two storeys in height. The imposing entrance porches leading to the staircases provide a somewhat stern vertical axis; one on the east wing and two on the north wing. The porches proper project markedly at ground floor level, but then recede and act as a welcome relief from the relentless fenestration of the first floor. All windows are designed with a single transom and mullion, with triangular strapwork pediments on the ground floor and hood moulds on the first floor. The roofline above the cornice echoes the window rhythm with shaped gables in a kind of expanded trefoil design, each supporting an

heraldic shield. The higher, larger and more imposing gables of the entrance and staircase towers accommodate more elaborate decoration, and are surmounted by flamboyant fleur-de-lis.

The East wing, estimated to cost £5,579 was the first, and in the event only wing to be erected (fig.24). Floor plans drawn by William Nixon in 1844 (figs.25-28) show that the ground floor contained the central entrance lobby and staircase, flanked by two large classrooms, (in Nixon's drawings, figs.25,26, both classrooms are subdivided). Professors' rooms adjoin the classrooms to the east, and these are connected by a passage. The arrangement is carried up to the first floor where Reid provided two classrooms each with an adjoining room (designated apparatus room in Nixon's drawing).

The North wing (fig.22), to be erected at a later date is but an elaboration and extension of the East wing. The central bay is enlivened by triangular shaped gables surmounted by fleur-de-lis, in contrast to the softer curvilinear forms of the flanking bays. The curious triglyph like blocks to the head and foot of the central ground floor windows are clumsy and suggest the neo classical architect frustrated with this deviation from usual practice. Reid's estimate was £9,829 and the accommodation to include an assembly hall for the students and meeting hall for the professors, presumably

in the central bay, with classrooms and other offices occupying the remaining space.

The east wing (fig.24) was built largely in accordance with the elevation of 1829 (fig.23), with a plan similar to William Nixon's plan of 1844 (figs.27,28). The central entrance bay on the west elevation is the most striking and decorative feature of the composition; the panelled door, approached by four steps is enclosed in a moulded architrave with a depressed arch, and a sculptured frieze completing the outer edge of the moulding. The quoins of the entrance porch, and the projecting bay adjoining are of a scalloped design, alternately concave and convex. The large cross window of the stair well, which has retained its leaded glass is surmounted by a triangular pediment, decorated with various strapwork motifs and a six pointed star. Immediately above are the arms of Prior Hepburn, co-founder with Archbishop Stewart of St. Leonard's College in 1512. The bay terminates with a shaped gable and Latin cross at its apex. The flanking bays, three on either side have cross windows with triangular pediments on the ground floor, but the hood mouldings of the first floor windows of the 1829 elevation have been omitted. The central triangular pediment on each side is decorated with a four pointed star surrounded by a Tudor rose, three leaf clover and thistle motif, in a rather thin strapwork design; a large fleur-de-lis surmounts the pediments. The other

pediments contain eight pointed stars, various crosses and fleur-de-lis, and similar thin strapwork. A cornice with gargoyles runs above the first floor windows, and each bay is completed by a shaped gable, or pediment bearing cartouches, the whole arrangement being richer than the 1829 elevation.

No working drawings are known to exist of Reid's east wing, and the only document which yields any information relevant to actual building is a tantalisingly truncated Revised Draft of Contract.⁵¹ This document reveals that the proposed builder was Lewis Alexander Wallace, of Wallace and Sons, builders, 10 St. John Street, Edinburgh; the plumber, George Chambers of Weir's Close, 208 Canongate, Edinburgh; and upholsterer, Richard Clark and Son, chair makers, 18 Leith Walk, Edinburgh. Wallace proposed to complete the building for £5,890 (compared to £5,579 in Reid's estimate), to be 'completely erected, built, executed and furnished on or before the first day of September 1830'.⁵² Unfortunately the building specifications are missing, and the only date to appear is 1829. It is difficult to date the completion of the building precisely, although the only references to the building in the minutes of the United College suggest the end of 1830. On 29th October, the College resolved:

to employ George Nicol to assist Thomas Peattie in watching the College Buildings from 7a.m. to 5p.m., and that his services be retained from month to month at the rate of 7/- a week.⁵³

This could mean that valuable building materials were subject to theft or other dangers. One month later on 27th November, the College resolved to insure the 'New College' for £3,000 at the rate of 4/6 per £100, with the Dundee Insurance Office.⁵⁴ This presumably means the building was nearing completion, although it appears that actual completion was not until sometime in 1831, for a Memorial from the University to the Commissioners in 1844 states that the building was 'completed in the years 1830-31'.⁵⁵ A further document, dated February 1831 gives the amount expended upon the College in 1829 and 1830 as £6,244.8.10 for 'new works', and that works 'are now in progress'.⁵⁶ Moreover in the Dictionary of National Biography, the entry for Reid states that the east wing was completed in 1831 at a cost of £10,000 (compared to his estimate of £5,579).

The fact that an Edinburgh builder appears to have been employed is not altogether surprising since Reid probably had experience of Wallace and the other tradesmen. Reid would have looked suspiciously upon St. Andrews builders of the time for there were but few examples of their work to commend them. The stone for the building has not been positively identified, and it is not mentioned in the Revised Draft Contract; it has been suggested that it comes from the Ravelston group of quarries in Edinburgh,⁵⁷ a sandstone used in the construction of the Edinburgh New Town and known to both Reid and Wallace.

II. The Completion of the New Buildings of the United College: The Interim Period 1831-44, and William Nixon's Proposals of February 1844.

Although Robert Reid's new east wing of the United College was completed sometime in 1831, building of the north wing was delayed until 1844. By that time William Nixon had succeeded Robert Reid at the Office of Works,⁵⁸ and it was he who produced a new scheme for the north wing. There appear to be two reasons why a new scheme was considered necessary; financial, and the fact that the 1830-31 building scheme was not considered entirely satisfactory. Aesthetic considerations may have played their part, as would the natural desire of the new architect to design his own building rather than merely superintend the erection of his predecessor's design. Nixon's first proposal was estimated to cost £6,000, compared with nearly £10,000 for Reid's plan; a significant saving, and persuasive point made by the Memorialists in 1844.⁵⁹ The unsuitability of Reid's plans is suggested by the fact that in Aberdeen in 1834 it was considered by the Lords of the Treasury themselves 'quite unnecessary that the King's architect should be employed'.⁶⁰ Reid's reputation had gone before him, it being recorded that he:

was a dull, staid personage, who had acquired much discredit by the plans for the new Custom House of Leith and his repairs at St. Andrews. The latter turned out a great failure. The new building contains four huge classrooms for which there are very few students.⁶¹

It was probably a combination of all these factors which led to new plans being prepared, and Nixon confirms in a letter of 28th February 1844⁶² that requirements by then had changed. Having prepared new designs, Nixon stated they were:

so modified in the interior arrangements and construction as to provide all the accommodation now desired, while the exterior elevation is designed to be in character with the present new building.⁶³

The design of the building seems to have been less of a problem than procuring the finance, and Viscount Melville was naturally involved in these ongoing negotiations. Dr. Cook, Professor of Moral Philosophy wrote to Melville on 6th April 1833, stating that the buildings which some years before the Commissioners had found to be in a ruinous state, had 'now become most uncomfortable', and could not Melville 'do something in the matter when you are next in London'.⁶⁴ Cook had previously written to Lord Rosebery, who responded that he would happily aid Melville's endeavours at the Treasury. Melville replied there was no question of the urgency of the matter, and that he would readily go to London to negotiate if he could 'render any service in bringing on a decision of the case, so as to accelerate the final completion of the intended buildings'.⁶⁵ He also pointed out that the government's decision upon the uniting of King's and Marischal College, Aberdeen had a bearing upon how much money would be available for St. Andrews. If the

Aberdeen Colleges were united, then their accommodation requirements would be less and their building grant correspondingly reduced; if they remained separate Colleges, then their building grant would be higher. In the event, Aberdeen were given priority.⁶⁶

The quest for finance continued throughout the 1830s, with the completion of the St. Andrews buildings being delayed for various reasons. The surviving correspondence of Viscount Melville on the subject resumes in 1837, with a lengthy letter to the Lord Advocate. Melville was writing from Ramsgate on 10th December 1837, after having conducted a 'short conference a few days ago in Pall Mall'⁶⁷ with the Lord Advocate. Melville relates an account of why Aberdeen, and particularly St. Andrews were in a less healthy financial position than either Glasgow or Edinburgh. He concludes that the majority of the balance of the original grant was diverted to Marischal College 'after the change of administration in 1830',⁶⁸ which he believed 'would not be necessary if the proposed union should take place'.⁶⁹ Moreover it had resulted in a:

severe disappointment to St. Andrews, where the remaining part of the plan ought undoubtedly to be carried into effect...They had the prospect, almost certainly, that their buildings would be restored and the money destined for that purpose was diverted to another object without the knowledge of any person belonging to or connected with St. Andrews.⁷⁰

Melville goes on to discuss the question of the east wing, and defends Reid against the implication that it had been too costly. He concludes that 'the total

expense did not appear to be beyond what might have been expected for the extent of building and repairs at the two colleges'.⁷¹ Early the next year, in a letter to Principal Sir David Brewster, Melville writes in somewhat pessimistic terms that he had worked tirelessly on behalf of the University in order to procure the necessary funds to complete the work. He cites the 'considerable addition to the public expenditure but which the state of affairs in Canada must render unavoidable'⁷² as an obstacle to obtaining their goal.

It must be concluded that the main reason for the cessation of building in 1831 was the fact that the balance of the original grant was reserved, and subsequently used for the rebuilding of Marischal College, Aberdeen. Other factors such as the change of government in 1830, the apparent dissatisfaction with the work already executed and the estimated expense of that still to be done must also have contributed. The surviving correspondence of Viscount Melville on the subject terminates with his letter to Brewster of 3rd February 1838 (op.cit.note 72) and the story must be resumed six years later when Provost Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair took the unresolved situation in hand.⁷³

Playfair evidently took the initiative of approaching William Nixon as the Queen's Architect in Scotland, for there survives a copy of Nixon's letter to Playfair following their joint inspection. In this

letter of 28th February 1844, Nixon expressed the view that the accommodation needed could only be provided in a way similar to that proposed by Reid in 1829; he echoed his predecessor's sentiments that the existing old buildings were in a dilapidated condition 'and totally unworthy of repair'.⁷⁴ The designs which accompanied the letter (figs.25-29)⁷⁵ were described by Nixon as being:

generally in conformity to the original approved plans; but so modified in the interior arrangements and construction as to provide all the accommodation now desired, while the exterior elevation is designed to be in character with the present New Building.⁷⁶

The accommodation proposed included four additional classrooms, plus two more to be made by sub-dividing the two large classrooms in the existing new building. There was to be a Great Hall, museums, a charter room, a hall for professors' meetings, and 'other conveniences', as well as an observatory at the north east corner. A balustraded wall was to extend from the west end of the north building to the boundary wall, with an additional entrance to the garden behind. Nixon states in his letter that he proposed to convert the building adjoining the College tower into a dwelling house for the College Porter, although no drawing of this appears to have survived. All the interiors were to be finished in a 'plain and suitable manner', with old stone and other materials used as far as possible, the whole to be executed 'at a sum not exceeding £6,000'. Nixon concluded by begging Playfair to submit his plans to the professors for approval. This was done on 29th February

1844, when the professors duly approved them and resolved to 'take the most efficient measures for carrying them into execution'.⁷⁷ Playfair's 'deep interest and great trouble' was noted at this meeting, and he was thanked for his offer to assist the College 'to the utmost of his powers in completing the buildings'.⁷⁸

The new plans having been drawn up and approved were duly despatched to Viscount Melville by Playfair on 9th March 1844, with an accompanying Memorial.⁷⁹ Playfair had been requested to be the 'medium of communication' with the Commissioners, and the thesis of the Memorial was to present the case for the completion of the renewal of the United College buildings. Melville was prevailed upon to convey the Memorial to the Commissioners, and the following minute was recorded by them in Edinburgh on 18th March 1844:

the Memorial ought to be submitted to the immediate consideration of H.M. Government; and they [the Commissioners] earnestly recommend the early completion of the said New Building, according to the plans prepared by Mr. Nixon.⁸⁰

By July of the same year, Melville was able to report to Haldane (as Rector) that an estimate for £6,000 had been presented to the Commons, and that work could perhaps be under way before the next winter set in.⁸¹ On 22nd August, Senate were still agitating for a firm settlement when Haldane was instructed to request from the Lords of the Treasury and the Commissioners of Woods and Forests 'that authority may be given for proceeding

with the work without delay'.⁸² A month later, the minutes of the United College record that Playfair was appointed the 'accredited agent' to conduct 'all communications with the Office of the Woods and Forests', and to superintend the completion of the College buildings. Moreover it was recorded that Playfair had 'powerfully assisted' in obtaining a public grant of money for the building, so it may be assumed that authority for building had been given by this date.⁸³

III. William Nixon's Revised Proposals for the
Completion of the United College, February 1845.

Despite the authority to proceed with building works, apparently granted in September 1844, work did not commence until well into 1845. An Estimate of probable cost of work⁸⁴ is dated 1st March 1845, and the actual Contract⁸⁵ dated April/May 1845. By this time however, the proposals for the north building had been changed, and the result (fig.30) was a design even more removed from Reid's original proposals. The observatory was removed as were the porches in the re-entrant angle and south side of the east block. But the most significant alteration was the enrichment of the central entrance, with a columned portico, heraldic motifs and strapwork decoration assembled after the manner of similar entrances at houses such as Hatfield, Hertfordshire (figs.96,97). No positive reference to these changes has been found, and all that can be said is that they were made between February 1844 when Playfair presented the architect's proposals to the University, and February 1845, the date of the signed working drawings. Perhaps Nixon was playing safe in the first instance by submitting a design which in elevation was almost identical to Reid's east wing, in the belief that it would more easily secure the commission, only afterwards elaborating the facade and thus giving the design his own distinctive mark. This seems plausible enough, but it does not explain the absence of the

observatory in the executed design. It was presumably a matter of finance, but it is all the more curious if the undoubted increase in cost of the new facade displaced the provision of an observatory.

The set of working drawings (figs.31-36) is incomplete;⁸⁶ nos.1, 2, and 10 are missing, which must include the plans of the ground and first floors. It must therefore be assumed that in general the 1844 floor plans (figs.25-28) were carried over to the 1845 working drawings. The actual extent of the proposed works, over and above the north wing itself is uncertain, since the February 1844 perspective (fig.29) shows nothing more than a fanciful balustrade and steps to the west of the north wing leading to the College garden. In the revised general plan (working drawing 13, fig.31) of February 1845, this balustrade is not shown. Strangely the building Contract itself does not state specifically what is to be built, only the manner in which it is to be carried out. The Estimate however is more specific, and allows £100 for 'taking down and rebuilding the surface of the College Court and garden ground'.⁸⁷ It seems likely therefore that in addition to the building of the north wing, alterations were carried out on the porter's house, and on the boundary and other walls of the site.

The south elevation of the north wing as constructed to the 1845 plans (working drawing 7,

fig.32) is a two storeyed nine bayed building, some 185 feet wide, 38 feet deep, and 50 feet high to the ridge of the roof. The building extends a further 37 feet to the east, hidden from view from the quadrangle itself, but completing the extrinsic right angle within Reid's existing wing. The north elevation of the north wing (working drawing 8, fig.34) clearly shows this eastern block. The accommodation as suggested by the 1844 floor plans can be usefully divided into an eastern and western section, taking the main entrance lobby as the dividing line. The Great Hall (presently Lower College Hall) occupies all the space to the west of the ground floor, and is illuminated by four windows on both the north and south elevations. There is a large fireplace in the centre of the west wall, which on its outside elevation shows a blind window, corresponding to the actual window on the floor above. The first floor room is similar to the Great Hall, but designated a Museum, (presently Upper College Hall). The eastern section on the ground floor houses a 'Hall for the meetings of Professors' immediately next the entrance lobby and runs the entire width of the building with a window to the north and south. A small charter room leads off with a window facing north, and next to it (although not connecting) a Professor's room. To the south of these two small rooms a large classroom for Moral Philosophy faces south, with two windows illuminating it. A further smaller lobby to the east gives access to the Moral Philosophy classroom and the connecting Professor's

room, as well as a classroom for Mathematics and large Professor's room in the eastern block hidden from the quadrangle. The first floor of this entire eastern section contains a further smaller museum, two Professor's rooms, a classroom for Philosophy of the Senses, and a classroom for Medicine and Anatomy with an adjoining preparation room. The exact specifications of this eastern section are difficult to define, since as has been seen the actual 1845 floor plans are missing. In its final form, there were some changes in fenestration, and the complete omission of an additional bay to Reid's east wing which was to contain a staircase, so it may be assumed other details might also have changed. In a duplicate copy of the February 1844 plans (figs.27,28) there are pencilled modifications which bear greater resemblance to the internal divisions as they exist at the present time. On the ground floor the Hall for Professors' meetings has been made smaller by the erection of a wall, and the Professor's room to the north appears to have become a passage way to the charter room. The additional staircase bay to Reid's east wing has been erased, probably to be moved a little north to form an end pavilion in the eighteenth century manner. One of these modifications which failed to find their way into the final plans was the removal of the observatory from the eastern end of the north wing to a more central position above the main staircase, to the north of the south facing pediment. All these pencil additions are presumably the work of Nixon himself, and

with the exception of the observatory, seem to have been incorporated into his final plan.

IV. The Estimate and Contract.

The Estimate and Contract⁸⁸ render useful information regarding the actual structure and some of its furnishings. The Estimate is given in full as Appendix C, but it is worth noting the following in the present context: that central heating 'upon the mild hot water principal' was installed for an estimated cost of £35; that wooden glazed showcases and other fittings were provided for the museum and anatomical museum for £200; and that moveable benches and seats for the Great Hall were to cost £40. It is also revealed that two additional rooms for professors were to be built to the rear of the existing east wing, plus 'new privies for the students' at a cost of £150. The Contract between the Commissioners of Woods and Forests and the various contractors, together with the working drawings were signed in Edinburgh on 30th April, and in St. Andrews on 2nd May 1845. James Kennedy of St. Andrews was engaged for the excavator and mason work for £2,098.10.00 (less £65.10.00 for old materials), with Alexander Goodall and James Sanderson of Old Broughton, Edinburgh for carpenter and joiner work for £1,700 (less £100 for the old materials). Plumbing was to be carried out by James Farquharson for £249 and slating by David Anderson for £102.10.00, both of St. Andrews. For plastering, John and Robert Ramage of Edinburgh were engaged for £200, and from Panmure Foundry in the same city, John and James Blackie contracted to do founder and smith work

for £341. All these tradesmen agreed to complete their work 'in the most substantial and workmanlike manner'.⁸⁹

Before building could commence, the old buildings had to be removed, and the Contract contains explicit instructions for this. The entire north wing and the west wing up to the division wall 'next the old kitchen offices and Mathematical classroom' were to be carefully taken down as directed by the architect. Kennedy was responsible for the masonry and Goodall and Sanderson for the woodwork. A temporary fence was erected from the southernmost point of demolition on the west, running roughly diagonally across the quadrangle to just beyond the entrance to the east wing. This fence is faintly visible marked on working drawing 13 (fig.31) and all building operations were to be confined to the area north of this. The sole entry and exit for workmen and their carts was to be by a temporary entrance formed for the purpose into Butts Wynd. During the building work of 1845 considerable disruption to College activities must have been experienced. No reference to such problems appear however either in the minutes of the United College or the Senatus Academicus, indeed these bodies appear strangely silent on the whole business of the rebuilding work of the period.

Further instructions regarding demolition state that any stone suitable for re-use on the new buildings was to be 'carefully selected and laid aside',

with all 'rubbish' being used for the levelling of the quadrangle. The old walls were to be entirely cleared to the bottom of their foundations, and any unused rubbish, including the old slates, became the property of the contractor. Specific mention was made of the 'ancient chimney pieces and bell turret in the Great Hall and Museum', that they should be 'carefully taken down and laid aside'. The bell turret was subsequently re-erected on the northernmost gable of the surviving porter's house block. The chimney piece in the west wall of the present Hebdomedar's Room on the first floor of the block adjoining the College tower to the west probably derives from the Great Hall.

Once the site was cleared and carefully fenced off, building operations began. The Contract lays down strict directives. There were to be two courses of foundation stones, 3-5 feet long by 2 feet 6 inches broad, and 8 inches thick. All stone other than that salvaged was to be obtained from either Bonefield, Strathkinness, or Niddy (Nidie) Knockhill quarries, and to be 'of the very best rock of their respective kinds, all perfectly solid and free from any unevenness in quality and other blemishes'. The external walls and hewn work was to be executed 'in the most perfect manner to be all well squared and full bedded', with certain internal and 'sleeper' walls which supported floor joisting of rubble masonry. Mortar was to be made of Greigstone or Whitebank lime, and 'clean sharp sea sand

taken from the east shore, and properly prepared with pure spring water thoroughly tempered by the Pug Mill'.⁹⁰ For the main south front, no mixing of stones was allowed and it was to be of a uniform colour and free from iron stains, sand holes, or any other blemishes, all executed in 'finely broached ashlar...regularly coursed'. Other stones specified included polished blue Dundee stone for the fireplace in the Great Hall, with Carmyllic stone for its hearth and the lobbies, passages and floors in general. The principal stairs were to be of 'best polished Milnefield stone', and the roof slates to be from Easdale and Ballachulish.

All carpenter and joiner work was to be executed in the best Memel (i.e. Baltic) timber, and for the plaster work Cults lime was to be mixed with 'clean sharp sea sand from the east shore', and blended with 'good fresh hair'. Sound proofing, or 'deafening' was to be installed in the floors by laying a three quarter inch thick coat of plaster upon the floor boards, followed by a 3 inch layer of sieved 'dry building rubbish', and covered with another layer of plaster. The contractors agreed that the building would be completed within eighteen months.

V. Completion of the North Wing.

The rebuilding of the north wing must have been nearing completion by the autumn of 1846, for the College minutes note on 21st October that 'no more of the old College should be removed till they ascertain whither the amount of accommodation in the new building be sufficient'.⁹¹ The part of the old College referred to must have been the west wing since the old north wing had to be removed before new building could even begin. At the meeting of 12th November mention was made of the allocation of the new classrooms, and on 30th November, after Nixon had personally addressed the meeting, 'the College unanimously expressed their satisfaction with the accommodation provided by the new buildings'.⁹² There is no mention of an official opening, nor of the practicalities of moving in, but by the end of 1846, the north wing was clearly completed and must have been in use by the beginning of the new year.

As has been seen, an Edinburgh builder had been employed for Reid's east wing of 1830, but by 1845, the St. Andrews builder John Kennedy had risen to such prominence as to be entrusted with the construction of the new north wing. Kennedy had won his spurs with William Burn's Madras College in the 1830s and would have been familiar not only with Nixon's Jacobean style, but also with the local contractors. Kennedy's foreman was John Carstairs who superintended the construction of

the building, and himself founded the building business of Carstairs and Carmichael shortly after the completion of the north wing.⁹³ Perhaps more significant for the development of St. Andrews as a whole was the arrival in the town of Jesse Hall, who was appointed by Nixon to take overall charge of building operations at the United College. Hall had been an apprentice mason to his brother Robert in Edinburgh (on the construction of a sewer to drain the loch at the base of Salisbury Crags) before coming to St. Andrews. Upon completion of the work at the United College, and excavations and landscaping at the Castle and Cathedral ruins, Hall took the post of Gas Manager at St. Andrews in 1849 which he retained virtually until his death in 1906. He also set up in business as an architect and with David Henry was responsible for much of the St. Andrews building of the period. He became a Town Councillor, Dean of Guild, and Bailie, and inaugurated the Lade Braes Scheme.⁹⁴

The construction of the north wing claimed the life of one Lyon Duncan in a fall from the scaffolding of the north elevation, indeed Hall himself and two workmen, James Robertson and John Bell were all seriously injured in the accident. Playfair was responsible for securing from the Board of Works a payment of £20 compensation for Duncan's widow, and the full wages for the two injured men while they were unable to work. There is a suggestion that the accident was due to Hall's negligence, and in a letter to Nixon

from the Office of Woods and Forests in London, Hall was rebuked thus:

Mr. Hall, as a practical man, specially appointed to superintend these works, should have taken care that proper scaffolding was provided, and that he should not have allowed so inefficient and unsafe an erection to have been made, and if the contractor refused to attend to his suggestions, it was his duty to have reported the circumstances to you.⁹⁵

Clearly the incident did not affect Hall's position in St. Andrews, however unfortunate the circumstances. But if there was tragedy connected with the new north wing, its erection also provided the opportunity for one young man to establish himself and eventually ascend the social scale from mason to Sheriff Substitute of Forfar.⁹⁶ Sheriff Campbell Smith delivered a lecture on 'self culture' in the Great Hall sometime during the 1880s, and afterwards at dinner related to a Dr. Richardson how as a young man he had worked on the interior of the building:

...I laid every one of these stones with my ain hand. When that place was being built I was a working mason, under the father of our friend the Professor opposite us, Professor W. C. McIntosh, a builder in St. Andrews who had the contract, and he gave me the job of laying the inside stonework; I never had any job in my life that gave me so much pride and so much pleasure.⁹⁷

The Sheriff refers to John McIntosh, a noted St. Andrews builder, but as has been seen he did not in fact have the contract for building, and must have sub-contracted to Kennedy since his name does not appear either in the Contract, or Working Drawings of 1845.

Kennedy in fact seems to have mismanaged the work at the new north wing so as to have incurred a loss and he wrote to the Office of Woods and Forests in October 1847 seeking compensation. The reply was sympathetic, and referred to Nixon's long illness and the 'great rise in labour and materials' as contributory factors in Kennedy's loss. After 'mature consideration' however, the Board turned down the request because they considered it:

More than probable that if you had given more personal attention to so large an undertaking the results would have been very different from what you represent them to be.

There is no indication of the amount by which Kennedy exceeded his contracted figure of £2,098.10.00.⁹⁸

VI. The Second Phase of William Nixon's work at the United College, 1846-48.

Proposals for work on the boundary walls, demolition of the northern part of the block to the west of the College tower (containing the Mathematical classroom and Hebdomedar's room), and the erection of an aisle or cloister 'as a covered walk for the students'⁹⁹ on the north side of the Church were all put forward by Nixon and accepted at the meeting of professors on 30th November 1846. Previously, on 21st October, the meeting had agreed that the western wall of the quadrangle 'should be provided with a covered way along its inner side to shelter the students in wet and storm weather',¹⁰⁰ but Nixon had evidently persuaded them otherwise, for the covered way was erected as a cloister on the north side of the Church.

Once the architect's 1846 proposals were accepted, the professors of the United College resolved to seek the assistance of Lord Melville, Edward Ellice, M.P., Sir John Gladstone, and Major Playfair in obtaining a further grant from the Treasury. Playfair was 'much flattered'¹⁰¹ by the request but thought his efforts should be in conjunction with Sir David Brewster so as to 'be more likely to command attention at the Treasury'.¹⁰² The professors therefore appointed Brewster and Playfair 'to form a deputation to proceed to London'¹⁰³ for the purpose of obtaining a further grant. The Memorial they were to convey was approved on

3rd February 1847, and the two gentlemen proceeded to London as planned.¹⁰⁴ On 29th March, a letter was received in St. Andrews from Lord Melville to the effect that the Treasury approved the proposed works and the sum of £2,600 would be made available.¹⁰⁵ A contract was signed on 17th July 1847 between the Commissioners and John McIntosh, builder, Alexander Doig, carpenter and joiner, and David Anderson, slater. The contract and specifications do not appear to have survived, but a set of three working drawings (figs.37,38), signed by Nixon, and annotated by the contractors and others, refers to the contract which is dated 17th July 1847.¹⁰⁶

The second phase of Nixon's work consisted of the cloister to the north of the Church, a new gable to the truncated western block, and screen walls to the north and west, and south and east. The cloister extends the whole length of the Church, nearly 100 feet from the west end to the point where the apse begins, and projects north into the court some 25 feet. There are seven three centred arches to the north reflecting the number of bays on the south front of the Church. The piers of the arches rise to a height of 30 feet 6 inches, with conical pinnacles and fleur-de-lis finials; the corner piers to the north east and north west are basically octagonal in plan, and more massive. The arches are reflected on the south and east internal walls with blind arcading. A lean-to roof harmonises visually with the roof of the Church, and also eliminates the problem of a gutter. The northern wall of

the Church was completely covered with a new wall, forming the southern part of the cloister and rising to the height of the existing wallhead. A moulded parapet runs the entire length of the wall, punctuated with pinnacles 8 feet high, which correspond to those of the piers of the cloister arches. The pinnacles are panelled, and decorated with crockets. The timber ceiling of the cloister is supported by a kind of wooden Tudor arch beam, springing from half columns, and the pavement is built up over chambers some 3 feet deep, and the whole is executed in polished ashlar.

The work on the block to the west of the College tower consisted of some unspecified internal alterations and the demolition of part of its northern wing to within 50 feet of the northern wall of the main North Street block. A new gable end (fig.38) provides a vernacular foil to the gothic Church, and the revival Jacobean, and remains as a reminder of the original western range of the College. A pair of windows with plain moulded margins faces north on both the ground and first floors, and the crowstepped gable is surmounted by the belfry from the old building.

The question of the enclosure of the old burial ground to the south of the College Church was raised during 1846, and Nixon was naturally involved in this. A proposal was laid before the meeting of professors on 25th April 1846, and approved on condition that at least 24 feet be left between the buttresses of

the Church and the new boundary wall, and that the expense of the scheme be no more than £60.¹⁰⁷ The cost was to be met from the Accumulating or Sinking fund, which probably accounts for the fact that the scheme appears to have been independent of the official operations. The principal objective was to reduce the depth of the area already enclosed and to increase the width by extending the enclosure westwards to Butts Wynd. It was agreed that Sir David Brewster would engage Nixon to draw up plans at an early date. Before this could be done however, the committee appointed to oversee the operations apparently commissioned contractors to remove the existing wall and erect a new wall with railings, much to the chagrin of Brewster, who declared their activities 'illegal and contrary to the usual and proper administration of the College'.¹⁰⁸ Brewster was outraged, and wrote to the Office of Works indicating that the whole scheme was at the suggestion of the Town Council in order to make the road wider. The Commissioners were about to initiate an investigation, when the matter was settled by Nixon visiting the site and suggesting a series of chains and pillars, with the original committee being reappointed to obtain estimates and in due course superintend the work.¹⁰⁹ On 31st July it was resolved to 'preserve the ancient gateway and to erect it in some suitable place'.¹¹⁰ The Town Council's views were sought and whilst they had no actual objections, they nevertheless stated that the College could not in the future claim the newly enclosed area as

their own, 'founded on the fact of possession for an length of time'.¹¹¹ Perhaps in the light of the Council's statement the College decided not to proceed; at the meeting on 1st May 1847, it was agreed to settle Nixon's account of 10 guineas for drawing up the plans, and that 'the space in front of the College buildings in North Street should be enclosed by a curb stone, and sown with grass'.¹¹² Photographs confirm this to have taken place, and the ancient gateway was duly laid aside. In 1905 Andrew Lang referred to it somewhat irreverently as 'The Porch', which at that time was 'lying around in a frightfully dissolute state'¹¹³ in fragments in a corner of the College garden. The gateway was eventually re-erected in 1906,¹¹⁴ when the design for the iron gate and railings followed that of Nixon's for the western boundary wall of 1847.¹¹⁵

The screen and boundary walls which effectively enclose the College court consist of polished ashlar, and rubble masonry, constructed with buttresses or arches at regular intervals. The west boundary wall runs from the northern end of the College tower block to meet the north screen wall extending west from the north wing (fig.37)¹¹⁶ Its centrally placed entrance gateway consists of a three-centred arch set between buttresses with saddleback 'roofs', and beneath a shaped gable reflecting those of the north and east wings of the College itself. The adjoining north screen wall consists of three such arches with two plain bays on either side; only the central arch has a pediment.

The south boundary wall is a continuation of the cloister arches to the east, and extends four bays to the eastern screen wall which runs south on the line of the east wing. The south boundary wall formed one of the three College walls which almost made an island of 71 North Street, situated between the apse of the College Church, and the wall of the porter's house adjoining to the east. The north and east screen walls gave access to the grounds which were levelled and re-laid as part of the 1845 scheme. The second phase of Nixon's work must be regarded as a bold attempt at unifying the surviving buildings with the new east and north wings. Nixon was clearly inspired by the fifteenth century buttressing of the south elevation of the College Church and used its rhythm and a scaled down version of the buttresses themselves in the boundary walls. The three-centred arches and round pediments reflect those of the north and east wings, and the ogival ornament was probably inspired by the old North Street gateway.¹¹⁷

All Nixon's major 1846 plans appear to have been carried into effect at the time except the pinnacles on the south front of the Church. At the College meeting on 30th October 1847, the professors 'having had their attention diverted' towards the proposed pinnacles, were of the opinion that 'it would not be advisable to erect them on the buttresses in front', and that the architect should be advised

accordingly.¹¹⁸ Some months later Robert Matheson, as Nixon's successor wrote to the Board of Works in London seeking advice on whether to proceed with the pinnacles 'as proposed by the late Mr. Nixon',¹¹⁹ or bow to the wishes of the College. The Board replied, seeking a report as to any progress which may have been made on the construction of new pinnacles, and to explain:

whether these pinnacles are essential parts of the construction or were only intended as ornaments. And whether they were identical restorations of examples of previous work gone to decay, or new additions designed by Mr. Nixon.¹²⁰

There appears to be no further mention of the matter in either the minutes of the United College or the letters of the Board of Works, but for whatever reasons the pinnacles were not erected at this time. As an economy measure the Board were perhaps happy to comply with the College's wish for no pinnacles and since Nixon had recently died the only source of reasonable objection was removed. That there was need for economy is suggested in Matheson's unsuccessful request for a further grant of £1,042, made in May 1848, at about the same time the pinnacle question was raised.¹²¹ Just as Kennedy has lost money on his contract for the mason work of the new north wing, so McIntosh lost money on his contract for the second phase of Nixon's scheme. McIntosh apparently experienced difficulties in the progress of his work which held up the project as a whole and incurred extra costs for the Board, who were at liberty by the terms of the contract to lodge a claim against him. No claim was made however, 'McIntosh having

completed the works satisfactorily and as he states at a loss to himself', instead, the Board instructed Matheson to admonish the masons 'to use greater diligence in future and avoid any occasion for complaint'. Matheson himself was reprimanded owing to the overspending on the 'iron fences and gates between the College courts', which were extra to the contract.¹²²

The photograph of the College Church taken during the work of 1851-52 (fig.39) shows the building still without pinnacles on its south and east (apse) elevations, and with the parapet looking somewhat worn. When the pinnacles were eventually erected in the early 1860s as part of the restoration effected by Principal Forbes, it would appear from the present condition of the masonry that the parapet was also rebuilt or restored in order to receive the new pinnacles. The design is heavy and ponderous, continuing the style of the buttresses themselves and terminating in saddleback 'roofs' similar to those used for the screen walls but with the addition of fleur-de-lis finials. Their design differs markedly from the buttresses of the north elevation which are comparatively light and decorative, and it has not been established whether the original Nixon design was used or if there was a new design by Matheson. An unsigned, undated drawing of the south elevation (fig.40)¹²³ shows the work as executed, and also shows the new window tracery which was installed as part of Principal Forbes' restoration. A section and

east elevation¹²⁴ which clearly dates from the same time indicates the contractor to have been David Kidd and Son, builders of Dundee. The Board of Works Abstract of Cash Payments records that Kidd was paid £1,167 between October 1861 and November 1862 'for alterations and etc. at St. Salvator's College Chapel'.¹²⁵ No other payments are recorded for Kidd, so the work which included the new pinnacles must have been completed by the end of 1862.

VII. The Completion of William Nixon's Scheme by Robert Matheson in 1851.

William Nixon died on 24th March 1848, having effectively transformed the United College from a largely ageing group of buildings to a modern establishment in reasonable repair, watched over by the founder's mediaeval Church. But there were evidently some works incomplete, for by the end of 1848, a petition for £250 was presented to the Commissioners 'in order to complete the College buildings and provide the necessary furnishings'.¹²⁶ Two months later an estimate for £1,340 was received from Matheson 'for completing the buildings', and the meeting of professors on 22nd February 1849 accepted this estimate and agreed to petition the Treasury for same. Negotiations took their customary protracted pace, for it was not until March 1851 that the Commissioners were authorised by the Treasury to make the necessary provision 'for the works required to be performed'.¹²⁷ When the contract was finally signed in August and September 1851, it was for considerably more work than proposed in 1848 for £250; John McIntosh contracted for 'repairs and other works' to the tune of £642.19.0, to be completed by the end of 1851.¹²⁸ McIntosh won his contract with a considerably lower estimate than his local competitor John Kennedy whose tender was for £940.¹²⁹ The work in question was under the direction of Robert Matheson, and included general repairs as well as a new screen wall

and entrance doorway to the east of 71 North Street. Matheson's plans (figs.41,42) are dated April 1851, and on the last day of that month, they were sent by the Office of Works, 'again availing themselves of your professional experience' to William Burn for his approval.¹³⁰ Burn replied quickly for on 5th May 1851, the Office of Works wrote to Matheson returning his drawings and desiring they be altered:

so as to follow out the course indicated by Mr. Burn's suggestions, restoring the parapet of the tower of the College Church agreeably to the sketch Mr. Burn has made on your elevation.¹³¹

The wording of the letter implies that Burn had amended previous proposals for the Office of Works, indeed three years later Matheson was instructed to 'hold yourself in readiness to meet Mr. Burn...at any time of which he may apprise you',¹³² pending the latter's visit to Edinburgh. Burn was clearly acting in a consulting capacity for the Board of Works, a situation which architects in Matheson's position might have found difficult. Jesse Hall was engaged to superintend the execution of the work for the sum of 20 guineas, usurping David Gilmour who had already agreed to do the work for 24 guineas.¹³³

The contract reveals the details of the work. The College tower was to be re-pointed throughout, with new stone inserted as necessary. There was to be a new Caithness stone floor laid in the first floor room, new joists to the three upper floors, and new doors to all the rooms. All the window openings in the tower and

spire were to be filled in with dressed louvre slating in timber frames, and the stone spiral staircase, corbels, gutter and waterspouts repaired. Externally all these works were subservient to the erection of Burn's parapet at the top of the building, 'to be restored in parpened drove ashlar'.¹³⁴ Matheson's plan and elevation as amended and initialled by Burn (fig.42) clearly shows how the 5 feet deep parapet sits upon the mediaeval corbels. It has the effect of finishing off the tower in a Romanesque style, in sympathy with many such examples in the east of Fife. The work on the tower entailed the erection of extensive scaffolding and the photograph of this (fig.39) is one of the earliest showing actual building work in progress upon the College.

Perhaps more conspicuous than the parapet was the new screen wall and entrance to be erected on the site of the porter's house between 71 North Street, and the house known as College Gate. The porter's house was apparently in a dilapidated condition and 'required to be taken down'.¹³⁵ It was the College itself who decided to demolish the house, following an enquiry from the Office of Works as to the condition of the building; indeed the College wished 71 North Street and College Gate to be purchased for demolition with a view to 'improving the approach to the quadrangle'.¹³⁶ Fortunately there were not funds available to buy these houses and although College Gate was demolished a century later to make way for the new University

Offices, 71 North Street has survived as one of St. Andrews' oldest inhabited buildings. Clearly in 1851 the College were anxious to acquire a new and impressive entrance, and by demolishing three houses and erecting an entrance gate in their place there can be no doubt that this would have been achieved. In the event, a modest entrance similar in design to those already built by Nixon in 1847 was erected and its position is clearly indicated on the elevation and plans of 1851 (figs.41,42); it will be seen that the entrance linked up to the existing network of footpaths. The contract emphasised the old house should be 'carefully taken down' and the walls thereby exposed properly painted and made weatherproof.¹³⁷ The stone was to be re-used where possible upon the other building works.

Remedial and repair work on the block to the west of the tower included complete re-pointing and the fitting of lightning conductors; the east wing was to receive similar attention. In addition, the roof was to be 'thoroughly gone over'¹³⁸ and repaired accordingly, windows painted and glass replaced where necessary, and doors re-hung and re-varnished. Despite Nixon's recent work, W.C's were to be examined, repaired and put into proper working order, and the exposed timber frame of the cloister roof and ceiling to be painted in an 'asphaltic colouring'.¹³⁹

Matheson's work was completed by attention to the boundary walls, especially that to the north facing the Scores. The existing two gates were to be blocked up and a new central door of red deal to be made. The wall was to be reduced in height to that of the eastern wall, and a coping stone added. The iron gates were evidently in need of paint, and they were to receive four coats, finished in a stone colour.

All these works were to be completed within three months of the date of contract (signed August/September 1851). Work must have extended into the financial year 1852-53 however, because McIntosh was not paid the balance of his contract until 31st March 1853, when Hall was also paid for his superintendence (£27.2.6, not the 20 guineas as arranged).¹⁴⁰ Various works continued into the 1850s, and an entry in the College minutes for 8th July 1852 indicates the concern of the College at the possibility of a bartizan being erected on its Church; the College objected and the bartizan was evidently never built. This raises the question of whether Burn or Matheson proposed the bartizan. The surviving drawings show no trace of it, but the Office of Works became involved and their secretary wrote to Matheson on 17th July 1852 thus:

I am directed by the Commissioners of H.M. Works to request that you will remit to me forthwith the tracing and elevation on which Mr. Burn has sketched the restoration for the parapet of the College Church.

You will please to report for the information of the Board whether there is in St. Andrews any

other ecclesiastical building with a similar parapet to a tower.¹⁴¹

Brewster had presumably contacted the Office of Works who in turn demanded the drawings in order to come to some decision. Unfortunately their letter is inexplicit, but they were clearly acting as mediators. There is every possibility of Burn having designed a bartizan on a separate drawing which is now lost; he was certainly capable of such additions to mediaeval buildings as will be seen when the Blackfriars' Chapel is discussed in conjunction with the Madras College. Conversely it is conceivable but perhaps unlikely that Matheson was exerting his independence by adding to the design which Burn had in effect made his own. In the absence of more explicit evidence, the matter remains one of conjecture, but it does suggest that the parapet itself was not erected until the first half of 1852.

Sundry payments for other works carried out at the United College in the year to 31st March 1853 and recorded in the Office of Works Main Ledger 1853-54¹⁴³ include:

John McIntosh, mason,	£25.00.08
David Balsillie, carpenter.	17.06.00
Mr. Beattie, jnr., carpenter.	2.16.02
Hume & Melville, for a vane.	14.03.00
Farquharson & Co., plumbers.	1.14.03
James McPherson, plasterer.	3.09.02
Robert Beal, smithwork.	3.00.00
Elias Jones, gas fitter.	<u>1.01.06</u>
Total:	£68.10.09

Of greater significance is the entry of 1st April 1854, when a total of £631.05.08 was expended on both the United and St. Mary's Colleges. The entry is given in

full so as to include the names of tradesmen and indicate the trades involved:¹⁸³

D. R. Hill & Co., painters.	£196.12.10
Allardice & Sclanders, upholsterers.	203.17.00
David Balsillie, carpenter.	53.08.02
James Malcolm, carpenter.	56.19.11
David Mackie, plumber.	9.04.00
James McPherson, plasterer.	16.03.07
J. Neil & Co., gasfitters.	19.17.10
J. Miller & Co., ironmonger	6.01.00
Peter Steele, carpets.	25.06.04
Alexander Doig, upholstery.	7.19.06
James Gray & Son, ironmongers.	15.15.06
Jesse Hall, superintendence.	<u>20.00.00</u>
Total:	£631.05.08

By far the most conspicuous item to follow in the wake of Matheson's 1851 scheme was the new clock in the College tower, with faces to the north, south, east and west. The position of the clock is indicated on the 1851 elevation (fig.42) as 'A' and survives intact with the name of the makers, James Ritchie and Sons, Edinburgh and the date 1853 inscribed upon its winding cogs. In fact the clock was not installed until after January 1854. Brewster, Playfair and Matheson had all agreed that its position should be at 'A', but there had been objections by those who would no longer have the benefit of the sight of the clock from their houses, it being somewhat lower than its predecessor which was at 'B'. Matheson put the question to the Office of Works who replied that the 'clock service' should be 'completed in the way most conducive to the public benefit'.¹⁴⁴ They approved Matheson's recommendation of position 'A', but mindful of the considerable amount of money which had recently been expended on the tower, warned of 'taking care that great caution is used in

perforating the masonry of the tower to affix the same'.¹⁴⁵ The clock cost £130 and was paid for by the Office of Works on 21st July 1854.¹⁴⁶ An ambitious plan to illuminate the clock by gas light was realised by May 1854, but after three years, the lighting apparatus ceased to function.¹⁴⁷

Chapter 4.

- I. The Repairs and Alterations at St. Mary's College and the Addition to the Library, 1827-31.
- II. Alterations to the South Street Elevation of the Principal's House.
- III. The Choice of Architectural Style at St. Mary's and the United College.

I. The Repairs and Alterations at St. Mary's College and the Addition to the Library, 1827-31.

The recommendation to put St. Mary's College 'into a respectable condition' for the sum of £1,650 was made by the Barons of Treasury on 6th February 1826, following the report on the condition of the buildings by Robert Reid of 31st January 1826.¹⁴⁸ On 30th March 1827 in a letter from Reid to Melville the figures of £2,000 for St. Mary's and £2,850 for the extension to the Library are mentioned;¹⁴⁹ these same figures are quoted in Melville's letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on 28th December 1827 (Appendix A), in which the Chancellor is exhorted to put Reid's proposals into effect, as recommended by the Commissioners. As has been seen, it was not until 24th November 1828 that Melville was informed by the Treasury that the Commissioners' recommendations were to proceed, although no details of these recommendations appear in the communication.¹⁵⁰ The work which eventually began in 1829 would appear to be that proposed by Reid in March 1827. Although the dates on the surviving drawings do not exactly coincide with this chronology, there appears to have been little change in the proposed works from their inception, and the buildings as they presently stand (fig.44) largely reflect these drawings, with one notable exception. No completion date or final cost of the work has been traced, but a financial statement for works executed in 1829 and 1830 shows that £1,756.17.02 was expended upon

St. Mary's, and £750 upon the Library for 'extraordinary repairs and alterations'.¹⁵¹ The financial statement refers to the works as 'in progress', and the figures suggest that work on the College was nearing completion while the Library extension had only just begun. It is assumed that like the east wing of the United College, the work at St. Mary's and the Library was completed in 1831.

By comparing the survey drawings of St. Mary's (figs.7-11) and John Oliphant's 1767 drawing (fig.6) with the proposals of 1829-30 (two are dated June 1829, and annotated 'copy', one dated June 1829 [not illustrated], one dated April 1829, one dated April 1830 and another May 1830, figs.43, 45-48), a clear picture of Reid's proposed changes is presented. The east elevation (fig.43) shows few changes to the exterior of the block south of the staircase tower except the conversion from a window to a door on the ground floor; internally there were to be some changes however. On the ground floor the College kitchen remained intact, but the former 'College cellar for coals, etc.' was subdivided into two rooms, two bed closets and a store room, with its own entrance doorway into a connecting lobby. The first floor College dining room remained, but the charter room was made smaller to accommodate a water closet. There is no drawing for the second floor, but some internal alterations or change of use were undoubtedly planned. The accommodation at the time of

the survey consisted of a room for the Professor of Church History, and two double dormitory rooms for students. It is in this area that the remaining student dormitory room of the period is situated, although comparing it with the survey drawings it appears to have assumed its present proportions at the time of Reid's reconstruction.

The east elevation dated April 1829 (fig.43) is clearly not Reid's final design, although it is the only known drawing of the scheme and serves to illustrate the radical changes planned for this part of the College. Subsequent changes introduced three half dormer windows in what must have been low storage attics, and three light windows on the ground floor of the Principal's house instead of the two light versions shown on the 1829 elevation. Whilst there appears to be no conclusive documentary evidence for these alterations, it seems certain they were part of Reid's executed scheme of 1829-31. The 1829 elevation shows distinct pencil marks indicating the position of the dormers and on the plan of the first floor (fig.46) there is a very rough pencil sketch of a dormer; these marks could have been made at a later date although they appear to be an original part of what are in fact quite simple sketch plans. The absence of any mention of these alterations taking place at a later date in the various documentary sources for the continuing work at the United College also points to their having formed part

of the original scheme, but in any event the dormers were installed by 1847 when St. Mary's College was photographed by Hill and Adamson (fig.49).¹⁵² On the 1829 elevation however, the three former storeys, four in the case of the Principal's house, have been consolidated into two and the formerly plain and irregular fenestration is now rich and regular. The windows of the first floor have been enlarged and consist of a single transom and mullion with astragals; there is a rounded pediment terminating in scrolls on either side, and decorated with heraldic emblems. In the executed design, pedimented first floor windows alternate with those which have half dormers above. The doorway 'B' leading to the Prayer Hall lobby has been considerably enhanced with a double round arch door surmounted by a fanlight with trefoil tracery panels.

The major internal alteration proposals were for this same central section of the building, between the entrance staircase towers of the College to the south and the Principal's house to the north. The evidence of the Principal was clearly taken into account by the architect since the first and second storeys were to be reconstructed, almost entirely absorbing the third storey. The larger Prayer and Divinity Halls which resulted were reflected in the grand new external windows. The ground floor Prayer Hall seems to have been a large room, approx. 50 feet by 20 feet. It was proposed to subdivide it to form a smaller and no doubt

more practical room for public prayer, approx. 29 feet by 20 feet, together with a professors' robing room, closet, and connecting entrance lobby. The Prayer Hall likewise was given a fireplace which apparently it never had before, and what appears to be fitted pews or benches for the praying public is also indicated on the 1829 drawing (fig.45). The ground floor area occupied by the Principal's house in this section probably changed but little; the survey drawing merely indicates cellarage, but the 1829 drawing specifies a servants' room, pantry, wine cellar and beer cellar. The point about this part of the building is that four floors appear to have been reduced to only two, with a corresponding loss of floor space. The east elevation clearly reflects this reconstruction, and the result must have been a far more practical building with a facade of undoubted dignity. To ensure continuity of rhythm, the window of the second bay 'F2' is blind. The first floor accommodated the Divinity Hall, extended some 10 feet to approx. 40 feet long, and raised in height. A window to the west was filled in, and an additional fireplace made in the north wall, making a pair with the original which was realigned. Eight benches are also indicated on the plan. A small robing room was made out of a formerly quite large students' dormitory room, and a wall was opened up to form a doorway to the lobby of the College dining room to the south. The first floor of the reconstructed Principal's house in this central section contained a large new

dining room which commanded an elevated position and was lit by three gracious windows overlooking the College court to the east. The fact that the kitchen was on another floor and less conveniently situated than before seems not to have been a factor worthy of consideration. In 1938, when it was necessary to provide additional retiring rooms they were created out of the old attics, 'without alteration of the existing frontage to the quadrangle', and by lowering the roof of the 'north lecture room' (Divinity Hall).¹⁵³ The half-dormers of 1829-31, perhaps originally conceived for their picturesque value and to complement that of the south elevation of the Principal's house, were thus eventually used to illuminate proper rooms.

The enriching of the exterior texture and form of St. Mary's College reached its climax in the Principal's house (fig.47). The staircase entrance tower in the re-entrant angle was raised a full storey and surmounted by a four sided cupola roof of much dignity. The outside staircase and adjoining open court to the south of the tower was removed and a more imposing balustraded entrance flight of steps made to the east face of the tower itself, with a window to the staircase above the entrance door. A new backstairs entrance was also made in the ground floor of the south elevation of the tower. This elevation is decorated with a fleur-de-lis, with plain rectangular relief panels above and below. The remaining south elevation of the northern

block of the Principal's house is formalised with the number of windows reduced to one per floor and centred one upon the other and within the wall surface. The arrangement of a three light window on the ground floor echoes the west block, but with the addition of a rich strapwork triangular pedimented dormer complete with fleur-de-lis and scrolls, projecting well above the wallhead on the second floor.

The accommodation on the ground floor of the north block was changed somewhat. The porch projecting into South Street remained, with its adjoining lobby, although there is no clue as to the use which the former dining room was to be put (the room designated 'present dining room' on the April 1830 plan, fig.48).

The proposed first floor changes were limited to the realignment of the south facing window in the drawing room, and the opening of a window in the servants' storeroom facing west. No plans exist for proposals for the second floor, but it seems likely that the three bedrooms in the north block remained. Certainly the elevation of January 1827 showing the extension to the University Library (fig.50) shows no change whatever in the fenestration of this floor.

Despite the extensive alterations to the inward facing facades of St. Mary's College, comparatively few changes in actual character and style

were planned for the north facade fronting onto South Street. The University Library with its eighteenth century facade (fig.50,51) was extended in a similar style, and the old entrance porch moved west and south to correspond with the general building line, having formerly protruded some 10 feet into South Street. Although the old central block containing dormitory and other rooms was to be removed, virtually no changes are indicated on the north facade of the Principal's house.

For the Library extension Reid returned to the style of John Gardner and his own more familiar classical *métier*. The drawing of January 1827 (fig.50) indicated the panels of the ground floor were to be enlarged slightly and made into windows. The existing doorway in the westernmost pavilion remained, but for the sake of symmetry its blind counterpart to the east was to be moved up one to the next pavilion. This carbon copy approach was extended to the interior where two floors of single rooms were provided, the upper supporting a gallery in the manner of the existing first floor library (fig.52). This extension was estimated to cost £2,850.

II. Alterations to the South Street Elevation of the Principal's House.

The basic structure of the Principal's house probably dates from the establishment of the College in 1538, and the moulded shafts of the South Street elevation from the 1540s or 1550s, although their original disposition has not been positively established. Their positions, together with that of the entrance porch at the time of Reid's survey is shown on the survey drawing (fig.9) and by comparing it with the elevation of 1827 (fig.50) it will be seen that Reid proposed no changes. The porch was removed however, and the panel bearing the Royal arms realigned and extended to its present position in the early 1850s. Photographs showing the work before and after completion are undated, although for technical reasons it is thought they must date from the early 1850s;¹⁵⁴ it seems likely the work was undertaken in 1853, following the completion of Matheson's 1851 scheme at the United College. As has been seen, this scheme was authorised in March 1851, and perhaps because of that, the Principal of St. Mary's sent to Matheson 'a specification of certain repairs at present requiring to be made on the College buildings together with an estimate of the expense thereof'.¹⁵⁵ There is no record of the details of the proposed work, but Matheson was certainly instructed to inspect the buildings of St. Mary's and the Principal's house in June 1851.¹⁵⁶ From two entries

in the Office of Works' Abstract of Cash Payments 1854-55, it is apparent that no work was undertaken until 1853. The entry for work carried out in the Lady day quarter of 1853 is £631.5.8 (op.cit. Ch.3, VII, note 183) and that for the Christmas quarter £69.17.1, made up thus:¹⁵⁷

John McIntosh, mason, United College.	9.02.00
David Pearson, mason, St. Mary's.	17.00.11
David Anderson, slater, United College.	1.08.06
Daniel McArthur, slater, St. Mary's.	1.17.00
James McPherson, plasterer, United College.	10.12.10
Robert Beal, smith, United College.	5.04.02
Elias Jones, gasfitter, U. & St. M's Col.	17.08.08
Charles Doig, upholstery, St. Mary's.	<u>7.03.00</u>
	Total: £69.17.01

There is no specific mention however of the removal of the porch or the realignment of the Royal arms, but the sum of £17.00.11 for mason work could account for both. Moreover a published account which suggests these works formed part of a major scheme at St. Mary's (which the cash payments confirm) is given in a Memoir of Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair:

The Principal's house was modernised, the hideous porch removed, the house ornamented inside, and the proper entrance to the premises adopted; the coats of arms were also cleaned, re-cut and replaced, with many other improvements and renovations.¹⁵⁸

There is no date given for this work, and it is questionable whether Playfair was responsible, as the Memoir claims.

Despite the evidence indicating the porch was removed in 1853, the first large scale map of St. Andrews surveyed in 1854 clearly shows the porch still in place.¹⁵⁹ It could be that the survey was begun in

1853 and any subsequent removal of the porch overlooked by the cartographers. Absolute evidence of the date of these alterations therefore is yet to be found.

III. The Choice of Architectural Style at St. Mary's and the United College.

No documentary evidence has been found as to why the revived Jacobean style was employed by Reid for his work at the United College. As has been seen, the single most influential figure in the whole proceedings was Viscount Melville and it is tempting to attribute the choice of architectural style to him, especially since Reid himself was almost exclusively a classical architect. It could be that the College dictated the style themselves, indeed Reid referred to the 'descriptive memorandums' with which the Principal and professors of the United College had furnished him,¹⁶⁰ although these may have dealt exclusively with accommodation requirements. That the Commissioners were responsible for imposing their wills upon the design is unlikely, even though Lord Rosebery, whose house at Dalmeny (fig.86, William Wilkins, 1814) introduced the style to Scotland, was one of their number. Melville had 'not thought it necessary' to consult the Commissioners upon the subject of architectural style, preferring to leave any comments on Reid's proposals to the Lords of the Treasury.¹⁶¹ There is no evidence of the Treasury commenting on the style, and Melville may have engineered the situation so as to leave the question either in his own, the College's, or even Reid's hands. There were several options available including rebuilding in a like for like manner, in a vernacular,

classical, gothic, or Jacobean style. A like for like or vernacular approach was clearly not acceptable since the accommodation already provided was not equal to the needs of either College, and there was the desire to upgrade the appearance of the buildings. A classical style would have been acceptable insofar as it had a universal academic precedent and the University Library itself was already in that style, moreover it was Reid's own *métier*. But classicism would perhaps have contrasted unduly with the fifteenth century College Church, and while a full blown gothic scheme was conceivable, it would have been more expensive and perhaps beyond the capabilities of the architect. In the circumstances then, Jacobean was a predictable choice, if something of a compromise. It was reasonably economical and within the scope of the architect; it paid lip service to the romantic notion of St. Andrews' mediaeval past, and was in the idiom of the gothic revival (discussed below in conjunction with William Burn and the Madras College, Part Two, Chapter 4, I.). Burn was an early and prolific exponent of the revived Jacobean and closely related Tudor styles, and it was probably through his example and Rosebery's Dalmeny House that Reid and Melville became aware of its potential. Although Burn was responsible for the addition of the parapet to the College tower in 1851, there is no evidence of his direct influence at the earlier formative stage. When Nixon produced his revised elevation for the north wing in 1845, however, it was clearly an elaboration of Reid's

design, probably in response to Burn's Madras College which had been built meantime. But if Nixon brought an English flavour to the College with his Doric portico similar to English houses such as Hatfield, Hertfordshire (figs.96,97), Reid used elements of specifically Scottish precedent like triangular shaped pediments, rounded wallhead decoration, and scalloped quoins, features seen at Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh (fig.94). At St. Mary's, the plain vernacular building was embellished with triangular pediments and half dormers. The tower in the re-entrant angle of the Principal's house was enhanced so as to suggest a Scottish castle of the seventeenth century, and reflected the belfry of the College staircase tower. Both schemes then represent a response to the antiquity of the town and University of St. Andrews, in accordance with the increasingly widespread sympathetic response to mediaeval, sixteenth and seventeenth century architectural style.

Notes to the Rebuilding of St. Mary's and the United
Colleges.

1. For a general history of the University see Ronald Gordon CANT, The University of St. Andrews (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1970), hereinafter referred to as R.G.C.1. Also R. K. HANNAY, Rentale Sancti Andree 1538-1546 (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1913).
2. See Deborah MAYS, 'The Old University Building, St. Andrews' (M.A. dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 1984).
3. See James Maitland ANDERSON, 'The Library' in Votiva Tabella, A Memorial Volume of St. Andrews University ([St. Andrews]: the University, 1911).
4. Ibid. p.99.
5. Mays, op.cit.
6. R.G.C.1. op.cit. p.101.
7. Ronald Gordon CANT, The College of St. Salvator: It's Foundation and Development including a Selection of Documents (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1950), p.103, hereinafter referred to as R.G.C.2. This volume constitutes the most comprehensive record of St. Salvator's College.

8. 'Memorial to Treasury', January 1923, U.St.A.M.
UY452/13.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. See Howard M. COLVIN, A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840 (London: J. Murray, 1978).
17. See M. H. PORT, 'The Office of the King's Works in Scotland', in Howard M. COLVIN, ed., The History of the King's Works (London: H.M.S.O., 1973).
18. 'Copy, Barons' Report to Treasury', 1826, U.St.A.M.
UY132/120.

19. The letter accompanying the Memorial is signed by S. Shepherd, J. Clark Rattray, Patrick Murray, and David Hume.
20. J. C. Herries to Viscount Melville, 22nd September 1826, U.St.A.M. UY132/120.
21. Viscount Melville to Mr. Herries, 28th December 1827, U.St.A.M. UY132/120.
22. Evidence, oral and documentary, taken and received by the Commissioners appointed by His Majesty George IV, July 23rd 1826, and re-appointed by His Majesty William IV, October 12th 1830, for visiting the Universities of Scotland, Vol.iii: University of St. Andrews. (London: n.p., 1837), p.260.
23. G. R. Dawson, Treasury Chambers, to Viscount Melville, 24th November 1828, U.St.A.M. UY132/120.
24. Ibid.
25. Robert Haldane to Viscount Melville, 6th December 1828, Melville Papers, St.A.U.L.Ms DA816/D8/4681.
26. 'Answer' to the letter of Commissioners of Woods and Forests of 8th November 1849, U.St.A.M. UY132/120.

27. Commissioners to Sir David Brewster, 27th August 1849, U.St.A.M. UY132/120.
28. 'Answer', op.cit.
29. For a discussion of Reid and the Office of Works in Scotland see Peter OGLE-SCAN, 'The Office of Works in Scotland: The Early Years (1827-1839)' in David J. BREEZE, ed., Studies in Scottish Antiquity Presented to Stewart Cruden (Edinburgh: J. Donald, 1984).
30. Port, op.cit. p.251.
31. 'Copy, Barons' Report to Treasury', op.cit.
32. Ibid.
33. R.G.C.2. op.cit. p.212.
34. Robert Reid to Viscount Melville, 30th March 1827, U.St.A.M. UY132/120.
35. Evidence, op.cit.
36. Ibid. p.403.
37. Ibid. p.404.

38. Ibid. p.403.
39. Ibid. p.107.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid. p.134.
44. Ibid. p.342.
45. Ibid. All Hunter's remarks on the buildings quoted here are to be found on p.45.
46. Ibid. All Jackson's remarks on the buildings quoted here are to be found on pp.140-1.
47. Ibid. All Duncan's remarks on the buildings quoted here are to be found on p.88.
48. Ibid. p.193.
49. R.G.C.1. op.cit. p.106.

50. Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the state of the Universities of Scotland 1830 (London: n.p., 1831), p.417.
51. 'Revised Draft of Contract', S.R.O. CR/4/88.
52. Ibid.
53. 'Minutes' of the United College, 29th October 1830, U.St.A.M. UC400.
54. Ibid. 27th November 1830.
55. This information stated in a Memorial by the members of the University of St. Andrews relative to the State of the United College buildings of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, addressed to the Royal Commission for the Universities and Colleges of Scotland. The Memorial was transmitted to Viscount Melville with an accompanying letter on 9th March 1844, and is reproduced in a printed Memorandum of 20 pages containing this and other letters concerning the recommencement of the College buildings in 1844. U.St.A.M. UY132/120.
56. 'Financial Statement' showing the amounts paid for the several works and repairs at the different public buildings in Scotland under the direction and superintendence of the Office of Works during

the years 1828, 1829, and 1830. Dated February 1831 and signed by Robert Reid. P.R.O. WORK 5, 176/3.

57. From a conversation with Dr. R. G. Cant.
58. PORT, op.cit.
59. Memorial of 1844, op.cit.
60. Peter John ANDERSON, ed., Fasti Academiae Marescallanae Aberdonensis, 3 vols. (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1889-1898), vol.1, p.507.
61. Ibid. p.507.
62. Memorial of 1844, op. cit.
63. Ibid.
64. Dr. Cook to Viscount Melville, 6th April 1833. Melville Papers, op.cit. 4696.
65. Viscount Melville to Dr. Cook, 10th April 1833. Melville Papers, op.cit. 4697.
66. Robert Reid produced a scheme for Marischal College, estimated to cost £35,000, and additions to King's College for £5,000 in 1834; it was approved by the University, and later Archibald

Simpson estimated that Reid's Marischal College scheme could be carried out for £28,000. Simpson produced his own designs, and one was adopted in 1836, and the building finally completed in 1844. It cost about £30,000, made up of a government grant of £15,000 plus its accrued interest, and private subscriptions to the tune of c.£8,000. Simpson drew up plans in 1825, but they had been destroyed by a fire at his house, and further negotiations were delayed by the University Commissioners' Visitation in 1827, and the question of whether King's and Marischal Colleges should be united was postponed. See Peter John ANDERSON, *op.cit.*

67. Viscount Melville to The Lord Advocate, 10th December 1837, Melville Papers, *op.cit.* 4737.

68. Wellington was re-elected following the death of George IV in 1830, but resigned in November of that year, whereupon the new King, William IV invited the Whig 2nd Earl Grey to form the administration. It was Grey's government which introduced the Reform Bills of 1831 and 1832. N.B. Melville was a Tory.

69. The foundations of King's College and Marischal College were reconstituted in 1860 as the

University of Aberdeen. Commonwealth Universities Yearbook (1985), p.265.

70. Viscount Melville to the Lord Advocate, 10th December 1837, op.cit.

71. Ibid.

72. Viscount Melville to Sir David Brewster, 3rd February 1838, Melville Papers, op.cit.

73. It is a matter of regret that the surviving papers of Provost Playfair are not available for consultation, and his part in the proceedings is only known from other fragmented sources.

74. William Nixon to Provost Playfair, 28th February 1844. U.St.A.M. UY132/120.

75. Three lithographs of the designs, by Nicholson of Edinburgh survive, together with a preliminary pencil sketch. U.St.A.M. UY1382/1. The lithographs cost £5.15.6, 'Minutes' of the United College, op.cit., meeting of 27th April 1850.

76. William Nixon to Provost Playfair, 28th February 1844, op.cit.

77. 'Minutes' of the United College, op.cit. 29th February 1844. It will be noted that Nixon's letter was dated Edinburgh, 28th February 1844, and was received in St. Andrews in time to be considered at the meeting of the professors of the United College the following day.
78. Ibid. An amusing sequel is recorded in the 'Minutes' of the Senatus Academicus (U.St.A.M. UY452/16) of their meeting on 13th July 1844. 'A letter was read from Provost Playfair giving a very satisfactory explanation of the reason why all his books were not sent in at the time the University Library was reviewed. The Senatus unanimously resolved that he should be restored to his former privilege, and further, that in consideration of his most valuable exertions in the service of the University he should be provided with a private key of the Library.' (p.200).
79. Memorial of 1844, op.cit.
80. Ibid.
81. 'Minutes' of the Senatus Academicus, 25th July 1844, U.St.A.M. UY452/16.
82. Ibid. 22nd August 1844.

83. Mr. Alexander dissented from delegating the powers of the College to Playfair, regarding it as inexpedient and unnecessary. 'Minutes' of the Senatus Academicus, op.cit. 22nd September 1844.
84. 'Estimate' of Probable Cost of Works, 1845. S.R.O. MW/5/146. See Appendix C.
85. Ibid.
86. U.St.A.M. UY1382/1.
87. 'Estimate' of Probable Cost of Works, 1845, op.cit.
88. Ibid.
89. Letters of acceptance of tender quoting these figures were sent to the various tradesmen on 9th April 1845, from the Office of Woods and Forests. P.R.O. WORK 1, 28.
90. 'A machine for comminuting, thoroughly mixing, and working clay and other materials into a plastic state for making bricks and pottery'. Oxford English Dictionary, 1909.
91. 'Minutes' of the United College, op.cit. 21st October 1846.

92. Ibid.
93. John Carstairs' son Andrew continued the family building tradition as a master joiner, and his own sons, James and Alexander set up their own business as builders, Alexander having been an apprentice mason to his grandfather. The Carstairs family continued as builders in St. Andrews until after the First World War. Obituaries of John Carstairs, 1805-87, St. Andrews Citizen, 28th May 1887, and Alexander Carstairs 1860-1927, St. Andrews Citizen, 9th April 1927.
94. Obituary, Jesse Hall 1820-1906, St. Andrews Citizen 8th December 1906. Articles by Ronald Gordon CANT, St. Andrews Preservation Trust Annual Report (1967) and John FREW, ed., Building For a New Age (St. Andrews: Crawford Centre, 1984).
95. Obituary, Jesse Hall, op.cit., and letters from the Office of Woods and Forests to William Nixon, 3rd September and 17th October 1846. P.R.O. WORK 1, 30.
96. Obituary, Jesse Hall, op.cit.
97. From an article by Dr. B. W. RICHARDSON, entitled, 'Pleasure in a Man's Work', in John MILNE, 'Scrapbook', St.A.U.L.Ms 37227, p.96, which had appeared in Longmans Magazine, October 1890.

98. Office of Woods and Forests to Kennedy, 25th January 1848. P.R.O. WORK 1, 32.
99. 'Minutes' of the United College, op.cit., 30th November 1846.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid. 23rd January 1847.
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid.
104. In a statement of expense prepared for the Commissioners in 1850, the sum of £55 is quoted for, 'Expenses of the Principal and Provost in London as to College Buildings'. 'Minutes' of the United College, op.cit., 27th April 1850.
105. 'Minutes' of the United College, op.cit., 29th March 1847.
106. U.St.A.M. UY1382/1/1-3.
107. 'Minutes' of the United College, op.cit., 25th April 1846.

108. Ibid. Meeting of 28th July 1846. In the statement prepared for the Commissioners in 1850, the sum of £29 is quoted for 'Mr. Kennedy, mason work at front of College', paid on 25th August 1846.
109. Plans in U.St.A.M. UY1382/1/5. Several letters on the matter in Letter Books for Scotland, P.R.O. CRES 13.
110. 'Minutes' of the United College, op.cit., 31st July 1846.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid.
113. Andrew LANG, 'Guide to the Modern Beauties (Inanimate) of St. Andrews', in College Echoes vol. XVI, nos. 10-13, 1905. Reprinted in J. B. SALMOND, ed., Andrew Lang and St. Andrews: A Centenary Anthology (St. Andrews: W. C. Henderson and Son for the Court of the University of St. Andrews, 1944).
114. 'Minutes' of the University Court of the University of St. Andrews, 17th March 1906, U.St.A.M. UY505.
115. Plan in U.St.A.M. UY1382/1/4.
116. Robert Matheson's 1851 plan, S.R.O. MW4/5/146.

117. It is supposed the gateway formerly stood in the old inner court of the College. R.G.C.2, p.87.
118. 'Minutes' of the United College, op.cit., 13th October 1847.
119. Office of Woods and Forests to Robert Matheson, 15th May 1848, P.R.O. WORK 1, 32.
120. Ibid.
121. Office of Woods and Forests to Robert Matheson, 13th May 1848, P.R.O. WORK 1, 32.
122. Office of Woods and Forests to Robert Matheson, 2nd November 1848, P.R.O. WORK 1, 33.
123. U.St.A.M. UY1381/2.
124. U.St.A.M. UY1381/3.
125. Board of Works 'Abstract of Cash Payments' 1861-62. P.R.O. WORK 5, 164.
126. 'Minutes' of the United College, op.cit., 16th December 1848.
127. Ibid. 10th April 1851.

128. 'Contract' between Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and John McIntosh, August/September 1851, S.R.O. MW/5/146.
129. Office of Works to Robert Matheson, 24th July 1851, P.R.O. WORK 1, 36.
130. Office of Works to William Burn, 30th April 1851, P.R.O. WORK 1, 36.
131. Office of Works to Robert Matheson, 5th May 1851, P.R.O. WORK 1, 36.
132. Office of Works to Robert Matheson, 25th October 1854, P.R.O. Work 1, 43.
133. Office of Works to Robert Matheson, 14th October 1851, P.R.O. WORK 1, 38.
134. 'Contract' between Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and John McIntosh, August/September 1851, op.cit.
135. 'Minutes' of the United College, op.cit. 10th April 1851.
136. Ibid.

137. 'Contract' between Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and John McIntosh, August/September 1851, op.cit.
138. Ibid.
139. Ibid.
140. Office of Works 'Main Ledger', 1852-53, P.R.O. WORK 5, 171.
141. Office of Works to Robert Matheson, 17th July 1852, P.R.O. WORK 1, 39.
142. Office of Works 'Main Ledger', 1853-54, P.R.O. WORK 5, 172.
143. Office of Works 'Abstract of Cash Payments', 1854-55, P.R.O. WORK 5, 157.
144. Office of Works to Robert Matheson, 2nd January 1854, P.R.O. WORK 1, 157.
145. Office of Works to Robert Matheson, 20th January 1854, P.R.O. WORK 1, 42.
146. Office of Works 'Abstract of Cash Payments', 1854-55, op.cit.

147. Fifeshire Journal, 11th May 1854 and 24th March 1859.
148. 'Copy, Barons' Report to Treasury', op.cit.
149. Robert Reid to Viscount Melville, 30th March 1827, U.St.A.M. UY132/120.
150. G. R. Dawson, Treasury Chambers, to Viscount Melville, 24th November 1828, U.St.A.M. UY132/120.
151. 'Financial Statement' showing the amounts paid for the several works and repairs at the different public buildings in Scotland under the direction and superintendence of the Office of Works during the years 1828, 1829, and 1830. Dated February 1831 and signed by Robert Reid. P.R.O. WORK 5, 176/3.
152. Adamson died at the beginning of 1848, having worked with Hill since 1843. Sara STEVENSON, David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1981).
153. The plans and specifications were prepared by J. Donald Mills and estimated to cost £1,000. Principal John Harry Miller (Principal of St. Mary's 1935-39) seems to have been behind the scheme to extend St. Mary's as part of the Quater-Centenary celebrations of 1937. 'Minutes' of the

University Court, op.cit., 14th February, 23rd March, 6th July 1938; and 26th July 1939.

154. Photographs in St.A.U.M. photographic collection.
155. 'Minutes' of St. Mary's College, 13th June 1851, U.St.A.M. SM400.
156. Office of Woods and Forests to Robert Matheson, 13th June 1851, P.R.O. WORK 1, 36.
157. Office of Works 'Abstract of Cash Payments' 1854-55. op.cit.
158. Memoir of Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair. (St. Andrews: Fletcher, 1861).
159. U.St.A.M.
160. Reid's Report of 31st January 1826, in 'Copy, Barons' Report to Treasury', op.cit.
161. Viscount Melville to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 28th December 1827, Appendix A.

Part Two.

The Madras College of St. Andrews.

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Chapter 1.

- I. The Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell; The Madras System of Education and Early Benefactions to St. Andrews.

I. The Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell; The Madras System of Education and Early Benefactions to St. Andrews.

The Madras College of St. Andrews (fig.53) received its first pupils on 1st October 1833, and by 1836 the buildings which the founder hoped would make St. Andrews 'the headquarters of the Madras System of Mutual Instruction and Moral Discipline in Scotland'¹ were complete. The architect for the buildings was William Burn of Edinburgh who was to become if not the most distinguished, at least one of the most prolific and influential British architects of the century. But any account of the Madras College must begin with an introduction to its founder, the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell, to whom much credit must be given for initiating a new and vital phase in the history of scholastic, and by implication all other, architecture in St. Andrews.

Bell was born in St. Andrews in 1753, in a house on the south eastern corner of Church and South Streets.² After his education at the old Grammar School in South Street, and at the United College, he set sail for Virginia at the age of 21 in 1774, and remained there until 1781. In Virginia he tutored the sons of one Carter Braxton, and upon returning to St. Andrews continued his association with them for they were by now students at the University. In 1784 Bell began training as an Anglican clergyman and in 1787 sailed for India. It was at the Male Military Orphan Asylum, established

by the East India Company at Egmore Redoubt in Madras in 1789 that Bell devised and first practised what became known as the Madras System of Education. Bell remained in India at the Asylum of which he was the first superintendent until 1796, when for health reasons he returned to the more temperate climate of Britain. The Madras System of Education became for Bell 'the work for which I seem to have lived',³ and he actively applied himself to its propagation to the end of his life. In essence, the system was based upon the practice of a master teaching senior boys, who then taught younger boys, while the master was engaged with another group of senior pupils. Upon returning to England, Bell published in 1797 a pamphlet which elucidated the methods and benefits of the Madras System. Entitled 'An Experiment in Education made at the Male Asylum of Madras; suggesting a system by which a School or Family may teach itself under the superintendence of the Master or Parent', the pamphlet was the first of a number of publications by Bell on the subject which initiated a revolution in educational theory and practice. In 1803 a Quaker, Joseph Lancaster published his theories of education in a pamphlet in which Bell's 'mutual' or Madras system was acknowledged as a source of inspiration. Lancaster in due course claimed the system as his own invention, and through his zeal it gained in popularity. Bell was meantime appointed rector of Swanage in Dorset in 1801, bought an estate of 415 acres Scots in Galloway, made a master of Sherborn Hospital in

Durham, and eventually a prebendary of Westminster. Throughout his life he lost no opportunity for promoting his system, and it has been estimated that by his death in 1832, the Madras system had been introduced into 12,973 national schools and 'was employed extensively in almost every other civilised country'.⁴ The Madras College in St. Andrews was the culmination of Bell's life's work, and although he never lived to see it built, he died secure in the knowledge that his system of education was already established in St. Andrews, and that plans were well under way for the erection and administration of the new College.

Bell's correspondence with the St. Andrews Trustees at the end of his life reveal a man of egocentric drive, and not a little irascibility. He was intent on disposing of his considerable fortune of £120,000 for the purpose of perpetuating and extending the Madras system of education, and despite protestations to the contrary, must have regarded the emerging Madras College in St. Andrews as a permanent memorial not only to the system, but also to its inventor. His earliest educational benefaction in St. Andrews appears to date from 1811 when he subscribed £20 and an annual sum of 10 guineas for prizes to the English school situated at the north west corner of the Town Kirk.⁵ The building was given a classical facade by Robert Balfour as part of its refurbishment⁶ and Bell expressed a strong interest in the school as being one

of the first 'for the higher orders of children which has adopted the new mode of tuition'.⁷ It appears from Southey that a further school on the Madras system was opened in St. Andrews in December 1816 under the direction of a Mr. Latta,⁸ and two years later in correspondence with Mr. Smith, master at the English school, Bell intimated his concern that the Madras system should be wholeheartedly adopted in St. Andrews, so as 'the great body of the children of this place, rich and poor, may be educated under one roof, with the greatest advantage to all concerned'.⁹

In 1824, another symbol of expansion which received Bell's unsolicited support was well under way. A new chapel for the surviving episcopal congregation was proposed for a site in North Street (figs.54-56), and Bell heard of the plan, contacted the minister, a Mr. Young, and duly contributed £300 to the fund.¹⁰ 'I am quite delighted with all you have done and are doing', wrote Bell;

and if I were to offer any suggestions, as you desire, I might do mischief, but could do no good. Such is my opinion of the hands in which the work is. Oh! that you could tell me that as your chapel is to be the handsomest in Scotland in its architecture, your schools were likely, by similar means, to become some of the best, in their economy, or internal regulation and administration; which I verily believe might be accomplished, if it were the goodwill and pleasure of those who have power, authority, and influence, and the undertaking was conducted with the same zeal and ability, as had been displayed in the case of the chapel.¹¹

The chapel was designed by William Burn in a plain cruciform manner, and Bell attended the consecration on

29th September 1825 and presumably admired the 'fine specimen of Gothic architecture',¹² which had cost £1,000. He may have met the architect on that occasion (although Burn was a member of the Established Church of Scotland) and remembered him when eventually an architect was selected for the Madras College. The two men may also have made each other's acquaintance in 1823 when Bell had unsuccessfully attempted to have the Madras system introduced into the new Edinburgh Academy, a building which Burn had designed in a severe neo-Greek style. For the time being however, Bell remained unconvinced of the zeal for the Madras system in St. Andrews, and it was to be another five years before the prospect of a school on the Madras system, supported by its founder became a possibility.

The project which seems to have enticed a favourable response from Bell in 1830 was a scheme to establish a new infant school in St. Andrews. Professor Alexander and Dr. Gillespie were involved with the scheme, and it was Alexander who approached Bell with the appeal for money. Despite Alexander having mentioned the suitability of the Wilderspin method, a system of education developed from the Madras, and something of a rival to it, Bell agreed to meet whatever sum was raised from other subscribers. Gillespie subsequently approached Bell, suggesting he should emphasise the suitability of his own method for the 3-7 age group

above that of Wilderspin, and clearly wanted Bell to adopt the project as a monument to himself:

Where can you build a monument to your memory with so much propriety as at St. Andrews your native city?...Your monument, no doubt, is in the hearts of your countrymen, but there wants a rallying point to give it tongue to posterity.¹³

Bell subsequently provided £300, and Alexander purchased property at Gregory Green for an infant school.

Chapter 2.

- I. The Negotiations for the Madras College.

- II. 'The most eminent architect that we can find'.
William Burn's First Design and Subsequent
Modifications.

I. The Negotiations for the Madras College.

The infant school project clearly encouraged Bell to make further moves towards a more tangible memorial to himself and his system, for in the autumn of 1830 he communicated to Alexander that:

I should like to have central premises in and about St. Andrews,...I should like to see an elegant and grand building on a large scale, erected as an ornament to your town...¹⁴

The property upon which the Madras College was to stand was purchased the following year, 1831, from Professors Alexander and Duncan, for the sum of £1,100, being the price they themselves had paid for it. Southey describes it as:

A compact property of four imperial acres with a frontage to the South Street, on the east side of the Grammar School, of sixty feet, and on the west side of eighty feet, including the Grammar School. The front to the South Street was upwards of 230 or 240 feet. It was surrounded with trees, and there were some old houses and barns upon it.¹⁵

A further property consisting of a house and garden was purchased in South Street for £530, and in April 1831, Bell proposed to make over his estate of Egmore, worth £300-400 per annum for the benefit of the St. Andrews schools. He had second thoughts on the matter but his next proposal more than made up for it.¹⁶ Bell wrote to Alexander on 29th April 1831:

You may make over my purchase of your and Professor Duncan's premises to the provost, magistrates and town council of St. Andrews, the present patrons of the English and Latin schools...provided they make over their English school to the trustees and managers of your infant school, for the use thereof, and provided that they engage to adopt the Madras system of education in the new English and Latin schools purposed to be built.¹⁷

The provost and magistrates duly agreed, and eventually the English and Latin (or Grammar) schools were absorbed into the new Madras College, and an infant school set up in the former English School premises to the north west of the Town Kirk.

April and May 1831 were crucial months in the negotiations. Bell had requested from Dr. Gillespie his opinions and suggestions for a new Madras school, and Gillespie replied, 'sending him a plan which he had drawn out for school rooms and etc.'. Gillespie continued:

It is impossible to calculate the extent of benefit which might result to St. Andrews in particular, and to the country from such an establishment as is herein contemplated.¹⁸

About the same time, Dr. Mudie and Professor Alexander informed Bell that the estimated expense of erecting handsome and substantial buildings would be £6,000 to £8,000. But there was to be considerably more money, for on 16th May, Bell wrote to the town clerk of St. Andrews, Charles Grace, that he wished work to begin immediately on building:

substantial, commodious and handsome schoolrooms for the English and Latin schools to harmonize with the ruin of the Black Friars Chapel, which I desire you will put and keep in good repair; and with suitable and corresponding school houses for the masters.¹⁹

To finance the scheme, Bell transferred the sum of £120,000 to the Trustees in St. Andrews he had appointed to carry out his wishes. The Trustees were the Provost of St. Andrews, William Haig; the ministers of the first

and second charges of Holy Trinity Church, Robert Haldane and George Buist respectively; and the Professor of Greek at the University, Andrew Alexander, with whom Bell had been in contact for some time. Clearly, this was a tremendous gesture, and an historic moment for St. Andrews. The Trustees for their part had henceforth to endure much antagonism from their benefactor, who because he was displeased as to how affairs were being conducted, reduced the terms of the Trust in less than a month. The revised deed divided the sum thus: five twelfths to the Madras College in St. Andrews, with an additional one twelfth, 'for moral and religious purposes, and for useful and permanent works for the benefit and improvement of the town';²⁰ one twelfth each to the cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Inverness, and subsequently one twelfth each to the Royal Naval School 'near London', and Leith, all to be used for establishing Madras schools. Even in its reduced state, the sum to build and endow the Madras College in St. Andrews was £50,000.

II. 'The most eminent architect that we can find'.
William Burn's First Design and Subsequent
Modifications.

It is at this stage that first mention is made of the architect. In his letter of 16th May 1831, in which Bell first refers to the business of the new building harmonising with the Blackfriars' Chapel, he asks for the Trustees' 'own ideas individually on the subject of building', and that they should send him their 'first indigested and hasty ideas without deliberation or consultation, and without the loss of a post'.²¹ Conscious no doubt that his days were numbered, Bell was fond of imploring his correspondents not to miss a post, and Haig was quick to reply. Because of Bell's 'excellent idea' of making the new building harmonise with the Blackfriars' ruins, Haig informed Bell it would be necessary to get an architect from Edinburgh, and hoped he would 'approve of our getting the most eminent architect that we can find'.²² Approaches in this respect had been made by June 1831, when the Trustees wrote to Bell for his opinion as to the number and extent of the rooms, and the sum he thought proper to expend on the buildings, so they could 'direct the architect, Mr. Burn, to proceed with his plans with all despatch'.²³ The Trustees must have been relieved when within a few days they received Bell's reply to the effect that he was pleased to confide to their judgment and discretion, whereupon Burn was

instructed to furnish 'suitable plans and specifications'.²⁴

Bell was pleased with the choice of architect, expressing to Haldane that he was 'quite reconciled to the architect, now I find Mr. Burn is the man',²⁵ suggesting he at least knew Burn's work if not the man himself. His increasing infirmity compelled him to delegate details of the building to the Trustees informing them that 'I cannot possibly give any further directions as to the buildings. I confide them entirely to your judgment and discretion'.²⁶ A memorandum nevertheless emanated from Lindsay Cottage, Bell's home in Cheltenham concerning the building specifications, annotated 'This is a copy of the Memorandum made at Cheltenham on 5th July 1831, and had been requested by Grace'.²⁷ The surviving document appears to be only a rough draft, but must be regarded as tangible evidence of Bell's influence upon the initial design, and Burn must have been furnished with something similar. An extract is subjoined as Appendix D, which concludes that the entire building project should cost in the region of £14,000.

Plans were duly commissioned from Burn, who submitted proposals in September 1831 so as to 'ascertain the opinion of the Trustees as to the general style and management of the building'.²⁸ No trace remains of these original drawings, but it is evident

that the main building was to be of two storeys, and Burn wrote to the Trustees that there were to be two schoolmasters' houses, a lodge and enclosure walls, and that the 'old chapel' was to be repaired and fitted up as a hall for the Trustees. The Trustees considered the plans at their meeting on 1st October 1831, and admired the overall design and style, but disliked the English and Latin classrooms on the first floor because of the danger and difficulty of the children using the stairs. They still wished the building to be of two storeys however, but were apprehensive about the estimated cost of between £17,000 and £18,000. Burn explained his designs in a letter to Bell:

The first plans I prepared were upon a more extensive scale than appeared called for, either by your instructions, or the wishes of the trustees, but I was led to submit my decisions in this shape, and showing the greatest extent of accommodation that could be required, from a persuasion that it would afford the trustees the best and most effectual means of classifying the necessary accommodation and giving me precise and definite instructions on the subjects, and so far, these plans completely answered the purpose intended.²⁹

The Trustees therefore instructed Burn to modify his original plans, and he wrote with new proposals two weeks later:

What I would propose, is to have an English reading class at East extremity of the building projected as a wing, with windows on each side and one storey high - in the centre to have the large Latin classrooms on the upper storey with the mathematical classroom and that for modern languages on either side, with the stairs between and beneath these to have the corridor extending from wing to wing, and the library and drawing classrooms.³⁰

The impression is given of a two storeyed rectangular building facing South Street, with a single storey

projecting from its eastern end. The schoolmasters' houses were proposed for the south of the main building, one to the east and one to the west. The Trustees' reaction was not particularly favourable; they instructed Burn to produce a design of one storey only, either on 'one continuous line with a neat belfry in the centre, or a front with two wings, or in the form of three sides of a triangle, having the open side to the south'.³¹ The Trustees also deferred their decision on the extraordinary plan to make the Blackfriars' Chapel into a meeting room.

It would seem that both architect and patron were anxious to make their mark with the Madras College, for when Bell was informed of the Trustees' wish for a seemingly modest one storey building, he was outraged and sought the support of the architect. He wrote to Burn that 'the purpose of a handsome and respectable edifice, suited to the magnitude of the endowment, and calculated to do credit to the architect would be defeated',³² adding that a one storey building would be of too diminutive and insignificant appearance, especially as it was to form the termination of a proposed new street (the present Bell Street). Burn, having 'this moment returned by the mail from Dumfries',³³ emphasised his reluctance to comply with the one storey directive:

but as it did appear desirable that the English and Junior classes should be on the ground floor, I most willingly conceded...and placed the Latin classrooms upstairs, which gives to the front

building a height of two storeys, consequently the means of adding such character, as will I trust not only do full justice to your munificent donation, but obtain some credit for the more humble duties I have been called to perform...³⁴

Burn continued in a polite and somewhat deferential manner, stating that the revised plans should be completed for about £12,000. He concluded, 'I have only to add my very grateful thanks to you for the honour you did me, in placing this high and important trust in my hands...'³⁵ This second revision of the plans was received in St. Andrews and considered by the Trustees at their meeting on 29th October 1831. They made several recommendations for change, including dispensing with the east and west wings. In order to make up for the lost space, they recommended the rearrangement of certain corridors and conversion of one of the staircases, and the reduction in size of the library and a lobby. No criticism was made however that the plans were still based upon a two storeyed main building. Upon receiving the Trustees' reactions, Burn despatched his principal clerk (not mentioned by name, but probably David Bryce) to St. Andrews in order to discuss the whole matter, and presumably an amicable agreement was reached. On 29th November 1831, the Trustees asked Burn for the specifications for the boundary wall, and also the 'plans, drawings and specifications of the buildings...so that contractors may be advertised for.'³⁶ The specifications for the boundary wall were sent to St. Andrews on 7th December, but it was to be

several weeks more before the drawings proper were ready.

The Madras College was an important commission for Burn, prestigious, and one likely to open doors to new clients. His letter to the Trustees of 19th December 1831, at a time when negotiations over design were apparently complete and the drawings being worked up reflects the sense of urgency which pervades all the surviving documents of this negotiating, pre-building stage. Burn had been somewhat harassed by Bell and the Trustees since negotiations began, and after reiterating the desirability of not commencing building work until the drawings were complete, or until the winter was over, he informed his patrons:

that the whole working drawings are completed in pencil, that every other operation in my office has been laid aside and that six of my clerks are employed in putting in ink and completing the plans, which I hope will be finished this week, and I am confident that if either Dr. Bell or his trustees saw the multiplicity of detail and extent of labour that has been bestowed, and is indispensable, they would at once admit that not one hour even has been lost, or unnecessarily occupied in the performance of my duties; indeed I must in justice to myself freely state, that having from the first moment of my employment regarded this college as one of the most important duties in which I have ever been engaged, I have never allowed one day to pass without in one shape or other considering the designs, improving the arrangement and details, or forwarding the various drawings, either required by the trustees, or preparing for the progress of the building, when the period arrived for the works being commenced upon; and had I done less, I do not hesitate to say, I should have failed in my duty to the trustees, as much as a hasty consideration of Dr. Bell's instructions, and more limited attention to the plans, must have proved injurious to the building, and highly prejudicial to the best interests of the institution.³⁷

The drawings were completed within a few days, and are dated 27th December 1831, (figs.57-64) and on 17th January 1832, the Trustees directed Mr. Grace to place the plans and building specifications in their charter box. Throughout these two months Dr. Bell became increasingly infirm, and the loss of speech which had afflicted him for some months persisted. Yet his business continued, and he was pleased to approve of Provost Haig's plan to name the new street to terminate opposite the Madras College 'Bell's Street', and was encouraged to be discreet about the project lest it should artificially raise the prices of the property there. He also sought to change his existing deed in order to provide for a Visitor and additional Trustees, presumably to ensure the running of the College as he saw fit. The Trustees objected to this and doubted Bell's legal right to amendment, but as January progressed, so Bell's life drew to its close, and on 27th of that month he died. He was buried in Westminster Abbey on 14th February 1832. It must have been with some relief on the part of the Trustees and the architect that they were able to commence the next stage of the proceedings without their late patron, for throughout the initial negotiations he had been a hard taskmaster.

Chapter 3.

I. Building the Madras College.

II. The Masters' Houses.

III. The Blackfriars' Chapel.

I. Building the Madras College.

The first work to be undertaken at the site in South Street was the building of the boundary wall. The lowest tender was that of John Kennedy, and he was awarded the contract for £369.6.4 and agreed to complete the work by 1st June 1832.³⁸ Tenders for the principal contracts of mason, and wright and smith work were laid before the meeting of Trustees on 13th March 1832, by David Bryce, acting on behalf of Burn. This is the first mention of Bryce by name in the records, but it is possible he had been involved in the project from at least the previous November (see above). The meeting of 13th March accepted the tenders of John Kennedy for mason work, for the sum of £4,700, and of John McCulloch for wright and smith work, for the sum of £3,202. (McCulloch was later joined by James Berwick, and the figure was increased to £3,398). In April the estimates for plumbing, slating, and plastering were accepted, upon Burn's recommendations; £325 for plumbing, by George and Charles Hay of Edinburgh; and £292 for plastering, by James Annan of Perth. Burn had probably used these tradesmen before, and was satisfied with their workmanship, but there was some dissension at the time as it was understood that Bell had stipulated only St. Andrews tradesmen should be employed.

The site where the Madras College was to stand was the former site of the Blackfriars' monastery, which

had been established in the late thirteenth century by Bishop Wishart (1272-79). The ruined so-called Blackfriars' Chapel which Bell wished to put in a safe state of repair, and indeed commemorate in his new school dates from 1525, and together with a building to the west known as the 'Old Palace' (fig.65) was all that remained of the monastic buildings.³⁹ The site, which was purchased in two halves in 1830 by Thomas Duncan (eastern half), and Andrew Alexander (western half) amounted to 4 acres, 2 poles imperial, and appears to correspond to the original monastic site as depicted in James Geddy's post-Reformation map of St. Andrews (fig.5). Wood's town plan of 1820 (fig.1) shows the site just ten years before it was acquired for the Madras, with the ruins, the Grammar School (fig.66) and various lesser buildings. The plan of the site in 1887 as drawn by Gillespie and Scott (fig.67) shows the Madras scheme as it must have looked when first completed, and also illustrates the extent and disposition of the acreage.

The eastern part was disposed to Thomas Duncan in May 1831⁴⁰ for £513.1.0 plus interest from Whitsunday 1829 to 13th May 1831,⁴¹ and consisted of a tenement of land including 'the malt barn, corn barn, kiln, coble office, houses and yards...and that part and portion of that yard commonly called Greyfriars' yard'.⁴² The tenement was bounded on the east side by a common close, on the north by South Street and the Grammar School house and garden, on the west by subjects 'disponed by

us of this date to Andrew Alexander',⁴³ and on the south by the public footpath, 'commonly called the Lead Brae'.⁴⁴ The western part of the site was likewise disposed on 21st May 1831,⁴⁵ to Andrew Alexander for the sum of £568.⁴⁶ The subjects included a 'large tenement of land...court, barn, byre, stables, hay loft, and cart shed'⁴⁷ with an entry from South Street. The tenement was bounded on the east by the subjects of Thomas Duncan, to the north by South Street and the Grammar School garden, to the south by the Lead Brae footpath, and to the east by 'the tenement of Thomas Coupar, the tenement and yard of George Bell, wright, and the new dwelling house and garden of Alexander Braid'.⁴⁸

Both the eastern and western parts of the site were disposed by Walter Foggo Ireland, George Ireland, and George Small, who were joint heritable proprietors. Walter Foggo Ireland was clerk and teller in the Bank of Scotland at St. Andrews, and the eldest son of the Rev. Dr. Walter Foggo Ireland, one of the ministers of North Leith, and his wife Mrs. Margaret Spalding Ireland, both deceased. George Ireland was of the Hon. East India Company and the eldest son of the Rev. Dr. Walter Foggo Ireland and his first wife Mrs. Jean Alves Ireland. George Small was a merchant, and musical instrument maker in Edinburgh, although no family relationship is stated in the property Disposition.⁴⁹ The site came into their possession in 1827, presumably upon the death of the Rev. Dr. Walter Foggo Ireland, who appears to have

inherited the site, or at least part of it from his second wife. Mrs. Spalding, formerly a Miss Graham is referred to as the proprietor of the tenement to the east of that of George Bell.⁵⁰ Prior to the Graham-Spalding-Ireland ownership, the land had formerly 'sometime belonged to the deceased James Croghan, merchant and sometime Bailie of St. Andrews'.⁵¹ Prior to Croghan's ownership the land had belonged to the Laird of Troup, 'and disposed by him to the said James Croghan'.⁵²

Thomas Duncan's eastern part of the site was disposed by him to the Trustees on 26th May 1831, for £538.⁵³ The western part was disposed by Andrew Alexander on 27th May 1831 for £538.⁵⁴ The site thus returned to something like its one time single ownership. The Grammar School, soon to be absorbed into the Madras College, was according to Thompson already old when in 1622 the land adjacent to the Blackfriars' Chapel was bought by John Young, Dean of Winchester for the purpose of erecting a new building for the school.⁵⁵ With the precedents of a Dominican monastery, a Latin teaching Grammar School, and Bell's own clerical calling, the site could not have been more appropriate.

The Trustees and some citizens of St. Andrews gathered on 9th April 1832, their late patron's birthday to lay the foundation stone of the Madras College.⁵⁶ A symbolic occasion heralding a revolution in education in

St. Andrews, and establishing a watershed of architectural elements and motifs which were to be repeated in various forms throughout the town for the rest of the century. Although the foundation stone was laid on 9th April, it was not until July that the principal contracts were signed. The specifications included in these contracts convey details of materials and methods employed on the building.⁵⁷ The exterior walls, and certain inside walls including corridors, staircases and landings were to be constructed of polished freestone, and pointed with oil putty 'worked' to the same colour as the stone. Lime was to be mixed with clean sharp pit sand, and not, it was emphasised with sand from the East Sands. Freestone was cut from the Nydie Knockhill quarry, while rubble masonry used for the inside of the walls, and certain interior walls was from the Strathkinness quarry. Brick was to be used for the flues and the arched ceilings of the corridors, and the towers supported on cast iron beams. The specifications for carpenter and joiner work state that:

The whole timber used in the building in every department including the floors of the classrooms, must be of the very best crown memel, the flooring deals of small rooms and the lining and panels only may be done with Petersburg of Riga Red wood plank, or American Red Pine, and all must be of the best quality, free from sap wood, shakes, and large knots.⁵⁸

Materials were to be of the finest quality as specifically stated; 'Scots made iron locks of the best construction' for the doors, 'best Dumbarton or Leith first crown glass' for the windows, 'best patent apparatus' for the water closets and 'best Easdale

slates' for the roofs.⁵⁹ The internal walls were to be plastered, and the brick arching of the corridors 'finished with Roman cement...and drawn in and coloured, in imitation of the polished stone work of the building'.⁶⁰ In the interests of 'deafening', all floors were to be:

decked with a composition of lime earth and smithy sparks, mixed up in equal proportion and laid to the thickness of two and a half inches on the ground floors, and three and a half inches in the upper floors, and all when dry, to be run over to the depth of half an inch more with thin lime.⁶¹

The principal contractors agreed to complete their work by 10th July 1833, although it was to be more than another year by the time the main building was completed in 1834. Although Kennedy, McCulloch and Berwick were all St. Andrews men, the clerk of works, one John Ormestone came from outwith the town.⁶² It is likely he had worked for Burn previously, and when he left St. Andrews in October 1834 for a position in Dumfries, it may have been to superintend the erection of Burn's lunatic asylum there.

The impending completion of the first stage of the building was heralded in July 1833, when the Trustees saw fit to appoint teachers for the various subjects. It was to be an impressive, mainly academic range of subjects, comprising English grammar, Latin and Greek, writing, ornamental writing and drawing, arithmetic, geography, navigation, French, German and Italian. Before the classrooms in the south and east wings could open however, it was necessary for benches

and desks to be installed. Burn had commended to the Trustees a design similar to those employed at the Newcastle National School, and the Blue Coat Hospital at Durham, and their specifications were presumably communicated to McCulloch and Berwick whose estimate of £68.12.0 was accepted in August 1833 (fig.68).⁶³ On 1st October 1833, the classrooms of the south and east wings were opened, and their first inspector was pleased to express his 'entire approbation of the style of execution and accommodation of the buildings of the College'.⁶⁴ When all the building was completed in 1835, the Madras College must indeed have provided a 'handsome and respectable edifice'⁶⁵ which the patron was so intent upon creating. The north elevation (fig.58) is composed of a basement and piano nobile, with a symmetrical arrangement of three sided transom and mullion bay windows, enriched with strapwork decoration, ball finials and shaped gables. The end elevations of the east and west wings flank this central section linked by Renaissance arches which lead to the central arcaded quadrangle (fig.61). Although the main building facing the Blackfriars' and South Street commanded most attention, it being the public face of both school and Bell's benefaction, considerable trouble was taken to achieve stylistic continuity with the three other facades (figs.62,64). Heraldic emblems, finials, cross windows and particularly the twisted chimneys and florid decoration of the water towers add considerable interest here. The numerous windows maximise natural light, and

are placed high up to keep attention strictly upon the activity inside, the quadrangular plan emphasising this tendency to privacy.

II. The Masters' Houses.

Buildings other than the College itself naturally took second place, but once the new classrooms of the south wing were in operation, the Trustees began pressing for the completion of the masters' houses, the porter's lodge, and the stabilisation of the Blackfriars' Chapel. The Trustees wrote to Burn on 23rd January 1833, requesting him to:

prepare plans and specifications of the two masters' houses and porter's lodge...so as these buildings may be contracted for and commenced early in the ensuing spring.⁶⁶

Burn's plans (figs.69-71) and Kennedy's estimates for the masters' houses were rejected as too extensive and costly however, and Burn was charged with drawing up new designs where 'the expense of each house, including extra charges, may not exceed £1,200'.⁶⁷ Bell himself had advised that the masters' houses should be plain, simple and economical, with each house costing about £1,500 (Appendix D), and when plans and estimates were eventually accepted in February 1834, they were for £1,395 for each house.⁶⁸ The drawings for the houses as built do not appear to have survived, but it will be seen from Gillespie and Scott's floor plans of 1927 (figs.72,73) that the size of the houses was reduced. A porter's lodge was incorporated to the south of the western house (fig.74) at an extra cost of £248.⁶⁹

The masters' houses are plain, elegant and well proportioned buildings, with steep gables, sash

windows and astragals, all solidly constructed of local stone, and roofed in Easdale duchess slates (fig.75).⁷⁰ The only decoration is skew putts and finials on the gables, and the plain string course which runs at first and second floor level. The buildings stand at a respectful distance from the Blackfriars' Chapel, and highlight the richness of the north elevation of the College by their very plainness. Their double gabled north elevations served as the inspiration for many other houses constructed in St. Andrews during the ensuing decades of the century.⁷¹

VI. The Blackfriars' Chapel.

The most curious proposals of the entire Madras College scheme must surely be the two sets of drawings for an entrance lodge, proposing to 'modernise' the ruins of the Blackfriars' Chapel (figs.78-81). The drawings are dated 28th February and 1st April 1834, but no explicit mention is made in the Trustees' minutes of this apparently blatant disregard of the wishes of the deceased benefactor. Bell himself may well have approved them had he lived, since his directions seem not to have gone beyond simply putting and keeping the building in good repair. As has been seen, Burn had made provision in his original plans of September 1831 for the 'old chapel'⁷² to be repaired and fitted up as a hall for the Trustees; the Trustees deferred their decision on the matter, and it appears to have remained dormant until the beginning of 1834. Both schemes called for the castellation of the Chapel, with the addition of either one or two rooms to the side, and it is tempting to imagine the proposals as part of the porter's lodge scheme. However, it was on 6th February 1834 that Burn is reported to have abandoned the idea of a porter's lodge because of the 'new restricted scheme of things',⁷³ and the first of the entrance lodge designs is dated 28th February 1834. Despite the inconsistency of dating, it is clear that for whatever reasons, financial, aesthetic, or concern for the mediaeval

remains, the Trustees were unwilling to comply with Burn's plans.

Initial stabilising work was carried out on the Blackfriars' Chapel in 1835; the Trustees recorded on 21st October 1834 that they were anxious for Burn to make 'such repairs...as will suffice for the upholding of it in safety, it being their wish to plant ivy round it before the winter sets in'. This was not done immediately, but by March 1835 Burn was writing to the Trustees of his plan to enclose the front of the College with railings, from the corner of each of the masters' houses and in front of the Blackfriars' Chapel. He writes of:

leaving sufficient space between the rail and walls of this building's foresoil, and the planting and rearing of ivy to cover the walls which is the only thing I can venture to do with it beyond the mere repair of any apparent defect in the structure.⁷⁴

The phraseology suggests the architect was still somewhat piqued at not getting his own way with the Chapel, but he nevertheless tidied things up. A simple line drawing (fig.82) in Lyon's History of St. Andrews (1838) shows the railings being installed, and also the absence of masonry of any kind in the north window. The mullions of the north and north east apse windows were missing at least by the end of the eighteenth century (figs.65,66), but the removal of the masonry from ground to sill level in the north window would appear to date from Burn's 1835 work. According to Hay Fleming, the masonry was removed especially to give a better view of

the College,⁷⁵ although there is no mention of this in the Trustees' minutes. The mullions and tracery of both the north and north east windows, together with the masonry of the lower part of the north window were replaced in 1843,⁷⁶ as shown in Hill and Adamson's calotype of 1846 (fig.83).⁷⁷

Chapter 4.

I. The Architectural Style of the Madras College.

I. The Architectural Style of the Madras College.

The genesis and progress of the gothic revival in northern England and Scotland, and Burn's place within it has been traced by James Macaulay, who regards the Tudor, and by implication the Jacobean style as a specialised product of the revival.⁷⁸ He has shown how the style was introduced into Scotland by William Wilkins at Dalmeny House, West Lothian, for the 4th Earl of Rosebery in 1814 (fig.86), itself inspired by East Anglian Elizabethan houses like East Barsham Manor (fig.87), and that in Burn's capable hands it became, 'starting in the twenties, the generally accepted style for a country house'.⁷⁹ But the Madras College was a school, and the precedents for Burn in this field were decidedly classical. His Merchant Maiden Hospital at the Meadows (1816-18), the Academy in Henderson Row (1823-36), and John Watson's Hospital in Belford Road (1825-28), all in Edinburgh, are of the severest neo-Greek design, with rectangular, cruciform, and E plans respectively. As has been seen, Bell had stipulated the architecture of the Madras was to be gothic, so Burn embarked upon his only non-classical school, producing his 'most explicit statement of English Jacobean'.⁸⁰ The courtyard plan owes something to the great English houses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as the traditional monastic and scholastic cloister, but the symmetry of the plan as well as the elements from which it is composed must surely stem from

Burn the classicist. In relation to Burn's earlier classical designs, David Walker has written that 'an underlying structure of cubes and squares is nearly always there, determining both the overall proportions of the building and some at least of the subsidiary elements'.⁸¹ The Madras falls into this category, from the outlying pavilions (the masters' houses) to the piano nobile of the north block and the central quadrangle.

Burn's treatment of the Madras then was loosely classical in plan and proportion, but Jacobean in form and detail. Of his Scottish domestic buildings in this style,⁸² Drumfinn, Argyllshire (fig.88, 1825), Dupplin, Perthshire (fig.89, 1828), St. Fort, Fife (fig.90, 1829), Falkland, Fife (1839-44), and Whitehill, Midlothian (fig.91, 1839-44) suggest themselves for comparison, and in Ireland, Muckross Abbey (fig.92) displays a particular affinity with the north elevation of the Madras. But if the revival of Jacobean ornament was generated from England, there were specifically Scottish Jacobean precedents in such buildings as Argyll's Lodging, Stirling (fig.93, 1632) and George Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh (fig.94, begun 1627). The integral arcading of the courtyard at the Palace of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh (fig.95, begun 1671,) by Sir William Bruce could have inspired that at the Madras, and in St. Andrews itself, the colonnade of the eighteenth century north wing of the United College

(fig.19) and the north wing of St. Mary's College could have provided examples of scholastic use. The many English examples however include Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, (figs.96,97, 1611), Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire (1580-88) by Robert Smythson, and Montacute House, Somerset (c1599). These buildings were among those included in the growing number of architectural publications which Burn would have had access to. The catalogue of the Burn-Bryce Library as it survived in 1928 (see Appendix E) shows the following titles which conceivably were in the collection by 1830, and probably contributed to Burn's stylistic development vis-à-vis the Elizabethan and Jacobean styles: Britton, J., Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, 1807-26; Cottingham, L. N., Ornaments, 1824; and Lugar, R., Plans and View of Buildings Executed in England and Scotland in the Castellated and Other Styles, 1811. Britton's five volume publication contains a wealth of secular and ecclesiastical engravings, with detailed historical and architectural descriptions. Vol.2 contains an engraving of Wollaton Hall, showing its richness of decoration. Burn was to use such pilasters, strapwork, balustrade and ranges of transom and mullion windows extensively, and Wollaton's towers must have inspired the spirit if not the detail of those at the Madras.

The quadrangular plan and use of Jacobean elements affirmed the historical consciousness of all those responsible for the design, notwithstanding the

ambiguity displayed in Burn's proposals for the Blackfriars' ruins. This curious concern to pay homage to the past while simultaneously destroying its actual fabric had already been proposed by Reid for the University, and proved to be a continuing factor in the town's development. But such a pattern was perhaps inevitable where mediaeval towns were being expanded and rebuilt, and the wonder is that more was not destroyed. The historical perception of local architects was nevertheless sharpened by the appearance of a building in such a fashionable historic style, and its influence was felt in a number of ways. In terms of townscape it succeeded in challenging the centuries old east-west street axis (fig.2) by encouraging the formation of North and South Bell Street, which if it has been built as planned would have paralleled the relationship of Reform Street with the High School in Dundee (laid out by Burn in 1824-25 and designed by George Angus 1832-34).⁸³ The construction of North and South Bell Street nevertheless introduced the planned classical terraced street to St. Andrews, and moreover initiated similar developments to the west, developments which provide the prime focus of Part 3 of this thesis. Although these new terraces did not reflect the stylistic influence of the Madras, this was to be seen extensively elsewhere. Nixon's accomplished Jacobean design for the North wing of the United College (1845), although initially dictated by Reid's 1829 design was conceivably the result of Nixon attempting to 'out design' Burn's

Madras, and was therefore influenced by it. More tangible influences are to be seen in the twin gabled compositions inspired by the Madras masters' houses, including George Rae's City Park (1851), 77-79 Market Street (fig.98, 1852), Edgecliffe (figs.245,246, 1865-66) and Seaton House (figs.211,212, 1864), which also displays Jacobean ornament. John Milne's Abbey Villas (fig.99, 1853) and David Henry's Scores Villas (fig.292, 1895) must also derive in part from the same source. The rhythm of the Madras' canted bay windows is to be seen at 7-12 Alexandra Place (fig.117, attr.Rae 1869-70) and the large castellated villas in Double Dykes Road (Gillespie and Scott, now Parkland Hotel, 1888), and there are shaped gables at Clifton Bank (figs.207,208, Hall 1856, but perhaps owing more to Hall's experience with Nixon at the United College), and Kinburn Place (attr.Milne 1862). Gillespie and Scott's Bute Medical Building (fig.100, 1898) in Greenside Place is perhaps the most explicit stylistic derivative of the Madras, even though it was designed more than six decades later.

Notes to the Madras College.

1. Dr. Andrew Bell to Provost Haig, 16th May 1831.
St.A.U.L.Ms Deposit 13 box 1.

2. John THOMPSON, The Madras College 1833-1983 ([St. Andrews]: [Madras College], [1983]), p.2.

3. Dr. Andrew Bell to Principal Haldane, 11th June 1831. St.A.U.L.Ms Deposit 13 box 1.

4. Rev. Thomas THOMSON, A Bibliographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, 3 vols. (London: Blackie and Son, 1869-72), p.114. For an account of the aims and methods of the monitorial system of education, and of the Lancasterian and Wilderspin methods see Thomas A. MARKUS, 'The School as Machine: Working Class Scottish Education and the Glasgow Normal Seminary', in Thomas A. MARKUS, ed., Order in Space and Society (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Co., 1982).

5. Robert SOUTHEY and the Rev. Charles Cuthbert SOUTHEY, The Life of the Rev. Andrew Bell, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1844). Vol.3, p.36.

6. Ronald Gordon CANT, St. Andrews Preservation Trust Report (1980). The building became an infant school

in 1834, the City Hall in 1854, and is presently the public library.

7. SOUTHEY, op.cit. p.37.
8. Ibid. p.107.
9. Ibid. p.139.
10. Bell also bequeathed his set of communion plate which had been given him by his original pupils in Madras; the set remains with the congregation.
THOMPSON, op.cit. p.8.
11. SOUTHEY, op.cit. p.299.
12. Thomas Truman OLIPHANT, Historical Notes Relating to The Episcopal Congregation at St. Andrews, from the Time of the Revolution to the present day (Edinburgh: n.p., 1896), p.130.
13. SOUTHEY, op.cit. p.357. Dr. Gillespie to Dr. Andrew Bell, August 1830.
14. Ibid. p.359.
15. Ibid. p.369.

16. On 27th July 1831, the Egmore estate and all other heritable property in Scotland was made over to a body of trustees for the purpose of 'promoting and encouraging the education of youth in Cupar...and of exhibiting therein a model and exemplar of the Madras system of Education'. Southey, op.cit. p.425.
17. Ibid. p.372.
18. Ibid. p.370.
19. Dr. Andrew Bell to Charles Grace, 16th May 1831.
St.A.U.L.Ms Deposit 13 box 1.
20. SOUTHEY, op.cit. p.391.
21. Dr. Andrew Bell to Charles Grace, 16th May 1831,
op.cit.
22. SOUTHEY, op.cit. p.379.
23. Ibid. p.424.
24. Ibid.
25. Dr. Andrew Bell to Robert Haldane, 24th May 1831.
St.A.U.L.Ms Deposit 13 box 1.

26. Dr. Andrew Bell to Robert Haldane, 20th June 1831.
St.A.U.L.Ms Deposit 13 box 1.
27. Dr. Andrew Bell to Charles Grace, 17th August 1831.
St.A.U.L.Ms Deposit 13 box 1.
28. 'Minutes' of the Trustees of the Madras College,
St.A.U.L.Ms 37601-2. William Burn to the Trustees,
21st September 1831.
29. William Burn to Dr. Andrew Bell, 1st November 1831.
St.A.U.L.Ms Deposit 13 box 1.
30. William Burn to the Trustees, 15th October 1831.
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32. Dr. Andrew Bell to William Burn, 28th October 1831.
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33. William Burn to Dr. Andrew Bell, 1st November 1831.
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34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Trustees' 'Minutes', op.cit. 29th November 1831.

37. William Burn to the Trustees, 19th December 1831.
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38. Specifications of boundary wall. St.A.U.L.Ms
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39. Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical
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Clackmannan (Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1933), p.250.
40. 'Instrument of Sasine' in favour of Thomas Duncan.
Fife Regional Council, Glenrothes. Ed/20/3 Madras.
41. 'Disposition' by Walter Foggo Ireland, George
Small, and George Ireland, in favour of Thomas
Duncan, Ed/20/3 Madras, Fife Regional Council,
Glenrothes.
42. Ibid. Greyfriars' should surely read Blackfriars'.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. 'Instrument of Sasine' in favour of Andrew
Alexander, 21st May 1831, Ed/20/3 Madras, Fife
Regional Council, Glenrothes.

46. 'Disposition' by Walter Foggo Ireland, George Small, and George Ireland, in favour of Andrew Alexander, Ed/20/3 Madras, Fife Regional Council, Glenrothes.
47. 'Instrument of Sasine' in favour of Andrew Alexander, 21st May 1831, op.cit.
48. 'Disposition' by Andrew Alexander in favour of the Trustees of the Madras College, 27th May 1831, Ed/20/3 Madras, Fife Regional Council, Glenrothes.
49. 'Dispositions' by Walter Foggo Ireland et.al., op.cit.
50. 'Instrument of Sasine' in favour of George Bell, Ed/20/3 Madras, Fife Regional Council, Glenrothes.
51. 'Dispositions' by Walter Foggo Ireland, et.al., op.cit.
52. 'Instrument of Sasine' in favour of Thomas Duncan, Ed/20/3 Madras, Fife Regional Council, Glenrothes.
53. 'Disposition' by Thomas Duncan in favour of the Trustees of the Madras College, 26th May 1831, Ed/20/3 Madras, Fife Regional Council, Glenrothes.

54. 'Disposition' by Andrew Alexander in favour of the Trustees of the Madras College, 27th May 1831, op.cit.
55. THOMPSON, op.cit. p.10.
56. Trustees' 'Minutes', op.cit. 9th April 1832.
57. 'Contracts' for mason work between the Trustees and John Kennedy, and for wright and smith work between the Trustees and John McCulloch and James Berwick. St.A.U.L.Ms Deposit 13 box 2.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Trustees' 'Minutes', op.cit. 11th August 1832.
63. Ibid. 24th August 1833. Lavatories, or privies were not installed until 1835 however (figs.85,86) at a cost of £600. Ibid. 9th February 1835.
64. Ibid. 4th November 1833.

65. Dr. Andrew Bell to William Burn, 28th October 1831.
op.cit.
66. Trustees' 'Minutes', op.cit. 23rd January 1833.
67. Trustees' 'Minutes', op.cit. 29th May 1833.
68. Ibid. 26th February 1834.
69. Ibid. 15th July 1834.
70. 'Contract' between the Trustees of the Madras College and John Kennedy, John McCulloch and James Berwick, John Munro, David Anderson, and James Farquharson, together with the 'Specifications' are in the possession of Dr. John Thompson, Madras House East, South Street, St. Andrews.
71. Some internal alterations to the College, and an extension of a ground and first floor room to the east masters' house took place in 1890, following the reorganisation of the College's governing body (figs.76,77). David Henry was appointed architect, being preferred by the Governors to James Gillespie. 'Minutes' of the Governors of the Madras College, 8th April 1889. St.A.U.L.Ms 37603.
72. Trustees' 'Minutes', op.cit. William Burn to the Trustees, 21st September 1831.

73. Trustees' 'Minutes', op.cit. 6th February 1834.
74. Ibid. 13th March 1835.
75. David Hay FLEMING, Guide to St. Andrews (St. Andrews: J. and G. Innes, 1980), p.10.
76. Trustees' 'Minutes', op.cit. 26th September 1843.
77. St.A.U.L.Ms Hill and Adamson album 22, 9.
78. James MACAULAY, The Gothic Revival, 1745-1845 (Glasgow: Blackie, 1975).
79. Ibid. p.318.
80. Ibid. p.332.
81. David WALKER, 'William Burn and the influence of Sir Robert Smirke and William Wilkins on Scottish Greek Revival Design, 1810-40' in Scottish Pioneers of the Greek Revival (Edinburgh: Scottish Georgian Society, 1984), p.7.
82. For Burn as a country house architect see David WALKER, 'William Burn, the Country House in Transition' in Jane FAWCETT, ed., Seven Victorian Architects (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976).

83. Charles McKEAN, and David WALKER, Dundee, An Illustrated Introduction (Edinburgh: R.I.A.S. and Scottish Academic Press, 1984), pp.16 and 17.

Part Three.The 'New Town' of St. Andrews.

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Introduction.

The western expansion of St. Andrews began in 1834, and despite obvious differences of scale, a comparison with developments in Edinburgh is instructive, notably through its provision of individually planned schemes of terraces by different architects using variations of a simple classical format. Moreover the piecemeal expansion of both towns was the result of the literal 'out-growing' of their respective mediaeval old towns. In the case of St. Andrews this entailed the natural 'creeping' expansion to the north and west, gradually breaking the bounds of the mediaeval city, whereas in Edinburgh a geographically separate area was taken over to the north of the North Loch. The first phase of the St. Andrews expansion is bounded on the north by the Links and the Scores, on the east by Murray Park, Greyfriars' Garden (formerly North Bell Street) and Bell Street (formerly South Bell Street), on the west by City Road and on the south by St. Mary's Place (map, fig.104).

There was never a single pre-determined plan to feu out and build the whole of the area, since as will be seen there were several property owners and builders working independently of each other; instead the scheme was a response to the spirit of regeneration and growth which gathered momentum as the nineteenth century progressed, and especially following the

construction of the Madras College. Indeed South Bell Street was conceived by Provost Haig in 1831 as a 'scheme of new streets'¹ greatly admired by Bell himself and intended 'to terminate opposite to the Madras College, and to be called Bell's Street'.² The street was intended to form an axial approach to the Madras College, as well as opening up a handsome thoroughfare to Market Street and providing good middle class dwellings. In the event, the street was not begun until 1845, and then on a line somewhat to the west of its original position which tempered the effect vis-à-vis the Madras College.

Chapter 1.

I. North Bell Street.

II. South Bell Street.

I. North Bell Street.

North Bell Street (figs.105-107) was the first area to be developed, and was initiated by Provost Dalrymple in 1834 'with a view to carrying into effect the proposal of his worthy predecessor Provost Haig'.³ The new street was built upon the site of the former Greyfriars' monastery, land which the Town Council already owned and which was therefore immediately available for feuing. The site of the future South Bell Street was in multiple private ownership and for this reason presumably the Greyfriars site was the first to be feued, but with the intention of 'leaving the completion of the remaining part of the line to South Street to further negotiation and consideration'.⁴ In September 1834 the Town Council approved a plan of North Bell Street drawn up by John McCulloch, a St. Andrews wright who with James Berwick had the contract for smith and wright work at the Madras College. It was agreed the street be feued for the erection of dwelling houses of two storeys, at least 23 feet above street level, built of ashlar and blue slates. Attics and basements were at the discretion of the feuar, but it was a condition that a 5 feet pavement be provided at the feuars' expense.⁵ Initially it seems the intention was to feu both sides of the street for houses. It was not until after the Rev. William Lothian (minister of the Congregational Church in South Bell Street and occupier of no.2 North Bell Street) suggested:

it would add much to the beauty of the street were the west side of it to be feued to the feuars of the east side as gardens,⁶

that the Town Council decided to build on the east side only. There were subsequently conditions of feu which laid down that gardens be divided by stone walls and iron railings, with iron gates to the street uniformly painted green; no pig styes or the like were allowed and the ground was to be used exclusively as garden ground (fig.116).⁷

The whole site was first exposed to feu on 16th February 1835, when only two stances were taken, the present nos. 2 and 3.⁸ The five adjoining stances to the north (nos. 4-8) and the corner stance to the south (no.1, fig.107) were not taken until more than a year later in April 1836. By the end of the following year a further seven stances had been feued (nos.9-14, and 16), but nos. 15 and 17 were not taken until June 1840 and 1843 respectively. No. 17 (fig.106), the northernmost house of the terrace was the last to be built and was completed in 1844, thus the development had taken nine years to come to fruition. This indicates the steady rather than dramatic rise in the demand for houses in the 1830s. Indeed John Buddo who took the southernmost stance in 1836 was challenged by his neighbour the Rev. William Lothian for not building within the time specified in the conditions of feu; Buddo replied, 'there is so little encouragement for house building that I have delayed building upon the ground.'⁹ His

house was completed in 1841 (fig.107). The highest feu duty was 1/6 per foot frontage per year, and the lowest 10d., but on average a feu duty of 1/- per foot was obtained by the Council. The street does not appear to have been developed as a speculative venture in the accepted sense. The St. Andrews builder John McIntosh seems to have built at least thirteen houses and of these eleven were for specific clients, (nos.2-4, 9, 10, 12-14, 15 [for himself], 16 and 17). John Kennedy built no. 1 for Buddo, and nos. 7 and 8 were perhaps built by the feuar Alexander McBain, wright, and subsequently let or sold. Nos. 5 and 6 were feued to Richard Berrie, a solicitor who presumably commissioned the houses and let them, and no. 11 (fig.105, the only house faced in stucco rather than stone) was originally taken by Dr. William Thomson who subsequently had the house built, presumably for his own occupation.

The architectural format of the North Bell Street houses is uniform except in nos. 1 and 11. This uniformity is tempered by variations of rhythm in the placement of doors and window bays, and in the difference in levels between nos. 1-10, and 11-17. Uniformity has been further checked by subsequent installations of shop fronts. The style is characterised by smooth rustication on the ground floor and tooled dressing on the first floor, with a plain string course between floors and at the wallhead; twelve-paned sash and case windows complete the design. The question of

who actually designed the elevations has not been satisfactorily resolved. Certainly the street was laid out by John McCulloch, but as a wright his skills may not have extended to architecture. George Rae, whose own origins lay in the St. Andrews wright trade is the only architect per se whose name can be positively linked with the scheme, and this only for the north easternmost corner house, no. 17 North Bell Street/150 North Street (fig.106)¹⁰. Rae was probably engaged because of the awkward wedge shaped corner site, which he successfully negotiated by using three light windows on the west elevation and curved corner stones sweeping around to the North Street elevation where a handsome Roman Doric portico graces the principal entrance. The portico was a deviation from the original plan for which special permission was obtained from the Town Council.¹¹ This house and those nearby at 140-144 North Street (1844) are Rae's earliest known compositions,¹² but he was probably also responsible for no. 11 North Bell Street, (fig.105, 1836-38) which displays his characteristic window margins and entrance portico. Stylistically Robert Balfour is the most obvious St. Andrews architect to link with the overall scheme, although it was begun some ten years after his last known work, 77-83 North Street (fig.314, 1824-25).¹³ Balfour's English School (1811),¹⁴ 8 Market Street (1815)¹⁵ and 77-83 North Street were all designed with smooth rusticated ashlar on the ground floor, and tooled or polished ashlar on subsequent floors, with plain twelve-paned windows and

string courses. These characteristics are apparent in the majority of the North Bell Street elevations, and also at 60 and 66, and 120-124 North Street, which may also be by Balfour. Each of these arrangements echoes any number of Edinburgh prototypes such as Robert Reid's Great King Street (1820), W. H. Playfair's Royal Circus (1823), and ultimately perhaps Robert Adam's Charlotte Square (1791). What may be said with reasonable certainty is that if Balfour himself was not responsible for the actual elevations, then his earlier work surely inspired them. The major departure from the overall plan is at no. 1, Chestney House, at the corner of and with its entrance from Market Street (fig.107). Despite being interdicted for his departure from the original plan,¹⁶ Buddo's house was completed by 1841, exceeding the prescribed height by some 11 feet, a factor which may have influenced the use of the higher corner blocks at South Bell Street. The window surrounds and geometric decorative panels are conceivably Rae, and Buddo had recently used this architect at Golf Place, and certainly later at Seaton House (1864-65, figs.211,212), although there is also a similarity with Albert Buildings, 109-121 South Street (fig.108, 1844), by William Scott of Dundee. This composition marks a change of emphasis from the smooth rustication and tooled masonry of North Bell Street towards the Renaissance 'palazzo' style with cornices and heavily pedimented windows. The building also testifies to the considerable amount of rebuilding within the established streets,

often as in this case with the loss of traditional Burgh
architecture (figs.109,110).

II. South Bell Street.

The principal architect for South Bell Street (figs.111-114) was George Rae, who prepared the plan and building conditions in November 1847.¹⁷ As has been seen, Rae was involved with no. 17 and probably no. 11 North Bell Street in 1844 and 1836-38, having also designed nos. 140-146 North Street in 1844. Rae seems to be the earliest St. Andrews born (1811) architect working in the town, and although his family connection with the wright trade here has been traced back to the early eighteenth century, his place of architectural training has not been established.¹⁸ The scheme for South Bell Street was Rae's most extensive to date, and the plan to connect Market Street with South Street was given unanimous approval at a public meeting in March 1845, the report of which reveals that Provost Playfair, with 'great zeal and public spirit' had been acquiring land in the vicinity of the new street at his own expense, probably in anticipation of offering it as a whole to the town. It was resolved to repay Playfair with four per cent interest from the revenue derived from feuing. Part of the expense of laying the street, to the tune of £900 was to be met from the Bell fund, it being the late benefactor's:

earnest desire that the proposed street should be the first permanent improvement in the city to be executed from the funds bequeathed by him.¹⁹

Playfair's promotion of the South Bell Street scheme in 1845 came several years after his appointment as Provost

on 4th November 1842. One of his earliest acts of civic 'improvement' was the renovation of South Street, the town's principal thoroughfare and at that time its finest residential street. The carriageway was macadamised, wide pavements were laid, 'porches or projections...on the consent of the proprietors being obtained, were immediately removed',²⁰ and the gutters and water channels repaired. House proprietors were also encouraged to renovate and repaint their houses, the whole rejuvenation culminating with the renovation of the West Port in 1843 and the erection of Albert Buildings (fig.108) in 1844. In promoting the South Bell Street scheme, Playfair was thus not only completing the 1831 plan of Provost Haig, but also continuing his own zeal for 'improvement' as evinced by his work in South Street. By the late 1850s when South Bell Street was finally nearing completion, several building schemes in South Street itself were under way, not only possibly inspired by South Bell Street, but also by the general climate of 'improvement'. Sir David Brewster (Principal of the United College 1838-59) had engaged Milne to add a gothic frontage to St. Leonard's East in 1854,²¹ Rae had designed no. 27 South Street for Playfair in 1856²² and is also accredited with the Royal Hotel at no. 118 in 1857. With the extended University Library (figs.50,52) and the Madras scheme of the 1830s (fig.53), these 1850s improvements were to culminate in the new Town Hall (fig.143) from 1858. In Market Street during a similar period (1852) Rae had introduced the

town's earliest baronial revival building at no. 77-79 (fig.98) at the corner with College Street, for Playfair,²³ having already designed the Cross Keys Hotel (main block) at no. 85 in 1851.²⁴ Meanwhile Milne erected Martyrs Free Church in North Street (1851-52) in what was described at the time as 'the purest example of gothic architecture to be seen out of England'.²⁵

The original plan and elevations of South Bell Street do not appear to have survived, but it is evident that the original intention was to build dwelling houses on both sides of the street. They were to be built of polished ashlar and blue slates, two storeys with attics, and 'with the exception of the centre and corner houses shall be of uniform height and similar in the style of architecture'.²⁶ Clearly this would have been a very handsome street, with three storey buildings at each end and possibly in the centre, architecturally uniform and facing each other like two palace facades. But such grandiose aspirations, which were probably those of Playfair himself were compromised, due in part to a lack of enthusiasm in taking up fees; although Andrew Aikman's house at the south west corner was completed by 1847 (no.165 South Street, fig.111), it was to be another ten years before the last houses were built to Rae's elevations (west side, nos.14, 16-18, and 20-22, fig.113), and even then gaps remained on the southern part of the east side until the 1870s and 1880s. Additionally the owners of the house (now the

Victoria Cafe) and garden on the north west corner of the street were probably reluctant to sell, indeed the garden remained as part of the Victoria Cafe until after the Second World War (fig.112).

The building contractor for most of the houses built before 1858 seems to have been John McIntosh. Of the sixteen stances, McIntosh acquired six on behalf of their respective feuars and subsequently almost certainly built the houses. McIntosh also built his own three houses on the west side, and the four of Andrew Aikman which they adjoin, as well as the Congregational Church (fig.112, demolished 1981), amounting to fourteen buildings in all. In most cases, Rae's original ground floor elevations have been replaced by shop fronts, but at nos. 24-32 (fig.113, 1847) what must be the complete original elevations survive. They have plain polished ashlar ground floors, with twelve-paned windows; the first floor windows are set in surrounds which are identical to those at the more elaborate three storey corner building to the south, and are similar to those at no. 11 North Bell Street (fig.105). The corner designs for no. 165 South Street (fig.111, 1847) and no. 3 South Bell Street (fig.114, c1854) are almost identical, being of the originally prescribed three storeys, with pedimented windows to the first floor, and a cornice at the wallhead. No. 165 South Street (fig.111), the first of the South Bell Street houses to be completed was described at the time as being 'really

very elegant...with a tasteful architectural effect'.²⁷ The erection of this building was evidently some cause for celebration, and Aikman and McIntosh laid on a supper for the workmen where 'each partook of a large pie, with beer and plenty of good London porter'.²⁸ When the stance for no. 3 South Bell Street was feued in 1853, it was a condition that the feuar erect a dwelling 'of an elevation similar to that of the house lately erected by Mr. Andrew Aikman'.²⁹ The house on the opposite corner to no. 165 South Street, no. 161-3 South Street is of a different, though still classical design, and the date 1835 appears on its east gable.

The Congregational Church, of which McIntosh was a member, moved from its former site in Market Street in December 1854.³⁰ The congregation had previously obtained the permission of the Town Council to depart from the original building plan for a stance at the north east corner, but were outbid by Lawrence Thomson at the roup on 20th December 1852. In the event, the Church's position at the southern end of the eight Rae houses (fig.112) marked the beginning of a new section of building which deviated from the original plan, thus contributing a picturesque irregularity to the street as a whole, and dashing any remaining hopes for complete architectural uniformity. The Church was described as novel, 'and inclined to the Norman style',³¹ although its design was more of a simple 'street' gothic. Before the construction of Alexandra

Place in City Road (1863-70) and the greater part of Hope Park (including the Church in 1864), the Congregational Church was a landmark, with:

its high gabled front towering considerably above every other object, and seen at a great distance on coming from the west towards the city.³²

The same newspaper report cites the architect as a Mr. Kerr of Edinburgh, probably Andrew Kerr, although Jesse Hall's obituary claims the building as his; it could be that Hall was acting overseer on Kerr's behalf, indeed an album of photographs was presented by the congregation to Hall 'in recognition of his gratuitous services in superintending the erection of their new chapel'.³³

The remaining stances on the east side of the street were taken for commercial premises. No. 37-39 immediately adjoining the Church was designed by Hall and Henry for W. George Lorimer, draper in 1877,³⁴ and retains the spirit of Rae's window surrounds but the wallhead is raised (original cast iron shop front shown in fig.112). No. 41 next door continues the line of the wallhead and the modified Rae window surrounds. The gable chimney at the centre of the elevation is a romanticised vernacular element introduced by the architect James Gillespie who also used cast iron columns in the shopfront; the building was designed for Charles Donaldson, draper and dates from 1886. The adjoining facade (no.43) is a plain adaptation of an existing gable end, shown in Gillespie and Scott's

drawing of no. 41, and dating from after 1886.³⁵ No. 45 to the south has one of the finest remaining cast iron columned shop fronts in St. Andrews, and may be that described as 'salon and etc. behind shop at the corner of South Street and South Bell Street belonging to Charles Donaldson, bootmaker'.³⁶ This application was made by Hall and Henry to the Commissioners of Police in October 1877.

The feu duties for the stances sold between November 1848 and July 1855 were higher than those in North Bell Street. Most of the stances on the east of South Bell Street sold for 1/6 per foot frontage but McIntosh obtained his on the west for as little as 1/-. A further inconsistency of the scheme was that although the use of polished ashlar had been agreed as early as April 1845,³⁷ the first seven stances to be feued (nos. 5-13) were built of brick, and rendered in imitation of ashlar.

North and South Bell Streets, renamed Greyfriars' Garden and Bell Street respectively in 1896,³⁸ were important for their pioneering of the complete planned terraced street in St. Andrews, and for the linking of North Street, Market Street and South Street with broad new thoroughfares. Their classical architectural form also ensured the style enjoyed a vigorous coda in St. Andrews, not only in the contemporary Pilmour and Golf Place, and Playfair and

Gillespie Terrace, but more significantly in the Hope Park development, the scheme which most closely echoed the Edinburgh New Town and which used three of its architects. St. Mary's Place also experienced considerable rebuilding, including no. 5 (c1825, attr.Balfour), St. Mary's Church (fig.115, William Burn, 1839), nos. 2 and 3 (c1840, attr.Rae), and the West Infant School (fig.116, William Nixon, 1844, extended 1893 by Henry). During the 1860s building continued with Inchcape House (1861, attr.Rae), no.6, the premises used by Thomas Rodger as a photographic studio (1866, attr.Rae), Alexandra Place (1,2,7-12, fig.117, c1863, attr.Rae; 3-6, fig.118, Hall and Henry, 1869-70), and West Park (extension attr. David Bryce, 1866, demolished). The development of North and South Bell Streets on clean, modern classical lines also perhaps hastened the demolition of the North Street Port in 1838; according to the contractor who was repairing the road, the Port was removed because 'the Provost bade me, and I was needing stanes'.³⁹

A list of original purchasers of feus in North and South Bell Street, probable dates of erection of houses, and their architects and builders, is attached as Appendices F and G.

Chapter 2.

- I. Pilmour and Golf Place, Playfair Terrace and Ellice Place.
- II. The Links and Gibson Place.
- III. Murray Park.

I. Pilmour and Golf Place, Playfair Terrace and Ellice Place.

Development at Pilmour Place, forming an L plan with one side a part of North Street and the other (now Golf Place) leading to the Scores was conceivably begun before North Bell Street. In 1829 John Buddo acquired from the Town Council:

the area of land, that piece of waste ground...lying near to the Links of St. Andrews...on the west side of the park or enclosure belonging to Mr. Robert Richard, merchant.⁴⁰

By 1837, Buddo was advertising for sale 'five large dwelling houses and several smaller houses...built within the last few years'.⁴¹ In all there were 10 dwelling houses, one building stance and a 'park of land' behind, where the Grand Hotel, St. Salvator's, and Seaton House were subsequently erected.⁴² There is no documentary evidence of an architect for Buddo's development, but two remaining porticoes at nos. 9 and 11 Golf Place (fig.119) are similar to those used by Rae at Gillespie Terrace and nos. 140-142 North Street, which strongly suggests his involvement at Golf Place. Nos. 5, 6 and 7 Pilmour Place however (fig.120), are in the style of North Bell Street, therefore inspired by Balfour and perhaps laid out by McCulloch or even Rae. This conspicuous classical flank at the north west approach to the town was reinforced by Playfair Terrace and Gillespie Terrace (fig.199) from 1847. Playfair Terrace, named after the Provost was promoted by the Town Council,⁴³ designed by Rae and built by McIntosh,

and was completed by 1850.⁴⁴ It consisted of eight houses, the central pair nos. 4 and 5 of three storeys and basement, with the adjoining houses of two storeys and basement. The horizontal channel jointing of the ground floor, the three light windows of the principal south facing rooms and the palmettes surmounting the central gables make this one of Rae's most ambitious early works. Subsequent alterations have marred the original balance, some of which may be seen in an early photograph (fig.116). The towering Playfair Terrace contrasted with the diminutive single storey classical 'cottages' designed as Gillespie Terrace from 1849, also by Rae. Ellice Place (nos.4 and 5) to the east of Playfair Terrace was begun in 1863 for David Kinnaird, manufacturer, and named at his request after Edward Ellice, M.P.; it shows Rae in a more romantic mood, somewhat removed from his classicism of the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s.⁴⁵ The terrace of identical houses which could have emerged from Rae's initial pair was probably impeded by existing cottages such as no. 3; nevertheless Hall built a house at no.1-2 for John Fairweather in 1868⁴⁶ and the whole disjointed scheme was completed by the erection of no. 6 in a poor imitation of Rae's houses in 1895, for Lawrence Burns.⁴⁷

II. The Links and Gibson Place.

The area to the west of Golf Place, the triangle made up of Golf Place itself to the east, the Links to the north and Pilmour Links and Gibson Place to the south was feued by the Town Council from 1820.⁴⁸ Initially development took place on the southern boundary as indicated on the 1820 map (fig.1), although it was a piecemeal development and the only major domestic scheme did not take place until 1867-68, when Rae designed nos. 8-10 Gibson Place for D. Cunningham. The imposing baronial style was deliberately chosen to form an impressive and fashionable entrance to the city from the railway station, then situated further west on the Guardbridge Road.⁴⁹ The architectural character of this area is mixed, with the original 1820 houses having been modified or demolished at various times. The most telling intrusion dates from 1886 when William Rusack erected the first part of his towering new hotel, designed by David Henry, standing midway between Pilmour Links and the Links. The building was extended to the south, with Renaissance embellishments in 1891 (fig.121), and finally to the north in 1911,⁵⁰ perhaps in response to the rival attractions (from 1895) of the Grand Hotel (fig.308). The northern boundary of the triangle was developed with golf shops and workshops from c1860s,⁵¹ the Golf Hotel at the corner of Golf Place (present northern elevation by Gillespie and Scott, 1897),⁵² and a series of large terraced houses by

John Harris (no. 9, 1872) and Hall and Henry (nos. 15 and 16, fig.314, 1872-73 and 1875).⁵³

III. Murray Park.

Murray Park, the north eastern boundary of the new town, was formed by the laying of a further new street north and slightly to the east of the northern extremity of North Bell Street. It was developed for the Misses Elizabeth and Mary Murray, on land formerly owned by the late Mr. William Murray. Jesse Hall prepared a feuing plan of the whole park, and an elevation of the east side of the street in 1870,⁵⁴ but the Town Council, on account of a shortage of funds were reluctant to lay a road and the scheme was consequently delayed. Although plans by Henry for two dwelling houses were passed in 1870,⁵⁵ Bronwen Prince dates the first house (no.11) to 1876, designed by James Gillespie.⁵⁶ The development continued until 1900, and is an example of picturesque, irregular elements somewhat squashed into the constraints of a terrace of narrow stances. Hall, Henry, Gillespie and Scott, and Milne all designed houses here, their individuality contrasting with the uniformity of North Bell Street whose thoroughfare to the Scores and Links it effectively continues.

Chapter 3.

Hope Park.

- I. The First Phase, 1846-1852.
- II. The Second Phase, 1864-1898.
- III. Completion of Hope Street.
- IV. Completion of Abbotsford Crescent.
- V. Abbotsford Place.
- VI. Howard Place.

Hope Park.

I. The First Phase, 1846-1852.

At first sight the terraces of Abbotsford Crescent, Hope Street and Howard Place, here collectively referred to as Hope Park, appear to be the work of one architect (and is often described as such) and a single period of time. But because of the piecemeal nature of such feuing schemes, dependent upon the entrepreneurial spirit of the speculative builder, and in turn upon the vicissitudes of the market, the development took half a century to complete and employed at least three local architectural practices designing houses behind elevations prescribed by no fewer than three Edinburgh architects. The scheme was first mooted by Col. William Holcroft in 1846,⁵⁷ but Holcroft sold his park in 1847 to Sir John Gladstone of Fasque and Robert Hope (after 1853, and hereinafter referred to as Hope Scott) and it was from this time that Hope Park per se was developed.⁵⁸ From its inception it was to be an upper middle class enclave 'consisting of houses of a very superior description, with coach houses and other suitable conveniences, so as to induce families of rank and fortune to settle in the city',⁵⁹ Gladstone and Hope Scott clearly had ambitious plans for St. Andrews since they also acquired Scores Park in that year, and further, wished 'to get possession of the auld castle, for the purposes of forming a new harbour east of it',⁶⁰

It was reported that these gentlemen were to light their houses 'with gas of their own manufacturing',⁶¹ all of which suggests that an earlier vision by Col. Dewar and Capt. Vilant of the 'new town' of St. Andrews was coming to fruition.⁶² The prospect of terraces of upper middle class houses quickly filling Holcroft's and Scores Parks and yielding handsome profits to Gladstone and Hope Scott was not to materialise; by 1851 only eleven houses were built in Hope Park, and building did not recommence until 1864. At Scores Park the first stances were not taken until 1863 when large baronial villas supplanted possible earlier plans for terraces. Gladstone died in 1851 and his heirs disposed of their interest in both parks to Hope Scott in 1853;⁶³ however it was not until after the death of the scheme's original architect, John Henderson in 1862 that a fresh start was made under the direction of John Chesser.

The plan of Hope Park (fig.122) is roughly rectangular, situated to the west of the old Greyfriars' monastery, and perhaps once part of its lands. Bounded on the north by North Street, on the south by Market Street and on the west by City Road, the park is indicated on Wood's 1820 map (fig.1) as 'Mr. Armit's property'. Holcroft acquired the park in 1822 from the Armit family,⁶⁴ and by 1847 had erected the house known as West Park⁶⁵ adjoining the West Infant School with entrance from Market Street. Holcroft himself prepared the way for development when he obtained permission from

the St. Andrews Commissioners of Police in 1846 to join the sewer in Pilmour Place, prior to his 'feuing his park'.⁶⁶ The extent of these early plans is not known, but perhaps Holcroft was inspired by the newly completed North Bell Street; certainly the local press were keen on the proposed 'improvements' which were to be 'on a scale which will enable us to speak of our 'West End' as well as our betters'.⁶⁷ When Gladstone and Hope Scott bought Holcroft's Park in 1847 there was included in the titles a 'plan signed by William Holcroft as relative to said disposition';⁶⁸ this was probably a plan of the site but could have been a feuing plan for the proposed houses; either way the document has been lost, and with it any possible indication of Holcroft's own feuing intentions.

By contrast, Gladstone and Hope Scott's original scheme is comparatively easy to reconstruct. Their architect was John Henderson who had designed Trinity College, Glenalmond for Gladstone's son William Ewart and Hope Scott in 1843, and was also engaged upon the Gladstone Chapel for Sir John at St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Fasque in 1847. Henderson was principally an architect of Episcopal churches in the gothic style, and his classical terraces for Hope Park were a rare departure, perhaps owing something to his period as an assistant to Thomas Hamilton in Edinburgh.⁶⁹ There are several documentary sources

indicating Henderson's authorship of the scheme, none more explicit than the Fifeshire Journal's report that:

the designs are already in a forward state, and are being prepared by Mr. Henderson, whose reputation has of late acquired a well merited celebrity.⁷⁰

Henderson later applied to the Commissioners of Police to lay down a water pipe to supply Hope Street;⁷¹ a copy report by him as to the feuing of Hope Street is also recorded as having been sent from Hope Scott's agent in St. Andrews to his agent in Edinburgh.⁷² Actual drawings from this period, including a feuing plan of the whole park (fig.122) and an elevation of no. 4 Hope Street (fig.123) are neither signed nor dated, but are almost certainly relative to Henderson's work.⁷³

The feuing plan (fig.122), watermarked 1851 and presumably a copy of an earlier plan, shows what must be regarded as Henderson's original layout for the park, and was perhaps produced to show building progress to date with two houses in the crescent (at this time Gladstone, later Abbotsford Crescent) and five houses in Hope Street indicated as having been built. (The annotations at the east and west ends of the crescent must have been made in c1873 and c1869 respectively). The plan shows the crescent divided into thirteen stances, with nos. 1 and 2, and 12 and 13 forming two pairs of identical end pavilion like houses, with entrance projections facing south, and bow windows to the east and west. Hope Street shows seventeen stances, arranged in a straight terrace but with nos. 1 and 17

projecting slightly to front and rear as end pavilions. The uniformity continues on the south west corner of the site on what later became Howard Place and Hope Park Church; Henderson's plan for this area included an eight stance terrace with projecting end pavilions facing the western end of the crescent, with gardens stretching south, parallel to Hope Street and meeting those extending from a five stance terrace (nos. 1 and 5 with projecting pavilions) facing Market Street. The whole plan is completed by Lockhart Place, a clever corner design with the appearance of three or four houses, but actually containing four flats.

Elevations corresponding to the whole feuing plan have not survived, but those for no. 4 Hope Street (fig.123), and Lockhart Place (figs.124,125)⁷⁴ show these parts to have been built almost as planned; nos. 5 and 6 Hope Street differ slightly with broad recessed door surrounds and only two windows to the first floor. The elevation of no.4 Hope Street nevertheless shows what must be regarded as the original standard Hope Park house of two principal floors, attic and basement, with smooth channel jointed rustication on the ground floor and moulded window surrounds to the drawing room floor above. The panel below the window sills is common to the whole scheme, as are the pediments to the wallheads, and the attic bedrooms which project to the rear. This two principal storey formula, with only slight modification in house width and rhythm was continued in Hope Street

until the final houses were built in c1880 (nos.13-14, fig.133),⁷⁵ but in the crescent there were such modifications as round arched doorways with consoles and the addition of a third storey, even to the two houses already erected (stances 4 and 5). The elevations for Lockhart Place differ from those of Hope Street and Abbotsford Crescent to an extent which suggests a hand other than Henderson's, indeed the design has been attributed to Rae,⁷⁶ and resembles his work for Andrew Aikman in South Bell Street of 1847 (fig.111). The window surrounds, triangular pediment and doric portico certainly recall Rae, and the design may well be a legacy from Holcroft. The specifications are dated September 1850 but no architect is named;⁷⁷ Henderson would presumably have been responsible for overseeing construction, which was carried out by John Kennedy with wright work by James Malcolm.⁷⁸

The first houses to be built in Hope Park at stances 4 and 5 Abbotsford Crescent and 2-6 Hope Street as indicated on the feuing plan (fig.122) were described as being 'in course of erection' in June 1850,⁷⁹ and on 25th July following, an advertisement appeared in the Fifeshire Journal thus:

Parties desirous of fixing their residence in this favourite university and sea bathing town may procure excellent new houses by application to Messrs. Grace and Youle, St. Andrews or John Henderson, esq., architect, Edinburgh. The houses referred to are pleasantly situated in the new crescent and consist of handsome dining room, drawing room, and bedroom floors, with sunk flats. Other houses of various sizes are also in course of erection.⁸⁰

The houses were slow to be taken however, and it was not until fifteen months later that it was reported the first two houses had 'at length been let', and that there was 'every prospect now therefore, that tenants will soon be found for the other houses'.⁸¹ A further two tenants were forthcoming for Hope Street and Lockhart Place in 1852,⁸² although there is no indication that all eleven houses (including the four flats at Lockhart Place) were taken by this time. The scheme, such as it existed in 1852 had taken some five years to come to fruition; with Gladstone dead and the houses taking some time to let, Hope Scott was probably losing interest in his St. Andrews speculation and in 1855, both Hope and Scores Parks were advertised for sale.⁸³ In the meantime, Hope Scott had become Laird of Abbotsford through his wife, Charlotte Harriet Jane Lockhart, granddaughter of Sir Walter Scott, a fact which accounts for the renaming of Gladstone to Abbotsford Crescent. Lockhart Place had already taken his wife's maiden name, a practice extended to Howard Place following Hope Scott's second marriage to Lady Victoria Fitzalan Howard in 1861. Hope Park remained unsold and only partially developed, and was again advertised for sale in 1857, but to no avail.⁸⁴ The stalemate situation continued until 1864, when following Henderson's death, John Chesser took over architectural direction and produced a revised feuing plan and elevation (fig.126).

II. The Second Phase, 1864-1898.

The impetus to complete Hope Park to a revised plan was probably provided by the erection of a new church for the United Presbyterian congregation in 1864, on the south west corner site of the park facing Market Street (fig.127). The building was designed by John Dick Peddie and Charles G. H. Kinnear of Edinburgh⁸⁵ and constructed by David Pearson, builder;⁸⁶ the soaring spire of this gothic design forming a most striking element in the St. Andrews skyline. The building was extended in 1899 by Gillespie and Scott, providing a second storey to the hall,⁸⁷ but the manse, no. 1 Howard Place (fig.138) dates to 1864⁸⁸ and was probably the first house to be built as part of Chesser's convex terrace. As has been seen, Henderson died in 1862 with only a small portion of his plan for Hope Park realized. By engaging Chesser, an architect of considerable experience of ground and elevational plans for the Edinburgh New Town, Hope Scott was clearly anticipating an architect who would bring a fresh, modern and above all commercially appealing approach to the scheme. Chesser duly drew up elevations for the completion of Abbotsford Crescent and Hope Street, and devised the new plan for what became Howard Place. A new set of Conditions of Sale dated 1864 and issued in conjunction with Chesser's elevations lay down the conditions which feuars were bound to accept, and made provision for certain alterations to the original plan.⁸⁹ The exposé

(Hope Scott) was empowered to alter the size, position and elevations of the two easternmost and two westernmost stances in Abbotsford Crescent, and also to allow churches and other public buildings to be erected, subject to suitable elevations. Feuars were allowed to increase or decrease the frontage of their stances in proportion to the specified door and window rhythm, to erect a rear fourth storey, oriel windows, out houses, etc., all according to the working elevations issued by Chesser. Specific instructions were also issued regarding the masonry of the front elevations, that it should comply in colour, quality and treatment to the two houses already erected in Abbotsford Crescent, and that uniformity in the height of the courses should be preserved. The conditions were clearly designed to enable Hope Scott to accommodate feuars who wished to increase the size of their houses without unduly altering the effect of a uniform facade, and also to allow suitable buildings other than dwelling houses.

III. Completion of Hope Street.

Chesser's elevation for the completion of Hope Street (fig.126)⁹⁰ shows a curiously inharmonious proposal which all but disregards Henderson's existing five houses (nos.2-6) and takes its elevational inspiration rather from Lockhart Place. It consists of ten stances to the south, with the central pair and end houses projecting, and a single stance to the north of the existing houses, projecting as in Henderson's original plan. The imbalance of the projections in relation to the existing houses is accentuated by the more obvious change in elevational detail. The distinctive channel jointed rustication has been abandoned in favour of smooth ashlar and moulded architraves to the ground as well as the first floor; the unifying wall parapet has been retained but the height from ground level to roof ridge has been reduced. Chesser's reason for abandoning the ground floor rustication was probably on grounds of cost and changing fashion, but in the event the houses were completed to Henderson's elevation.⁹¹

Although this second phase was inaugurated in 1864 with Hope Park Church and Chesser's new elevations, building did not recommence in Hope Street until 1868, when Jesse Hall superintended the construction of the northernmost house, no. 1 for John Ogilvy, builder.⁹² It was Hall who proposed lining up no. 1 with the existing

houses, so as to 'make a much better finish to the street', and to avoid the inevitable consequence of reducing the width of the area 'so as to injure the sunk flat'.⁹³ Ogilvy himself preferred the elevation details of the existing houses, and when the feuars of nos. 7 and 8, Meldrum Downie, builder and David Scott, joiner expressed a similar opinion, Hope... Scott's Edinburgh agent stated that 'it might be better that the whole street should be in one continuous line and the houses of all the same style'.⁹⁴ Henderson's original elevations were thus restored, and although some houses (nos.9-12) exceeded the original frontage width (but still in accordance with the 1864 conditions of sale) the overall impression of uniformity remains. Hope Street was built as far south as no. 10 by 1874,⁹⁵ but the remaining four houses (nos.11-14) built as a speculation by George Bruce were not completed until c1880. Plans and elevations of no. 12 (figs.128-132)⁹⁶ are dated July 1876 and it is reasonable to suppose that both no. 11 (which it resembles) and 12 were completed by 1877. Elevations for nos. 13 and 14 (fig.133)⁹⁷ are dated July 1879, suggesting that by 1880 the whole terrace was complete. In fact the elevations do not show the houses as built, rather they conform to a version of Chesser's amended elevation of 1864 (fig.126), with the exception of the incredible first floor corner window of no. 14. This suggests that in spite of nos. 1, and 7-10 being built to Henderson's original elevation, intending feuars were still required to submit plans which

conformed more to Chesser's prescribed elevation, even if in the end they were rejected for Henderson's. The drawings for 12-14 Hope Street are annotated 'Henry Bruce, Civil Engineer and Architect, Edinburgh'; probably the same man referred to as Henry Bruce, C.E., Cupar, eldest son of George Bruce in the latter's obituary in 1904.⁹⁸ Henry Bruce is listed as a 'Civil Engineer, Architect and Surveyor' in Cupar in 1900,⁹⁹ and it seems likely he was serving an apprenticeship in Edinburgh when he drew the plans for George Bruce in the 1870s.

The floor plans of 12 Hope Street (figs.129-132), one of only two sets to survive, correspond to nos. 11 and 12 as built, and illustrate a typical house in the Hope Park development. Conforming to the eighteenth century practice, servants and domestic offices were accommodated in the basement, and planned to form a fully self-contained unit providing all the creature comforts for the family and guests upstairs. Food, fuel and all domestic supplies arrived at the house via the area steps, although there was also a less conspicuous entrance from the garden at the rear. The basement contained two large servants' bedrooms, a laundry, external washing house, and most importantly the kitchen, with its various pantries and sculleries. The ground floor upstairs housed the principal entrance, hall and staircase, as well as the dining room, morning room (which could also have been used as a study), and a bedroom with dressing room and W.C. en suite. A

servery/pantry was strategically placed at the top of the stairs from the basement to receive food from the kitchen before its presentation in the dining room, and to store and care for china, cutlery and glass. The first floor was the finest and most important of all. It contained a large L shaped drawing room, the principal bedroom suite overlooking the rear garden, a bathroom, and a further bedroom to the front. The attic contained four bedrooms and a bathroom, probably used by the children of the house and servants if there were more than could be accommodated in the basement. The 1881 census shows the variability in the sizes of households; at no. 11, William Lomond, an advocate, and his wife Elizabeth lived with their five daughters aged six to nineteen, and one son aged eleven. On census day there was one resident visitor, and three domestic servants, making a total household of twelve. Only half that number is recorded at no. 12 where Mrs. Betsy Jack, a widow was head of household and 'keeper of a boarding house'. She lived with her sons George and Alexander, and Catherine Galloway and son George Galloway were visitors, or perhaps paying guests. Only one servant, Robert Mitchel is recorded. An incredibly high density of occupation was achieved at no. 10 Hope Street, of a similar size and plan to nos. 11 and 12. Here James and Charlotte Ramsay lived with their five daughters and two sons, and large staff of eight, a ratio of one staff for each member of the family. There was a male butler and footman, and female cook, kitchenmaid, housemaid,

nursemaid, ladiesmaid and nurse, a complement which suggests a much larger and more socially prestigious house, indeed Ramsay's designation as a Scots barrister at law 'not in position' might indicate the family had moved to smaller accommodation than it had been used to. A list of original purchasers, probable dates of erection of houses, their architects in addition to Henderson, and builders is attached as Appendix H.

IV. Completion of Abbotsford Crescent.

Abbotsford Crescent was completed over a similar period to Hope Street, and its plan and elevation sustained significant alteration. When the westernmost stances, nos. 9-13 (figs.134,135) were built in 1869-70, the first since 1850, they were positioned some feet to the north and east of their prescribed sites, with the result that the eastern and westernmost end stances, nos. 1 and 2, and 12 and 13, are out of alignment, and the central stances, nos. 6-8 were so reduced in width that two rather than three houses were built. The elevation and size of stances 12 and 13 (Abbotsford House, fig.134) was altered in accordance with the 1864 Conditions of Sale, providing a three storey design dominated by the coupled Ionic columned portico. Stances 9-11 (fig.135) to the east were also of three storeys plus attic and basement, differing from the prototype design of stances 4 and 5 not only because of the extra floor but also on account of the round arched doorways, with consoles and lintels (fig.135). When the feuars of the original stances 4 and 5 objected to this deviation, they were advised to alter their own doorways to conform to the new design, and to raise their houses by a further storey; they declined to change their doorways, but eventually the houses were raised to conform to the new wallhead height (fig.136).¹⁰⁰ The entire western section of the crescent was designed by the Edinburgh architect John Lessels and

constructed by John McIntosh in 1869-70.¹⁰¹ Chesser's involvement seems merely to have been the preparation of a new feuing plan, necessary because of an adjustment to the communal garden at the core of the whole scheme, itself being altered on account of the new line of Howard Place. Herein rests the reason for the inaccurate placing of Abbotsford House, since it appears the distance from the north west corner of the communal garden to the front of Abbotsford House was retained, even after the garden boundary had been necessarily moved to the north. Chesser blamed Hall for the mistake and accused him of mixing up specifications from new drawings with 'some old plan of Mr. Henderson's'; Hall in turn blamed McIntosh, who in the end solved the problem by agreeing to erect two instead of three houses on stances 6-8.¹⁰² The considerable correspondence on the matter however does not satisfactorily attribute blame to either party.

When McIntosh built the houses on stances 6-8 in 1869-71 he conformed to the new three storey elevation but also to the old square headed entrance doorways; by way of novelty, the houses project slightly, which effectively checks the various inconsistencies of the crescent. McIntosh completed the crescent by building stances 1 and 2 (Chattan House) and 3 (fig.136) between 1873 and 1877, conforming to Henderson's original plan and elevation, modified to include an extra storey and an entrance to Chattan House

on the west elevation.¹⁰³ Abbotsford Crescent as built then consisted of houses of three storeys with attic and basement, with the eastern and western houses approximately twice the size of their neighbours. The principal elements of Henderson's original elevation were used throughout, with significant exceptions, and this elevation was itself identical to those of Hope Street, but with the addition of a cornice to the first floor windows. A list of original purchasers, probable dates of erection of houses, their architects and builders is attached as Appendix I.

V. Abbotsford Place.

Abbotsford Place was not part of the Hope Park development as such, but it too was built upon land which had probably once been part of the Greyfriars' monastery. Situated to the north east corner of Hope Park between Albany Place in North Street and the northern boundary of West Park (present site of the Students' Union), the terrace of six houses and the detached Abbotsford Cottage/Southern Lodge (annotated 'T.P. 1870' on the north gable) form an intimate development compared to the more public terraces of Hope Park. The six two storey and attic houses (fig.137) were built in 1870 by David Scott, wright, who with Meldrum Downie had recently completed nos. 7 and 8 Hope Street.¹⁰⁴ Despite such connections, Abbotsford Place, originally to have been named Abbotsford Square,¹⁰⁵ bears little resemblance to the houses of Hope Park, and chamfered door and window surrounds were the only decorative features incorporated.

VI. Howard Place.

The convex crescent of Howard Place (fig.138) introduced an unexpected element to the layout of Hope Park, creating a 'backs to the town' inward looking development, a quality also attributed to James Craig's original 1767 Edinburgh New Town.¹⁰⁶ Chesser's only work in St. Andrews, Howard Place bears comparison with his Bellevue Place, Edinburgh (fig.139), the elevation of which suggests that Lockhart Place was less influential than might be supposed. The absence of channel jointing and presence of moulded window surrounds with supporting corbels to the ground floor cills are characteristics associated with Chesser, (although not used in Bellevue Place), and points to an increasingly relaxed classicism. There is also a cill course at first floor level and a shallow projecting cornice at the wallhead. Chesser's elevation for Howard Place survives inasmuch as his unexecuted Hope Street elevation (fig.126) is annotated 'the elevation of Howard Place is to be the same as the ten southernmost houses laid down on this plan'.¹⁰⁷ Stances 1-7 correspond to this elevation, but nos. 8-15 are raised by a third storey following the example of no. 15; the projection of the central and end stances (nos.6-11, 1-3, and 14-15) reflects the proposals for Hope Street but its effect is largely negated by the convex plan. Chesser's elevation for stance 15, the western end house¹⁰⁸ shows the addition of a bay window to the west elevation, providing the

rooms with an often dramatic western evening light, and a bold approach to Hope Park from City Road. The obvious temptation to place the principal entrance on this west elevation was avoided; instead the doorway to Howard Place was embellished with a lintel and consoles, similar to those used by Lessels at the western end of Abbotsford Crescent opposite (fig.135).

Howard Place was probably begun in 1864 with the manse for Hope Park Church (no.1, fig.138). Thereafter building proceeded from both south (stances 2-5)¹⁰⁹ and west (stances 14 and 15)¹¹⁰ in 1870, with stances 6, 12 and 13 being added in 1875-76. The railing which eventually surmounted the pediments of stances 1-7 and some of the dormers were in accordance with Chesser's drawing of 1874 (fig.170),¹¹¹ produced at the request of John Milne for the house he was building at no. 6,¹¹² only possible on the condition that all feuars agreed to this deviation from the original elevation.¹¹³ The gap in the terrace caused by the practice of building from end to centre remained vacant for more than twenty years following the completion of stances 6 and 12 in 1876. Such inertia reflects the fall in the rate of population growth in the 1870s and the consequent fall in demand for houses. Indeed Milne was reluctant to build at no. 6 because of the 'fearfully gloomy prospects for houses of this class'; moreover there were 'at present a large number of houses to be let with no demand'.¹¹⁴ By the 1890s however the rate of

population growth had once again increased and stances 7-11 were built in 1897-98 (fig.141). A list of original purchasers, probable dates of erection of houses, their architects in addition to Chesser, and builders in attached as Appendix J.

Conclusion.

The completion of Hope Park in the 1890s coincided with the development of Murray Park, the completion of the Scores, and the beginning of the second phase of development at Rathelpie; but only Hope Park retained its classical form to the end. Its protracted rate of development illustrates once again that St. Andrews sustained steady rather than dramatic growth during the nineteenth century; as a speculative development it consequently yielded moderate profits to Hope Scott, even with a feu duty at approximately £6 per 25 feet frontage, a rate considerably higher than that for North and South Bell Street.

Notes to the New Town of St. Andrews.

1. Dr. Andrew Bell to Provost Haig, 27th June 1831.
St.A.U.L.Ms Deposit 13 box 1.
2. Trustees of the Madras College to Dr. Andrew Bell,
2nd December 1831. 'Minutes' of the Trustees of the
Madras College. St.A.U.L.Ms 37601-2.
3. 'Minutes' of the St. Andrews Town Council, 15th
August 1834. U.St.A.M. B65/11/11.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. 23rd September 1834.
6. Ibid. 8th July and 19th August 1836.
7. Ibid.
8. The information in this paragraph is derived from
'Feu Dispositions' in the City of St. Andrews
'Cartulary'. U.St.A.M. B65/1.
9. 'Minutes' of the St. Andrews Town Council, op.cit.
30th May 1838. U.St.A.M. B65/11/12.
10. 'Feu Disposition' by Provost, Magistrates and Town
Council of St. Andrews in favor of Capt. David

Campbell, 20th July 1844, in City of St. Andrews
'Cartulary', op.cit.

11. 'Minutes' of the St. Andrews Town Council, 31st
January 1844. U.St.A.M. B65/11/12-13.
12. Ibid. 24th February 1844.
13. Patricia SIMPSON, 'Robert Balfour', (M.A.
dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 1981).
14. Ibid.
15. Title Deeds in possession of current proprietors of
house.
16. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Town Council, 24th May
1841. U.St.A.M. B65/11/12.
17. Ibid. 16th December 1847. 'Feu Disposition' by the
Provost, et.al. in favor of Lawrence Thomson, 22nd
February 1853, in City of St. Andrews 'Cartulary',
op.cit.
18. John STEVENSON, 'George Rae', in John FREW, ed.,
Building For A New Age (St. Andrews: Crawford
Centre, 1984), pp.17-18.

19. 'Minutes' of the St. Andrews Town Council, 24th May 1841. U.St.A.M. B65/11/12.
20. Rev. Charles ROGER, History of St. Andrews (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1849), p.165.
21. Original drawing U.St.A.M. UY1383.
22. 'Minutes' of the St. Andrews Town Council, 17th September 1856. U.St.A.M. B65/11/14.
23. Ronald Gordon CANT, 'George Raé, Architecture', in FREW, op.cit. p.21.
24. Fife Herald, 17th April and 9th October 1851.
25. Annabel LEDGARD, 'John Milne', in FREW, op.cit. p.25.
26. Ibid. 16th December 1847.
27. Fifeshire Journal, 8th July 1847.
28. Ibid. 22nd July 1847. New (present) shop front added by David Henry 1905, St.A.D.G. plan 588.
29. 'Feu Disposition' by Provost, et.al. in favor of Lawrence Thomson, 22nd February 1853, in City of St. Andrews 'Cartulary', op.cit.

30. Fifeshire Journal, 23rd December 1852.
31. Ibid. 21st December 1854.
32. Ibid.
33. St.A.U.L.Ms Photograph album GRA DA890 51R7.
34. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, 8th October 1877. U.St.A.M. B65/13/6.
35. Ibid. 23rd February 1886. U.St.A.M. B65/13/7. Also Gillespie and Scott plan 36. St.A.U.L.Ms.
36. Ibid. 8th October 1877. U.St.A.M. B65/13/6.
37. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Town Council, op.cit. 7th April 1845. U.St.A.M. B65/11/13.
38. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, op.cit. 13th January 1896. U.St.A.M. B65/11/8.
39. Fifeshire Journal, 13th September 1838.
40. Title Deeds, Grand Hotel. St.A.U. Titles.
41. Fifeshire Journal, 11th May 1837.
42. For these buildings see Part Five, The Scores.

43. ROGER, op.cit. p.167.
44. Fifeshire Journal, 8th July 1847, and 24th September 1850.
45. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, 21st March and 13th July 1863. U.St.A.M. B65/13/4.
46. Ibid. 13th January 1868. U.St.A.M. B65/13/5.
47. St.A.D.G. plan 67.
48. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Town Council, op.cit. 15th October 1879. U.ST.A.M. B65/13/6-7.
49. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, 9th April 1866. U.St.A.M. B65/13/5.
50. David HENRY, 'Business Book', p.166. Walker and Pride, Architects, St. Andrews. St.A.D.G. plan 845.
51. North facing western gable of former Golf Hotel, Rae, 1863, for James Wilson, clubmaker. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, 4th December 1863. U.St.A.M. B65/13/4; no. 7/8, Tom Morris' House, additions and alterations by Archibald Downie, St. Andrews Citizen, 29th April 1882; no. 6, James Gillespie, for Robert Forgan, 1882, Gillespie and Scott plan 1083, St.A.U.M.

op.cit.; no. 5, Henry, 1894, altered by Gillespie and Scott 1907 and 1914, incorporating no. 6, St.A.D.G. plans 103, 685 and 948.

52. St.A.D.G. plan 135.

53. No. 9, John Harris, 1872, 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, 8th April 1872, U.St.A.M. B65/13/6; no. 15, Hall and Henry, 1872-73, for Capt. J. Allen Allen, 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, op.cit., 10th May 1872, 'Register of Sasines' 15th April 1873; no. 16, Hall and Henry, 1875, for Hon. Charles Carnegie, 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, op.cit., 12th July 1875, 'Disposition' by James Bain and John McGregor to Hon. Charles Carnegie, 1875, Waldon House Title Deeds in the possession of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club. Nos. 11/12, 13 and 14, 1870-74, stylistically attributed to Hall and Henry but may be by John Harris who was the brother of Thomas Harris, mason, who built no. 14, 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, op.cit., 10th May 1872. Northern extension of no. 1 Gibson Place, 1893, James Gillespie, Gillespie and Scott plan 551, St.A.U.L.Ms; no. 18 'The Swilcan', Mills and Shepherd, for Harry Shields, R.S.A., 1914, 1916 and 1924, St.A.D.G. plans 964, 985 and 1235.

54. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police,
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55. Ibid. 9th January 1870.
56. Bronwen PRINCE, 'Murray Park, St. Andrews', (M.A.
dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 1985).
57. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Town Council, 19th
September 1846. U.St.A.M. B65/11/13.
58. 'Inventory' of the Writs and Titles of Holcrofts
Park, 1864. St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.
59. ROGER, op.cit p.167.
60. Fifeshire Journal, 14th January 1847.
61. Ibid.
62. Invitation to attend the stone laying ceremony of
the 'Public Baths and new town of St. Andrews',
1810. U.St.A.M. UY459. box B. See Part Five, The
Scores.
63. 'Inventory' of Writs and Titles of the Lands of
Holcrofts Park, op.cit.
64. Ibid.

65. 'Copy Description of Subjects' at Holcrofts Park, 1880. St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.
66. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, 19th September 1846. U.St.A.M. B65/11/13.
67. Fifeshire Journal, 19th November 1846.
68. 'Inventory' of Writs and Titles of the Lands of Holcrofts Park, op.cit.
69. Biographical notes and list of works in N.M.R.S.
70. Fifeshire Journal, 21st January 1847.
71. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, 17th June 1850. U.St.A.M. B65/11/13.
72. 'Inventory' of Title Deeds and of other documents relating to property in St. Andrews belonging to J. R. Hope Scott of Abbotsford, transmitted by William Youle and Stuart Grace, writers to Isaac Bayley esq., Edinburgh 1862. St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.
73. St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.
74. Ibid.

75. Proposed elevations dated July 1879. St.A.D.G.
(unclassified section).
76. Ronald Gordon CANT, 'George Rae, Architecture', in
FREW, op.cit.
77. St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.
78. 'Contract Drawing', Lockhart Place. St.A.U.L.Ms
37746.
79. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police,
17th June 1850. U.St.A.M. B65/13/3.
80. Fifeshire Journal, 25th July 1850.
81. Ibid. 16th October 1851.
82. Ibid. 26th February 1852.
83. Ibid. 20th September 1855.
84. Ibid. 5th March 1857.
85. 'Register' of Peddie and Kinnear Plans in N.M.R.S.
86. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police,
18th May 1864. U.St.A.M. B65/13/4-5.

87. Gillespie and Scott plan no. 16. St.A.U.L.Ms.
88. 'Register' of Peddie and Kinnear Plans in N.M.R.S.
89. 'Conditions of Sale' of building stances, Holcrofts Park 1864. St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.
90. St.A.U.L.Ms MS.37746.
91. In subsequent years dormer windows have been added and the pediment line broken.
92. Isaac Bayley to Stuart Grace, 8th August 1868.
Jesse Hall to Stuart Grace, 30th May 1868.
St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.
93. Jesse Hall to Stuart Grace, 30th May 1868, op.cit.
94. Isaac Bayley to Stuart Grace, 13th October 1868.
St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.
95. 'Valuation Roll' for St. Andrews 1875-76.
96. St.A.D.G. (unclassified section).
97. Ibid.
98. George Bruce, obituary. Fife News, 6th August 1904.

99. Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory of Scotland (1900).
100. Dr. William Baird Airtson to Stuart Grace, 16th September 1869. St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.
101. John Chesser to MacRitchie, Bayley and Henderson, 1869. John Lessels to Isaac Bayley, 26th April 1869. St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.
102. Jesse Hall to John Chesser, 26th April 1869. Isaac Bayley to Stuart Grace, 9th September 1869. St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.
103. New entrance added by Gillespie and Scott in 1938. Gillespie and Scott plan no. 2522. St.A.U.L.Ms.
104. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, 10th October 1870. U.St.A.M. B65/13/5-6.
105. Ibid.
106. Thomas A. MARKUS, ed., Order in Space and Society (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Co., 1982), p.10.
107. Elevation of Hope Street, dated 1864 and embossed, 'John Chesser'. St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.

108. Drawing of North and West Elevation of Western House in Howard Place. Signed and dated John Chesser, November 1869. St.A.U.L.Ms 37746. The drawing shows a house of two storeys, but a third storey was added and other modifications made to the house as built.
109. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, 10th January 1870. U.St.A.M. B65/13/5-6.
110. Ibid. 17th March 1870. Isaac Bayley to Stuart Grace, 2nd November 1870. St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.
111. Drawing of dormer and railing at no. 5 Howard Place (should read no. 6). St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.
112. MacRitchie, Bayley and Henderson to Stuart Grace, 7th August 1885. St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.
113. MacRitchie, Bayley and Henderson to Stuart Grace, July 1885. St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.
114. John Milne to Stuart Grace, 25th December 1873. St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.

Part Four.

The New Town Hall and 'Queen's Park'.

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Introduction.

Although the town hall as a building type did not originate during the nineteenth century, it was during this period that the building of civic halls and offices reached its zenith. Following the supreme example of the new Houses of Parliament at Westminster (1839-52, Sir Charles Barry and Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin) burgeoning and reviving civic corporations throughout Britain set about providing new and impressive centres of provincial government. In the east of Scotland, Kirkcaldy had already erected a town hall in 1826-32 (William Burn), and in 1846 Perth built its City Hall (W. M. McKenzie). Dundee was erecting its Public Hall and Corn Exchange (C. Edwards) at about the same time as St. Andrews (1858-61), and Aberdeen followed in 1865 (Peddie and Kinnear). Dunfermline built its Corporation Buildings and Public Hall in 1876-78 (J. C. Walker and J. Starforth respectively) and Perth augmented its City Hall with the Municipal Buildings in 1879-80 (A. A. Heiton). Glasgow did not erect its City Chambers until 1881-89 (W. Young); St. Andrews was thus comparatively forward looking in its desire to create a new focus of civic activity.¹

A new Town Hall for St. Andrews was envisaged at least as early as 1843 when Provost Playfair (fig.142) issued a 'notice universal' appealing for subscriptions for:

the removal of the present Town Hall from the centre of the street (where it is a great obstruction and deformity), and to build another which should contain a market place, assembly rooms, and other conveniences.²

The sum of £3,000 was eventually pledged although work did not commence until 1858.³ The building was designed by the Edinburgh architect James Anderson Hamilton in the Scots baronial style, and situated in South Street opposite Holy Trinity Church, symbolizing a theoretical if architecturally untenable link between spiritual and temporal power (fig.143). The position of the Town Hall was thus 'the first step in the long contemplated opening and formation of a useful and ornamental street between South Street and the Lade Braes'.⁴ The new street, originally Queen Street now Queen's Gardens, was begun in 1857 and completed in 1870, by which time the adjoining Queen Street Terrace (now Queen's Terrace) was laid out and partially developed (fig.174). The associated development of Madras Place occurred during the 1850s and Dempster Terrace to the south was begun in 1870. In common with the Hope Park development, the Queen Street and associated schemes were entirely domestic, except for the new episcopal church of St. Andrew (fig.174), and the Commercial Bank (fig.170, now Burgh Offices); the Town Hall and Bank of Scotland to the north forming part of South Street rather than Queen Street. In all, some 50 dwellings were erected by 1901 upon the completion of Dempster Terrace. In the context of the development of St. Andrews as a whole, the 'Queen's Park' scheme was consistent with Playfair's

'improvements', although attributable to him only in that he made the initial appeal for funds for a new Town Hall. Central to these 'improvements' was the desire for new streets, and wider and clearer old streets, and by 1862 when the old Town Hall was removed from Market Street⁵ Playfair was accredited with the repair of most of the streets and pavements in the town, and the widening of the west end of Market Street, City Road and College Street.⁶

In common with other developments of the period, the Queen Street scheme was the result of speculation by the Town Council and private individuals, builders and architects. The site was a self contained unit of gardens or 'lang riggs' in multiple ownership, clearly identified on Wood's 1820 map (fig.1), bounded on the east by St. Mary's College garden, on the west by a 'common close' and on the south by the Kinness Burn. Like the new town and Scores developments, the Queen Street or 'Queen's Park' development utilized land which was previously undeveloped for building but which nevertheless remained within the traditional limits of the town.

Chapter 1.

The New Town Hall.

- I. The New Town Hall.
- II. The Competition.
- III. The Surviving Competition Drawings.
- IV. Hamilton's Town Hall.

I. The New Town Hall.

Playfair issued his appeal for subscriptions for a new Town Hall in 1843, but it was not until 1856, and at the instigation of Bailie Andrew Aikman that negotiations leading to a new building began. In that year Playfair set up a committee of the Town Council to consider proceeding with plans for the extension of the Town House in Market Street, and also to 'consider and report on the expediency of erecting a wholly new building as a Town Hall'.⁷ The Council subsequently agreed to find £200 from the Burgh Fund and request £200 from the Bell Fund towards extending the Town House, but Aikman vigorously opposed such expenditure. In his view, the existing building was inadequate for the 'rapidly improving' St. Andrews, and that money spent on it would be money wasted; moreover he pointed out that the committee (of which he was a member) appointed to enquire into the possibility of erecting a new Town Hall had yet to be convened. Aikman was so persuasive that the Council agreed to suspend expenditure on the Town House, pending a report from the new Town Hall committee.⁸ The report was presented five months later in September 1856, and affirmed the desirability of a new Town Hall, the existing building being too small, inconveniently situated and unsightly. Several sites were proposed, including two in Market Street, one to the west of the recently erected (1851) Cross Keys and the other on the south side of the street on 'property

belonging to Mr. Keay'. The favoured site however was in South Street opposite the Town Kirk because 'South Street was the principal street of the city', and [the building] would be surrounded by 'houses of a superior architectural character'. A further consideration was that the 'ruinous tenement' occupied by Alexander Harris and others would be removed, and that a new street could be opened to the south.⁹ All these considerations are redolent of improvement and civic pride enshrined in the concept of a new Town Hall itself.

The cost of erecting the Town Hall was calculated to be £3,200, to be met largely from private subscription and a grant from the Bell Fund.¹⁰ As far as can be judged from the Town Accounts, the final cost was £4,714, an increase of 50 per cent on the original estimate.¹¹ Both these figures exclude the cost of the site which was incorporated in the costs of laying out Queen Street (see below). Although finance was a prime consideration, greater attention seems to have been given to the all important question of who should design the building and what it should look like.

II. The Competition.

In accordance with the then current practice for public buildings, an architect was to be chosen by competition and initially it was decided to invite seven architects to submit drawings. George Rae and John Milne of St. Andrews; Peddie and Kinnear, Andrew Kerr, and Hector Orrock of Edinburgh; David Smart of Perth and William Scott of Dundee were all to be invited to compete.¹² Before these architects could be approached however the new Town Hall committee met with Robert Matheson, the government architect who advised it was customary to open such competitions to all comers,¹³ and by February 1857, less than three months after the competition was announced, 'about forty' designs had been submitted.¹⁴

The specifications as laid down by the Town Council included the provision of:

1. Large (upstairs) hall, at least 75 feet by 35 feet.
2. Smaller hall for Town Council meetings, Burgh and Sheriff Courts, etc.
3. Accommodation for Town Officer.
4. Committee room and place for the city records to be kept in an iron safe.
5. Coal cellars, etc.
6. Ladies and Gents cloaks.
7. Music Gallery.
8. A handsome elevation to the north fronting South Street; the west front of the building which is to form part of a new street to have such elevations as an architect may consider suitable.

9. Cost of building to be £3,500, plus 5 per cent commission.¹⁵

Of the designs received, the committee reported that most provided for accommodation as per the specifications, and that many designs were good. Some were not suitable externally either because they were too big, not imposing enough or were too expensive, but one design, bearing the motto 'Eternitas' (the competition was anonymous), 'and in the Italian style of architecture' was considered suitable and accepted.¹⁶ The committee were clearly impressed by the design, it having:

a very graceful and chaste aspect, with such unity of outline both as regards the elevation of external walls, and of the height of the roof, as to give the building the appearance of an artistic whole...The exterior walls of the proposed hall intended to front both to South Street and to the new street are of a considerably greater height than any of the adjoining buildings...so that the proposed erection will be imposing from every point of view.¹⁷

There was also to be a 'tower surmounting the building', but the exact specifications are not known; when tradesmens' estimates were received they exceeded the cost limit by £434, and the design was dropped and the drawings returned to the anonymous 'Eternitas'. There seemed to be no question of selecting one of the other designs since all drawings were to be returned upon request, meanwhile the committee were to decide on the way forward.¹⁸ Within days, Bailies Aikman and Milton, and John McIntosh had 'proceeded to Edinburgh to make enquiries as to various architects',¹⁹ and as a result resolved to employ James Anderson Hamilton to prepare

new plans. Just one month later on 15th August 1857, the Town Council approved Hamilton's 'sketches', and agreed to the production of a lithographic perspective (fig.145).²⁰ The Scots baronial design was far removed from the 'Italian style' so recently and enthusiastically preferred; Hamilton, a little known architect had been chosen seemingly at random and in great haste, and all notion of a fair competition apparently disregarded.

III. The Surviving Competition Drawings.

Of the forty designs received for the competition, only two sets of drawings appear to have survived;²¹ the remainder presumably having been returned to their owners or destroyed in the fire which occurred in the Burgh Offices in 1928.²² One of the surviving designs (figs.146-148) is reliably attributed to John Milne, the annotation 'MILNE' appearing in pencil on the obverse of one drawing; the choice of pseudonym 'Dum spiro spero', the town's motto, is also characteristic of Milne. The design is accomplished and original, and appears to owe its inspiration, appropriately enough, to the cloth halls of the Low Countries. The buttressing and corner tower may derive from St. Salvator's Chapel and the ruined Cathedral, with the overall gothic character surely owing something to Milne's experience with John Henderson in the preceding decade. The standard of draughtsmanship for the interior of the hall (fig.148) is particularly fine. Milne was a comparatively young man in 1857 and still at the beginning of his half century of architectural practice in St. Andrews; his failure to secure the commission must have been a bitter disappointment, which had he been successful would conceivably have altered the course of his career.

At first sight, the surviving competition drawing in the classical style (figs.149-151) suggests

itself as that by 'Eternitas', but the pseudonym is 'Nil Desperandum' and there is no tower of significance. This design would have harmonised with the existing classical terrace and University Library to the east, providing the required handsome elevation to the north without undue obtrusion. The triangular window pediments and consoles reflect those of Albert Buildings diagonally opposite, whose architect William Scott was conceivably responsible for the design in question. The elevations are of conspicuous sixteenth century Italian origin, not dissimilar to those employed by the Glasgow architect Charles Wilson for the Royal Faculty of Procurator's Hall, Glasgow in 1854 (fig.152). The temptation to attribute the design to the ever versatile George Rae is also strong.

A classical design would undoubtedly have been a suitable if unadventurous choice for the site, but that by 'Nil Desperandum' and the gothic design by Milne were both probably too expensive. Milne's design was moreover decidedly daring and possibly too alien for a Council who eventually opted, however spuriously, for a fashionable design unmistakably Scottish in character.

IV. Hamilton's Town Hall.

James Anderson Hamilton had been principal assistant 'to the late Mr. Playfair',²³ presumably W. H. Playfair who died in 1857. Playfair's oeuvre was neo-classical, but Hamilton would have been familiar with the rising tide of Scots baronial from at least Billings' The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland (1845-52) and the thriving Burn-Bryce practice. The only other recorded building by Hamilton is the Free Church at Main Street, Newhaven²⁴ so his own stylistic preference is difficult to ascertain. It could be that the choice of the Scots baronial was that of Aikman, Milton and McIntosh, and not Hamilton's own. The composition is massed disproportionately towards its north western corner, and imposing by its bulk. All the ingredients of crowsteps, string courses, heraldic emblems, tourelles and bartizans are present and the building is important as the first major example of the revived baronial in St. Andrews and for the striking effect of the corner tower upon the whole length of South Street. The ground floor north elevation to South Street has been altered several times and the broken pediment of the entrance door removed, thus depriving the elevation of some original detail.

Building operations began in the spring of 1858 upon acceptance of the following estimates:²⁵

John McIntosh, St. Andrews, mason.	£1,580
Alexander Forbes, Edinburgh,	

carpenter and joiner.	1,163
Alexander Forbes, Edinburgh, smith.	135
Alexander Clark, St. Andrews, plasterer.	353
William Fergusson, Edinburgh, plumber.	117
Thomas Graham, slater.	<u>109</u>
Total:	£3,457

A stone laying ceremony took place on 2nd June 1858 with full masonic honours. It was a general holiday in the town and a special train was laid on; the streets were crowded and a 'procession began at St. Mary's College and proceeded throughout the city to the Town Hall'²⁶ where John Whyte Melville, Deputy Grand Master of Scotland performed the opening ceremony.

The building progressed at a steady pace thereafter, but by March 1859, after the roof had been added, major structural deficiencies were apparent. Hamilton reported that the west wall was bulging to an extent exceeding 4 inches at the top, which he attributed to the laying of the sewer from South Street to Queen Street too close to the Town Hall.²⁷ When pressed on the matter however, he revealed that all four walls were subsiding and/or bulging and that remedial work was necessary. The structure was to be strengthened with iron bolts and struts in various places, and iron beams were to replace lintels. The west wall, Hamilton concluded was bulging because it had not been constructed to his specifications, and could not take the weight of the roof.²⁸ The Dundee architects William Scott and Charles Ower were also consulted, and affirmed Hamilton's report; they recommended the west wall be

rebuilt in squared ashlar as opposed to rubble, to an increased thickness of 2 feet 4 inches and that the roof be strengthened with tension rods.²⁹ McIntosh the builder was clearly embarrassed by the situation, and when remedial work began in October 1859 he astutely agreed to take down and rebuild the west wall at no extra cost; he did not accept liability for its existing inadequacies however.³⁰

Perhaps because of the structural problems, Hamilton himself suggested redesigning the north west corner tower to a lighter weight, and his revised plan as built was approved in March 1860.³¹ A four sided pyramidal roof replaced the original saddleback design surmounted by a precarious lion sejant (fig.145), and is arguably an improvement. The erection of the tower and structural repairs were eventually completed by the summer of 1861, and Hamilton wrote with some relief to the Town Council that 'the building is now thoroughly rectified and strengthened'.³² Provost Milton performed the opening ceremony on 4th July 1861,³³ but even then the ground floor was not fitted up. This was effected by Jesse Hall in 1863, and formally opened in February 1864.³⁴ At the same time there was a proposal to lay out a market place on vacant ground immediately to the south of the hall, but this was never done, and eventually the building itself was extended as a library and reading room in a similar style by James Gillespie in 1885.³⁵

Chapter 2.

Queen Street.

- I. 'Rus in Urbe'.
- II. St. Andrew's Church.

I. 'Rus in Urbe'.

The opening of a new street to the south was regarded as part of the new Town Hall scheme from its inception in 1856. In a report by a committee of the Town Council set up for the purpose, it was stated that the cost of purchasing the land and forming the street (including provision for sewage) would be £2,340, plus a house stance gratis to four of the five vendors of land. This figure included the cost of the site for the Town Hall, and the Town Council unanimously accepted the proposal on 30th September 1856.³⁶ The proposal came at a time when the local press were reporting that:

houses are still in great demand, so much so, that had we a dozen ready - ranging from £20 to £40 rents, they would be all taken within two weeks.³⁷

The new street was laid out by George Rae in 1857,³⁸ although it was not until 1861 that the arrangement of gardens on the west side was made. Following the example of the residents of North Bell Street in 1836, the initiative came from the residents of Queen Street themselves who conceived a scheme to purchase the land from 'Mrs. Briggs and Mrs. Burns for gardens'. The feuars of nos. 6 to 14 purchased the land opposite their houses and south as far as the present Queen's Terrace and sold the southern part to the Town Council for £475 on condition it be feued in association with remaining stances on the east side for garden ground.³⁹ In support of their appeal to the Council to participate in the scheme, the residents submitted a memorandum which

emphasises the benefits of sub urban development in rich contemporary prose:

The street is not only singularly convenient in regard to position, but the amenities of it when the prospective improvements already determined on, are completed, cannot fail to be such as to make it a highly favourite place of residence, combining as it does in so great a degree the advantages of the *Rus in Urbe* - the pleasing and refreshing prospects of the open country, with all the snugness and comforts of town life. To the general community the street will offer a most convenient outlet to the south, and that too, to one of the finest rural walks in the neighbourhood, while in the city, the high class houses already built and yet to be constructed, will afford so great an addition to the residential capabilities of the town, as will give an impetus to business of every kind, professional and industrial, and which cannot but tell therefore, with signal advantage upon the well being of the inhabitants at large.⁴⁰

When the new street was proposed, the classical terraces of Pilmour Place, Golf Place, North Bell Street, and Playfair and Gillespie Terrace had already been erected; South Bell Street was nearing completion and the first phase of Hope Park was also complete. At the meeting of the Town Council which approved the Italian design for the new Town Hall, a design by George Rae of elevations for the new street was also approved; quite probably that which shows three double fronted classically inspired houses⁴¹ (fig.153). The drawing is not signed, but since the Council's choice was between Milne and Rae, the latter is clearly the author. In the event, only nos. 9 and 10 Queen Street (figs.154-155) were built to anything like this elevation, although the door surround to no. 8 (fig.163) is similar. Rae's design was intended to be something of

a general guide, and feuars obliged themselves to erect houses 'of a design and character...in no way inferior to the plan prepared by Mr. Rae'. The Council in fact encouraged different designs, stating that they would 'favourably consider any plan of front elevation which may be likely to be more ornamental to the street than the plan prepared by Mr. Rae.'⁴² Rae also drew up the building conditions prescribing houses of two storeys of an average height of 25 feet above pavement level, to be stepped down to the south (fig.156) and constructed of polished ashlar and blue slates.⁴³ The classical vocabulary favoured by Rae is most evident in nos. 3 and 4, which with no. 9 were the first houses to be built and were completed in 1857.⁴⁴ No. 3 (fig.157) built for William Woodcock has been attributed to William Scott of Dundee,⁴⁵ and its similarity with this architect's Albert Buildings (fig.108, 1844) is strong; the tripartite and shouldered architrave windows of the first floor nevertheless suggest Rae. The adjoining no. 4 (fig.158) is certainly Rae,⁴⁶ and is more typical of his style with the raised moulded margins and triangular pediments. The third of the houses completed in 1857, no. 9 (fig.154) is a smaller, door-to-side version of those in Rae's approved proposed elevation of the street (fig.153). Other houses which are stylistically attributable to Rae include no. 5 (fig.159, 1860) with its idiosyncratic Jacobean strapwork and nos. 13 and 14, (figs.160,161, 1861 and 1863). Each of Rae's houses to this date are identifiably classical terraced houses,

although the emphasis is increasingly upon the individuality of each unit rather than conformity to the whole.

Although Milne's elevation for the street had been turned down by the Town Council, he was nevertheless responsible for thirteen of the twenty three houses built, and his contribution is notable for its characteristic individuality. Nos. 6 and 7 (fig.162, 1860), stylistically attributed to Milne, form a plain pair, with a segmental arch uniting the two; no. 8 (fig.163)⁴⁷ on the other hand shows Milne boldly adding a projecting, corbelled window with sculptured festoon to Rae's basic design, a formula employed more successfully at nos. 11 and 12 (figs.164,165, 1860).⁴⁸ Nos. 16 and 17 (fig.166, 1863) were also designed as a pair, for Thomas Rodger the photographer,⁴⁹ with discreet bay windows to the first floor and sculptured keystones at the entrance arches. The simpler no. 15 (fig.167, 1863)⁵⁰ was the prototype of a run of five near identical houses (nos. 18-22, figs.168,169,172, 1863, 1864, 1867)⁵¹ which concluded Milne's work in Queen Street.

The Commercial Bank (now Burgh Offices) took the remaining stance at the northern end of Queen Street, just south of the Town Hall in January 1868 (fig.170).⁵² The architect was David Rhind of Edinburgh, who also designed buildings for the Commercial Bank in

Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee.⁵³ For the St. Andrews branch, Rhind produced a design which reflected some of the classical elements of the adjoining building (no.3), but dwarfed it with the overpowering use of dormers and roof in the French baroque style. The building was clearly designed to impress, but in 1871 its impact was somewhat eclipsed by the new Bank of Scotland at the north west corner of Queen Street and South Street (fig.171). This building was designed by Peddie and Kinnear of Edinburgh⁵⁴ and reflected the Town Hall itself in its baronial aspirations, the round tower and steep conical roof forming a strong feature and impressive entrance to Queen Street (demolished in 1960).

By this time, the already disseminated classicism of the domestic architecture of Queen Street had itself given way to the romantic baronial at nos. 23 and 24 (fig.172, St. Regulus). John McGregor developed this corner site with one house entering from Queen Street and the other from Queen Street Terrace in 1867-68.⁵⁵ The design is attributed to Rae, who towards the end of his life produced several creditable essays in the baronial style, Edgecliffe for John McGregor (fig.245, 1865-66), and 8-10 Gibson Place for D. Cunningham (1867-68). For 23 Queen Street and St. Regulus, Rae appears to have incorporated elements from each, plus the attic floor windows with heraldic panel and drip moulds from Seaton House (figs.211,212, 1864),

features used in the remodelling of his own house at 59 South Street in 1866. Although built as a private house, St. Regulus was in use as an hotel at least by 1886,⁵⁶ and in 1920 was bought by Mrs. Younger of Mount Melville for the use of St. Leonard's School.⁵⁷ Mrs. Younger also acquired nos. 22 and 23 Queen Street, together with the coach house on Queen Street Terrace; the coach house and no. 22 Queen Street were demolished to make way for the extension of St. Regulus to the north and east in a wholly compatible style by Paul Waterhouse.⁵⁸ The building was further extended to the east in 1946, equally sympathetically by Gillespie and Scott⁵⁹ for use as a University hall of residence (fig.173).

II. St. Andrew's Church.

Contemporary with the St. Regulus block was St. Andrew's Episcopal Church (fig.174), situated on the opposite corner of Queen Street upon what would have been St. Regulus' garden, deviation from which necessitated the Queen Street residents 'renouncing the restriction laid down as to building on the said garden yard'.⁶⁰ Significantly, the vestry had investigated sites at Scores Park and Howard Place, where eventually churches of other denominations were built, before settling on the Queen Street site.⁶¹ A competition was held in 1866 and two designs each were submitted by Robert Rowand Anderson and John Milne, one of Anderson's designs being chosen by 'the eminent architect' (and adjudicator of architectural competitions) George Edmund Street, Milne being once again passed over for an Edinburgh man.⁶² The resulting building, a fine structure with early gothic features and an interior suggesting Anderson's pioneering interest in the Byzantine revival was this architect's first work in St. Andrews. The building's most prominent feature was its finely detailed tower, a campanile-like structure similar to that at Anderson's St. John's, Alloa (1867-69).⁶³ The tower was added in 1892 and was originally intended to be surmounted by a lofty octagonal spire; the tower was removed in 1938 because of alleged subsidence, thus depriving the composition and the St. Andrews skyline of a commanding feature.⁶⁴ The Church

Hall, conversely, added to the west end of the Church in 1893 by David Henry⁶⁵ makes a significant contribution to the Queen Street Terrace elevation (fig.174).

Queen Street was completed by 1870, at an apparent cost to the Town Council of nearly £3,300.⁶⁶ Stylistically the development is mixed, despite an early indication that it would follow the established classical pattern. As such it stands at the turning point between uniform classical terraces on the one hand, and individually designed 'attached' houses and full blown developments of detached and double villas on the other. If Queen Street exemplifies the breaking down of the classical ideal, then the companion development of Queen Street Terrace is an example of an irregular, picturesque street.

Chapter 3.

Queen Street Terrace.

I. Queen Street Terrace.

II. Dempster Terrace.

III. Madras Place.

I. Queen Street Terrace.

The line of the terrace at the foot of Queen Street roughly follows the former foot path and the mill lade, proceeding eastwards from Lade Braes Cottage to the foot of West Burn Lane, as shown on the 1854-55 O.S. map (fig.3). In 1861 a proposal was made for a road connecting the South end of Queen Street to West Burn Lane and thence to Abbey Walk, as a 'new south approach to the city'.⁶⁷ Plans for building the road, including diverting and covering the mill lade were made by George Rae in 1863, and approved by the Council,⁶⁸ although work did not commence until the end of 1865.⁶⁹ Following requests from the proprietors of the land to the west of Queen Street, the new road was extended westwards to the Lade Braes in 1867, the land being offered free of charge by Thomas Brown, Miss Cowan and John McGregor.⁷⁰ St. Mary's College also offered land free of charge at the west of the College garden, so that a 'staircase footpath' could be constructed leading to the Kinness Burn and what was to become Dempster Terrace.⁷¹

The first houses to be built in Queen Street Terrace were nos. 2, 3, and 4 (fig.175), on the southern side immediately opposite St. Regulus in 1867-68. John McGregor was the developer⁷² and the houses are stylistically attributed to Milne, the entrance door architraves particularly resembling those at 26 and 28 the Scores (figs.294,295). The detailing of the capitals

of the engaged column window architraves is particularly rich, and was perhaps executed by the Edinburgh sculptor William Walker, who had already adorned Milne's earlier houses at 8, 16 and 17 Queen Street (figs.163,166).⁷³ With the erection of the large detached villas of St. Margaret's (no.26, fig.176) and Cowansrigg (no.15, fig.177), in 1871 and 1879 respectively, both by David Henry,⁷⁴ the predominance of terrace building in Queen Street and its Terrace came to an end. When building recommenced in 1893, Gillespie and Scott introduced the double villa form at nos. 17 and 19 (fig.178),⁷⁵ and in 1901 the ageing Milne designed what must have been his last essay in the double villa form at nos. 18 and 20 (fig.179).⁷⁶ After almost half a century since his first double villa at Abbey Walk in 1853 (fig.99), Milne never quite lost the tendency of giving the double villa the appearance of a single house, but his response to the setting with the angular bay windows facing south was superb. Even before Milne's somewhat dated composition, Henry had already broken the mould of ashlar with his undisguised red brick house at no. 16⁷⁷ (fig.180, 1897), the timbered eaves and stone dressings suggesting the influence of the English vernacular revival; the use of brick, though usually harled was to supplant stone as the principal domestic building material in the decades after the Great War.

II. Dempster Terrace.

John McGregor's final contribution to the 'Queen's Park' development was no. 4-11 Dempster Terrace, in 1870-71 (fig.181).⁷⁸ This supreme example of a type of Victorian sub-urban development exemplified the claims of the 'Rus in Urbe', nestling at the foot of the steep Queen Street Terrace ridge on the absolute limits of the town, facing south over the 'urbanised' Kinness Burn with open country beyond. The terrace of eight houses of principal floor and attic is attributed to Hall and Henry and built concurrently with the similarly attributed Craigard on the Scores (fig.268); the crenellated bay windows of nos. 7-11 are identical to that at Craigard. The terrace was extended eastwards in 1900-01 by Gillespie and Scott (fig.182).⁷⁹

III. Madras Place.

The development of West View at Madras Place on the western limits of 'Queen's Park' facing Lade Braes Lane was not part of the scheme proper. It was built upon part of the riggs of nos. 116 and 118 South Street between 1848 and 1859 by John Brown, clothier or tailor. Nos. 1-3 West View (fig.183) were built between 1848 and 1855⁸⁰ in a simple classical style, with the adjoining double villa, nos. 4-6 (fig.184), in a bolder neo Jacobean style, dating from between 1855 and 1859.⁸¹ It was here that the illustrator Thomas Hodge conducted his school for boys, begun sometime during the 1850s.⁸² The similarity between the elevation of this double villa and Clifton Bank on the Scores (figs.207,208, 1856) by Jesse Hall, also used as a school suggests Hall was the architect. Both buildings were typical of the mid-century shift from classically inspired elevations to steeply pitched gable ends, which gained in popularity as the century progressed. Immediately to the east of West View, the Rectory of St. Andrew's Church (fig.185, 1896) by Gillespie and Scott⁸³ marks a further development in the form of the large detached house, Arts and Crafts influenced, but also incorporating lingering baronial elements.

Appendix K gives dates of erection, architects and builders, as far as is known of all the buildings in the 'Queen's Park' development.

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24. N.M.R.S.
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24th March 1859.
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29. Ibid.
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31. Ibid. 17th March 1860.
32. Ibid. 11th June 1861.
33. Ibid. 12th July 1861.
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36. Ibid. 30th September 1856.
37. Fifeshire Journal, 18th June 1857.
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39. 'Minutes' of the St. Andrews Town Council, op.cit.
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42. Ibid. 30th March 1857.
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45. Ronald Gordon CANT, 'St. Andrews Architects', St.
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47. Ibid. 14th and 17th May 1859.
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63. Sam McKINSTRY, 'The Life and Work of Sir Robert Rowand Anderson' (Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Andrews, 1987), p.58. An account of the circumstances surrounding the erection of the Church is given by McKINSTRY, and OLIPHANT, op.cit., and further details are contained within the 'Minutes' of the Vestry of St. Andrew's Church, in the possession of the congregation.
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67. 'Minutes' of the St. Andrews Town Council, 15th October 1863. U.St.A.M. B65/11/15.
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70. Ibid. 21st May 1866, 10th May 1867 and 14th October 1867.
71. Ibid. 12th December 1866.
72. Fifeshire Journal, 7th and 21st March 1867, and 21st January 1868.
73. Ibid. 16th July 1863.
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75. Gillespie and Scott plan 526. St.A.U.L.Ms.
76. St.A.D.G. plan 371 and 376.
77. Ibid. plan 17.
78. 'Minutes' of the St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, op.cit. 10th October 1870.
79. St.A.D.G. plan 251, 259 and 329.
80. The houses do not appear in the St. Andrews Stent Roll for 1848, but are included in the next

available Roll in 1855. U.St.A.M. B65/20/13-14. The houses are also shown on the 1854-55 O.S. map.

81. The houses do not appear on the 1854-55 O.S. map, but are mentioned from 1859-60 in the Valuation Roll. The houses were owned by John Brown, clothier, whose trustees advertised them for sale, together with nos. 1-3 in 1869: 'These five dwelling houses situated in Madras Place called West View, and presently possessed by Thomas Hodge.' Fifeshire Journal, 18th February 1869.
82. Henry LANGTON, Thomas Hodge, Painter to the Royal and Ancient (St. Andrews: Crawford Centre, 1986).
83. St.A.D.G. plan 14.

Part Five.

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Introduction.

The development of the Scores from the late 1840s to the 1890s was a natural progression from the St. Andrews new town, and the last substantial building scheme to be completed within the traditional geographical limits of the town. Strictly speaking the area had remained outside the accepted perimeter of the town as the post-Reformation map (fig.5) clearly shows, although no doubt there was always a road giving direct access to the Castle from the west without resorting to the town proper. The cliff formed a natural boundary to the north, but this was augmented by the fortifications of the Castle to the east, whose walls enclosed the Castle yard to its west, from where the boundary proceeded via the Swallowgate port to the north wall of St. Salvator's College. The College wall extended west to Butts Wynd, and the perimeter was continued by the northern boundaries of the North Street riggs as far as the building now known as the Whaum (marked 'Swallow Tavern' on the 1854-55 O.S. map, fig.3), where the links effectively began. Wood's map (fig.1) shows that by 1820 no development other than the Baths and Capt. Masson's house had taken place, and as late as c1846 when Hill and Adamson photographed the scene from the west sands (fig.186) there was still nothing on the Scores other than the Martyrs' Monument (fig. 205, William Nixon, 1842), and what appears to be the northern extremity of Golf Place. Shortly after this image was taken, the

first substantial development in the form of Gillespie Terrace (fig.199) began in 1849, although the pioneering if isolated project was undoubtedly the Baths (figs.190-192) and the Tontine (fig.196) from 1810. By the end of the century, the Scores had become a fashionable street of almost forty dwellings, plus a Roman Catholic Church, two schools, a 'grand' hotel, and the Royal and Ancient Golf Club House. Against a backdrop of sea, sky, golf links and hills, first neo-classical architecture then baronial, St. Andrews was indeed changing from 'the old Canterbury of Scotland to its modern Brighton'.¹

There are several distinct and separate areas of development on the Scores, which evolved spasmodically in response to market forces and the whim of the enterprising speculator. Geographically the area may be divided into three parts: Scores Park, comprising the area to the north of Scores road between the Castle to the east and St. James' Church to the west; eastern Scores, comprising the area due south of Scores Park, from the double villas of East Bay View and Castle Lea (fig.269) to the east and the road known as Murray Park to the west; and western Scores, effectively the continuation of eastern Scores from Murray Park to the Grand Hotel. Chronologically, three main areas may also be identified: Gillespie Terrace from 1849; Scores Park from 1863; and the area around Murray Park from 1873 but more especially during the 1890s. From 1849, there was continuous development until 1898, with a slight lull in

the 1870s and 1880s when only seven new buildings were erected. For this study, a chronological and stylistic approach has been adopted.

Chapter 1.

Early and Mid Victorian Classicism, 1810-1854.

I. The Baths and Tontine (Sea View).

II. The Whaum.

III. Gillespie Terrace.

IV. The Royal and Ancient Golf Club.

I. The Baths and Tontine (Sea View).

Col. Dewar and Capt. Vilant present their most respectful compliments to the Rector, Principals and Professors of the University of St. Andrews, and request they will honour them with their presence at the laying of the foundation stone of the Public Baths, and new town of St. Andrews on Monday 9th April, 1810 at eleven o'clock a.m.²

This invitation from Col. Dewar and Capt. Vilant is a remarkable document of early nineteenth century St. Andrews. It provides evidence of the date when construction of the Baths commenced, but more important perhaps it exhibits a supreme optimism on the part of private individuals as to the future of St. Andrews. The Baths themselves may be seen as a response to the inland spas of England and Europe, and something of a forerunner of the great Scottish hydropathic hotels of the later nineteenth century. But the mention of the 'new town of St. Andrews' is also significant since it presupposes the 'old town' was in need of extension or at least renovation, moreover that there was the desire to exploit the potential of expansion. In the event, Dewar and Vilant's enterprise extended no further than the Baths and the Tontine (later Sea View) and their ambitious plans for a new town were left to others to realise. Nevertheless their enterprise clearly presented an example which was followed by others, and St. Andrews as a resort must owe a great deal to their initiative. Roger wrote in 1849 that 'St. Andrews is indebted to its excellent facilities for bathing...for much of its present importance',³ and when in 1881 the Baths were

threatened with closure, the architect John Milne declared that 'without the Baths St. Andrews certainly would cease to have one of its many attractions'.⁴

The Baths (figs.190-192) occupied a site on the northernmost promontory of Scores Park, to the west of the Castle ruins. The whole of Scores Park, which comprised the 'old College croft' and 'Castle Yard' was acquired on 10th October 1808 by Lt. Col. (later Major General) David Dewar of Gilston, from the trustees of Prof. Nicholas Vilant.⁵ Only the comparatively small area of the Baths was developed by Dewar, the remaining land being used for grazing. In order to provide access to the shore, it was necessary to obtain a feu from the Town Council of an area of rocks and foreshore adjoining the chosen site and this was obtained in April 1810.⁶ The feu consisted of the 'piece of ground, rocks or seashore lying within the high water mark', and extended 160 yards west of the north west corner of the Castle.⁷ The site was a secluded one, and not overlooked, and provided private outdoor bathing, as well as what Roger called 'accommodation for delicate persons, and those preferring shower or hot baths'.⁸

The Tontine (fig.196) occupied a site on the south side of the Scores, immediately opposite the entrance to the Baths. Like Scores Park, it had been the property of Prof. Vilant and was acquired by Dewar in October 1809. The site extended from the Scores to North Street, and prior to Vilant's ownership was the property

of Dame Eleanora Cathcart. Dewar acquired the site in two parks or enclosures; the easternmost, which included 'houses thereon' (presumably at the North Street end) for £345; and the westernmost for £375. The easternmost park was acquired by Dewar on behalf of Alexander Blackwood Vilant, second son of Prof. Nicholas Vilant, and duly disposed to him apparently at no cost.⁹ The Tontine was erected on the adjoining park to the west, sometime between 1809 and September 1817, when Dewar disposed of 'that piece of ground on which the house called the Tontine Cellars and others are now built'.¹⁰ David Dewar sold the larger part of his western park to Capt. Thomas Masson on 14th May 1817 for £260, (excluding the 'house commonly called the Tontine').¹¹ On 29th May 1817, Alexander Vilant disposed gratuitously to Alexander Clark as secretary to the Tontine, a small piece of ground on the east side of the Tontine, the remaining land of the eastern park having been previously sold to Dr. John Hunter.¹² In September of that year, Dewar disposed gratuitously to Alexander Clark as secretary to the Tontine the piece of ground upon which the 'Tontine Cellars and other are now built',¹³ and several months later on 8th January 1818, both the Tontine and the adjoining small piece of ground to the east were sold to Capt. Masson by Alexander Clark for the sum of £900. Masson thus acquired the Tontine and land as marked on the 1820 map (fig.1) for the sum of £1,160.

The Baths and the Tontine Cellars appear to have been part of the same enterprise; the Baths providing a bath house and a site for secluded sea bathing, and the Tontine providing board and accommodation. The Tontine theory as described by Chambers is 'a scheme of life annuity, increasing as the subscribers die'.¹⁴ That is, a scheme where the survivor takes all. In St. Andrews the subscribers were Alexander Blackwood Vilant, Robert Meldrum, David Dewar, Mary Dewar, Kellie (presumably the Earl of Kellie), Stewart Erskine and Methven Erskine.¹⁵ The particulars of membership are not known, except that Dewar had 'agreed gratuitously to dispoise the said piece of ground for the purpose of erecting a Tontine thereon';¹⁶ and that Alexander Vilant had 'agreed gratuitously to dispoise the said piece of ground for the purpose of accommodating the proprietors of the Tontine'.¹⁷ Dewar and Vilant therefore apparently provided the land, while the other subscribers were perhaps responsible for erecting the buildings. That the Tontine was sold in 1818 with the consent of the subscribers suggests the venture was abandoned.

The Baths.

There appear to have been three distinct periods of development for the Baths. Beginning in 1819 with the original rectangular building, it was considerably extended in 1853 by the addition of

stabling, and in c1870 by a two storey wing to the south east.

The original building was approximately 80 feet long by 20 feet deep, with a projection some 10 feet square at the north west corner. The plan of the Baths appears on the 1820 map (fig.1) and on the plan of Scores Park as surveyed by George Rae on 22nd March 1847 (fig.214).¹⁸ Constructed in squared ashlar and covered with a slated hipped roof, there was what appears to have been an open loggia of at least eight round arches to the south; four chimney stacks are also evident. The Hill and Adamson calotype of the Castle from the east, c1846 (fig.186) shows the Baths to good advantage, and photographs taken from the foreshore (figs.191,192) show there may have been an open arch on the eastern end wall. The accommodation provided in this building must have been little more than actual baths, changing rooms, and pumping and heating equipment. With lodging accommodation available in the Tontine itself, there was no need for more elaborate provision for bathers. The architect for the Baths and Tontine was probably Robert Balfour, who is also accredited with Dewar's house at Gilston.¹⁹

The whole of Scores Park, including the Baths was sold on 5th June 1847 by Dame Janet Anstruther to Sir John Gladstone and James Robert Hope Scott (while

still James Robert Hope) for the sum of £900,²⁰ and by 1853 the Baths had been extended:

These baths, having undergone a thorough repair with considerable additions to the building, may now be considered as new, and under the efficient management of Mr. and Mrs. Pratt from the south of England, possesses every convenience and attraction to bathers. Hot, cold, shower and sea baths can be had at any time, and the water being raised from the German Ocean by a pump worked by a steam engine, is not only of the best quality but abundant in quantity.²¹

The extent of the additions is shown on the feuing plan of Scores Park drawn by John Henderson, with house plans by John Chesser (fig.215), on the 1854-55 O.S. map (fig.3) and in part on the photograph of the Castle taken before 1870 (fig.194). The additions consisted of an L shaped wing to the west which formed what was probably the stable court and offices mentioned below, and a wing extending south from the existing western end. No detailed photographs of the stable court have come to hand, but there is evidence of it in the view of c1880 (fig.190), which clearly show the new south western wing. This wing was a sympathetic addition and consisted of a single storey with hipped roof, and round headed sash and case windows. The extent of the additions is reflected in the increase in the value of Scores Park and Baths from £34 in 1848 to £49 in the next available stent roll of 1855.²² A letter from Henderson confirms his authorship of the addition, and that it cost £117.00.10.²³ The new south west wing may or may not have been included in this work, but in any case it must date from after c1846 when Hill and Adamson's calotype shows the Baths in its original state

(fig.193). The extent of the accommodation provided by the Baths at this time is not known in detail, but with the 1853 additions it consisted of 'the Baths,...with the adjoining dwelling house, engine house, stable, garden ground, etc., and also the private bathing ground for ladies called the ladies' lake'.²⁴

In 1866, when most of the Scores Park feus had been taken, Hope Scott was anxious to complete the feuing by disposing of the Baths and the area to the east of the road leading to them:

I have no disposition to build further at the Baths upon speculation, but am ready to entertain any proposals made by parties willing to take a lease. I am also...willing to feu or sell the Baths and all the adjacent grounds.²⁵

Various offers were considered and positive negotiations with Thomas Purdie began in July 1868. Purdie was not interested in the Baths either as a business or a property investment. 'My object', he wrote 'is to get a site for a dwellinghouse',²⁶ but he nevertheless eventually offered 'with no small misgivings', £900 for the entire site, including the Baths.²⁷

The third phase of development seems to date from Purdie's ownership. The valuation rose from £40 in 1869-70 to £50 in 1871-72, remaining at that level until 1883-84 when it reverted to £40, until 1891-92. In 1891-92 it rose to £52, and increased steadily to £60 by 1911-12. The valuation roll is only an indication, and in the case of the Baths does not appear to be as

consistent as domestic dwellings, nevertheless the £10 increase which remained between 1871-72 and 1883-84 is significant. No mention of the south east wing has been found in either the minutes of the St. Andrews Town Council or the Commissioners of Police, and there is no suggestion in the Hope Scott papers of such an extension having taken place. A Valentine photograph dated 1870-78 shows the extension complete (fig.195) although the finest photograph of the completed scheme does not bear an original date (fig.190). From the Valentine photograph, the increase in the valuation, and the unlikelihood of Hope Scott having made the extension, it may be assumed that the south west wing was added between 1868 and 1878. Furthermore, if the pencil sketch plan of this wing and that of Castlecliffe, added to the Henderson/Chesser plan (fig.261) are contemporary, then it would appear that both works were completed at the same time, i.e. 1869-70. If this assumption is correct, then the architect was conceivably David Bryce who designed Castlecliffe, although there is no obvious stylistic resemblance. The extension contrasts with its earlier counterpart in having two storeys with a chimney stack surmounting a plain gable end. There is a plain round headed sash and case window in the first floor, but an inharmonious rectangular two light window in the ground floor. The photograph of c1880 (fig.190) also shows the arches of the loggia to have been filled in, and the drying ground carefully screened from all but the intrepid photographer.

Sea View.

As has been seen, Sea View was constructed sometime between 1809 and 1817, forming part of the Tontine enterprise and known variously as the Tontine or Tontine Cellars. When the venture was apparently wound up in 1818 the house was bought by Capt. Thomas Masson of the Royal Artillery. The house continued to be known as the Tontine at least until 1839, when the owner was a Mr. Darling.²⁸ Darling had changed the name to Sea View by 1846²⁹ which perhaps indicates the house had ceased to be used as a boarding house in conjunction with the Baths. In 1852 the house was bought by John Thoms, 'the present tenant',³⁰ and Sea View remained in the Thoms family until it was acquired by the University and demolished to make way for St. Salvator's Hall in 1937. Sea View may have remained a boarding house long after the demise of the Tontine, for it is the only house which fits the 1863 description of 'a large house on the Scores overlooking the bay and near the College, presently occupied as a large boarding house'.³¹ The only photograph of Sea View to be traced (figs.196,197) shows the back and side of the house in what must have been its plainest and most unattractive elevation, nevertheless the twelve pane sash and case windows and portico suggest a handsome classical house, conceivably designed by Robert Balfour.

II. The Whaum.

In contrast to the Baths and Sea View, the Whaum (fig.198) survives as the only example of vernacular architecture on the Scores. It was built as the 'Whaums Inn' by a Mr. Melville of Abbey Street, 'sometime a coachman in the service of the late Principal Hill'.³² The Whaum serves to highlight the dramatic transformation which took place in St. Andrews during the nineteenth century from one and two storey cottages of rubble masonry and pantiles to three and four storey houses constructed of polished ashlar with slate roofs, and designed by professional architects; 'a striking anachronism amid the modern dwellings of that district'.³³ The Whaum would seem to date from between 1820 and 1846. It does not appear on Wood's town plan of 1820 (fig.1) but in the 1846 stent roll a house at the Scores with a value of £8, and owned by David Forgan of Leith is mentioned; this house could be the Whaum, having been sold to Forgan by the Melville family.

III. Gillespie Terrace.

Gillespie Terrace (fig.199) occupies a central position within the area of western Scores, overlooking the Martyrs' Monument, the Bow Butts and the west sands. It formed the northern perimeter of the St. Andrews new town and was built from 1849 on part of what is described as 'Mr. Richard's property' on the 1820 map (fig.1). By 1849 Richard's property had been transformed into the new building schemes of Golf Place, Pilmour Place, and Playfair Terrace. Gillespie Terrace is built due north of Playfair Terrace, and a meuse lane leading from North Street to the Scores forms the garden boundary between. The 1854-55 O.S. map (fig.3) clearly shows Gillespie Terrace as part of the new town development, and a conspicuous encroachment upon the Scores itself.

The new terrace was named after Professor Thomas Gillespie, (who had been the convener of the subscribers for the Martyrs' Monument opposite), and was to consist of a 'line of houses of one storey...with neat flower plots in front'.³⁴ The six houses are described as 'cottages' in a feu disposition of 1850,³⁵ the terminology implying modest middle class houses rather than humble working class dwellings. The superior of the land was Allan Briggs of Gordonshall,³⁶ and the terrace itself a feu speculation by the local solicitors Walter Foggo Ireland and William Murray, to the

specifications of George Rae. In April 1849 Ireland and Murray informed the Town Council of their intention:

to feu out a terrace at the Scores to be called Gillespie Terrace. The plans which Mr. Rae will exhibit to the council will show that we intend to throw off a considerable portion of ground and otherwise improve the surrounding locality. We have thought it proper to apprise the council officially of our intention by laying the plans on the council board, and shall feel obliged by the council minuting that such has been done, and that they approve of the alterations contemplated as not being detrimental in any degree to the public interest.³⁷

The plans were duly approved and building began soon after.³⁸

The plan of the six cottages which together made up Gillespie Terrace is shown on the 1854-55 O.S. map (fig.3). The feuing plan referred to in the letter to the Town Council and in at least two sets of title deeds³⁹ has not been found, so the O.S. map is the only documentary source of the house plans. Unfortunately there are no elevations of the complete original scheme, but a feu disposition of 1850⁴⁰ gives some other details. The feus were 37 feet wide, with a total depth of over 148 feet, with the cottages themselves occupying an area of 1,554 square feet each. The feuar was bound to erect his cottage conforming to the feuing plan 'and agreeably to the regulations laid down in the specifications of the buildings...prepared by George Rae'.⁴¹ This requirement suggests that Rae was also responsible for the elevations.

The original feu disposition of no. 6 Gillespie Terrace (now Eden Court)⁴² reveals certain standard conditions laid down for all six feus. In addition to agreeing to erect his cottage in compliance with George Rae's plan and specifications, the feuar was obliged to 'erect parapet walls and railings,...and garden and other walls'.⁴³ The shrubbery to the front and garden to the rear were not to be built upon, neither should they be used for 'pig styes or other offices'⁴⁴ without consent. Indeed there were to be no alterations whatsoever to the feuing plan without the consent of the superiors and the majority of the feuars.

Gillespie Terrace has changed considerably since its completion in 1854. Each house has been raised to two or three storeys, and three (nos.1, 2 and 6) appear to have been completely rebuilt; nos. 3, 4 and 5 retain their original classical character and exposed square ashlar. From various documentary sources it has been possible to compile a development chronology for the whole terrace. It appears from the first available valuation roll of 1855-56, that in 1854 the terrace was feued to three men: Walter Foggo Ireland (nos.1 and 2); James Balfour Melville of Mount Melville (nos.3 and 4); and William Murray (nos.5 and 6). Each of these men were responsible for what was in effect a pair of villas, and together they constitute the terrace.

Nos. 1 and 2 Gillespie Terrace. (fig.200)

The feu of no. 1 was acquired by Walter Foggo Ireland in his own name in October 1850.⁴⁵ The title deeds of no. 2 were not available for consultation, but since Ireland is recorded as the owner in the 1855-56 valuation roll, it may be assumed he acquired both feus in 1850. Ireland is recorded as the owner of both until the 1860-61 valuation roll. No. 1 was then acquired by John Dobson, and in August 1868 was bought by James Walkinshaw for £600.⁴⁶ Walkinshaw was responsible for rebuilding the original cottage; the value increased from £35 in 1868-69 to £130 in 1869-70. The property was sold in 1875 for £2,500 which indicates a considerably larger property than had been bought in 1868.⁴⁷ The house as it now stands dates from 1868, and is the work of the St. Andrews architect John Harris, who worked from Rae's former address, 59 South Street.⁴⁸ Harris broke with the practice of a central door, and placed his entrance to the left with a large three sided bay window rising through two storeys becoming the dominant feature of the house. The Doric columns and triangular pediment of the portico appear to be the only survivors of the original building.

No. 2 Gillespie Terrace was acquired in c1860 by Eliza Walkinshaw who appears to have been the wife of James Walkinshaw. The value of the property increased from £35 in 1861-62 to £85 in 1863-64, suggesting that

considerable extension had taken place. In a photograph of the Scores from the west sands reliably dated to 1864-65 (fig.187) part of the new facade is clearly visible; although no reference has been found in the minutes of the Commissioners of Police, it seems that the extensions date to 1862. From the various feu dispositions and valuation rolls it appears the Walkinshaws bought and moved into the house in 1860, and having made considerable alterations in 1862, continued to live there until their deaths. Meantime they also acquired no. 1 next door, and proceeded to rebuild it. The facades of the two houses are quite different, no. 2 retaining its central entrance but with no trace of the classical portico; there are twin curved bay windows instead of the three sided bay at no. 1. Although no. 2 is a markedly different composition, the actual window frames and their mullions are identical to those of no. 1. The truncated roofs of the bays of no. 2 give the appearance of having once been full blown conical roofs in the baronial manner, and as the first of the Gillespie Terrace houses to abandon the classical form, this feature would have given the house an extraordinarily individual appearance.

Nos. 3 and 4 Gillespie Terrace.

This central pair of villas (fig.201) retain more of their original classical features than any other houses in the terrace, and the surviving elevational drawings show how they would have looked when completed in 1854 (fig.202).⁴⁹ An accompanying Minute of Agreement dated April 1853⁵⁰ confirms the original feu was James Balfour, and that plans were 'originally prepared by George Rae'. The gist of the agreement is that the superior and the majority of the feuars (Briggs, Ireland and Walker) were allowing Balfour to build the houses according to new plans, thus releasing him from the original condition of a one storey building. The agreement also suggests that Rae was the architect for the new designs, and it is clear from the present state of the buildings that these designs were executed almost exactly as drawn. The valuation roll for 1855-56 confirms the work to have been carried out by 1854, since nos. 3 and 4 were valued at £50, approximately twice the value placed on other houses.

The elevation shows each house to be double fronted, with a handsome central emphasis created by the pilasters and pediment of the portico, and the projecting first floor bay and central triangular ornament of the parapet. The ground floor windows have raised moulded architraves and are eight pane sash and case, compared to the neighbouring twelve pane windows.

There is also a rectangular fanlight above the panelled front door. On the first floor the central window in the projecting bay is emphasised with a segmental arch and a projecting sill supported by two corbels. The divisions of the building have been strongly delineated by the horizontal moulded string course and parapet, and vertical pilasters. The twin pilasters which form a kind of end stop to the east and west of the pair are in a form of square Tuscan, which has been pared down on the first floor and in the dividing set to pilaster strips. Each of these sets is surmounted at wallhead level with a four sided apex stone with triangular motif, the central of which survives.

All the elements which Rae used in these houses are typical of his style, and are to be seen in his many classical buildings in St. Andrews.⁵¹ The impact of these houses upon Gillespie Terrace was considerable, no doubt elevating the status of the terrace and adding a smart formality to the Scores itself. The pristine condition of the houses did not long remain. The increase in the valuation roll for 1861-62 suggests that both roofs were raised and a double three sided bay window was added to no. 4. The 1865 photograph from the west sands (fig.187) clearly shows this work to have taken place, although the similar bay at no. 3 appears not to have been added until 1873; other alterations have subsequently been made.

Nos. 5 and 6 Gillespie Terrace.

As originally built, nos. 5 and 6 Gillespie Terrace (fig.203) would have matched nos. 1 and 2 as single storey cottages, with a central entrance through a triangular pedimented portico supported by Doric orders (the surviving orders at nos. 5 and 6 are Greek whereas that at no. 1 is Roman Doric), flanked by twelve pane sash and case windows. In 1865 no. 6 was bought by the Edinburgh publisher Robert Chambers⁵² and considerably altered if not entirely rebuilt in a classically inspired style. No. 5 remained somewhat dwarfed until c1880 when an additional storey was added.⁵³

The title deeds to no. 5 were not available for inspection and its original owner has not been ascertained. The valuation roll shows William Murray as the owner from 1855-56 until 1862-63, and he could have taken the original feu. The cottage as built, presumably by Murray is seen in its original state in the 1865 photograph from the west sands (fig.187). No. 6 is also visible behind the Martyrs' Monument. The subsequent addition of storeys and bay windows has marred the original composition, although it may be said that the entrance portico is all that remains of George Rae's 1849 scheme for six one storey cottages.

The feu of no. 6 was taken by the superior, Allan Briggs of Gordonshall,⁵⁴ who was presumably responsible for the erection of the original cottage. Briggs may also have taken the feu of no. 5, although by the 1855-56 valuation, both properties were in the possession of William Murray. When Robert Chambers bought no. 6 in 1865 he engaged Jesse Hall as his architect.⁵⁵ Chambers apparently had some influence upon the design, for according to his biographer:

He had built for himself a house with a spacious saloon library, entering from which was a small apartment fitted up as a study...No house to look at could be more pleasant than that which he had constructed according to his fancy at St. Andrews.⁵⁶

The original double frontage was retained, and the Greek Doric columns incorporated into a portico with balustrade and ball finials. The pilasters which delineated the original cottages were also used and merge with the chamfered mouldings of the Jacobean bay window, which itself may have inspired John Harris's at no. 1.

Gillespie Terrace then seems never to have been completed to its original design. Nos. 1 and 2, and 5 and 6 were built between 1849 and 1851 almost certainly to Rae's original and probably similar elevations. With the erection of nos. 3 and 4 in a new two storey design in 1854, the continuity was broken forever, and in an agreement of 1857 the feuars stated that proprietors would 'not hereafter be bound by the restrictions as to building which are contained in their

feu dispositions'.⁵⁷ This agreement allowed the subsequent rebuilding of no. 2 in 1862, no. 6 in 1865 and no. 1 in 1868. Nos. 3 and 4 were themselves altered in the 1860s and 1870s, and finally no. 5 was increased to two storeys in 1880.

V. The Royal and Ancient Golf Club.

The Royal and Ancient Golf Club House (figs.204,205) constitutes the principal freestanding structure of the western Scores, and an integral part of the architectural and social fabric of St. Andrews. The origins of the Club date to 1754, but the name was only adopted in 1834; in that year the Union Archery Club was founded, and it was the unofficial amalgamation of these institutions in 1853 which resulted in the building of a new club house superseding the Union Parlour at nearby Golf Place. Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair is accredited with initiating the scheme,⁵⁸ and the building was designed by George Rae.⁵⁹ Plans were duly prepared, and approved by the Town Council and a site obtained from them upon payment of a feu duty of one guinea per annum. A stone laying ceremony was held on 13th July 1853, 'with full masonic honours' (fig.206),⁶⁰ and the Club House opened on Whitsunday 1854.

The elegant one storey pavilion was one of George Rae's last essays in the classical style, perhaps inspired by the Baths; shallow hipped roofs, short chimney stacks, squared ashlar with pronounced quoins, and a cornice or moulding at wallhead level under the projecting eaves are features common to both buildings. But whereas the round arch dominates at the Baths, it is the Greek triangular pediment which distinguishes the altogether more ambitious and conspicuous H plan Club

House. The south and west fronts were the principal elevations as the painting by Thomas Hodge in 1862 shows (fig.204). Both Banks in 1856 and Hodge in 1862 show the Scores and Links as a place of sport, recreation and social intercourse; St. Andrews nineteenth century Society in its element.

Major alterations and extensions to Rae's building took place in 1881, although an oriel window had been installed in the 'centre reading room' in 1866, to the design of J. L. Fogo of Stirling.⁶¹ The work of 1881 is accredited to John Milne, but correspondence in the St. Andrews Gazette at the time points to a lively controversy as to the authorship of the scheme (see Appendix M).⁶² Hall and Henry claimed that Milne had obtained the essence of their own proposals by dubious means, and subsequently presented them in a slightly modified form as his own, which the Club accepted. Hall and Henry's plan was priced at £850, and Milne's at £930, although his final account was £2,055.⁶³ Both plans were 'in the main particulars similar, though differing in many minor details',⁶⁴ and satisfied the requirements of a larger dining room, more club boxes, and the provision of a card room. In preferring Milne's plan, the report made particular mention of the elevation, which obviously pleased them, but the virtual destruction of Rae's original elegant pavilion is to be lamented. One contemporary observer referred to the building 'becoming a series of architectural horrors',

and a collection of 'as many specimens of mortuary architecture as it might be possible to arrange.⁶⁵ Additions to Milne's work were carried out at the turn of the century by Gillespie and Scott,⁶⁶ but the general spirit of the building derives from Rae's original classical conception, and the additions of Milne, and such of Hall and Henry's ideas as he allegedly adopted.

Chapter 2.

The Romantic Revival; Jacobean and Scots Baronial

1856-1870.

- I. Clifton Bank, Bay View West, Seaton House.

- II. Scores Park; University House, Rockview and North Cliffe, Edgecliffe, Kirnan, Castlecliffe.

I. Clifton Bank, Bay View West, and Seaton House.

Clifton Bank.

The Victorian development of eastern Scores began in 1856 with Jesse Hall's Clifton Bank (figs.207-210), for John Paterson, second English master at the Madras College.⁶⁷ This is Hall's first identifiable work after his supervision of the Congregational Church in South Bell Street in 1853-54. Although the drawing of the front elevation gives every indication of being a pair of attached villas⁶⁸ (fig.207) there are suggestions on the plan that Paterson intended Clifton Bank to be a school from the outset.

Clifton Bank was built by John McIntosh with plaster work by James McPherson,⁶⁹ and was probably not completed before 1858.⁷⁰ It is a building of three floors plus a semi-basement in the eighteenth century manner. The front elevation is composed of three principal bays, flanked on either side by bold triangular gables with heraldic shields. There are subsidiary bays accommodating the two entrance doors, and half dormers with triangular pediments surmounted by floral motifs. The smaller bays are flanked by pairs of rainwater down pipes which with those at the corner of the facade emphasise the considerable verticality of the building. The principal floor is enriched by bay windows, entrance doors and a string course. The bays

are three sided with sash and case windows, chamfered architraves and a pediment with semi-circular ornament, which with the central shaped gable was surely derived from the shaped gables of the United College, whose construction Hall had superintended in 1845-46. There is no trace of Jacobean fenestration except the small mullioned window in the shaped gable; the single and three light windows are Georgian with projecting chamfered architraves reminiscent of Rae.

The plans of the various floors show in mirror image the layout of two domestic dwellings, with three public rooms, six bedrooms and a night and day nursery, plus the usual domestic offices. The western house shows some pencil modifications necessary for school use, and some original features such as 'boys' trunk room', and 'dining hall', moreover the lobby of the principal floor is connecting, as are the stairs on the second floor. It would seem that Paterson lived in the eastern house and used the western house and perhaps part of his own as his school. If the school failed, both properties would easily revert to domestic use.

Hall's design is loosely Jacobean, but in fact it represents something of a synthesis between the more 'authentic' early nineteenth century Jacobean of the Madras and United Colleges, and the classical work of Balfour and Rae. As such it is a transitional design and stands on the threshold of the baronial revival. In 1856

all the buildings on the Scores except the Whaum were of a neat classical design, but the triangular and shaped gables of the comparatively soaring Clifton Bank introduced a new and romantic element. It is significant that Hall, himself a Borderer had incorporated the spirit of Burn and Nixon, both men of national standing practising from Edinburgh, exposing the formerly provincial Scores to influence from outside.

Bay View West.

Permission to 'erect a new dwelling house on the south side of the Scores adjoining the house of Mr. John Paterson'⁷¹ was granted to David McArthur on 1st September 1863 (fig.208). The house was completed in 1864 and used as a dwelling house until c1908 when it was absorbed into Clifton Bank by the then owner, Walter George Mair.

No documentary evidence of the architect has been found, but stylistically it would appear to be Hall since the design is clearly intended to merge with Clifton Bank. Bay View West has three floors but no basement, and is two bays wide. The three sided bay window rising through the first and second storeys has a similar parapet to those at Clifton Bank, although the central ornament is rectangular rather than semi-circular. All the window architraves are raised slightly and are plain and unchamfered, and there are some segmental arch lintels. Twelve pane windows appear to have been abandoned in favour of larger panes, although the rear elevation retains the older form and continues the similarity with Clifton Bank. The first floor string course and rainwater pipes match those of Clifton Bank, and the integration is compounded by Bay View West's identical entrance door architrave.

Seaton House.

Seaton House (fig.211,212, eastern Scores Hotel) was built in 1864-65 at about the same time as Bay View West, and the first three houses in Scores Park. But whereas Scores Park is Scots baronial, Seaton House like Clifton Bank is Jacobean. A recently identified set of contract drawings (fig.211) is signed George Rae⁷² and the building was under construction at the time of the 1865-66 valuation roll. The house was built for John Buddo, W.S. who also owned three properties in nearby Golf Place, and he appears to have disposed of it soon after completion to the Rev. George Selkirk Jack.⁷³ Jack is listed as the proprietor until 1879-80, when it was acquired by Dr. Schaeffer. Schaeffer used the house as a school and in c1893 it was sold to James Scott Conacher who ran it as a 'select boarding house' (fig.212) at least until 1913.⁷⁴

The house was built to enjoy the magnificent views to the north and west, but also with the comfort and convenience of a large walled garden to the south. The twin gabled facade abuts onto a house two bays deep, and there is a semi-basement, two principal floors and a lesser third floor, and a small attic. Situated immediately to the west of no. 1 Gillespie Terrace (fig.200), slightly set back and adjacent to the meuse lane, Seaton House is a building of monumental proportions within what was architecturally an area of

restrained, predominantly classical buildings. As it now stands, the house has lost certain distinguishing Jacobean features, including the balustrade of the entrance steps and the finials of the bay windows and gables. The mullions of the first floor have been totally removed and those of the second and third floors reduced to one, but those of the basement have escaped modernisation and remain as a reminder of the original, altogether richer fenestration. The second floor window above the front door may also be original, with small pane windows which match the larger stairwell window at the back of the house. The fenestration here is regular sash and case with moulded architraves and four half dormers in the third floor. Attic dormers have been added at a later date. The twin gabled form of the north facade had previously been used by Rae at City Park (1851) and contemporarily at the exuberant Edgecliffe (fig.246), but the inspiration may ultimately have been Burn's Masters' Houses at the Madras College (fig.75), indeed the combination of hood moulds, mullions, heraldic shields, finials, skew putts and string courses within the twin gabled form suggests the entire Madras scheme was an inspiration. Rae was not given to such styles as a rule, but the identification of his authorship of Seaton House suggests his hand at Inchcape House, 4 St. Mary's Place (1861), which exhibits much richer Jacobean decoration. Perhaps the only element directly attributable to Clifton Bank is the semi-circular ornament of the bay window pediment, which

itself would seem to derive from Hall's experience at the United College.

The Jacobean style, in an increasingly pared down form made two further appearances on the southern side of the Scores during the next decade (Craigard and Dhu Craig, figs.268,272), but despite the conspicuous forms of Clifton Bank and Seaton House, it was the Scots baronial which took pride of place at Scores Park, the finest of all the sites on the Scores, and indeed St. Andrews.

II. Scores Park.

Heritable property at St. Andrews
to be sold.

That beautiful and desirable field, called Scores Park comprehending the warm Baths. The field contains five and threequarter acres or thereby - exclusive of the ground occupied by the Baths, and is bounded on the South by the public walk called the Scores, and on the North by the sea. The land and the Baths will be sold together or separately, as purchasers may incline. The land is under lease until Martinmas 1841, at a low rent namely £24, and the Baths till Martinmas 1839, at £10 after which period a considerable encrease may be looked for. The Public and Parochial burdens amount to betwixt £4 and £5 annually.⁷⁵

This advertisement for the sale of Scores Park is dated February 1839, and succinctly describes the property which Sir John Gladstone and James Robert Hope Scott eventually bought from Lady Janet Carmichael Anstruther in 1847 for £900 (fig.214).⁷⁶ As has been seen, the area seems always to have remained outwith the strict limits of the town, although the 'Castle Yard' was part of the Castle precincts in mediaeval times and is shown as such in the post Reformation map (fig.5). By 1728 the Castle Yard was owned by John Lindsay Merchant, and in that year it was sold to David Scott of Scottstarvit. Scott subsequently disposed of it in 1729 to Andrew Watson, apothecary, who held it until October 1741 when it was bought by Thomas Tullideph, Principal of St. Salvator's College, and Alison Richardson his wife. Tullideph also acquired the western part of the Park known as the 'Old College Croft' on 12th July 1742, and it is from this date that Scores Park as such may be

said to originate.⁷⁷ The College may have acquired the superiority in 1742 through Tullideph, since by 1839 an annual feu duty was payable to the United College.⁷⁸ Gladstone and Hope Scott's intention was clearly to feu out the Park for building but perhaps because the speculation at Holcroft's Park was slow in gathering momentum, or because of Gladstone's death in 1851, feuing did not begin until 1863.

The feuing plan of Scores Park by John Henderson, with house plans by John Chesser (fig.115) shows there to have been seven marked out feus, plus the Baths. Barron Grahame took the central feu, with Drs. Adamson and Home Bell to the west, and John McGregor to the east. The three remaining feus to the east adjoining the Baths and the Castle were eventually taken by Thomas Purdie from 1868 and the final western feu bequeathed by Hope Scott to the Roman Catholic Church in 1875. McGregor's feu was subsequently reduced in size after he had built one of the planned three pairs of villas (Edgecliffe); the site of the central pair was sold to Professor Lewis Campbell in c1867 who erected Kirnan, and the eastern site to Hugh Ballingall in 1877 and subsequently to Thomas Purdie in 1880. The roadway to the Baths was thereupon removed to the west so as to run between Campbell's and Purdie's feus, allowing Purdie's recent acquisition to adjoin his existing property. By 1869, Hope Scott had sold the Baths for £900, feued six of the seven plots, and could claim an

annual income from feu duty of £128, out of which he was obliged to pay an annual feu duty of £3.1.2 to the United College. The stipend due to the First Minister of Holy Trinity Church was divided between the feuars according to their acreage and assessed in lieu of quantities of grain. Grahame therefore paid 3/8 in lieu of Barley, 2/10 in lieu of meal, and 9d. in cash. The amount of minister's stipend in 1864 totalled £7.14.6.⁷⁹ Thus after his original investment of £900 in 1847, Hope Scott recouped this amount in 1869 following the sale of the Baths, and received an annual feu duty of £128 thereafter.

Certain conditions of feu were similar for each plot, including the stipulation that boundary walls be erected of stone and lime between 7 and 9 feet high; that dwelling houses be erected of stone and lime and covered with blue slates, lead or zinc; that grounds be laid out as shrubbery, grass, walls etc; and that the land:

shall never at any time be used for any brewery, distillery, workshop, or yard for masons, wrights, smiths, coopers, weavers, or candlemakers, or crackling or slaughter house, or for carrying on any noxious operations or noisy manufacture or occasion annoyance or disturbance to the neighbourhood.⁸⁰

Size of house and certain other conditions were specific to each feu, but possibly the most significant condition was that which stipulated all plans should be approved by Hope Scott or his agents; that the Scots baronial is the dominant style is surely no accident. By the 1860s

the influential Burn-Bryce practice had promoted the Scots baronial in every part of Scotland, town and country, Highland and Lowland. Their vigorous promulgation of the style followed the publication of Billings' The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland (1845-52), an enterprise which had been supported financially in its early stages by Burn.⁸¹ Bryce and Billings were friends, and it was 'from Billings' plates that Bryce selected all the most powerful elements for his baronial designs'.⁸² Bryce himself designed Castlecliffe in 1869, and his one time pupil John Starforth was involved with University House; Rockview and Northcliffe by Hall and Henry, and Edgecliffe by Rae represent local responses to the pervading style. The fact that James Robert Hope had married in 1847 Charlotte Harriet Jane Lockhart, the granddaughter of Sir Walter Scott, is surely significant. When his wife inherited Abbotsford in 1853 Hope assumed the surname Hope Scott, and in 1855 engaged Burn to add a new wing to the house which was itself one of the early essays in the nineteenth century castellated/baronial style (William Atkinson, 1822-24). If as Girouard suggests that 'at Abbotsford, Scott pioneered the revival of Scottish castellated architecture',⁸³ then at Scores Park, Hope Scott may be said to have encouraged it in St. Andrews.

University House.

Barron Grahame of Morphie took the first of the Scores Park feus in July 1863. In addition to the other conditions common to all feuars, Grahame was bound to erect a dwelling house to the value of at least £5,000 and if he chose to sell the ground for housing development, it was to be in lots of not less than a quarter of an acre to accommodate a single dwelling of at least £500 in value. The house which Grahame erected was begun in July 1863, but does not appear to have been completed for occupation until the summer of 1865 (fig.216). Grahame and his family used the house as a summer residence and it was known variously as Scores Park, Scores House, or the Swallow Gate. The Grahames soon tired of St. Andrews, and the house was sold in November 1870 to Lord Borthwick for £4,500, who extended the domestic offices and changed the name to Soltray House. Borthwick sold the enlarged house for £7,700 in March 1875 to Major and Mrs. Robert Patton who retained it until 1892. By that time the house seems to have reverted to the name of Scores Park but after its purchase by the University Court in that year for £6,000 it eventually assumed its present name of University House.

A significant number of letters relative to the building of the house survive, and they constitute one side of an incomplete correspondence between Grahame

and Christopher Webster Kerr of Dundee. The surviving letters are from Kerr who as Grahame's son-in-law seems to have had complete charge of building the house. Kerr was the son of Christopher Kerr, W.S., town clerk of Dundee 1822-69 who 'had one of the most extensive factoring businesses in this part of the Kingdom'.⁸⁴ Kerr was employed by his father and dealt with some of the Grahame business, an arrangement which must have hastened the union between Kerr and Marion Barclay Grahame, one of Grahame's twelve children. The one sided correspondence extends from February to June 1863, and from December 1863 to June 1865. Kerr is authoritarian not to say dictatorial throughout, and once the St. Andrews site had been found after looking in Crieff, Callander and Arbroath, he instructed Grahame to:

make a thorough change of all your servants before you come to St. Andrews so that there may be no tales told and you in point of fact begin in a new world and a new quite style.⁸⁵

This suggests some scandal or family misfortune had driven the Grahames to find an alternative to their normal summer residence at Raveling, near Edinburgh.

The tenor of the Kerr correspondence is set in the letter of 19th May 1863. Kerr was writing to Grahame with a 'sketch plan of the house for St. Andrews':

We give you the drawing room all the size you want, or rather as large as we can give for the money, and we give you a large lobby, and dining room and library to suit the funds allowed. We have a basement and floor below the whole house except drawing room. We have five bedrooms on second, or bedroom floor and six on top. We have not marked any W.C's as we can work them out on the working plan if you tell us where to do it...The elevation

shown is facing the Scores, it is bare of windows but we will put in false ones to lighten it in the working plan. I am sorry we cannot give you a larger dining room and library but if we do so we will run over our money. Be so kind as to let me have your comments as soon as possible.⁸⁶

The sketch plan has not survived, but the description almost fits the house as it was built, although it is clear later that significant alterations were made. Kerr's use of the word 'we' is a rare occurrence in his letters, and suggests that at the beginning of the project at least, he admitted he was not the only man responsible for the house. The question of whether Kerr was the architect or just the intermediary between the architect and Grahame is one which is raised by the correspondence. The Edinburgh architect John Starforth is named several times, albeit negatively and dismissively, but Kerr constantly gives the impression without explicitly stating that he himself is the architect. Phrases such as 'the alterations that Starforth suggested has fairly floored us for carrying out my scheme to please me',⁸⁷ and 'all I want is your general approval as I do not intend to allow you to get any more Starforth alterations',⁸⁸ strongly suggest that Kerr designed the house, with Starforth acting as a consultant at Grahame's request. But the reverse could equally be true, whereby Kerr was the self appointed advisor to Starforth on account of his handling the business side of the operation. Starforth is an architect chiefly remembered for churches and public buildings, although he designed 'many mansion houses in the Highlands and West of Scotland', and farm buildings

for which he was awarded a gold medal by the Highland and Agricultural Society.⁸⁹ Grahame was a member of the Society and may have made Starforth's acquaintance through it. Achnacloich House, Loch Elive, Argyllshire is one of the few identified houses attributed to Starforth, and it resembles a plate in his own Villa Residences and Farm Architecture (1865).⁹⁰ Several styles are represented in this architectural pattern book, and those for the Scots baronial display an affinity with University House, as well as echoes of Starforth's former master David Bryce. The perspectives (figs.217,218) show the liberal use of crowstepps, string courses, and heraldic emblems which also appear on University House, although their actual disposition is different. In the plans however (figs.219,220) there is a great similarity in the arrangement of rooms on the principal floor, especially in the areas of entrance hall, staircase, library and drawing rooms. The overall disposition of important rooms away from the main entrance is also apparent. It is impossible to state categorically that Starforth designed University House, but from the stylistic comparison with the plates in Villa Residences and Farm Architecture, and the fact that Kerr is not known to have been an architect it is assumed that Starforth was the guiding force if not the sole architect of University House.

It is apparent that aspects of the original scheme as outlined in the sketch plan and letter of 19th

May were subsequently changed. Grahame's response to the scheme may only be deduced from Kerr's subsequent replies, and one issue, that of the drawing room, was clearly a stumbling block. Kerr wrote to Grahame that:

We are in a difficulty as to the position of the fireplace in the drawing room. If we put it where you say at A the room will be uncomfortable so I propose to put it at B, (and if you like a second at A also). At B the room will be much more cheerful. What do you say to a window over the fireplace at B? We could do the same at north gable if you liked. (fig.221).⁹¹

The sketches indicate that the drawing room was originally to have extended the whole width of the house from north to south, (the proportions it eventually assumed) with a fireplace at B if Kerr had his way. When Grahame replied he obviously preferred the fireplace at A, an altogether more sensible position, and one which Starforth had evidently envisaged. Kerr was adamant and wrote to Grahame that:

I am very sorry that it is to cause a great deal of extra expense putting the drawing room fireplace where Starforth wants it so I am putting it where I proposed on the south gable.⁹²

Grahame clearly objected, and Kerr wrote that:

The alterations that Starforth suggested had fairly floored us for carrying out my scheme to please me so I have begun a fresh on a different plan.⁹³

The phraseology is again ambiguous, but it at least indicates that Starforth had the upper hand. The new plans were ready in a matter of days; Kerr wrote that 'it is quite new and no basement', and that 'it is a much better house though not so castle like'.⁹⁴ A small basement was eventually included and the drawing room reduced in size to accommodate the library. The

fireplace in the drawing room was situated at A on fig.221, its present position, and there was also a fireplace in the library on the south gable, indicated by the chimney shown on the first floor plan of 1871 (fig.224). Building commenced in August, as reported by the St. Andrews Gazette:

The foundations were dug for a fine mansion house as a summer residence in Scores Park. Mr. John McIntosh has been appointed builder. A very considerable amount of materials are on the ground, and the foundations are laid.⁹⁵

Following the commencement of building, there is a gap in Kerr's correspondence until December 1863. By that time Kerr reported that the basic structure of the house was complete and that it should be roofed by the end of January 'if the men keep sober'. At this stage something of a controversy arose with the Commissioners of Police. It is recorded in the Commissioners minutes that Grahame and Kerr had omitted to submit the plans for approval:

and that the magistrates had reason to believe that the foundation had been laid at too low a level to admit of a sunk floor being drained by the sewer which the Commissioners have resolved to form along the Scores.⁹⁶

Kerr maintained that the W.C. and wash house to be situated in the basement could legally be drained over the cliff; the Commissioners disputed this and ordered the levels to be raised so as to enable drainage to the main sewer to take place. Considerable discussion and communication ensued, and eventually it would seem that the W.C. and wash house were resited. Kerr later recommended to Grahame that a small wash house be incorporated into the stable and coach house,⁹⁷ and on

the basement plan of 1871 (fig.226) there is no indication of either W.C. or wash house. Further progress reports to Grahame reveal that the spring of 1864 was not conducive to building; completion of the tower was held up due to frost, and many slates had to be replaced because of bad workmanship. By the end of May however, plumbers and joiners were in the house, and the attics were ready for flooring.⁹⁸ The Whaum was rented about this time for 'those that went over, to live in while putting the house in order',⁹⁹ and was retained by Grahame until he removed from St. Andrews in 1870.¹⁰⁰ By October 1864, the house was ready for its furniture, and Kerr had engaged a woman to live in as caretaker.¹⁰¹ In that month however, the house was subjected to a storm, the like of which had not been seen in St. Andrews 'in the memory of man'. There was some water damage, but Kerr proclaimed that he was 'well satisfied with the house having stood the storm well'.¹⁰² Various reports of gas fittings (in collaboration with Jesse Hall), of joiners working in the library, and of the laying out and planting of the grounds were sent to Grahame during the first half of 1865, until the last mention of the house is made in June 1865, when Kerr described it as 'all washed down and as clean as a new pin'.¹⁰³ The house was occupied in that year, fully two years after negotiations had begun.¹⁰⁴

The relationship between Kerr and Grahame throughout the period of negotiation and building was cordial and respectful. Kerr signed himself your 'affectionate' or 'loving' son and often included warm remarks about his wife Marion. But in May 1866 it is apparent that a rift had arisen between the two men, and Grahame's Edinburgh agent, J. R. Stodart reported that Kerr was making payments on Grahame's behalf without supporting them with receipts. 'A good many vouchers are wanting', he wrote, 'and the omission of monies from the Bank is large'.¹⁰⁵ The alleged discrepancies referred to Kerr's dealing with the house as well as other business, but after at least a year of soured relationships the matter was resolved, and in a letter to his father-in-law, Kerr explained:

I quite believe that you did not understand what your Edinburgh agent was doing and I am satisfied...I told him it was not a professional account as far as regarded the house, but I would never charge a sixpence for it as it was not part of my profession. So you may fancy how my back was put up by the ill usage I got. However, the thing is done now and there is an end to it.¹⁰⁶

The letter again raises the question of whether Kerr or Starforth was the architect. Kerr's phrase 'not part of my profession' suggests he designed the house as an enthusiastic amateur, conversely he could be referring to his management of the building process as a friendly, filial act. Kerr died in 1869, and it is clear from a letter sent from his father to his wife that he was in financial difficulties. Kerr senior wrote that he employed his son, and that he had no other means of support; that he continually overspent and debts

amounting to £10,000 had been built up by his death.¹⁰⁷ It may be that Kerr had embezzled money because of the opportunity presented through taking charge of building, a factor which may have hastened Grahame's disposal of the property in 1870.

Description of University House.

The original drawings for the house have not been found, but there exists an incomplete, unsigned set of five out of six drawings dating from Borthwick's ownership (figs.222-226, 1870-75).¹⁰⁸ The drawings are dated 1874 on the obverse side, but the annotation is not original, and it is likely the additions to which the drawings relate were effected in 1871. The valuation for that year increased from the established figure of £160 to £200, and remained at that level for some years.¹⁰⁹ The ground floor plan of 1871 is missing, but the general plan and configuration of the rooms may be reconstructed from the present plan (fig.227) and the outline plan by John Chesser on the plan of Scores Park by John Henderson (fig.215). The original plan of the house was basically rectangular but stepped back at the south east corner in two gradations. There are two parallel ranges of rooms which run east to west, each abutting the drawing room/principal bedroom range running north to south, on the west. The house was planned with the principal rooms facing away from the entrance court, in the typical Burn-Bryce manner, and

towards the aspect of sea, links and distant mountains. Because of the site, the principal rooms face north and west, and the only rooms other than service rooms to face south are two secondary bedrooms and the tower smoking room (fig.222).

On the ground floor, a pair of rooms leading off the inner hall to the west, on a north south axis consisted of the drawing room (figs.228,229) occupying two thirds of the area, and a study or library to the south. This room leading off the inner hall apparently had a gallery around three walls¹¹⁰ and a fireplace in the south wall where the present rectangular bay window is situated, and as seen pencilled in on the 1871 drawing of the front elevation (fig.222). When the bay was installed the room was absorbed into the drawing room, and the present Adamesque pillared screen of square Ionic columns erected (fig.229). Adjoining the drawing room, the dining room extends to the east, and beyond it the kitchen and various other domestic offices. The first floor originally consisted of two bedrooms with adjoining dressing rooms over the drawing room and library, and four other bedrooms, a napery and bathroom. On the second floor there were six further bedrooms, a trunk room, servants' rooms and an appropriately situated tower smoking room, which retains its heavy, pine panelled masculine atmosphere (figs.230,231).

The entrance tower forms the prime focus of the front elevation with a panelled door, fanlight, and elaborately moulded architrave which is crowned with an heraldic panel, itself part of a string course which encompasses the south, east and west elevations. The tower is corbelled out slightly at second floor level and there is a string course and corbel decoration over the first floor window. The front elevation is a picturesque, irregular composition, and its baronial features include two crowstepped gables of differing sizes, a further heraldic panel, and an oriel first and second floor window, set on corbelled out masonry. The crowstepping is continued on the three gables of the west elevation, and those of the north and east.

The extension of 1871 consisted of three floors plus basement. Most of the additional accommodation was service, except the new dressing room for the first floor bedroom on the south front. The only basement in the house was in the north eastern corner and contained the servants' hall and barrel vaulted wine cellar with windows facing north; this was extended south to accommodate two larders and a men's room (for male servants). The ground floor extension probably provided more domestic accommodation, and the backstairs were also resited. On the second floor there were two new women's rooms, presumably for servants, and these were lit on the south elevation by half dormers, crowstepped to match the original gables. The altered

east elevation shows the continuation of the string course complete with heraldic panel, and a new castellated curtain wall dividing the service court or stable yard to the east from the front of the house. The architect for these additions is not known, but Hall and Henry suggest themselves when the work is compared with their nearby Rockview and North Cliffe, and more especially with the careful treatment of the skew putts and window and door mouldings in Hall's design for the stable block (figs.232,233).

The planning of the house reflects the influence, presumably through Starforth of the Burn-Bryce practice. As has been seen, the plan is dictated by the situation of the house, and all the principal rooms face the finest aspect to the north and west, away from the south facing entrance front. Architecturally these elevations are plain and subservient to the south front which comes into its own as the baronial public face of the house. The privacy which this arrangement afforded is continued internally by the careful separation of the service areas from the public and private areas. The kitchen as the hub of the service area forms the barrier between, so the entire service area to the east could operate with its own staircase and back door without intruding upon the family and guest areas to the west. The separation of male and female servants between the basement and top floor, and the banishing of the gentlemen smokers to the highest

and most isolated room in the house is entirely consistent with country house planning of the time; a field which Burn is acknowledged as having developed.

Since the additions of 1871, the exterior character of the house has been changed by the replacement of the pyramidal tower roof with a saddleback roof. The small Renaissance balcony which was perhaps added at the same time serves to temper the effect of the liberal use of crowstepping. The rectangular bay window to the study/drawing room may date to a later period than the 1871 additions, since its inclusion is in pencil and suggests a later application. The new window must have replaced the fireplace when the former library was taken into the drawing room. The precise date for this work has not been ascertained, although the saddleback roof appears in a photograph of c1880 (fig.189), and the drawing room alterations were certainly completed by 1921, when Lady Irvine described 'the expanse of seven great windows'.¹¹¹ It is likely however that both the alterations to the tower and the drawing room date to 1875. When Borthwick sold the house in 1875 to Major and Mrs. Robert Patton, there was an agreement whereby Borthwick had the option to rent the house for several months, and also that the Pattons 'intended to make certain alterations immediately', and that the alterations will be 'wholly finished and completed by 1st September 1875'.¹¹²

Hall's drawing for part of the stable block, signed and dated February 1865 positively identifies him as the building's architect, and raises the intriguing question of whether he designed the house itself. Kerr's only references to the stable block were made in letters to Grahame of May and June 1864, when he states that 'all you need is a coal house, stick house and small washing house besides the stable and coach house', and 'have you any objection to having them detached and along your east wall?'.¹¹³ The original building was L shaped with a later freestanding block situated so as to create a yard surrounded on three sides.

University House was crucial to the development of the Scots baronial style in St. Andrews. Although the style had made its initial appearance at 77-79 Market Street (fig.98, George Rae, 1852) and the new Town Hall (fig.143, James Anderson Hamilton, 1858-61), it found its first domestic expression in this large free-standing Scores mansion house. The remainder of Scores Park followed suit, with Rockview/North Cliffe, Edgecliffe, Kirnan and Castlecliffe revelling in the historic allusions and picturesque silhouettes which the style afforded. Equally as significant, Milne quickly responded with Westerlee (fig.266, 1865-67) at Ratheplie, in what is the town's most extravagant baronial composition, forsaking his earlier Burn-inspired Tudor and Jacobean styles of Kinburn House

(fig.264, 1856) and Martyrs' Free Church Manse (1856-57).

Rockview and North Cliffe.

Very pretty designs have been prepared by Mr. Hall for two excellent villas about to be erected in the Baths Park by Drs. Adamson and Bell.¹¹⁴

The intimation that Drs. John Adamson and Oswald Home Bell were planning to erect Rockview and North Cliffe (fig.234) was given in the St. Andrews Gazette of 16th January 1864. Two years later the same newspaper announced that the Drs. would occupy their houses by Whitsunday 1866. The houses, designed by Hall and Henry are therefore almost contemporary with University House to the east, which they resemble in scale, spirit and some detail. The abundant use of large crowstepped gables and dormers, and to a lesser extent of two light windows suggests the strong stylistic influence of University House. University House was erected to roof level by December 1863 at about the time Hall and Henry's plans were ready; Kerr had seen the plans and wrote to Grahame that 'Adamson and Bell's joint house is to be crowsteps'.¹¹⁵ Hall and Henry were either responding to their clients' wishes, their own obviously favourable impression of University House, or to some directive of Hope Scott. The contract of feu stipulated a 'dwelling house or double villa of the value of at least £1,000';¹¹⁶ Kerr estimated the joint houses would cost 'fully £2,500', and to be 'plain, but better than I expected',¹¹⁷ although there is no record of the final cost. North Cliffe was extended by a further bay to the east in 1892 (fig.235).

In plan the houses loosely resemble the baronial L plan with entrance tower in the re-entrant angle, joined so as to produce an elongated building with each end a mirror image of the other. References to baronial architecture are in fact minimal, save for the 'vernacular' baronial crowsteps, the corbelling of the entrance towers, and corbelled out gables of the second floor on the north elevation. The towers are removed from the re-entrant angle proper to accommodate the main entrance. There are two principal floors, with a full basement of domestic offices and an attic. The original composition was eight bays wide, arranged symmetrically. The principal accommodation in each house originally consisted of a drawing room, dining room and parlour (or study) on the ground floor, five bedrooms and bathroom on the first floor, and several maids' rooms in the attic. The kitchen was situated in the basement immediately beneath the parlour and there was a service lift to the ground floor.

The Drs. Adamson and Bell moved to their new houses from their former residences in South Street. Adamson lived in no. 127 (the present Post Office), and Bell in the adjoining no. 125. The Drs. were in practice together, and in due course were buried in adjoining graves in the Cathedral cemetery.¹¹⁸ Both men were respected physicians and prominent citizens of St. Andrews; Bell was Professor of Medicine in the University and Adamson is particularly remembered,

though perhaps less than his brother Robert as 'one of the founders of photography in Scotland',¹¹⁹ in the company of Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair and Sir David Brewster. Adamson did not live to enjoy a long life in Rockview, and died in August 1870 at the age of sixty. Bell died in July 1875 at the age of thirty nine.¹²⁰

Rockview has sustained no major alteration since its completion in 1866. The drawing room is situated with a bay window facing north, and twin windows flanking the fireplace facing west. The adjoining dining room also has windows on two sides, features which have been lost at North Cliffe because of the extension. The west elevation of Rockview has a corbelled projection to part of its first floor (fig.236) which must have been inspired by the south west gable at University House, both examples being taken up by George Rae at Edgecliffe and considerably embellished. The coach house (fig.237), situated in the garden of Rockview was presumably shared by the Adamsons and Bells. The L shaped building reflects the houses, with crowsteps and a segmental arched entrance, and dates from 1865.¹²¹

When Bell died in 1875 North Cliffe was acquired by Mrs. Rose Emily Cheape or Allen, who eventually extended the house to the east.¹²² The extension was designed by David Henry who records on 25th July 1892:

meeting Mrs. Allen at her house and getting her instructions about preparing plans of an addition to her house of North Cliffe. Various meetings and modifications and plans followed and finally tenders...were got and sent to Mrs. Allen on 13th December 1891.¹²³

Meanwhile Henry wrote to Stuart Grace as agent for Hope Scott's trustees, informing him of the proposed additions and of their compatibility with the original design:

The original drawings were all made by my own hands twenty eight years ago and I would not willingly mar what is practically my own work.¹²⁴

The plans were duly submitted for approval and returned with consent on 7th January 1892. Work began immediately, and Henry again wrote to Grace that:

...it is intended to make certain alterations in the existing house almost immediately...These alterations mainly consist of the erection of the window shown on the north elevation which is to light Miss Allen's studio, and the enlargement of the entrance hall.¹²⁵

The drawing of the north elevation has not survived, but the window in question was a dormer to the attic, and was removed in 1986; the enlargement of the entrance hall is clearly indicated on Henry's ground floor plan of 1891 (fig.238)¹²⁶ and was made possible by reducing the depth of the butler's pantry and incorporating part of the western end of the drawing room. Henry's proposal for a screen at this end of the drawing room was apparently abandoned at this stage. The extension to the house proper followed, and Henry wrote that 'there will be no communication between the present and the new building till the latter is roofed, say about 1st April next'.¹²⁷ The work was completed by the beginning of

1893 as the 'accounts as fully rendered' were submitted to Mrs. Allen on 1st March 1893. The extension cost in the region of £600.¹²⁸

Henry's letters reveal that not only was he solely responsible for the extension, but also that he was draughtsman for the original drawings and that by his own admission it was practically his own work. Having arrived in St. Andrews in 1862 to work with Hall, the design for Rockview and North Cliffe in the following year is the earliest work with which Henry's name can be positively associated. Moreover it shows him working in the double villa style which he was to refine into a successful formula in later years.

The 1891-93 extension to North Cliffe consisted of a bay extending some 15 feet to the east and running the full depth of the house (figs.238,239). The new first floor bedroom was given a three sided oriel window corbelled out and overlooking the garden, but the principal focus of the extension was the drawing room which became a very grand room indeed. As has been seen, the proposed western screen in the drawing room was abandoned in the redesigning of the entrance hall and pantry, and resited so as to enable the south eastern part of the drawing room to be termed an 'ante room'. Heavy curtains would have hung on the ante room side when only the main drawing room was in use, or when the smaller room was used for more intimate gatherings.

The screen may have been inspired by that installed in University House in 1875, although unlike its neighbour the North Cliffe screen was not load bearing. Although not mentioned specifically in Henry's accounts, it was clearly part of the 1891-93 scheme; the screen appears in plan on Henry's drawing of 1891 (fig.238), and in some detail in the Gillespie and Scott drawings of 1957 (figs.240,241). The two slender columns with Corinthian capitals support plain entablatures which in turn support delicately turned balusters; the two sections are engaged at the top by a segmental arch. The authorship of this accomplished design may be questioned however since when the house was advertised for sale in 1924, it was stated that the drawing room was 'panelled in Adams style after designs by Sir Robert Lorimer'.¹²⁹ The delicate design of bows and sprays of flowers could indeed have come from Lorimer (fig.242), and if it is contemporary with the extension, the screen may also have been a Lorimer design. If this is the case, it predates Lorimer's similar though more extensive screen at Earlshall (1893-95), itself inspired by the sixteenth century screen in the Chapel Royal at Falkland Palace which was then undergoing restoration by John Kinross for the Third Marquess of Bute. There is however no record of the date of the panelling, and because of the distinct difference in style between the panelling and screen, and the fact that the screen appears on the 1891 plan (fig.238), it is concluded that Henry installed the screen in 1891-93, and that Lorimer or his office

provided the panelling at some subsequent date. Moreover, the design of the screen is testament to Henry's own antiquarian interests. The screen was removed in 1958, and there was a proposal to install double doors, but a more permanent partition (fig.243) was erected in the manner of the Lorimer panelling. The drawing room ceiling must also have formed part of the 1891-93 scheme, and the groups of flowers arranged in each corner serve as the ceiling's only decoration and harmonize with the overall lightness of touch of the room. The dining room has a more formally designed ceiling and may also date from the refurbishment of this area of the house.

When in 1903 the Allens decided to adorn their extension with a verandah (fig.244), Henry was forsaken for the perhaps more fashionable practice of Gillespie and Scott. The verandah makes an attractive intermediary between garden and house, and its light Edwardian (though not art-nouveau) appearance contrasts with the sombre grey sandstone and solidity of form of the original building.

Edgecliffe.

The baronial double villa of Edgecliffe (figs.245,246) was designed by George Rae as a speculation by John McGregor, and was erected during 1865-66; John McIntosh was the builder with joiner work by Mr. Malcolm.¹³⁰ The site was feued to McGregor on 31st January 1865 on condition he erect 'three double dwelling houses or double villas with suitable outhouses or offices of the value of at least one thousand pounds sterling each'.¹³¹ The plan of the three double villas as drawn by John Chesser is seen on the feuing plan of Scores Park by John Henderson (fig.215). Had the villas been erected as planned the character of this part of Scores Park would have been very different, but McGregor was content to relinquish part of his feu in January 1867 to Professor Lewis Campbell. McGregor was perhaps in financial difficulties since his credence had already been questioned by Hope Scott's Edinburgh agent when he wanted to take the additional feus to the east:

McGregor a year or so ago wished to feu this piece of ground postponing the feu duty, except to the extent of agricultural value, and the obligations to build for a few years, but we thought he had enough on his hands at the time with the other portion which he had feued.¹³²

Hope Scott was happy to feu to Campbell however, and agreed 'to the erection of a respectable single house on the remainder of Mr. McGregor's feu in place of the double ones'.¹³³ The house (Kirnan, figs.249,250) was built upon part of McGregor's remaining feu in 1867 and McGregor retained the eastern portion until 1877 when he

sold it to Hugh Ballingall, a Dundee brewer for £300.¹³⁴ Ballingall failed to build however and the land was taken by Thomas Purdie of Castlecliffe in 1880 for £250 to extend his grounds, after the factors had agreed to cancel the obligation to build a house on the feu.¹³⁵ Edgecliffe then was the first and only house on what McGregor clearly conceived to be a speculative building scheme to cover fully half the Scores Park.

Edgecliffe is the Scores' most esoteric baronial building, a fantasy of crowsteps, bartizans, balustrade and corbelling, overpoweringly massed to the top in the traditional seventeenth century manner, and perhaps inspired by Billings' plate of Craigievar (fig.247). The square bartizans, which add such dynamism to the south elevation may also have come from Billings (Pinkie House, fig.248), although a more likely inspiration was the corner tower at Hamilton's Town Hall (fig.143), completed several years earlier. Rae's obvious delight in using this element, and indeed the baronial style itself demonstrates his willingness to be inspired and challenged by the rising 'national' style.¹³⁶ Edgecliffe was one of Rae's last compositions and it is perhaps fitting that he who created the calm classical ambience of the original Royal and Ancient Golf Club House and Gillespie Terrace should also create such a thrilling and romantic atmosphere in Scores Park, encompassing the extremes of style which characterises the whole development. The double villa was a building

type which had been gathering favour in St. Andrews since Milne's Abbey Villas of 1853 (fig.99); now Rae was combining it with the twin gabled form of Burn's Madras College masters' houses and his own contemporary Seaton House (fig.211,212). Apparently spurred on by competition with Starforth's and Hall and Henry's compositions, and Milne's Westerlee, Rae imbued his design with verticality and massing, and adopted an H plan. The north elevation (fig.246) exhibits none of the exuberance of the south elevation, instead there are three crowstepped triangular gables, with three sided bay windows rising from the basement through the principal and first floors.

When Edgecliffe was completed it was described as 'the handsomest of the lot' of the Scores Park houses,¹³⁷ and its novelty was eclipsed only by the illustriousness of its first tenants, Dr. A. K. H. Boyd and Principal John Shairp, whose son Campbell 'had as a little boy given [the house] the name of Edgecliffe'.¹³⁸

Kirnan.

Compared with the idiosyncratic Edgecliffe, Kirnan (figs.249,250) was built to a restrained and economical baronial design by Peddie and Kinnear of Edinburgh, for Professor Lewis Campbell. The house bears the date 1867 and the architects' distinctive 'PK' motif inscribed on the gable shoulder of the east facing central bay; a set of original drawings also survive (figs.251-254).¹³⁹ The builder was John McIntosh.¹⁴⁰

The plan is L shaped, and may be said to be a further adaptation of the L shaped castle plan with tower in the re-entrant angle. This form would have been more apparent before the addition of the entrance porch to the south elevation, but the floor plans show the arrangement quite clearly (figs.252-254). The house is two bays deep, with a gable and form of entrance tower to the south, and a corbelled bay window gable to the north. The corners of the building are rounded, and corbelled to square, five courses below the wallhead; this tends to temper the verticality of the building, yet it also contributes to its basic castellated form and mass. The round and triangular window pediments and ball finials of the south front are a link with the seventeenth century, while the three sided bay window corbelled to a triangular gable is a typical nineteenth century development, in this case probably deriving from Kinnear's experience with Bryce¹⁴¹ who used this

feature, albeit with a crowstepped gable at Castlecliffe two years later (fig.256). Castlecliffe has a more picturesque distribution of its elements however, with various service areas projecting to the north and east. With the comparatively restricted site for Kirnan, Peddie and Kinnear were left with little choice but to put the service area in a basement. The dining room and a bedroom were situated on the principal floor to the front with the drawing room and study at the more private north side of the house. There were four bedrooms, two with dressing rooms, and a bathroom and further smaller bedroom on the first floor.

A porch was added to the south elevation in 1886 under the supervision of Gillespie and Scott,¹⁴² thus obscuring the original doorway. This doorway, with its semi-circular fanlight and corresponding drip mould was an essential component of the south elevation, and its loss has marred the balance of door to windows. The present porch was erected by Paul Waterhouse in 1924 and is decidedly incongruous, with Tudor arch facing east and leaded lights set in transom and mullion windows.¹⁴³

Castlecliffe.

As has been discussed above, Thomas Purdie (fig.255), an Edinburgh interior decorator¹⁴⁴ took the Baths and adjoining easternmost feu of Scores Park in 1868; it was by far the largest in the Park, bounded by the sea to the north, the Castle ruins to the east, the Scores road to the south and McGregor's feu to the west. Castlecliffe (figs.256-258) was designed by David Bryce in a robust, characteristic Scots baronial style, set well back from the road and positioned so as to ensure the utmost privacy and maximum benefit from the superb situation. Although Bryce had been involved with the Madras College in the 1830s, and is accredited with having altered West Park in 1865-66,¹⁴⁵ Castlecliffe is the single St. Andrews commission which may be said with any certainty to be the work of Bryce himself. There appear to be no original drawings of the house, nor does it appear in any list of the architect's work, but there are five pieces of documentary evidence confirming the claim. The first mention of Bryce is made in a letter from Purdie written while en route to France in September 1868:

I fear there will be little if anything done before Martinmas, for although our plans are so far advanced nothing has been done to the working drawings and Mr. Bryce has gone from home for a holiday.¹⁴⁶

Purdie wrote again two months later from an address in the Pyrenees that:

I have not heard from Mr. Bryce since leaving home so am quite ignorant as to the progress which has

been made with our plans and estimates - I feel but little will be done before winter sets in.¹⁴⁷

By April of the following year building was under way, and Bryce himself wrote to Stuart Grace:

Immediately in receipt of yours of the 10 alto, I wrote the contractor to have proper places erected that the nuisance complained of should be obviated and understood from the clerk of works that this had been done. Mr. Kay is at St. Andrews today and if I find on his return that my orders have not been attended to I shall take care that the places are erected immediately. (fig.259).¹⁴⁸

As a result of Kay's visit to St. Andrews, Bryce again wrote to Grace:

I have ascertained that Mr. McIntosh has not yet got the places for the men erected altho' he promised to have it done three weeks ago. I have written him today saying that there may be no further delay. I have also instructed him to lay the plans of Mr. Purdie's house before the Commissioners of Police and also enclose a letter asking permission to join the common sewer in the Scores Road with the drain from the house. (fig.260).¹⁴⁹

Two days after Bryce had written his letter for presentation to the Commissioners of Police, they recorded in their minutes that:

A letter was read from Mr. Bryce, architect submitting plans showing the levels of foundations of a mansion house which Mr. Thomas Purdie is erecting in the Scores Park.¹⁵⁰

Castlecliffe was constructed just west of the position indicated on the c1865 feuing plan (fig.261) near the old Castle yard, and in close proximity to the ruined Castle itself. The house is a modest baronial house by Bryce's standards, but all his hallmarks are nevertheless represented: the entrance facing away from the main public rooms of the principal floor, set on an

elevated basement; the dining room and drawing room situated so as to enjoy the fine aspects of the garden, links, and setting sun; and a large conservatory (since replaced by a smaller rectangular bay window) leading off the drawing room. Externally the most telling Bryce element is the crowstepped south gable set within twin conically roofed tourelles, an arrangement he had used at Balcarres in 1862-63, and which ultimately derived from such castles as Craigievar, elevations of which had been illustrated by Billings (fig.247). Unlike the other houses in Scores Park which are of polished stone, Castlecliffe is finished in a more rugged bullnose masonry. The domestic offices and stable block adjoin the house to the north and east, but these have been altered and extended, as have certain parts of the house itself. The earliest available plan of the house appears to be that by Mills and Shepherd of Dundee in 1920 (figs.262,263), for St. Leonard's School. It shows the main rooms of the principal and first floors, and it will be seen that the general outline of the main body of the house corresponds to that on the Henderson/Chesser feuing plan (figs.215,261), and takes the form of a filled in L plan. Originally the 'girls' dining room' would have been a large entrance hall, the 'house mistresses' sitting room' the library, the 'school room' the drawing room, and the 'drawing room' the dining room. The 'boot room' indicates the position of the original conservatory as seen in the c1919 photograph (fig.257). The staircase is situated within

an enclosed stairwell facing north, and the only room to overlook the entrance directly was the large entrance hall. The alcove in the north wall of the dining room retains what is probably an original gilt mirror, situated so as to reflect the conservatory opposite. The service room off the dining room was the original pantry and the service lift remains in this room, connecting with the former kitchen below. There were four principal bedrooms in the house, shown as 'dormitories' on the 1920 plan.

With the completion of Castlecliffe in 1870,¹⁵¹ the first phase of Scots baronial in St. Andrews came to an end. As has been seen, the style was by no means confined to Scores Park, having made earlier appearances at 77-79 Market Street (fig.98, George Rae, 1852), the new Town Hall (fig.143, James Anderson Hamilton 1858-61), and the villa of Westerlee (fig.266, John Milne, 1865-67), a design which owes much to Milne's experience in Bryce's office, and perhaps also to Starforth's Designs for Villa Residences (figs.217,218). The baronial style continued to be popular (e.g. 74-76 Market Street, fig.313, John Milne, 1873) although it did not appear on the Scores in such vigour again until the mid 1890s (Swallowgate, Sir Robert Rowand Anderson, and Kennedy House, Gillespie and Scott, figs.298,306).

Chapter 3.

The Breakdown of Style; Development 1870-1890.

- I. Introduction.
- II. Craigard; East Bay View and Castle Lea; Castlegate; Castlemount.
- III. Dhu Craig; The Hirsell; Kilrymont.
- IV. St. Salvator's.
- V. St. James' Church and Presbytery.
- VI. Conclusion to Chapter 3.

I. Introduction.

By the 1870s, there was a clearly definable shift away from the highly prestigious upper middle class villas and mansions of Scores Park and Rathelpie towards terraced houses and villas of more modest proportions. This 'levelling down' of middle class aspiration probably provided a fresh impetus for continuing work at Hope Park where Abbotsford Crescent was completed by 1877 and Hope Street by 1880. In Howard Place, 10 of the 15 stances were built by 1876, despite Milne's comment on the 'fearfully gloomy prospects for houses of this class'.¹⁵² It was to be another twenty years however before all the feus in Howard Place were built upon. At Rathelpie, the pioneering Kinburn House (fig.264, attr.Milne, 1856) and Martyrs' Free Church Manse (Milne, 1856-57) led to some seven more compositions by 1870: Rathmore (Milne, 1861); Afton House (1862); Kinnessburn (attr.Rae, 1862-63); Westerlee (fig.266, Milne, 1865-67); Hardens and Westgate (Hall, 1867); Eden Hill (c1870) and Westoun (c1870).¹⁵³ But the tendency towards the completion of existing developments within the town proper seems to have limited further development to Glenelg and South Gate (attr.Henry, c1880), and Thorncroft (attr.Henry, 1880), until Liscombe (fig.267, Thomas Cappon, 1893-94) initiated the late Victorian and Edwardian 'boom', which culminated in some very large houses (e.g. Wayside, Sir Robert Lorimer, 1901 and The Ridge, now Hepburn Hall, Gillespie

and Scott, 1913), the scale of which had not been seen since the 1860s.

Other building schemes during the 1870s and 1880s testify to an increasing diversification of building types away from the large private house. Marine Place (Hall, 1870) provided accommodation for fisher families; the Imperial Hotel at the corner of North Street and Murray Park (Henry, 1879-81) catered to visitors; the Gibson Hospital (Henry, 1879-81) was a home for the elderly in a Scots Renaissance style, with Madras College influence, and the block at 89-93 Market Street (Milne, 1889) provided shops with artisan's tenement flats above in a scaled down version of the type which proliferated in the larger Scottish towns and cities. This change of emphasis would seem to reflect a slowing down of middle class migration to St. Andrews, or at least some consolidation of the existing population, which although it continued to rise, the rate of increase sharply declined. Between 1861 and 1871 the population had risen from 5175 to 6250, an increase of 1075; in the following decade the increase was only 175, but between 1881 and 1891 the increase had risen somewhat to 400. The economic state of the nation as a whole must also have been reflected in the scale of architectural expansion; Britain entered a period of so-called 'Great Depression'¹⁵⁴ from 1873-96, when 'It was not that the British economy did not grow, but that other economies grew faster; hence Britain suffered a

relative decline'.¹⁵⁵ It is surely no coincidence that these were the very years of a reduced rate of population increase in St. Andrews, and a clear slowing down in the rate of the development of middle and upper middle class dwellings. It is against this background that the continuing development of the Scores must be perceived.

II. Craigard; East Bay View and Castle Lea; Castlegate; Castlemount.

Of the seven new building schemes on the Scores during the 1870s, Craigard (fig.268) adjacent to Bay View West and Clifton Bank (fig.208) was the first, and a speculation by John McGregor on land which had formerly belonged to Robert Balfour.¹⁵⁶ The right of way from the Scores to 77-83 North Street (fig.265, Robert Balfour, 1824-25) was protected and it was specified that a dwelling house could be erected:

provided they shall leave or provide a passage four feet in width on the west side of the ground flat thereof...for the accommodation of the proprietors of 77, 79, 81 and 83 North Street in passing to and from the Scores. The passage to be kept locked so as not to become a nuisance.¹⁵⁷

The arrangement resulted in a close or passage way being incorporated into the house, a feature which provided a link with the traditional method of 'close' development in Scots burghs. Craigard continues the rhythm and style set by Clifton Bank and Bay View West, of three storeys with off set entrance door, three sided bay windows on two floors, and triangular gables. The panelled door with rectangular fanlight and regular polished ashlar are also similar, and it is tempting to attribute the design to Hall and Henry, considering its proximity and similarity to Hall's Clifton Bank. The baronial influence of Scores Park is evident in the massive heraldic panel over the door, but the gables, with their skew putts, lugs, finials and gun slit are more English Jacobean, and reminiscent of Burn's Madras College.

Craigard was erected in 1870-71¹⁵⁸ at the same time as McGregor's 4-11 Dempster Terrace (fig.181), which is likely to be the work of the same architect. The bay window parapet with central circular motif and battlements is identical on both developments; Milne had used a similar arrangement for the entrance porch at Abbey Villas in 1853 (fig.99) which suggests his hand at Craigard. Alternatively there are similarities with Rae's Seaton House (1864, fig.211,212) although Rae had died at the beginning of 1869 and it is unlikely the drawings would have been prepared so far in advance. It is reasonable therefore to attribute Craigard to Hall and Henry.

Contemporary with Craigard, and certainly designed by Hall and Henry¹⁵⁹ is the double villa of East Bay View and Castle Lea (fig.269) at the east end of the Scores overlooking the Castle. The villas were the most modest houses to be erected on the Scores since Gillespie Terrace, and are uncompromisingly plain and functional, with snecked rubble and chamfered architraves on the front elevation; Henry installed the bay windows in 1902.¹⁶⁰

Castlegate (fig.270) to the west, situated at the north east corner of North Castle Street was another design by Hall and Henry, built in 1879.¹⁶¹ The conspicuous site faced north and west and the corner tower, corbelled from the first floor with bay window

and a tourelle roof reflected the proximity of the Castle ruins and Bryce's Castlecliffe; this was a feature already used by Hall and Henry at 3-6 Alexandra Place (1869-70, fig.118), experimented with at the Hirsell (1880, fig.273) and used subsequently by Henry at 1 Rose Lane (1904).¹⁶² The baronial elements are minimal, but the bullnose masonry, heraldic panel and Tudor arch doorway with hood mould give the building an undeniably romantic quality.

On the opposite corner, Hall and Henry had already extended Castlemount (fig.271) in 1874, a plain early nineteenth century classical house facing North Castle Street.¹⁶³ Its present crowstepped appearance however dates from the 'three storey addition...with gablets' added in 1914 by Henry, and William Walker.¹⁶⁴

III. Dhu Craig; The Hirsell; Kilrymont.

Dhu Craig (fig.272) was the first of the 'door to side' terraced houses to be erected on the Scores, a form employed by Hall and Henry further west at nos. 15 and 16 The Links (fig.314, 1872-73 and 1875). Dhu Craig was built for David Balsillie in 1873¹⁶⁵ and stood vertical and alone until it was joined by the neighbouring Hirsell (fig.273) in 1880. Although the style of Dhu Craig suggests Hall and Henry, a set of unsigned drawings, dated 27th May 1872, included in the Gillespie and Scott collection¹⁶⁶ suggest that George Birrell was the architect. Birrell was in practice from c1869 to his death in 1876, and appointed James Gillespie 'in about 1870 to fill a post'¹⁶⁷ in his office. Gillespie continued the practice after Birrell's death, being joined by James Scott in 1885. The style of the house is not conspicuously compatible with Gillespie's work, nor does the handwriting on the drawings resemble his, so Birrell may be attributed with the design. Dhu Craig, named after the rock it overlooks was the first house to be erected at western Scores since Gillespie Terrace, and its style set the tone for the completion of the whole row eastwards to Murray Park; indeed Murray Park itself was developed with large three storey terraced houses shortly after, beginning with no. 11 (Gillespie, 1877). The design of Dhu Craig was clearly inspired by Clifton Bank, Bay View West and Craigard, and Rae's Seaton House was also a model,

especially the arrangement of the area and three sided bay window with Jacobean mullions, rising to the third storey. The recessed entrance doorway approached by steps over the area, and the large steeply pitched gable and dormer with skew putts, lugs, finials and attic window also reflect Seaton House, which itself was influenced by Hall's Clifton Bank and ultimately the Madras College. When Kilrymont (fig.272) joined Dhu Craig to the east in 1885, the similarity with Seaton House became more apparent (figs.211,212). In 1879-80 Hall and Henry designed the 'new house to be built by Mr. David Lamb at the east end of Gillespie Terrace',¹⁶⁸ (fig.273) but there was surprisingly little attempt at architectural uniformity. Perhaps Lamb, who had rented Dhu Craig immediately before moving into the Hirsell had found the tall narrow terraced house constricting, and dictated to his architects a house of a very different nature. The Hirsell runs parallel to the Scores, four bays wide and two deep, with a service block abutting to the south. On the Scores' elevation there is a standard three sided bay window with plain parapet rising through both floors, and a further extended bay at the corner sweeping round to the west elevation. The string course between ground and first floors is the only element which unites it with Dhu Craig, indeed the classical entrance porch declares more of an affinity with Gillespie Terrace.

Kilrymont (figs.272,274) adjoining Dhu Craig to the east, and to a large extent emulating its form and proportions, was designed by Hall and Henry as a speculation by George Bruce.¹⁶⁹ The house was built in 1885-86 and so closely resembles Dhu Craig that a whole terrace of similar houses may have been envisaged. Kilrymont differs from Dhu Craig in its window detailing; the architraves are moulded rather than rebated and chamfered, and the central mullion of the bays is omitted. The entrance doorway has been removed and an incongruous projecting porch added which links Kilrymont with St. Colme's, and proclaims its present use as an hotel.

IV. St. Salvator's.

Further west Milne was working on a set of double villas named St. Salvator's (fig.275) for William Davidson,¹⁷⁰ situated between Seaton House and the former Union Club at the corner of Golf Place and the Scores.¹⁷¹ The villas consciously imitate the form of Seaton House and represent yet another variation of the twin gable formula introduced by Burn at the Madras masters' houses. Because of the ground level dropping away to the west, Milne was able to provide four floors plus basement, one more than Rae at Seaton House. The basement and principal floor facades have been concealed behind a modern addition, but originally the three sided bay windows visible on the third and fourth storeys arose from the basement to the fourth storey. There are pediments with the star of David emblem, a favourite with Milne, and the top floor windows are set within Dutch gables surmounted by large self-consciously top heavy classical pediments. The decoration is idiosyncratic but consistent with Milne's increasing tendency to mix styles. The smaller central gable is shared, contributing to the illusion that the building was one house, although there were clearly two entrance doors (the doors and lower part of the building, now concealed, are partly visible in the photograph of the Grand Hotel, fig.308). St. Salvator's was the most conspicuous of the Scores' buildings by 1880, and the photograph taken from the west sands at about this time

(fig.189) shows the building in its pristine condition, towering over its neighbours in Golf Place. Like Clifton Bank, St. Salvator's was also used as a school, despite having been designed as large double villas; at the same time (1880) Seaton House was turned over to educational use. This illustrates not only the growing popularity of St. Andrews as a place of education (St. Leonard's School had been established in 1877), but also an apparent surplus of large houses for purely domestic use.

V. St. James' Church and Presbytery.

The development of the westernmost feu in Scores Park by the Roman Catholic Church from 1875 was the most unusual of the whole Scores development. The site had been 'granted by the late Mr. Hope Scott in his Testamentary Settlement' for the 'erection of a Church, Presbytery, School or Cemetery etc.,'¹⁷² but initially the land was rented and used as a skating rink.¹⁷³ The building which housed the skating rink is clearly seen in the c1880 photograph from the west sands (fig.189), and appears to be a wooden or galvanized structure, extant from c1876 to 1884. Although Hope Scott was a committed Catholic, he conceivably bequeathed the land (he died in 1873) only because it had not been feued for domestic development; its ecclesiastical use is therefore a further example of the diversification of building types and the reduced rate of domestic building.

By 1884 requests for a priest and proper church building were being noted by the newly restored (1878) Scottish Catholic Hierarchy,¹⁷⁴ and also the third Marquess of Bute, an enthusiastic and wealthy Catholic convert. It was Bute who suggested it would be:

a graceful and deserved tribute to the memory of the late Mr. Hope Scott..to call the church after his patron and namesake, St. James.¹⁷⁵

Bute also recommended Fr. Angus as the ideal man to start the St. Andrews mission.¹⁷⁶ It is clear that Angus

favoured a stone church from the beginning, and wrote to Monsignor Smith in Edinburgh with a 'rough, very rough sketch of an ideal church' (fig.276).¹⁷⁷ But Bute, as benefactor was intent upon a temporary structure, perhaps because of his conviction that St. Andrews would once more become the centre of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland and soon require buildings on a grand scale. Bute wrote to his wife directing her to give Angus an 'iron chapel immediately...to be put upon the existing site',¹⁷⁸ whereupon Lady Bute recommended 'Dixon, Liverpool' for the building.¹⁷⁹ The 'tin temple' (fig.277) as Angus termed it was completed by the spring of 1885 and remained in use until shortly after his death in 1909.¹⁸⁰ Its pointed arch windows and bellcote gave an unmistakable if unsophisticated ecclesiastical air, and Angus was happy to report that 'everyone praises the appearance of the Chapel and the great improvement it and the grounds etc. is to the locality'.¹⁸¹

Negotiations for a Presbytery began soon after Fr. Angus' arrival in St. Andrews in 1884,¹⁸² and the priest himself was largely responsible for selecting the design (see Appendix N). The first plans he had received were 'far too large and too expensive', so have 'knocked off a whole flat and when I get the amended plan and estimate can send it to Lord B'.¹⁸³ Two alternative elevations of the proposed house survive (figs.279,280) and are signed James Gillespie, 29th November 1884.¹⁸⁴

The three storey house with semi-basement was designed in the vertical manner of Dhu Craig and Kilrymont, but with comparatively small mullioned windows. The revised proposals were quite different, and Angus wrote to Mgr. Smith in April 1885 that he had a plan of 'a very good house for £800. I told Lord B this. He has sent me £500 towards it'.¹⁸⁵ Angus enclosed his own sketch of the elevation (fig.281) which shows a classical pediment partly concealing a shallow roof, although the house as finally built (fig.282) has no such pediment. With the revised proposals there were no fewer than three variations of front elevation, each differing in such details as one or two light windows, and pediments or relieving arches to the ground floor windows. The basic double fronted design with regular projecting quoins and rebated joints, and a neat cornice at the wallhead, remained in each variation (figs.283,284). The design as executed was estimated to cost £1,000, 'including papering, painting, gas fittings, blinds etc.'¹⁸⁶ and incorporated three somewhat heavy rectangular cornices or canopies to the ground floor windows and entrance door. The first floor windows are segmental arched with decorative chamfered architraves and mullions, contrasting with their moulded counterparts on the ground floor. The glazed porch which is evidently part of the original design, although it does not appear on the drawings (it is seen on the pre-1910 photographs of the church, fig.277, and 'plans for porch and passage way' are referred to in Gillespie and Scott's 'Fee

Ledger')¹⁸⁷ detracts from the elevation, concealing the entrance portico. The plan (figs.285,286) shows the kitchen unusually situated to the front, adjacent to the hall and front door, although the arrangement enabled all the service areas to be kept away from the priest's study, dining room and staircase. The house was completed in 1886.¹⁸⁸

V. Conclusion to Chapter 3.

The 1870s and 1880s then were decades of sporadic development at the Scores, unlike the late 1840s, 1850s and 1860s which saw the planned feuing of Gillespie Terrace and Scores Park. The best sites had been taken, and the changed economic conditions of the country seem to have been reflected in smaller (though still substantial) houses. The ad hoc nature of development in the 1870s and 1880s is reflected in the variety of adopted styles, ranging from the tall terraced house with Jacobean gables which predominates, through the baronial Castlegate and the classically inspired presbytery, to the temporary timber and galvanized St. James' Church (fig.287). This diversity was a reflection of other building activity within the town, including the shop at 19 Church Street (Henry, 1885-86) in a mixed, vaguely gothic style, the Recreation Hall in City Road (Hall and Henry, 1884, later the Volunteer Hall) built of brick with an iron framed roof, and the castellated Tudor/Jacobean inspired (via Milne at Kinburn House) double villas at Double Dykes Road (Parkland Hotel, Gillespie and Scott, 1888).

Chapter 4.

Developments 1890-1897.

- I. St. Colme's; Kilrule; Castlehouse.
- II. 27 Murray Park; St. Swithin's; Scores Villas;
Westcliffe, Hazelbank, Tayview, Kinellar.
- III. Swallowgate; Kennedy House; St. Katherine's West.
- IV. Grand Hotel.

Developments 1890-1897.

The final decade of nineteenth century development at the Scores continued the variety of building types and styles, and included an hotel, a school boarding house, a pair of attached villas, two large free-standing villas, and ten terraced houses. But whereas the years 1870-90 were dominated by local architects, the final decade of development produced three buildings by non St. Andrews based architects. This contributed an altogether more bold and confident architectural character, and prefigured the 1890s and Edwardian expansion at Rathelpie and Windmill Park, and the less prestigious areas of Bridge Street and St. Mary's Street. In the centre of the town, Church Street was widened and largely rebuilt from 1890;¹⁸⁹ other major schemes of the period included the second phase of Rusack's Marine Hotel (fig.121, Henry, 1891), an extension to the West Infant School (fig.116, Henry, 1893) and University Hall of Residence for Women Students (Gillespie and Scott, 1895). The rise of population (from 6825 in 1891 to 7525 in 1901) reflected this expansion, as did the growth of the architectural practice of James Gillespie after James Scott joined him in 1885,¹⁹⁰ and the arrival of Charles Anderson who designed at least seven domestic buildings and altered numerous others during the 1890s.¹⁹¹

I. St. Colme's; Kilrule; Castlehouse.

The first Scores development of the 1890s was St. Colme's, adjoining Kilrymont to the east (fig.274), designed by David Henry for William Ramsay of Edinburgh, and constructed in 1890-91.¹⁹² Ramsay was a joiner by trade and a speculative builder, who built at least six houses in Murray Park designed by Henry between 1894 and 1898.¹⁹³ St. Colme's broke the rhythm set by Dhu Craig and Kilrymont by being three bays wide instead of two, and was contained within two large gables rather than one large and one small. The three storeys above a full basement and area remained however, as did the canted bay windows with plain rectangular pediment and Jacobean mullions; Henry's characteristic diaper work is also seen in the gables.¹⁹⁴

A narrow wynd divides St. Colme's from Kilrule (fig.288) built to the east in 1891-92 by Thomas Harris.¹⁹⁵ Kilrule has a plain and functional north elevation, almost devoid of architectural detail. The three storeys and basement, with bay window rising through the entire height of the house links it visually with its predecessors to the west, as does the door to side entrance, but there is no gable or superfluous decoration other than the string course. No architect has been identified and it could be that Harris himself designed it, although by 1893 he could not sign his name 'on account of blindness'.¹⁹⁶

Of a very different character, and clearly the work of a trained architect is Castlehouse (fig.289), built by the same Thomas Harris at the east end of the Scores adjoining Castlemount and overlooking the Castle ruins. The site was feued to Harris by the University Court in 1893,¹⁹⁷ and must have been completed by 1894.¹⁹⁸ No architect has been positively identified, although features like the elliptical arched windows strongly suggest Gillespie and Scott. Liscombe (fig.267) at Kennedy Gardens, a house with similar features to Castlehouse was erected at the same time by Thomas Cappon of Dundee,¹⁹⁹ and such is its resemblance with Castlehouse that Cappon may have designed both houses. But whereas Liscombe has a picturesque arrangement of offices, Castlehouse contains them within a basement, an arrangement necessary because of the comparatively confined nature of the site. The house is consequently elevated and exposed. The style of the north elevation is unlike any other on the Scores; there are no bay windows, triangular gables or crowsteps; instead a central tower rises through the wallhead to the attic floor and is crowned with an ogival roof. The main entrance is situated within this central tower at principal floor level, and to the east is a corbelled round tower; the dormer window and ogival tower roof is especially reminiscent of Liscombe, although such roofs had also been used by Henry at the Gibson Hospital (1880-82) and earlier by Reid at St. Mary's College (fig.44, 1830). While Castlehouse cannot be said to be a

classical, gothic or baronial house, it may lay some claim to be of the Arts and Crafts tradition. Cappon, like Lorimer was attuned to the traditional, the vernacular, and craftsmanship, and wrote:

As regards the contractor and his workers, up to 1914 a true freemasonry prevailed in all trades, and from the laying of the foundation stone to the completion of the work contractors worked into each others hands sometimes with considerable inconvenience to themselves, while the various craftsmen were jealous about the quality of their handicraft, and proud to have a little complement on any outstanding effort. All natural, was it not?²⁰⁰

The Castlehouse site was feued on condition that it 'shall not be used for an educational or boarding establishment'.²⁰¹ This condition laid down by the University Court suggests their concern at the growing diversity of use of the area; Sea View may still have been a boarding house, there was a tavern at the Whaum and schools at Clifton Bank and St. Salvator's, and in 1893 Seaton House became a boarding house after being a school. Castlegate, Swallowgate (from 1894) and Kennedy House (1895) satisfied the University's apparent concern to keep the Scores residential, indeed the scale of these houses approached those of the 1860s. But in the very year of the erection of Castlehouse, the seeds were being sown for the expansion of Rathelpie by the erection of Cappon's Liscombe at Kennedy Gardens.

II. No.27 Murray Park; St. Swithin's; Scores Villas; Westcliffe, Hazelbank, Tayview, Kinellar.

The final phase of domestic building at the Scores continued in the area near its junction with Murray Park, which with the adjoining Murray Place burgeoned during the 1890s as the last major inner town development of the nineteenth century.²⁰² No. 27 Murray Park facing the Scores (fig.290) was built in 1893-94 for Mrs. Mary Murray or Matheson.²⁰³ The architect has not been identified, but the detailing of the Murray Park elevation suggests Milne, especially since he was responsible for Westcliffe (fig.294, presently Russell Hotel) opposite in 1896, which was enriched in a similar though more elaborate manner.

Adjoining 27 Murray Park to the east is St. Swithin's (fig.291, now Canmore), designed by Gillespie and Scott in 1893 for Professor Arthur Butler.²⁰⁴ It is a further example of the familiar formula of tall three storey terraced/free standing villa, with an off centre entrance door and canted bay window to the principal rooms. A notable feature of the front elevation is the pyramidal roof to the bay windows, taken up by Milne in 1896 when he designed Westcliffe (fig.294) for G. C. Douglas, thus inspiring a group of four houses with considerable style and rhythm (fig.293). The exposed timbers of the half dormer window and the pyramidal roof of the bays were features which Gillespie and Scott

introduced to the Scores, Scott having used them, apparently for the first time in St. Andrews at his own double villa in 1894 (St. Ronan's and Rokeby, 9 and 11 Hepburn Gardens).²⁰⁵

In contrast to St. Swithin's, Scores Villas (fig.292) were being erected at a similar time in a modest Arts and Crafts style. David Henry designed the 'cottages' for William Woodcock in 1895.²⁰⁶ The twin gabled design with canted bay windows to the ground floor is both the most explicit and original derivative of Burn's Madras masters' houses. Henry's own hallmarks include the plain parapets of the bay windows, the terracotta ridge tiles, the diaper work in the gables, and the raised lintel of the first floor windows. The most modest of all the houses on the Scores, the clean lines of the facade highlight the vernacular Whaum which it adjoins, and in some ways is the architectural successor to.

Socially and architecturally more pretentious is the terrace of Westcliffe, Hazelbank, Tayview and Kinellar (fig.293), built upon the northern boundary of Murray Park. Westcliffe (Russell Hotel, fig.294)²⁰⁷ and Hazelbank (fig.295) are identical in plan and elevation and were designed by Milne for G. C. Douglas. The drawings for Westcliffe are dated August 1896,²⁰⁸ and Hazelbank, May 1897.²⁰⁹ The similarities with Gillespie and Scott's St. Swithin's have already been discussed,

although Milne has varied his design enough to have created an original composition. The bay windows are to the left rather than the right, and there are also some variations in the plan. The east elevation of Westcliffe to Murray Park allows for extra windows, and there are some heraldic shield and triangular ornaments characteristic of Milne. The corbelled ornament of the first floor resembles that on the south elevation of University House and brings a breath of the Scots baronial to the design. When Henry added Tayview (subsequently New Halls, now part of Craigmount Nursing Home) to the west in 1897-98 for David Bett (fig.296)²¹⁰ he adopted Milne's basic design, but subtly added his own characteristic diaper work to the dormer pediments, and gave the architraves roll moulding on three full sides, including the doorway. The drawings for Tayview were approved by the Commissioners of Police in September 1897, and by January of the following year Milne had produced the design for the last of this block of four, Kinellar (fig.297, now part of Craigmount Nursing Home).²¹¹ Whether he was aggrieved at not getting the commission from Bett for Tayview, or because the patron G. W. Burnett wanted the house to be different, Milne designed Kinellar as the most individual of the whole terrace. The pyramidal roofed bay windows and off centre door remain, but there is an elaborate double finial to the roof in the French style, and the door moulding is a somewhat complicated arrangement of truncated rolls and chamfers. The most

individual feature of Kinellar is the Dutch gable and pilasters of the second floor window, echoing those used by the same architect at St. Salvator's in 1879 (fig.275).

The Westcliffe, Hazelbank, Tayview, Kinellar terrace marked the culmination of a stylistic development on the Scores which began with Balfour and Rae's neo-classicism, moved through the Scots baronial of the 1860s and appeared to be concluding with a kind of gothicised terraced house introduced by Gillespie and Scott. But concurrent with this terrace there was a baronial revival ushered in by the Edinburgh architect Sir Robert Rowand Anderson at Swallowgate (fig.298, 1894), and taken up by Gillespie and Scott at Kennedy House (fig.306, 1895) and to a lesser extent at St. Katherine's West (fig.307, 1897).

III. Swallowgate; Kennedy House; St. Katherine's West.

Rowand Anderson designed Swallowgate at the corner of Butts Wynd and the Scores for Professor James Bell Pettigrew, Chandos Professor of Medicine in the University, in September 1894 (figs.298-303).²¹² Anderson's previous work in St. Andrews included St. Andrew's Episcopal Church in Queen's Terrace (fig.174, 1867-69) and the extension to the Students' Union, 75 (now 77) North Street in 1891. Indeed it may have been because of his work at the Students' Union which adjoined Bell Pettigrew's site to the south that Anderson was commissioned to design Swallowgate, his single domestic commission in St. Andrews. The site was an awkward one, facing north and east, the two most unsuitable aspects for a house. The situation had promise however, with fine views over the College and the bay, and Anderson made the most of these views and the constrained corner site by placing all the principal rooms on the upper floors. The north elevation (fig.299) resembles a terraced house in a baronial version of the Jacobean Craigard, Bay View West and Clifton Bank which it adjoins, while the east and main elevation (fig.300) continues the baronial elements but arranged in such a way as to resemble three distinct though stylistically related sections. The house is constructed of a honey coloured sandstone, regular coursed with crowstepped, ogival, triangular and shaped gables. There is a Renaissance balustrade to the bay window of the north

and a fine ogival roof to the east-facing first floor dining room. Anderson was well versed in the baronial style, and even had a short partnership with Bryce in 1873. For Swallowgate he produced a baronial design influenced by the constraints of the site and neighbouring buildings; the shaped gable and ogival motifs could derive from the College and Clifton Bank, the crowsteps from University House, and the round tower from 71 North Street, the house adjoining the east end of St. Salvator's Chapel.

Anderson extended Swallowgate to the south in 1910-11 for Mrs. Bell Pettigrew (the Professor died in 1908), (figs.304,305). The new gable end was crowstepped and enlivened by an off centre oriel window to the first and second floors, perhaps inspired (at Mrs. Bell Pettigrew's behest) by Henry's similar oriel at North Cliffe. The 1910 drawings²¹³ do not show the windows with astragals, and it is likely they were removed at this time.

Kennedy House (fig.306) was designed in March 1895 by Gillespie and Scott for Professor George Ritchie, Professor of Logic and Mataphysics, some six months after Swallowgate.²¹⁴ Gillespie and Scott seem to have been influenced by some of Anderson's baronial elements, even though they were necessarily distributed in a different way in this free-standing square plan house. Kennedy House was built to the west of Castle

se on land feued by the University Court. The juxtaposition of round headed dormer pediment to tourelle and round tower and the use of a balustraded pediment to the bay window is similar to Swallowgate; the round corner tower, corbelled at first floor level may have been inspired by Hall's at Castlegate, and the pilaster mouldings of the second floor windows perhaps reflect the decaying sixteenth century entrance to the Castle. The square verticality of the house reinforces its castellated allusions, and the crowstepps seem almost obligatory to the total effect.

St. Katherine's West (presently the University Department of Economics, fig.307) continues Gillespie and Scott's baronial theme in a pared-down but nevertheless effective manner.²¹⁵ Only its block-like verticality and crowstepped gables betray its architectural inspiration. The larger of the north facing crowstepped gables with the two-light window and arrow slit is similar to that at Kennedy House. The building was designed in 1897 as a boarding house for St. Katherine's School, one of the few purpose-built institutional buildings to be erected on the Scores. The planning of the house closely resembles a large domestic terraced house of the period; basement kitchen, ground floor dining room, first floor drawing room, and second floor bedrooms, creating as homely an atmosphere as possible for the boarders.

IV. Grand Hotel.

The caution displayed by the University Court in imposing residential conditions upon their feu to Thomas Harris for Castlehouse may have been due in part to the impending erection of the Grand Hotel (figs.308-312, now Hamilton Hall of Residence) from 1893, situated some considerable distance to the west at the corner of Golf Place and the Scores. The Grand Hotel was designed by James M. Monro and built by Messrs. William, Allen and Cowan, all of Glasgow,²¹⁶ and was completed by 1895.²¹⁷ The building surpassed everything that had preceded it on the Scores both in size, exuberance and sheer presence. The only other nineteenth century building schemes which could compete with it were the Madras College and the United College, and even William Rusack's sombre Marine Hotel (Henry, 1886, 1891, 1911) was out-classed by the pink Dumfries sandstone and originality (at least for St. Andrews) of the design. Several contemporary descriptions of the building list its facilities and extol its amenity, and in a rare description of the actual process of building in St. Andrews during the period, Boyd relates:

For more than a year past I have watched, with profound interest the rising of another hotel: which is, architecturally by far the most monumental building erected here since long before the Reformation. A great steam-crane seized up huge stones, weighing three and four tons, swept them through the blue sky, and dropped them in the place, to a hair's-breadth, designed by the builder. It was a wonder of ingenuity; to see it at work was fascinating. Simple-minded wise folk, not ashamed of their simplicity, stood and gazed upwards. And to the writer, that beautiful piece of

Italian architecture, strongly flavoured with the true gothic spirit, and towering to seven storeys in height, has a special charm. For in this grey city, it is the solitary edifice of old red sandstone; the contrast is delightful. It is the red rock of central Ayrshire...the red rock of unforgettable Dumfries.²¹⁸

James Monro had spent some years in London in the early 1860s after serving an apprenticeship with John Henderson in Edinburgh, and returned to Scotland in 1865. His London experience must have sharpened his awareness of the architectural developments of the capital, especially of the 'Queen Anne' style associated with Richard Norman Shaw and his circle. The eclectic arrangement of Jacobean cross windows, Renaissance round arch windows and balustrade, asymmetrically placed Dutch gables and bulbous zinc dome set upon a voluted drum is surely testament to this. The original main entrance was from the corner, through a columned portico, but because of the exposed nature of the doorway, a more sheltered entrance was provided to the west in 1906 by the Glasgow architects John Burnet and Sons.²¹⁹

The Grand Hotel was a resort hotel catering to the new middle class's penchant for show, travel and the seaside, made possible and encouraged by the fruits of the Industrial Revolution, the railway, and the popularity of golf. There were many precedents for buildings of this kind all over Britain, such as the gargantuan Grand Hotel at Scarborough (Cuthbert Brodrick, 1863-65) and the equally grand Atholl

Hydropathic (now Atholl Palace) at Pitlochry (Andrew Heiton, 1878), and like St. Andrews' Grand Hotel they were large, conspicuous, and often extravagant in their interior and exterior ornament. Whereas the comparatively humble Baths and coaching establishments like the Star and Royal Hotels had sufficed for the early Victorians, the growth of St. Andrews as a fashionable resort and the increasing affluence of the middle class made hotels such as the Grand and Rusack's Marine an indispensable part of the social fabric. In the past local stone had been used by local builders for houses for (mostly) local people; for the Grand Hotel it was Dumfries stone, Glasgow architects and builders, and a predominantly foreign architectural style moulded by London taste for the convenience of visitors. As the undoubted architectural climax of the Scores, and certainly one of the town's most conspicuous nineteenth century buildings, the Grand Hotel symbolised the period's renewed commitment to the concept of St. Andrews as a resort. This is also evident in the rapid increase in domestic building during the 1890s, and the employment of architects from outwith St. Andrews; such a stylistically alien, but undeniably potent symbol of the new St. Andrews could only have been designed by an architect unfamiliar or out of sympathy with the town's inherent architectural character.

A list of architects, builders, dates of erection and patrons for the Scores buildings is given as Appendix L.

Notes to The Scores.

Introduction and Chapter 1.

1. David Hay FLEMING, Hand-Book of St. Andrews and Neighbourhood (St. Andrews: J. and J. Innes, 1902), p.5.
2. Col. Dewar and Capt. Vilant to the Rector of the University of St. Andrews, 4th April 1810. U.St.A.M. UY459 Box B.
3. Rev. Charles ROGER, History of St. Andrews. (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1849), p.78.
4. John MILNE, 'Scrapbook'. p.37. St.A.U.L.Ms 37447.
5. 'Inventory' of Title Deeds of Property at St. Andrews belonging to Lady Janet C. Anstruther, 1847. Hope Scott Papers, St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.
6. 'Minutes' of the St. Andrews Town Council. 20th April 1810. U.St.A.M. B65/11/9.
7. Copy of 'Feu Disposition' by St. Leonard's and St. Katherine's Schools in favour of Mrs. Anne Dougal Callendar or Howe, 1967, in the Title Deeds of Castlecliffe. St.A.U. Titles.
8. ROGER, op.cit. p.79.

9. All the foregoing details from 'Disposition' by Professor Nicholas Vilant's trustees to David Dewar, St.A.U. Titles A53/8.
10. 'Disposition' by Gen. David Dewar of Gilston to Alexander Clark, 10th September 1817, St.A.U. Titles A53/1.
11. 'Disposition' by Maj. Gen. David Dewar to Capt. Thomas Masson and spouse, 14th May 1817. St.A.U. Titles A53/11.
12. 'Disposition' by Capt. Vilant to Tontine proprietors, 29th May 1817. St.A.U. Titles A53/3.
13. 'Disposition' by Gen. David Dewar of Gilston to Alexander Clark, 10th September 1817. St.A.U. Titles A53.1.
14. Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary (Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers, 1977).
15. 'Letter of Authority' by the Tontine subscribers in favor of Alexander Clark, 9th December 1817. St.A.U. Titles A53/5.
16. 'Disposition' by Gen. David Dewar of Gilston to Alexander Clark, 10th September 1917. St.A.U. Titles A53/1.

17. 'Disposition' by Capt. Vilant to Tontine proprietors, 29th May 1817. St.A.U. Titles A53/3.
18. Castlecliffe Title Deeds. St.A.U. Titles.
19. For a monograph of Robert Balfour see Patricia SIMPSON, 'Robert Balfour' (M.A. dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 1981).
20. 'Disposition' by Lady Janet Carmichael Anstruther to Sir John Gladstone and James Robert Hope, 1847. Hope Scott Papers. St.A.U.L.Ms 37746.
21. Fifeshire Journal, 4th August 1853.
22. U.St.A.M. B65/20/13-14.
23. John Henderson to Stuart Grace, 10th February 1854, 'relative to the erection of the stable offices at the Baths'. Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
24. Advertisement in The Scotsman, 23rd February 1867.
25. Hope Scott to Isaac Bayley, 24th September 1866. Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
26. Thomas Purdie to Isaac Bayley, July 1868. Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.

27. Thomas Purdie, 11th August 1868. Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
28. 'Assessment of Land Tax' in the Burgh of St. Andrews, 1839. U.St.A.M. B65/20/12.
29. 'Stent Roll for St. Andrews', 1846. U.St.A.M. B65/20/13.
30. Fifeshire Journal, 26th February 1852.
31. Christopher Webster Kerr to Barron Grahame of Morphie, 8th April 1863, concerning a possible residence on the Scores. Grahame of Morphie Papers, Correspondence 1861-69, St.A.U.L.Ms. Deposit 36.
32. Obituary, Thomas Melville, Fife News Almanac, 1906.
33. Ibid.
34. ROGER, op.cit. p.167.
35. 'Feu Disposition' by Messrs Walter Foggo Ireland and William Murray in favour of Allan Briggs, esq., 8th February 1850. Eden Court Title Deeds, St.A.U. Titles.

36. 'Minute of Agreement' 2nd April 1853. No. 4 Gillespie Terrace Title Deeds. Proprietors from 1986, Ladies Golf Union.
37. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Town Council, 6th April 1849. U.St.A.M. B65/11/13.
38. ROGER, op.cit. p.167.
39. The Dunes and Eden Court, nos. 1 and 6 Gillespie Terrace Title Deeds. St.A.U. Titles.
40. 'Feu Disposition' by Messrs Walter Foggo Ireland and William Murray in favour of Allan Briggs, esq., op.cit.
41. Ibid.
42. 'Feu Disposition' by Messrs Walter Foggo Ireland and William Murray in favour of Allan Briggs, esq., op.cit.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. 'Feu Disposition' by Walter Foggo Ireland and William Murray to Walter Foggo Ireland, 11th

October 1850. The Dunes, 1 Gillespie Terrace Title Deeds. St.A.U. Titles.

46. 'Disposition' by the trustees of John Dobson deceased in favour of James Walkinshaw, 22nd August 1868. The Dunes, 1 Gillespie Terrace Title Deeds, op.cit.
47. 'Disposition' by Mrs. Eliza Walkinshaw to William Baillie Skene, 12th November 1875. The Dunes, 1 Gillespie Terrace Title Deeds, op.cit.
48. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, 12th October 1868. U.St.A.M. B65/13/5.
49. No. 4 Gillespie Terrace Title Deeds, op.cit.
50. Ibid.
51. Ronald Gordon CANT, 'George Rae, Architecture', in John FREW, ed., Building For A New Age. (St. Andrews: Crawford Centre, 1984).
52. 'Disposition' by Professor John Campbell Shairp to Robert Chambers, 7th March 1865. Eden Court Title Deeds, op.cit.
53. Valuation increased from £35 to £75 per annum in 1880-81.

54. 'Feu Disposition' by Messrs. Walter Foggo Ireland and William Murray in favour of Allan Briggs of Gordonshall, op.cit.
55. St. Andrews Gazette, 27th May 1865. 'Dr. Robert Chambers has purchased No. 6 Gillespie Terrace for £600 and is to pull it down and erect a mansion house at a cost of £1,600. The estimates were accepted on Saturday. Mr. Hall is the architect, Mr. Ferrier is to be the builder, Mr. Kilgour the joiner, Mr. J. McPherson the plasterer, Mr. D. Anderson the slater, and Mr. Hart the plumber'.
56. William CHAMBERS, Memoir of Robert Chambers, with Autobiographical Reminiscences of William Chambers (London: W. and R. Chambers, 1872), p.305.
57. 'Agreement' among the feuars of Gillespie Terrace, 16th October 1857. Eden Court Title Deeds, op.cit.
58. J. B. SALMOND, The Story of the R. and A. (London: Macmillan, 1956), p.85.
59. Ibid. Also Fifeshire Journal, 24th March 1853.
60. Fifeshire Journal, 14th July 1853.
61. St. Andrews Gazette, 13th January 1866. Charles McKean's assertion that 'Foggo was the architect to

whom the Royal and Ancient Clubhouse at St. Andrews owes its present appearance' (Charles McKEAN, Stirling and The Trossachs, (Edinburgh: R.I.A.S. and Scottish Academic Press, 1985), p.89, is exaggerated.

62. St. Andrews Gazette, 9th October 1880. (see Appendix M).
63. Annabel LEDGARD, 'John Milne, A Study in Victorian Individuality - John Milne 1822-1904' (M.A. dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 1982), pp.61-63.
64. Report by the Committee of Management with ref. to the Proposed Alterations of the Club House, 19th April 1880, in MILNE, op.cit. p.35.
65. Letter to St. Andrews Citizen, 20th August 1881.
66. Gillespie and Scott plan no. 15. St.A.U.L.Ms.

Notes to Chapter 2.

67. 'Disposition' by John Conacher to John Paterson, 1956. Clifton Bank Title Deeds, St.A.U. Titles.
68. Contract drawings in the possession of Walker and Pride, Architects, St. Andrews.
69. Ibid.
70. 'Valuation Rolls' for 1856-57 and 1857-58 show the building as unfinished.
71. 'Minutes' of the St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, 1st September 1863. U.St.A.M. B65/13/4. St. Andrews Gazette, 22nd August 1863. McArthur is later referred to as having 'some years ago erected against the eastern gable of Clifton Bank a dwelling house called Bay View West'; 'Minute of Agreement' between Dr. John Paterson and Dr. J. Bell Pettigrew, 1889. Clifton Bank Title Deeds, St.A.U. Titles.
72. Drawings in the possession of Walker and Pride, Architects, St. Andrews.
73. 'Valuation Rolls' 1866-67 and 1868-69.
74. 'Valuation Rolls' 1914-15 and 1893-94.

75. 'Advertisement for the sale of Scores Park and Baths', February 1839. Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
76. 'Disposition' by Lady Janet Carmichael Anstruther to Sir John Gladstone and James Robert Hope. Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
77. 'Inventory' of Title Deeds of Property at St. Andrews belonging to Lady Janet Carmichael Anstruther. Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
78. 'Information for Mr. Smyth of Gibleston in reference to the St. Andrews Baths and Scores Park'. Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
79. 'Note of the division of Minister's Stipend, 1865'. Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
80. 'Contract of Feu' between James Robert Hope Scott, and John Adamson and Oswald Home Bell for part of Scores Park, St. Andrews, 1865. Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
81. P. P. DONALDSON, 'Memoir of William Burn' R.I.B.A. Journal (28th March 1870).
82. Alistair ROWAN and Valerie FIDDES, David Bryce 1803-1876 (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1976), p.20.

83. Mark GIROUARD, The Return to Camelot (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), p.50.
84. William NORRIE, Dundee Celebrities of the Nineteenth Century (Dundee: W. Norrie, 1873).
85. Christopher Webster Kerr to Barron Grahame, 8th April 1863. Grahame of Morphie Papers, op.cit.
86. Christopher Webster Kerr to Barron Grahame, 19th May 1863. Grahame of Morphie Papers, op.cit.
87. Christopher Webster Kerr to Barron Grahame, 9th June 1863. Grahame of Morphie Papers, op.cit.
88. Christopher Webster Kerr to Barron Grahame, June 1863. Grahame of Morphie Papers, op.cit.
89. Obituary, John Starforth, The Scotsman, 19th May 1898.
90. John STARFORTH, Villa Residences and Farm Architecture (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1865), p.7.
91. Christopher Webster Kerr to Barron Grahame, 25th May 1863. Grahame of Morphie Papers, op.cit.

92. Christopher Webster Kerr to Barron Grahame, 31st May 1863. Grahame of Morphie Papers, op.cit.
93. Christopher Webster Kerr to Barron Grahame, 9th June 1863. Grahame of Morphie Papers, op.cit.
94. Christopher Webster Kerr to Barron Grahame, June 1863. Grahame of Morphie Papers, op.cit.
95. St. Andrews Gazette, 22nd August 1863.
96. 'Minutes' of the St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, op.cit. 4th December 1863.
97. Christopher Webster Kerr to Barron Grahame, 30th May 1864. Grahame of Morphie Papers, op.cit.
98. Ibid.
99. Christopher Webster Kerr to Barron Grahame, 4th July 1864. Grahame of Morphie Papers, op.cit.
100. 'Valuation Rolls' 1864-65 and 1870-71.
101. Christopher Webster Kerr to Barron Grahame, 19th October 1864. Grahame of Morphie Papers, op.cit.
102. Christopher Webster Kerr to Barron Grahame, 24th October 1864. Grahame of Morphie Papers, op.cit.

103. Christopher Webster Kerr to Barron Grahame, 22nd June 1865. Grahame of Morphie Papers, op.cit.
104. St. Andrews Gazette, 6th January 1866.
105. J. R. Stodart to Barron Grahame, 22nd May 1866. Grahame of Morphie Papers, op.cit.
106. Christopher Webster Kerr to Barron Grahame, 23rd May 1867. Grahame of Morphie Papers, op.cit.
107. Christopher Kerr (senior) to Marion Kerr, 25th March 1869. Grahame of Morphie Papers, op.cit.
108. U.St.A.M. UY1383.
109. 'Valuation Roll' 1872-73.
110. From a conversation with Dr. R. G. Cant. Principal Irvine told Dr. Cant of the former gallery.
111. Mabel Violet IRVINE, The Avenue of Years, A Memoir of James Irvine (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1970), p.72.
112. 'Agreement' between Lord Borthwick and Major and Mrs. Robert Patton, 29th May 1875. University House Title Deeds. St.A.U. Titles.

113. Christopher Webster Kerr to Barron Grahame, 30th May and 2nd June 1864. Grahame of Morphie Papers, op.cit.
114. St. Andrews Gazette, 16th January 1864.
115. Christopher Webster Kerr to Barron Grahame, 28th December 1863. Grahame of Morphie Papers, op.cit.
116. 'Contract of Feu' between James Robert Hope Scott, and John Adamson and Oswald Home Bell, 1865. Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
117. Christopher Webster Kerr to Barron Grahame, 28th December 1863, op.cit.
118. Dr. John Adamson, obituary, Edinburgh Medical Journal 16 (July-December 1870).
119. Ibid.
120. Dr. Oswald Home Bell, obituary, St. Andrews Gazette, 3rd July 1875.
121. The date 1865 was uncovered behind panelling in the stable, roughly inscribed in cement.
122. North Cliffe Title Deeds, in the possession of the present owner, Mr. Robert Murray.

123. David HENRY, 'Business Book', p.246. Walker and
Pride, Architects, St. Andrews.
124. David Henry to Stuart Grace, 26th December 1891.
Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
125. David Henry to Stuart Grace, 8th January 1892. Hope
Scott Papers, op.cit.
126. Henry's drawings found in Gillespie and Scott plans
1601 and 2768, St.A.U.L.Ms.
127. David Henry to Stuart Grace, 26th January 1892.
Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
128. Extract from HENRY, op.cit. 1st March 1893:
- Mrs. Allen, North Cliffe. Accounts as fully
rendered.
- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|-----------------|
| Wm. Ness, mason. | 337.16.03 | |
| A. Cunningham, joiner. | 213.15.11 | |
| A. Turpie, plumber. | 48.04.00 | |
| A. Scott, plasterer. | 40.18.09 | |
| Rintoul and Mackie, slater. | 21.05.00 | 661.19.11 |
| John Brydon and Sons,
bellhangers. | 27.11.06 | 27.11.06 |
| Jobbing accounts: | | |
| Wm. Ness, mason. | 17.01.00 | |
| A. turpie, plumber. | 7.05.01 | 24.06.01 |
| | | 713.17.06 |
| Architect's fee paid 29th March 1893. | | <u>35.00.00</u> |
| Total: | | £748.17.06 |
129. St. Andrews Citizen, 2nd February 1929.

130. St. Andrews Gazette, 5th November 1864 and 6th January 1866.
131. 'Contract of Feu' between James Robert Hope Scott and John McGregor, 31st January 1865. Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
132. Isaac Bayley to Stuart Grace, 24th April 1866. Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
133. James Robert Hope Scott to Isaac Bayley, 9th January 1867. Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
134. 'Disposition' by John McGregor to Hugh Ballingall, 15th November 1877, Castlecliffe Title Deeds. St.A.U. Titles.
135. 'Disposition' by Hugh Ballingall to Thomas Purdie, 1880. Castlecliffe Title Deeds, op.cit.
136. For a discussion of the Scots baronial vis-à-vis a national style, see Frank WALKER, 'National Romanticism and Architecture', in G. GORDON, ed., Perspectives of the Scottish City (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985).
137. St. Andrews Gazette, 6th January 1866.

138. Dr. Andrew Kennedy Hutchinson BOYD, Twenty Five Years of St. Andrews, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1892), vol.1., p.219.
139. Dick Peddie and Mackay, architects, 44 Constitution Street, Leith.
140. 'Minutes' of the St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, 10th May 1867. U.St.A.M. B65/13/5. Application by John McIntosh to connect with the main water pipe at the Scores.
141. ROWAN and FIDDES, op.cit.
142. 'Porch at Prof. Campbell's House, Scores', costing £39.15.4. Gillespie and Scott 'Contract Ledger 1885-1906'. St.A.U.L.Ms 37768/3 p.14.
143. St.A.D.G. plan 1215.
144. Census return for St. Andrews, 1871, and intimation of death, St. Andrews Citizen, 27th November 1886. For details of Purdie's career, such as they are known see: W. M. PARKER, Dobie and Son Ltd. 1849-1949 (Edinburgh: n.p., 1949); Adam Lind SIMPSON, In Memorium, Thomas Bonnar (Edinburgh, n.p., 1876); James CLARK, The Edinburgh Painters' Association. Its Origin and Works (n.p., 1880). Also Thomas PURDIE, 'A Comparative Estimate of Mural Decoration

as practised in our own country and on the continent of Europe accompanied with suggestions as to the methods by which professional architects may improve this department of native art', Transactions of the Architectural Institute of Scotland (1851-52) and Thomas PURDIE, Form and Sound (Edinburgh: n.p., 1849).

145. A small plank bearing the inscription, 'Bryce; architect', was discovered when West Park was demolished. Plank in the possession of Jack Fisher Partnership, Architects, St. Andrews.
146. Thomas Purdie to Stuart Grace, 10th September 1868. Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
147. Thomas Purdie to Stuart Grace, from Hotel de Londres, Bagneres de Bigorre, Pyrenees, France, 3rd November 1868. Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
148. David Bryce to Stuart Grace, 17th April 1869. Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
149. David Bryce to Stuart Grace, 19th April 1869. Hope Scott Papers, op.cit.
150. 'Minutes' of the St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, op.cit. 21st April 1869.

151. 'Valuation Roll' 1870-71 shows the house as unfinished; 1871-72 valued at £170.

Notes to Chapter 3.

152. John Milne to Stuart Grace, 28th December 1873.
Hope Scott Papers, op,cit.
153. For an account of the Rathelpie development see
John FREW, 'St. Andrews' Western Suburbs 1860-1914'
St. Andrews Preservation Trust Annual Report
(1978).
154. R. K. WEBB, Modern England (London: George Allen
and Unwin, 1969), p.374.
155. Ibid. p.375.
156. 'Disposition' by Mrs. Agnes Fleming or Walker in
favour of John McGregor, 8th April 1871. Craigard
Title Deeds, St.A.U. Titles.
157. 'Disposition' by Robert Balfour's trustees in
favour of Thomas Walker and Mrs. Agnes Fleming or
Walker of building stance at Scores, 1870. Craigard
Title Deeds, St.A.U. Titles.
158. 'Minutes' of the St. Andrews Commissioners of
Police, 11th July 1870. U.St.A.M. B65/13/5-6. The
house appears complete in the 'Valuation Roll'
1871-72.
159. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police,
14th April 1879. U.St.A.M. B65/13/6-7.

160. HENRY, op.cit. St.A.D.G. plan 384.
161. Fr. Angus to Mgr. Smith, 6th February 1885.
Scottish Catholic Archives, ED4.148.15.
162. Peter KING, The Catholic Church in St. Andrews, 1884-1984 ([St. Andrews]: [the author], [1984]), pp.15-16.
163. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, 20th May 1874. U.St.A.M. B65/13/6.
164. HENRY, op.cit. p.426. St.A.D.G. plans 901 and 936.
The dormer windows and chimney to the north elevation of the original block were added in 1913 by Henry, St.A.D.G. plan 901.
165. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, op.cit. 27th February 1874.
166. Gillespie and Scott plan 183. St.A.U.L.Ms.
167. James Gillespie, obituary, St. Andrews Citizen, 18th July 1914.
168. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, November 1879. U.St.A.M. B65/13/6-7.

169. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, May 1885. U.St.A.M. B65/13/7.
170. 'Local Notes', newspaper cutting of July 1880, and 'The St. Andrews Building Contract Dispute', report of the Court of Session, 13th December 1882, in MILNE, op.cit. pp. 34 and 40.
171. Ibid. 26th November 1879 and April 1880.
172. William Considine to Archbishop Smith, 30th April 1909. Scottish Catholic Archives, ED11.159.9.
173. 'John Wild Hart, John Theakston Robson and John Davies of Middlesborough, carrying on business as regards skating rinks under the style of Wild Robson'. 'Valuation Roll' 1877-78.
174. KING, op.cit., pp.5-9.
175. Lord Bute to Fr. Angus, 4th November 1884. Scottish Catholic Archives, ED4.146.7.
176. Lord Bute to Mgr. Smith, 16th June 1884. Scottish Catholic Archives, ED4.146.1.
177. Fr. Angus to Mgr. Smith, 8th August 1884. Scottish Catholic Archives, ED4.147.6.

178. Lord Bute to Mgr. Smith, 14th July 1884. Scottish Catholic Archives, ED4.146.2.
179. Lady Bute to Mgr. Smith, 31st August 1884. Scottish Catholic Archives, ED4.146.4.
180. David Henry was responsible for the re-erection of the building, as recorded in his 'Business Book', op.cit:

Sept. 14th 1909. J. D. Spence, builder. Making a plan of the old Catholic Church on the Scores for re-erection between the Public Slaughter House and James Street. Submitted said plan to the works committee of the Town Council where it was passed. Made a copy for Spence himself. Paid 21st December 1909. £1.1.0.

Feb.-March 1910. Made a plan for extending the above church converted into a skating rink. Paid 2nd September 1910. £1.1.0.

The building was removed to James Street in three sections, towed by steam traction engine. The operation was witnessed by Mr. W. Menzies of 51 St. Nicholas Street, St. Andrews, who recalled that in the years before the First World War the building was used concurrently as a roller skating rink, a dance hall and a cinema. When films were shown on Sunday evenings the admission charge was 1d. and the audience were obliged to sing a hymn, conducted by a minister before the films began. A fine new stone building was erected in 1910 (fig.278) to the design of Reginald Fairlie. See Patrick NUTTGENS, Reginald Fairlie, 1883-1952, A Scottish Architect (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1959).

181. Fr. Angus to Mgr. Smith, 6th February 1885.
Scottish Catholic Archives, ED4.148.15.
182. KING, op.cit. pp.15-16.
183. Fr. Angus to Mgr. Smith, 22nd January 1885.
Scottish Catholic Archives, ED4.148.14.
184. Gillespie and Scott plan 608. St.A.U.L.Ms.
185. Fr. Angus to Mgr. Smith, 24th April 1885. Scottish
Catholic Archives, ED4.149.2.
186. Fr. Angus to Mgr. Smith, 18th July 1885. Scottish
Catholic Archives, ED4.149.4.
187. Gillespie and Scott 'Fee Ledger' 1878-92.
St.A.U.L.Ms. 37769/2.
188. KING, op.cit. p.16.

Notes to Chapter 4.

189. 'Minutes' of the St. Andrews Town Council, 13th September 1890. U.St.A.M. B65/11/17.
190. Andrew NAIRNE, 'James Gillespie and Scott' (M.A. dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 1983).
191. During the later 1890s Charles Anderson designed flats at Kinness Place (1897), a double villa at Lade Braes (1898), 6 Murray Park (1897), 12 and 14 Murray Park (1898), Westcroft, Wardlaw Gardens (1898), 125 North Street (1898) and Heywood Cottage, 110 North Street (1898). St.A.D.G. nos. 5, 27, 35, 170, 171, 172 and 225 respectively.
192. HENRY, op.cit.
193. Ibid.
194. Ibid.
- Mr. William Ramsay, 1 Torphichen Place, Edinburgh.
St. Colme's, The Scores.
- March 17th 1890. Mr. Ramsay in and asked me to make plans for a house to be built on his ground at the Scores by him for Sheriff Henderson. Did so and received tenders on 25th April. Opened in presence of Mr. Ramsay on 26th.
- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------|
| William Ness, mason. | £1,023.13.00 |
| Fraser and Morton, mason. | 970.00.00 |
| A. O. Carstairs, mason. | 874.00.00 |
| Liddel and Loudon, mason.* | 831.00.00 |
| James Farquharson, plumber. | 210.00.00 |
| Andrew Turpie, plumber.* | 175.15.00 |

Alex. McPherson, plasterer.	202.10.00
Andrew Scott, plasterer.*	198.00.00
William Paterson, slater.	27.05.00
Rintoul and Mackie, slaters.	27.01.06
William Greig, slater.*	<u>26.17.00</u>
	£1,231.12.00

*indicates tenders which were accepted.

Joiner work by Mr. Ramsay himself estimated at £800.	<u>800.00.00</u>
Total:	£2,031.12.00

Dec. 27th 1890. Received payment from Mr. Ramsay of fee as agreed on.	21.00.00
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Making specification of joiner work.	<u>4.04.00</u>
	£25.04.00

June 10th 1891. Certified Turpie account.	188.11.07
June 17th 1891. Certified Scott account.	216.03.02
Dec. 14th 1891. Certified Liddel and Louden Account.	864.12.09

195. 'Minutes' of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police,
7th January 1892. U.St.A.M. B65/13/8.
196. 'Contract of Feu' between the University Court and
Thomas Harris, contractor, 1893. Castlehouse Title
Deeds, St.A.U. Titles.
197. 'Minutes' of the University Court of the University
of St. Andrews, 28th March 1893. U.St.A.M. UY505.
198. 'Valuation Rolls' 1894-94 (valued for half year),
1895-96 (valued for full year).
199. St.A.D.G. plan 148.

200. Thomas M. CAPPON, Then, Now and Whither (Edinburgh: Moray Press, 1935), p.46. A full list of Cappon's work is in N.M.R.S.
201. 'Contract of Feu' between the University Court and Thomas Harris, 1893, op.cit.
202. Bronwen PRINCE, 'Murray Park, St. Andrews' (M.A. dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 1985).
203. A small part of its Scores elevation appears on Gillespie and Scott's elevation for St. Swithin's, dated July 1893 (St.A.D.G. plan 40), and the house is first mentioned in the 'Valuation Roll' of 1894-95. On the 1894 feuing plan of Murray Park (St.A.D.G. plan 24) the site is annotated 'Mrs. Matheson's feu'.
204. 'Minutes' of the St. Andrews Commissioners of Police, op.cit. 14th August 1893. 'Valuation Roll' 1894-95. St.A.D.G. plan 40.
205. Andrew NAIRNE, 'James Gillespie and Scott' in John FREW, ed., Building For A New Age (St. Andrews: Crawford Centre, 1984), p.47.
206. Henry, op.cit.
William Woodcock, esq.
May 1895. Received instructions to prepare plans for cottages to be built on Mr. W's land at the

Scores. Plans made and tenders accepted May 15th 1895 as follows:

Thomas Liddel, mason.	£567.00.08
Andrew Carstairs, joiner.	300.05.00
James Farquharson, plumber.	92.05.00
William Greig, slater.	53.07.06
A. McPherson, plasterer.	87.13.06

Certified Accounts:

20th July 1896	Burden.	9.17.06
4th Aug	,, Liddel.	578.09.01
24th Nov	,, Carstairs.	318.11.01
,, ,,	,, Farquharson	107.09.09
,, ,,	,, Greig.	53.07.06
,, ,,	,, McPherson.	87.13.06
,, ,,	,, David Mason.	<u>60.16.00</u>
	Total:	£1,216.05.00

,, ,, Paid architect's fee.D.H. 50.00.00

Mr. Woodcock died 31st January 1897.

207. Westcliffe must have been sold to William Grierson, writing master at the Madras College upon completion, since it appears under Grierson's name in the 'Valuation Roll' 1897-98.

208. St.A.D.G. plan 38.

209. Ibid. plan 39.

210. Ibid. plan 34. HENRY, op.cit.

Mr. David Bett.

September 1897. Made plans for a house for Mr. Bett fronting the Scores and on the 20th following tenders were accepted.

A. and J. Carstairs, mason.	£550.02.09	581.18.04
John Morris, plumber.	131.09.06	132.04.00
Rintoul and Mackie, slater.	21.05.00	21.05.00
A. McPherson, plasterer.	95.10.00	<u>112.09.03</u>
	Total:	£847.16.07

Mr. Bett does his own joiner work.

Fee £36.15.00.

211. St.A.D.G. plan 18.

212. St.A.D.G. plan 145.

213. St.A.D.G. plan 816.

214. St.A.D.G. plan 91.

215. St.A.D.G. plan 1.

216. From a newspaper cutting of an advertisement in
MILNE, op.cit.

217. It first appears complete in the 'Valuation Roll'
1895-95.

218. Andrew Kennedy Hutchinson BOYD, St. Andrews and
Elsewhere (London: Longmans, 1894), p.7.

219. St.A.D.G. plan 602.

Summary and Conclusion.

The development of St. Andrews during the nineteenth century followed a common pattern of urban growth; the mediaeval core was partially rebuilt, then extended by the addition of first classical, then picturesque terraces, concluding with sub-urban development of detached and double villas set in their own gardens. This general pattern is also to be seen in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Stirling, Aberdeen, and to a lesser extent Dundee. These major cities however provided a balance of working and middle class dwellings, corresponding to their various roles as centres of administration, manufacture and shipping. But St. Andrews was largely concerned with the provision of middle class housing (at least in terms of expansion), reflecting an economy heavily dependent upon education, recreation and retirement. By comparison with other towns, these aspects gained disproportionately in importance, although Dundee conversely contained a high working class population, with the richest and most influential people living in the 'plutocratic satellite' of Broughty Ferry.¹ St. Andrews was nevertheless responding to the ethos of nineteenth century Britain in its own way, developing and adding to existing institutions in response to the demands of an expanding middle class. Towns as widespread as North Berwick, Oban, Dunblane, Pitlochry and Elgin can also be seen to have catered to this demand, aided and abetted by the

railway, but in St. Andrews there was the unique combination of ecclesiastical ruins, golf links, the seaside, and Scotland's oldest university. By the end of the nineteenth century then, the town had been transformed, confirming the Rev. John Adamson's 1794 prediction that 'St. Andrews will continue to flourish, and will gradually regain its former lustre'.²

The growth and architectural development of St. Andrews during the nineteenth century has been documented in detail, showing that this was the result of various factors including the indigenous population's zeal for 'improvement', concomitant with the provision of facilities for education, recreation and retirement. To some extent this was an extension of St. Andrews' established role as a centre for education, but where activities associated with the church had formerly enjoyed pride of place, this was now taken by golfers, retired industrialists and colonial administrators, and middle class families 'resorting' for the summer. Development was no accident however, being the result of consistent private and civic initiatives, undertaken against a national background of reform, expansion, and an increase in prosperity and population. The consequences of 'improvement' were evident as early as the second half of the eighteenth century, as the town emerged 'from the decay of the post-Reformation years'

due to the 'spirited exertion of a few inhabitants'.³ The pace of architectural development nevertheless accelerated during the nineteenth century, although external forces were at least equal to and in some respects more important than those coming from within the town itself. External influences took two forms; those imposed passively through Acts of Parliament such as the Reform Bill of 1832, the Burgh Reform Bill of 1833, and the General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act of 1862, and more specifically, the activities of architects and developers of national standing such as William Burn and James Hope Scott. Internally, the impetus came from established institutions such as the University (but with considerable external assistance), and from individuals, some (such as Col. Dewar and Capt. Vilant) acting in a personal capacity, others (notably Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair) through official positions. The result was a St. Andrews receptive and responsive to change, the architectural consequences of which have been examined through an analysis of five major areas of development, and can be usefully summarised at this stage.

The earliest identifiable St. Andrews architect of the period is Robert Balfour who at the end of the eighteenth century (1798-1800) transformed the mediaeval Town Kirk into a centrally planned presbyterian preaching church. This unsympathetic treatment of the mediaeval fabric was symptomatic of the

ambiguous attitude towards mediaeval buildings which prevailed for at least part of the nineteenth century; Balfour's work at the Town Kirk was eventually superseded by Peter Macgregor Chalmers' more sympathetic rebuilding in 1907-09. Balfour's chief contribution to the town's architectural development however lay in his classical buildings such as the English School (1811, now the Public Library), 8 Market Street (1815) and 79-83 North Street (fig.265, 1824-25), all with ground floors of smooth rusticated ashlar, upper floors of tooled or polished ashlar, and symmetrically placed astragalled windows. The influence of these and other similarly attributed compositions is to be seen in the work of George Rae, and the wright John McCulloch who laid out North Bell Street in 1834 (fig.105). Indeed the classical terrace format of the first part of the St. Andrews 'new town' probably owes much to Balfour's experiments in the style.

The University.

Balfour's classicism had a St. Andrews precedent in two major eighteenth century works for the University; the north building of the United College (fig.19, John Douglas, 1754-57), built as a result of the amalgamation of St. Leonard's with St. Salvator's College in 1747, and the more ambitious University Library (fig.51, John Gardner, 1764-67) in South Street. It was the University who from 1829 first gave

expression to the revived Jacobean style in St. Andrews with its work at the United College (figs.24,30) and St. Mary's (fig.44), thus endorsing the nineteenth century expansion, indeed modernisation of the town.

The impetus to rebuild the north and west wings of the United College and the main eastern wing of St. Mary's College came from the University itself, in response to the apparent near ruinous condition of these buildings, neglected due to there never having been any proper on-going provision for their repair. The negotiations and building activity proved to be a protracted affair, on account of balancing the needs and wishes of the University and successive architects against the constraints of the Treasury. An unsuccessful request for financial assistance from the Treasury was made in 1810 as part of an appeal for increased revenue, but a more specific Memorial was submitted in 1823 which resulted in Robert Reid, the King's Architect for Scotland reporting in 1825 and 1826 on the condition of the buildings and making recommendations for their repair. Although the Treasury approved these recommendations in 1826, proceedings were delayed due to the Report of the first Universities Commission (1826-30), which according to Cant was 'the first symptom, for the academic world of Scotland, of the Age of Reform'.⁴ The Commission took extensive evidence regarding the fabric and organisation of the University, and in 1828 approved a scheme of rebuilding. Reid produced two if

not three progressively less ambitious schemes before finally designing the proposals which were accepted in December 1828. Even then only the work at St. Mary's and the new east wing of the United College was carried out (completed 1831) and it was not until 1846 that the north wing was completed, under the direction of William Nixon. Reid's east wing, and presumably the work at St. Mary's was executed by Edinburgh tradesmen, whereas Nixon's north wing was built by the St. Andrews mason John Kennedy, albeit under the superintendence of Jesse Hall, brought in from Edinburgh by Nixon. Nixon's second phase of work in 1846-48, including the cloister and screen walls, was undertaken by another prominent St. Andrews mason John McIntosh, who also took charge of subsequent work in the early 1850s under the direction of Robert Matheson.

Rebuilding at the University was at the institution's own initiative, and the most influential figure in this respect was the Chancellor of the University, and member of the Universities Commission, the 2nd Viscount Melville, although Playfair's initiative in 1844 clearly led to the completion of the north wing. Melville seems also to have been the single most influential figure regarding the architectural style, which tends towards English rather than Scottish precedent. Although no evidence has been found of direct influence by the Commissioners, it is conceivable they would have favoured an English style, especially in view

of Davie's assertion that they were 'a group of influential Scots who wished to impose Southern standards'.⁵

The Madras College.

As at the University, so at the Madras College (fig.53) did the English Jacobean style obtain, but in this case the architect was the chief protagonist of the style in Scotland, and the patron an Anglicised Scot whose intention was that the building should be impressive and in harmony with the Blackfriars' ruin. Indeed Burn was surely partly responsible for creating the stylistic climate which could coax from Reid, a predominantly classical architect, the Jacobean design he employed at the University. Even though this preceded the Madras by several years, it is unlikely it influenced Burn who must have regarded Reid's design as comparatively feeble. Conversely, when Nixon took over from Reid in 1844 for the north wing of the United College, his new design was conceivably in response to Burn's pristine and conspicuous Madras College, which by then was forming the focal point of North and (from 1847) South Bell Streets. The Madras College was constructed by James Kennedy and completed over a period of six years from 1830; once the original conception had been approved by Bell and the Trustees there were no substantial changes, although the treatment of the Blackfriars' ruin was contentious for a time. This

wholesale approach was possible for an entirely new scheme, especially where the patron and architect were in agreement and financial provision was liberal. This was in contrast to the protraction and design modification which characterised the work at the University. Both schemes were crucial to the development of St. Andrews; they brought architects of national stature to the town and effectively introduced the fashionable Jacobean style; Jesse Hall, himself to become a significant local architect, was introduced to St. Andrews by William Nixon, and the opportunity was presented for local builders like John Kennedy and John McIntosh to prove themselves worthy tradesmen. Moreover the schemes were symptomatic of an 'official' recognition of St. Andrews' reviving status, and there can be no doubt that this in turn gave a boost to further expansion.

The New Town.

The new town, initiated by North Bell Street (fig.105) from 1834 as part of Provost Haig's 1831 'scheme of new streets'⁶ was clearly influenced by the Madras; the street was intended to 'terminate opposite to the Madras College, and to be called Bell's Street'.⁷ The fact that the axial approach to the Madras was not realised as planned did not seriously mar the impact which both Bell Streets made upon checking the predominantly east west axis of the town. To some extent

the new town, extending to the Links and Gillespie Terrace to the north and City Road to the west respected the topography of the town, but the north south axis of North and South Bell Streets, Murray Park and Hope Street (fig.2), and the introvert Hope Park itself illustrates an affinity with the self-assertive nature of formal eighteenth century style grid town planning. The most significant innovations however were the terraces of similarly designed houses constructed of polished and/or rusticated ashlar with symmetrically positioned astragalled sash windows. This undeniably elegant format had been tried and tested in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and to a lesser extent in Aberdeen (Union Street from 1801; Bon Accord Place and Crescent, Archibald Simpson from 1823) and Perth (Atholl Place and Crescent, Rose Terrace and Marshall Place). This did not however temper Lord Cockburn's opinion of the new Bell Street which he regarded as 'detestable', and akin to everything else connected with the 'founder of the Madras College', having an 'inharmonious, contemptible, new freestone look'.⁸ Cockburn's ascorbic comments highlight the dramatic changes of style and tone represented by the Madras College and the classical terraces of the new town. Architectural style was by no means uniform throughout; Rae's baronial 8-10 Gibson Place (1867-68) and the picturesque terrace development of Murray Park from the 1870s testify to the increasingly romantic tendency in design, but at Hope

Park building to classical elevations continued until 1898.

The whole of the new town as defined here was the result of private and civic feuing speculation; Hope Park, Murray Park, Pilmour and Golf Place, Playfair Terrace and Ellice Place were all developed by private individuals, some from St. Andrews and others like Hope Scott from elsewhere, whereas North and South Bell Streets and the Links were feued by the Town Council. The area shows a predominance of local architects, except at Hope Park, the most prestigious of all the schemes where significantly three Edinburgh architects worked on the overall plan and elevations, leaving local architects to oversee the details of construction; Hope Park Church (fig.127, Peddie and Kinnear, 1864), like almost every other nineteenth century church in St. Andrews was also the work of Edinburgh architects. Despite this situation, it was Jesse Hall who was responsible for initiating the continuity of elevation at Hope Street when building recommenced in 1868, thus investing the whole development with an integrity which might otherwise have eluded it.

Queen's Park.

The new Town Hall (fig.143), Queen Street (fig.156) and Queen Street Terrace (fig.174) development similarly combined the contributions of Edinburgh and

St. Andrews practices, although the variety of house elevations in Queen Street, visually linked and gently descending to the south (fig.156) is almost entirely the work of St. Andrews architects George Rae and John Milne. The Terrace also owes some of its stylistic diversity to St. Andrews men, but Rowand Anderson's St. Andrew's Church (fig.174, 1867-69) is its undoubted focal point. Although the related development of Madras Place (figs.183,184) was begun in 1849 as a private development by John Brown, 'Queen's Park' as such was feued by the Town Council and the first houses were not built until 1857. Queen Street and the first part of Dempster Terrace were completed by 1870, but the decline in the demand for houses during the 1870s and 1880s delayed the completion of Queen Street Terrace until 1901, and then only in a modified form. The whole development was conceived as part of the ambitious new Town Hall scheme, first contemplated as early as 1843 but only coming to fruition between 1857 and 1861, with final completion in 1864. The Town Council's eventual decision to opt for a baronial design set the tone for the whole development, although only after David Rhind had designed the Commercial Bank (fig.170) in a flamboyant baroque style from 1868. Peddie and Kinnear's Bank of Scotland (fig.171) on the corner with South Street followed the stylistic example of the Town Hall in 1871, and Rae's original classically inspired domestic elevations for Queen Street (fig.153) were embellished beyond recognition, culminating in his own

baronial St. Regulus (fig.172) in 1867-68. Once again, Edinburgh architects had set the stylistic seal to which the local men responded. The Queen's Park development marked the turning point between the uniform classical terraces of the new town on the one hand, and the suburban development of detached and double villas of Scores Park, and especially Rathelpie on the other.

The Scores.

The development of the Scores from an exposed grazing area to an urban promenade for social and architectural style began in 1810 and continued until the 1890s. The development was predominantly domestic, with house types ranging from the modest terraced 'cottages' of Gillespie Terrace (fig.199, Rae, 1849-54), to the prestigious baronial mansions of Scores Park (University House, fig.216, Starforth, 1863-65; Rockview and North Cliffe, fig.234, Hall and Henry, 1864-66; Castlecliffe, fig.256, Bryce, 1869-70). The tall terraced houses of western Scores and the Arts and Crafts inspired Scores Villas (fig.292, Henry, 1895) contributed to the variety of building types, as did such institutional buildings as St. Katherine's West, St. James' Church and the Grand Hotel (figs.307,277,308). Stylistically, the period 1810-1854 is characterised by the classicism of the Baths (figs.190-192, attr.Balfour, 1810) and Tontine (fig.196, attr.Balfour, 1809-17), Gillespie Terrace and the Royal

and Ancient Golf Club House (figs.204,205, Rae, 1854). The prospect of the Scores becoming an exclusively classical development was checked in 1856 however, when Hall designed Clifton Bank (figs.207,208) in a style much influenced by Burn, Reid and Nixon. Hall's earlier experience in supervising Nixon's north wing of the United College in the 1840s was crucial to the adoption of the increasingly fashionable Jacobean by St. Andrews-based architects. Indeed Rae at Seaton House (figs.211,212, 1864) employed it as wholeheartedly as he embraced the Scots baronial at Edgecliffe (fig.246) in the same year, this latter composition becoming the most vigorous expression of the style on the Scores.

Clearly defined stylistic categories cease to be tenable from 1870, when tall terraced houses with triangular Jacobean gables proliferate, often embellished with decorative finials. Craigard (fig.268, attr.Hall and Henry, 1870-71), Dhu Craig (fig.272, attr.George Birrell, 1873), St. Salvator's (fig.275, Milne, 1879-80), Kilrymont (fig.272, Hall and Henry, 1885-86) and St. Colme's (fig.274, Henry, 1890-91) all fall into this category, but by the 1890s, a new formula was introduced. Beginning with St. Swithin's (fig.291, Gillespie and Scott, 1893-94) and continuing with Westcliffe, Hazelbank, Tayview and Kinellar, (fig.293, Milne, 1896-97; Milne, 1896-97; Henry, 1897-98; and Milne, 1898 respectively) the triangular gables were replaced with pyramidal gothic roofs, with small dormers

and heraldic decoration signalling a return to baronial sources. In fact the Scots baronial enjoyed a vigorous coda, first at Castlegate (fig.270, Hall and Henry, 1879-80), then at Kennedy House (fig.306, Gillespie and Scott, 1895-96) and in a more vernacular form at St. Katherine's West (fig.307, Gillespie and Scott, 1897-98) and Castlemount (fig.271, Hall and Henry, extensions of 1874 and 1914), finally rendering its most accomplished swan song at Swallowgate (fig.298, Rowand Anderson, 1893-94 and 1910). Plain, somewhat undistinguished buildings appeared throughout the 1870s-90s, including the double villas of East Bay View and Castle Lea (fig.269, Hall and Henry, 1870-71), The Hirsell (fig.273, Hall and Henry, 1879-80), Kilrule (fig.288, unattributed, 1891-92) and 27 Murray Park (fig.290, attr.Milne, 1893-94). These were complemented by such novelties as the skating rink (1875), the 'Tin Tabernacle' (fig.277, 1885), and the architectural hybrids of Castlehouse (fig.289, attr.Thomas Cappon, 1893-94), and the most imposing of all the Scores buildings, the Grand Hotel (fig.308, James Monro, 1893-95), constructed in pink Dumfries sandstone and heralding the beginning of the end of the use of local stone in St. Andrews.

Of the forty five building schemes completed at the Scores between 1810 and 1898, only five can be

positively identified as the work of non St. Andrews-based architects: Starforth (almost certainly) at University House (fig.216); Peddie and Kinnear at Kirnan (fig.249); Bryce at Castlecliffe (figs.256,257); Rowand Anderson at Swallowgate (fig.298) and Monro at the Grand Hotel (fig.308). If the north wing of the United College (fig.30) is taken to form part of the Scores, then Nixon should be added to the list, as should Henderson for his work at the Baths, Lorimer for the Playfair Memorial (1899, opposite Royal and Ancient Golf Club House) and internal work at North Cliffe (fig.242), and John Burnet for alterations at the Grand Hotel. It is significant that the majority of these commissions were for the largest and most prestigious buildings, and that it fell to local architects to design the smaller, albeit majority of the Scores commissions. As has been repeatedly emphasised, this tendency was not confined to the Scores; throughout the town most of the major commissions went to outsiders, of whom there were at least twenty three, and of these no less than eighteen were from Edinburgh.⁹ In most such cases the patrons were also from outwith St. Andrews, or at least had strong external connections. The University, the Madras College, Hope Park, University House, Kirnan, Castlecliffe and the Grand Hotel are all examples of this, although in the case of St. Andrew's Church (fig.174), an outsider was chosen by competition. Cases of St. Andrews patrons choosing non St. Andrews architects were less frequent, as in the case of

Professor Bell Pettigrew's employment of Rowand Anderson for Swallowgate (fig.298), and the Town Council's commissioning of James Anderson Hamilton for the Town Hall (fig.143). Only rarely did a patron from outside commission a local architect, the most significant being R. Ewing-Curwen whose baronial mansion of Westerlee (fig.266) was designed by John Milne.

The effect these mainly Edinburgh - based practices exerted upon the direction of building design in St. Andrews was undoubtedly considerable. Their most important function was probably to ensure the local architectural community's familiarity with the most recent trends, which they invariably responded to, often with considerable enthusiasm. The assimilation of Jacobean ornament introduced to St. Andrews by Reid, Burn and Nixon in turn has been cited in this respect, notably in relation to Rae at Seaton House (figs.211,212, 1864) and probably also at Inchcape House (1861) and 7-12 Alexandra Place (fig.117, 1869-70). The twin - gabled form of Burn's Madras masters' houses (fig.75) was similarly widely adopted by Rae, Henry and Milne (as discussed in Part Two, Chapter 4), and the shaped gable, derived from the United and Madras Colleges was used by Hall at Clifton Bank (figs.207,208, 1856) and much later by Gillespie and Scott at the Bute Medical Building (fig.100, 1898). Scots baronial elements were even more widely adopted, probably because of the style's inherent adaptability to different

building types, and its strong nationalistic and historical allusions.¹⁰ Rae's first experiment in the style at 77-79 Market Street (fig.98, 1852) pre-dated its first use in St. Andrews by an Edinburgh architect, James Anderson Hamilton at the new Town Hall (fig.143, 1857-61), but thereafter all the major St. Andrews practices employed the baronial idiom. Rae himself demonstrated considerable versatility at Edgecliffe (figs.245,246, 1865-66), surely a response by him and his local patron John McGregor to the nearby baronial mansion of University House, recently completed by the Edinburgh architect John Starforth (almost certainly) for Barron Grahame of Morphie (fig.216, 1863-65). Milne was also quick to respond to the new trend with Westerlee (fig.266, 1865), built for a retired industrialist from the south of England.¹¹ A further essay in the style, the block of shops and flats at the corner of Market and Church Streets (fig.313, attr.Milne, 1873), bears some resemblance to Peddie and Kinnear's design for Cockburn Street in Edinburgh (c1860).¹² Both Milne and Kinnear had spent time at the office of Bryce himself who brought his own distinctive use of the baronial vocabulary to St. Andrews at Castlecliffe (figs.256,257, 1869).

Milne was not alone among his St. Andrews contemporaries in his catholic background and training,¹³ a factor which clearly eased the impact of the city-based rivals upon the local architectural

community. Architectural pattern books and treatises were also important in this respect, and although no evidence has yet been found for the Balfour, Rae, Hall, Henry and Milne office libraries, the Gillespie and Scott library has survived. At least one hundred and twenty pre-1900 volumes remain as testimony to this particular practice's constant quest to keep in touch with wider developments; titles range from John Britton's Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain (five volumes, 1807-26) to Robert Kerr's The English Gentleman's House (1871), and the second edition of Augustus Charles Pugin's Examples of Gothic Architecture (volumes 1-3, 1895).

The development of the architectural profession in St. Andrews was closely linked to patterns of patronage and to changes within the local building trades. Hope Scott and the Town Council have been identified as of particular importance in this respect as the two principal large-scale patrons of domestic development. Even at Hope Park however, where the overall plan and elevations had been prescribed by Edinburgh architects, local men were responsible for realising at least half the component buildings. Such a pattern undoubtedly reflected the fact that it was simply uneconomical and impractical for non St. Andrews-based architects to take responsibility for what were

comparatively modest commissions. For the Town Council schemes at Bell Street and Queen's Park, it was natural that the feuars, mostly local professional people, should employ St. Andrews architects. In these and other developments (see Appendices F-L) a pattern of small-scale speculation is evident, vital to sustaining a high level of locally based architectural activity. George Bruce, John McIntosh, John McGregor, John Buddo and John Brown emerge as some of the leading figures, building houses for rent or sale. On a lesser scale, aside from building houses for their own occupation, individuals such as Dr. John Adamson invested in speculative building (4 North Bell Street, 5-7 and 11-15 South Bell Street). The majority of speculation then was on a small scale, thus ensuring a steady flow of commissions for the St. Andrews-based architects.¹⁴

The mason and wright trade, responsible for the actual construction of buildings, was already an integral part of the community when the nineteenth century expansion began. The records of the St. Andrews Society of Wrights date to 1541,¹⁵ and George Rae's family connection in this area has already been noted. It is with John Kennedy at the Madras College in the 1830s however that the nineteenth century building trade seems to have come of age. Kennedy, John McIntosh and Alexander Carstairs were to run the largest firms, but there is ample evidence of many small builders including Meldrum Downie, David Pearson, William Oswald, Thomas

Liddel and William Ness (see Appendices F-L). The quality of craftsmanship which these builders attained was clearly crucial to the whole concept of development in St. Andrews, and as has been noted elsewhere of the Hope Park scheme, the town's nineteenth century development is as much a monument to its masons as its architects.¹⁶ Although inevitably architects, speculators and builders often worked for each other on more than one commission, no consistent correlation between speculator and architect or architect and builder is apparent, due no doubt to the system of competitive tendering and the individuality of the architects themselves.

Given the scale of building activity in St. Andrews during the nineteenth century, it was inevitable that the town's surviving mediaeval character would change. Yet the expansion which gave rise to this was to some extent based upon the concern to emulate a real or supposed past, implicit in the revived Jacobean and baronial styles. St. Andrews, with its aura of antiquity created by the surviving mediaeval institutions, buildings, ruins and street plan was better placed than most to exploit the rising tide of romanticism. Paradoxically, this strong desire to associate with historical forms was frequently accompanied by a disregard for the town's mediaeval legacy. Even though the Cathedral ruins were cleared of debris, and the floor and bases of the pillars exposed in 1826,¹⁷ the

Blackfriars' ruins stabilised in 1835 and the West Port renovated in 1843,¹⁸ there remained an ambiguity towards the existing architecture of the town. The north and west wings of the United College, the north wing of St. Mary's College and the old Town Hall were demolished, as was the 'Old Palace' (fig.65) in South Street, and the substantial remains of the Senzie Hall and St. Leonard's College Library (fig.315) within the Priory precinct;¹⁹ there were extensive plans to 'modernise' the Blackfriars' ruins, many external staircases were removed and some of the old street names Anglicised.²⁰ Where rebuilding took place, this was invariably effected in a 'sympathetic' historic style, such as Jacobean at the United College and baronial at the Town Hall, and in the 1890s when Church Street was widened, a vernacular crowstepped building (80 Market Street) was replaced by a lofty Jacobean inspired construction by Gillespie and Scott (1892-93), which rivalled the earlier baronial building (fig.313, attr.Milne, 1873) on the opposite corner. Scale was indeed as important as style in creating a 'new' historic atmosphere, and nothing illustrates the intrusion of towering modern buildings upon the predominantly modest vernacular better than the southern extension to Rusack's Marine Hotel (fig.121, Henry, 1891). Despite such dramatic developments, enough of the old survived to foster a romantic attitude towards a past which continued to be evoked as a background to 'improvement'; indeed, in an environment of enhanced historical consciousness, the

poet Arthur Johnston might even have looked favourably upon this 'new Andreapolis'.²¹

Notes to Summary and Conclusion.

1. Sinclair GAULDIE, 'Introduction' in Charles McKEAN and David WALKER, Dundee, An Illustrated Introduction (Edinburgh: R.I.A.S. and Scottish Academic Press, 1984), p.4.
2. Rev. John ADAMSON, 'St. Andrews' in Rt. Hon. Sir John Sinclair, The Statistical Account of Scotland, 21 vols. (Edinburgh: n.p., 1791-99) vol.13, p.195.
3. Ibid.p.192.
4. Ronald Gordon CANT, The University of St. Andrews, a short history (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1970), p.101-2.
5. George Elder DAVIE, The Democratic Intellect: Scotland and her Universities in the Nineteenth Century (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1961), p.6.
6. Dr. Andrew Bell to Provost Haig, 27th June 1831. St.A.U.L.Ms Deposit 13, box 1.
7. Trustees of the Madras College to Dr. Andrew Bell, 2nd December 1831. St.A.U.L.Ms Deposit 13.

8. Lord COCKBURN, Circuit Journeys (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1888), p.228.
9. External architects working in St. Andrews during the nineteenth century. Dundee: Thomas M.Cappon; William Scott. Edinburgh: Sir Robert Rowand Anderson; David Bryce; William Burn; John Chesser; James Anderson Hamilton; John Starforth; Andrew Kerr; John Lessells; Sir Robert Lorimer; Robert Matheson; William Nixon; John Dick Peddie and Charles G. H. Kinnear; Robert Reid; David Rhind; Walter W. Robertson; John Starforth; James Wardrop. Glasgow: James Monro. London: Sir Robert Edis; Sir George Gilbert Scott. See also Robin EVETTS, 'Non-local Architects, The Burn Legacy' in John FREW, ed., Building For A New Age (St. Andrews: Crawford Centre, 1984).
10. See Frank WALKER, 'National Romanticism and the Architecture of the City' in George GORDON, Perspectives of The Scottish City (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985).
11. FREW, op.cit., p.15.
12. See WALKER, op.cit.
13. The principal St. Andrews-based architects were Robert Balfour, George Rae, Jesse Hall, John Milne,

David Henry, James Gillespie, and James Scott, but of these only Rae was of St. Andrews birth and parentage, being brought up in the local wright trade but probably receiving his architectural training in Edinburgh (see John B. STEVENSON, and Ronald Gordon CANT, 'George Rae' in FREW, op.cit.). Balfour was born at Leuchars, and carried on business as a timber merchant as well as an architect in St. Andrews; although his place of training is unknown, his style was clearly influenced by eighteenth century classicism (see Patricia SIMPSON, 'Robert Balfour' (M.A. dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 1981). Hall was a Borderer, and served an apprenticeship as a stone mason with his brother before graduating to the status of architect while supervising government building works under the direction of William Nixon (Obituary, Jesse Hall, St. Andrews Citizen, 8th December 1906). A similar craft background was shared by Henry who was born in Carnoustie, and trained as a cabinetmaker before studying architecture at the Board of Manufacturers' School, and serving in an unidentified architect's office in Edinburgh before joining Hall as an assistant in 1862 (Obituary, David Henry, St. Andrews Citizen, 14th February 1914). Milne was born in Laurencekirk in Kinkardineshire and served an apprenticeship with his father as a carpenter and joiner before moving

to Edinburgh to work first with John Henderson and then with David Bryce. It was as 'clerk of works on a building then being erected from designs by the late Mr. Bryce' (perhaps Clatto House, Blebo Craigs) that Milne came to St. Andrews in 1850 (Obituary, John Milne, St. Andrews Citizen, 28th May 1904). Gillespie's place of architectural training is not known, only that he was born in Dunfermline and came to St. Andrews in about 1873 to work with the architect George Birrell, son of a building contractor at Drumeldrie, near Largo, and stayed after Birrell's premature death in 1876. Gillespie's subsequent partner, James Scott, although born at Kinnesswood near Loch Leven, was brought up and received architectural training in Glasgow, and joined Gillespie in 1885 (Andrew NAIRNE, 'James Gillespie and Scott' (M.A. dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 1983)).

14. The St. Andrews architects were pillars of local society: Rae, Hall, Milne and Henry served on the Town Council; Gillespie was a keen Volunteer and Mason, and most were connected in some official way with the various churches, thus ensuring a wide sphere of influence and access to potential patronage. There appears to have been no strict demarcations of practice however, reflecting what appears to have been a more or less continuous demand for commissions, including their own small

speculative ventures. The vision of a local guild of creative artists working in harmony with each other is somewhat blighted by the evidence of a bitter rivalry between Milne, and Hall and Henry in 1880 over the extensions to the Royal and Ancient Golf Club House; apart from this incident however there is little evidence of widespread acrimony.

15. STEVENSON, op.cit. p.17.
16. Ronald Gordon CANT, St. Andrews, The Preservation Trust Handbook (St. Andrews: The St. Andrews Preservation Trust Ltd., 1975), p.51.
17. David Hay FLEMING, St. Andrews Standard Guide (Cupar: J. and G. Innes, 1980), p.31.
18. Ibid.p.8.
19. The only known illustration of this c17th century building (fig.315), dated 1804, has recently (July 1988) been identified in a volume of 'Memorabilia', by John Sime of Edinburgh (1840), N.M.R.S.
20. Ronald Gordon CANT, 'St. Andrews Street Names' in St. Andrews Preservation Trust Annual Report (1964 and 1965).

21. Arthur JOHNSTON, 'Andreapolis' in Professor W. KNIGHT, Andreapolis, being Writings in Praise of St. Andrews (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1903).

Appendix A.

Copy of a letter from the Lord Viscount Melville to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as printed in Evidence, p.260, and as exists in draft form in U.St.A.M. UY132/120.

Melville Castle

Edinburgh

28th December 1827

Sir, Having, as Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews, had several communications with you and with Lord Goderich, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, respecting the ruinous state of the Buildings in that University, Mr. Reid, His Majesty's Architect for Scotland, was directed to prepare plans and estimates for the repair or rebuilding of such parts as were in the most dilapidated state. These plans were accordingly prepared, and the total amount supposing the whole to have been executed, exceeded, as far as I recollect, the sum of £40,000. It appeared to me that the amount of building, as proposed by Mr. Reid, was unnecessarily large, and consequently expensive; and he was requested to modify and curtail it. He has accordingly prepared another set of plans on a more moderate scale, but which, I have no doubt, will afford sufficient Accommodation; the estimate cost of which, as you will perceive by the inclosed paper, and supposing also the

whole to be executed, does not exceed £23,500. The amount, however, which it at present required, and which is really indispensable, but which will be sufficient till it may be convenient to supply funds for completing the whole, need not, I think, exceed £12,000 or £14,000. I understand that Mr. Reid is to proceed to London immediately with his plans, in order that he may afford to you any explanation you may require.

The University of St. Andrews consists of two Colleges, viz. the United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard (united by Act of Parliament about 80 years ago), and St. Mary's College, the latter being limited to Students in Divinity.

1st. The buildings of the United College are in a ruinous, and as appeared to me, really in a dangerous state, or at least a considerable part of them; but you will perceive from the inclosed paper, and it will be pointed out to you by Mr. Reid, that it is proposed at present to erect only one portion, amounting to about £5,600, besides some additional items for a Porter's Lodge, for drains, levelling the ground, etc.

2ndly. St. Mary's College is generally in a better state, and will only require some repairs and alterations to preserve the fabric from decay, and to render it sufficiently commodious. The estimated amount,

as you will perceive, is £2,000, and which I have no doubt, will be quite sufficient.

3rdly. The building which contains the University Library is in good repair, but is incapable of containing the books now in their possession, and still more of providing for the daily increase which is taking place. An addition to the building is indispensably required, the estimated amount of which you will perceive in under £3,000; and which is connected also, as the plans will show, with the proposed alterations at St. Mary's, a ruinous and unoccupied portion of which is intended to take down, and the space appropriated to the required addition to the Library.

You are, no doubt, aware, that a Commission has been employed for above a year in visiting the several Universities and Colleges in Scotland; and though the subject to which this letter relates was brought under the consideration of the Treasury long before that Commission was issued, I considered it to be proper, and indeed highly necessary, being myself one of the Commissioners, to submit the whole to their consideration, the condition of the buildings in each University being one of the points to which they were enjoined to direct their inquiry; and I am enabled to state to you, that the Commissioners who visited St. Andrews were unanimously and decidedly of opinion, that the buildings and repairs to the extent now proposed by

Mr. Reid to be executed forthwith, are indispensable, and that the whole ought to be completed at as early a period as may be practicable. I have not thought it necessary to request the opinion of the Commissioners as to the description of architecture, and the elevation and external appearance of the proposed new buildings. The Lords of the Treasury are perfectly competent to form a judgment on those points, and can either adopt the elevations proposed by Mr. Reid, or direct any alterations in that respect which may appear to them to be requisite.

I think it right to state for your information, that the Commissioners for visiting Scottish Universities will have to report hereafter on the buildings of the University of Aberdeen, and the extent of repair or renewal which they will require; but that question is connected with and depends mainly on another, viz. the proposed Union of the two Colleges of that University. No such cause of delay has arisen, or can arise as to the buildings at St. Andrews, because, as I have already stated, St. Mary's College is limited to the study of Divinity, and the United College embraces the other branches of Learning and Science usually taught in the Scottish Universities, exclusive of Divinity; and even if those two Colleges were to be conjoined, which is not contemplated or proposed, still the same extent of new building would be required. At Aberdeen however, the case is totally different. The two

Colleges there are independent of each other, and there are Professors in each who teach the same branches of Science, which, of course, would be deemed unnecessary if the Colleges were united, as was done at St. Andrews (as above mentioned) in regard to the Colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, and for reasons similar to those which have suggested the Union at Aberdeen.

At the Colleges of Glasgow and Edinburgh no such demands are likely to be made on the public. The former possesses sufficient funds for the repair of its fabric, or for any necessary additions to it; and the College at Edinburgh has recently been completed by grants from Parliament.

I have the honour to be, &c. (signed) Melville.

The Right Hon. J. C. Herries, &c.

Abstract of the Estimated Expense which will attend the
Erection of the New College Buildings, and other matters
proposed to be executed at St. Andrews, agreeably to the
Plans thereof.

New Buildings for the United College of St. Salvator and
St. Leonard.

Amount of the expense of completing the proposed new
range of buildings intended to be first erected on
the east side of the College Court, containing
Classrooms and other accommodations, as filled in
with a dark grey tint, and marked No. 1 on the
General Plan. £5,579.00.00

Amount of the expense of completing the proposed new
range of buildings, as intended to be afterwards
erected on the north side of the College Court,
containing a great Hall for the general assembly of
the Students, a Hall for the meetings of
Professors, Classrooms, and other accommodations,
as filled in with a red tint, and marked No. 2 on
the General Plan. 9,829.00.00

Amount of expense of making alterations in the old
building at the entrance, in fitting it up as a
house for the porter, and other accommodations.

350.00.00

Amount of the expense of forming the ground, making
common sewar, drains, boundary walls, etc.

1,250.00.00

£17,008.00.00

St. Mary's College.

Amount proposed to be allowed in repairs and alterations
in the present building.

2,000.00.00

Amount of expense of building and furnishing an addition
to the Library, agreeably to the plans thereof.

2,850.00.00

£21,858.00.00

Add seven and a half per cent on the amount of the
foregoing estimate, for incidental charges, &c.

1,638.15.00

Total: £23,496.15.00

Edinburgh, December 1827. (Signed) Robert Reid,
Architect.

Appendix B.

Transcript of an interview between Robert Balfour and the University Commissioners, as printed in Evidence.

3rd August, 1827. Mr. Robert Balfour, called in and examined.

You are an Architect? - I am.

And you live at St. Andrews? - I do.

Have you had occasion frequently to see the Buildings of the Colleges here, and to be acquainted with the state of them generally? - I have.

Have you today inspected the building between this Library and the house of the Principal of St. Mary's College? - Yes, I looked through the building today.

In what state did you find the walls of that building? - The south wall is very much off the plumb, and seems to be a very slight wall.

Is it your opinion, that if the interior of the building were taken out, the walls are fit to bear such a repair as would make it a fit place for a library, to form an addition to the present Library? - No, I do not think that the walls are sufficient.

Is the lower part of the Principal's house, and of the other buildings to the south of that where the Divinity Hall is, very damp? - Yes, very damp.

To what causes is that damp to be attributed? - It is so much sunk under the ground; and the surface water,

I suppose, has access to the ground storey, and it is not sufficiently aired.

Is not the drainage in a very imperfect state? - I did not examine the drainage, but it seems to be so, from the damp state of the building.

Is the water that falls from the roof of the building collected and carried off? - No, it is not.

Did you examine how much higher the earth was on the outside, than the floor on the inside? - I did not measure it, I suppose the floor is about eighteen inches below the surface of the ground.

Are the walls of that building in the Divinity Hall sufficiently sound to bear repair? - I think those walls are in a sufficient state.

The Commissioners understand, that the ground to the westward of those buildings is not the property of the College? - No.

So that you could perform no operation in draining there, without the consent of the neighbouring proprietor? - No. I do not know the level of the ground upon the west side of the building; I never examined that, it is only the ground upon this side that I examined.

Did you observe the height of the rooms sufficiently to say whether the floors admit of raising, so as to put them upon the level of the ground without? - I do not know exactly to what purpose they are to be applied; I did not examine the height particularly.

Did you examine the Buildings of the United College? - Yes.

Did you examine both the Western and the Northern range, or only the Northern range? - It was the Northern range of buildings I looked at today.

From inspection of the Western range, would you conceive that to be defective? - The Western range is very defective; it is a great way off the plumb, I suppose from a foot to eighteen inches in the height of the wall; that is to say, the east wall of that Building, upon the west side.

Is there any danger attending it now? - I do not know if there is any immediate danger; it has been in that state since ever I came to this place, which is more than thirty years ago; I do not perceive any difference.

Then, it is presumed, that part of the Building of the United College could not be repaired to any advantage, and ought to be taken down and rebuilt entirely? - There is no doubt of it.

Then, as to the Northern range, what state is that in? - The Northern range is divided into a number of small divisions, and the building in that place is very much strengthened by a number of cross-walls in the building; but both the walls and the roof are very faulty in many particulars; there are a number of cracks down the walls, and besides that, the south wall is very much off the plumb, at one particular part, near about the middle of the wall.

Do you conceive that the building might be gutted, and converted into proper-sized Classrooms, with any advantage? - No. I do not think it; the roof is much slighter than I supposed that it was at first; the copings, or scantlings of the roof, are not more than three or four inches deep - not more than two and a half, or three inches thick. Now, from the time they have already stood, they must be very slight; and that roof is covered with great slates which are of a great weight, and it is in consequence of so many partitions being under the roof, that it makes it appear so straight, and keeps it up.

Then, if it were gutted, there would be danger of its falling down altogether? - It would be dangerous to do it.

In order to convert it into proper Classrooms, would it not be necessary to take out some of those cross-walls? - Yes, and also the floors and partitions.

Would not all that tend to weaken the general fabric very much? - Yes.

And it follows from that opinion, that those side-walls would not bear the weight of a new roof, supposing they were not strengthened by the cross-walls? - I do not think they would.

Then it is your opinion, professionally, upon the whole, that the Building is such as it would be advisable to repair and fit up for additional Classrooms? - No, I do not think it is.

With regard to the Upper Library, did you look at the spouts that convey the water from the roof? - Yes.

Are they sufficient to contain the water that falls from the roof? - There are not a sufficient number of conductors, or perpendicular pipes, and it is too great a length for the size of the spout; it would require to have two conductors.

Does the water at present run over them, and occasion damp upon the walls? - Frequently, I believe.

Were they put up under your immediate inspection? - I do not know. I no doubt gave some directions about putting them up, but I was not aware that the water would run so much over them as it does. I had no concern with the doing of the work, I was merely consulted about getting the necessary articles for it. - (The Witness withdrew).

Appendix C. (S.R.O. MW/5/146)

Estimate of the Probable Cost of Works proposed to be executed in erecting a new additional building at the United College containing the Great Hall, Museums and Four Classrooms and Apartments connected therewith. Also for other works in repairs and additions upon the present College Buildings.

Office of Works, Edinburgh, 1st March 1845. William Nixon.

Mason and excavator work.	£2,244.11.02
Carpenter and joiner work.	1,570.11.01
Plumber work.	275.17.01
Slater work.	99.12.06
Founder and smith work.	276.10.05
Plaster work.	259.17.01
Zinc sashes.	75.19.03
Glazing.	66.18.07
Ironmongery comprising the locks, bolts and doorhandles for the principal apartments.	41.13.00
Painter work.	120.00.00
Heating apparatus upon the mild hot water principal for the Great Hall, Museums, main entrance lobby and stairs, and for the classrooms.	35.00.00
Wood glazed cases and other fittings for the collections in the museum and anatomical museum.	200.00.00
Movable benches and seats for the Great Hall.	40.00.00
Grates for all the fireplaces and sundry fittings to class rooms.	65.00.00
Erecting two additional private rooms for professors at the back of the present building, and building new privies for the students.	150.00.00
Taking down and rebuilding the dilapidated portion of the boundary walls.	100.00.00
Repairs upon the College Porter's House and adjoining office buildings.	100.00.00
Levelling and reforming the surface of College Court and garden ground.	50.00.00
Superintending the works of the builders and contractors.	<u>128.09.10</u>
Total:	£5,900.00.00

Appendix D.

(St.A.U.M. Deposit 13 box 1)

Extract form a 'copy of Memorandum made at Cheltenham on 5th July 1831'.

One room for the Grammar School 50 feet by 36 feet, and 20 feet high to hold 200 at least.

One Large Hall.

English School: Two rooms of 70 feet by 40 feet and 25 feet high, or 60 feet by 50 feet of the same height, or any other dimensions more suitable, to hold between 300 and 400 each. The writing to be taught in each room on entrance to school, and the desks to be fixed to the wall, and movable forms to sit on; or the forms to be fixed if found more convenient. Boys and Girls to be brought together or separate as found most advisable.

Hall: The two large rooms to have folding doors, and form one great room for public examinations or exhibitions.

See Central School at Baldwins Gardens, Grays Inn Lane, and other schools at East and West end, and the Westminster National School and Chelsea Schools; for an exemplification of the Madras System see Charter House if admittance can be obtained. Read Elements of Tuition part 1st, 2nd and 3rd. You will see in my books.

Room for modern languages 40 feet by 30 feet.

Room for Geography, a popular view of astronomy, Natural History and practical mathematics.

These two rooms to occupy part of the second storey. Beware of the echo in the large school. The second storey to be divided into four apartments, and to be appropriated to such branches as may be found most expedient.

Two dwelling houses each to be capable of containing 25 boarders, with suitable offices, gardens, shrubbery and playground.

The schoolrooms to harmonize with the ruins of the Black Friars Chapel. The buildings to be economical Gothic - What is wanted is Gothic; must be substantial, handsome and economical, but the Masters Houses must be plain, simple, and economical, each house supposed to cost £1,500.

The estimated expense of the whole school building according to the architecture fixed on by Dr. Bell subject to your correction may be about £7,000. The ground in front to be enclosed with a low wall and neat iron rail on top to show the building to advantage from the street.

Estimated expense of schools, £7,000; two dwelling houses and offices, £3,000; enclosing ground, playground and iron railing, £2,000; total £12,000.

Estimated expense of levelling ground, etc., £1,000; incidents supposed, £1,000.

Appendix E.

The Bryce Library.

The Bryce Library, such as it survives, consists of three hundred and twenty volumes, the majority in folio and port-folio editions. The collection has been in St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.A. since 1932, being the gift of Joseph Garavelli, a Sicilian cafe owner who had made good in that city and wished to mark it with a gift to the George Washington University.

It is assumed by the compilers of the Bryce Centenary Catalogue that part of the library was inherited by Bryce from his former partner and master William Burn, when the latter left Edinburgh for London in 1844. The collection was subsequently augmented during Bryce's own years until his death in 1876. Thereafter the collection grew only slowly. The earliest volume is Salomon de Bray's Architecture Moderna (1631), and the latest a publication from the office of the Studio magazine, Charles Holme's Representative Art of Our Time (1903). But the bulk of the collection dates from the 1830s to 1870s and contains such classic works as Piranese's studies of classical Rome, Robert Adam's Ruins of the Palace of Emperor Diocletian (1764), William Eden Nesfield's Specimens of Mediaeval Architecture (1853), Colin Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus (1715), Robert Billings' The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland (1845-52), and

John Ruskin's Seven Lamps of Architecture (1849). Taken as a whole, the library is a representative collection of pattern books, dictionaries, studies of classical, Renaissance, gothic and vernacular architecture, accounts and sketches of tours in Italy, and even an early photographic album by F. Frith, Egypt and Palestine Photographed and Described (1860).

The authors who seemed to have most influence upon Bryce and the architects in his office were P. F. Robinson, T. H. Clarke, William Eden Nesfield, Charles James Richardson, and the most influential of all, Robert William Billings. Aside from Billings these authors were concerned with the English vernacular almost exclusively, providing a variety of building types and patterns which they deemed suitable to the varying English landscape. Robinson is represented by five publications of the 1830s and in each he refers to the need for a trained architect in order to 'prepare correct drawings for the workmen, and guard against destroying the proportions of a composition'. Each author was convinced of his sense of suitability of style for a particular commission in a particular place. Richardson displays an archaeological interest in the domestic architecture of Elizabethan and Jacobean England, and Bryce used some of his designs for interior details such as ceilings, stair balusters and balustrades. Clarke deals with a similar period, and his

Jacobean plates were an obvious inspiration for the Bryce office.

Billings' is one of the most important documents of nineteenth century architectural drawing in Scotland (see Frank WALKER, 'National Romanticism and Architecture', in G. GORDON, ed., Perspectives of the Scottish City (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985)). It made available to architects four volumes of engravings (figs.101,247,248) of various castles, abbeys and churches conveying the spirit of a romantic, picturesque past. The details formed a watershed of late mediaeval sources necessary for a convincing adaptation to nineteenth century usage. The publication was widely subscribed to, and in St. Andrews included Professor Ferrier, Provost Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair, and later James Gillespie and Scott, and in Edinburgh a Mr. Thomas Purdie, presumably the same gentleman who commissioned Bryce to build Castlecliffe.

Included in the Bryce library are two bound sketchbooks accredited to Bryce himself, entitled Sketches of Scotch and Old English Ornament, and Examples of Ornamental Sculpture. These are of particular interest in that they are the only pattern books as such known to exist by Bryce. Although the Bryce Centenary Catalogue credits Bryce with both books, and dates them 1832, there is more evidence of Sketches being by the architect. Although not signed, the binding bears the name of David Bryce, and it is included in the

sale catalogue of 1928. The paper is clearly watermarked 1832. Ornamental Sculpture on the other hand is neither dated, signed nor watermarked, nor was it included in the sale catalogue; while Sketches is in pencil on cartridge paper, Ornamental Sculpture is in ink on tracing paper pasted onto cartridge. The latter is also part rough freehand and part complete drawings, while the former is presented to a high standard throughout. Figs.102 and 103 are examples of Jacobean pediments and gables illustrated in Sketches and correspond in spirit if not in precise detail to the elements employed by Burn at the Madras College. This raises the intriguing possibility that Bryce himself may have been responsible in part for the design of the Madras College.

Appendix F

North Bell Street. Original feuars, probable dates of erection, architects and builders.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Date stance taken.</u>	<u>Date erected by.</u> (feu disposition)	<u>Original feuar.</u>	<u>Builder and architect.</u>
1.	April 1836.	1841.	John Buddo.	K. attr Wm. Scott or Rae.
2.	Feb. 1835.	1836.	Rev. Wm. Lothian.	McI. McC. after B.
3.	Feb. 1835.	Dec. 1836.	James Edie.	McI. McC. after B.
4.	April 1836.	July 1839.	Dr. John Adamson.	McI. McC. after B.
5.	April 1836.	Jan. 1837.	Richard Berrie, writer.	McI. McC. after B.
6.	April 1836.	Dec. 1836.	Richard Berrie, writer.	McI. McC. after B.
7.	April 1836.	March 1838.	Alexander McBain, wright.	not known, McC. after B.
8.	April 1836.	March 1838.	Alexander McBain, wright.	not known, McC. after B.
9.	Dec. 1837.	July 1839.	David Pearson.	McI. McC. after B.
10.	Dec. 1837.	Nov. 1838.	David Duncan.	McI. McC. after B.
11.	Dec. 1836.	Sept. 1838.	Dr. Wm. Thomson.	not known, attr. Rae.
12.	Dec. 1836.	July 1839.	Maj. Wm. Bruce.	McI. McC. after B.
13.	Dec. 1837.	March 1840.	Jessie Playfair McDonald.	McI. McC. after B.
14.	Dec. 1837.	Aug. 1840.	Wm. Smith, druggist.	McI. McC. after B.
15.	June 1840.	Jan. 1842.	John McIntosh, builder.	McI. McC. after B.
16.	Dec. 1837.	Jan. 1842.	Janet Grant Hunter Methven.	McI. McC. after B.
17.	June 1843.	July 1844.	Capt. David Campbell.	McIntosh, Rae.

McI=McIntosh. McC=McCulloch. B=Balfour. K=Kennedy.

Information derived from individual feu dispositions recorded in
the City of St. Andrews Cartulary, and the text.

Appendix G

South Bell Street, east side. Original feuars, probable dates of erection, architects and builders.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Date stance taken.</u>	<u>Date erected by.</u> (fd=feu disposition)	<u>Original feuar.</u>	<u>Builder and architect.</u>
3.	Dec. 1852.	fd. Feb. 1853.	Lawrence Thomson, innkeeper.	not known, Rae.
5-7.	April 1850.	fd. Feb. 1853.	Dr. John Adamson.	MCI. Rae.
9.	April 1850.	fd. Feb. 1853.	Alexander Adamson, farmer.	MCI. Rae.
11-13-15.	March 1850.	fd. Sept. 1852.	Dr. John Adamson.	MCI. Rae.
17-19-21.	Nov. 1848.	fd. May 1850.	Thomas Smith, baker.	MCI. Rae.
23-25.	Nov. 1848.	fd. Feb. 1853.	Joseph Cook, bookseller.	MCI. Rae.
27.	Nov. 1849.	fd. Feb. 1853.	Elizabeth Purvis Hardie.	MCI. Rae.
29-31.	Dec. 1850.	fd. March 1851.	John Rollo, cabinetmaker.	MCI. Rae.
Congregational Church.		Opened 17th Dec. 1854.		MCI. A. Kerr.
37-39.		1877, for W. George Lorimer, draper.		not known, H&H.
41.		1886, for Charles Donaldson, draper.		not known, JG.
43.		elevation after 1886.		not known.
45.		1877, for Charles Donaldson, bootmaker.		not known, H&H.
161-163 South Street.		1835.		not known.

South Bell Street, west side.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Date stance taken.</u>	<u>Date erected by.</u>	<u>Original feuar.</u>	<u>Builder and Architect.</u>
14.	July 1855.	1858.	John McIntosh, builder.	McI. Rae.
16-18.	July 1855.	1858.	and	" "
20-22.	July 1855.	1858.	John Keddie, wright.	" "
24-26-28.	not known.	1847,	for Andrew Aikman, grocer.	
30.	" "	" "	" "	" "
32.	" "	" "	" "	
165 South St.	" "	" "	" "	

McI=McIntosh. H&H=Hall and Henry. JG=James Gillespie.

Information derived from individual feu dispositions recorded in the City of St. Andrews Cartulary, and entries in the Fifeshire Journal and the Minutes of the St. Andrews Commissioners of Police.

Appendix II

Hope Street, plan and elevation by John Henderson. Original purchasers,
probably dates of erection, secondary architects, and builders.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Original Purchaser.</u>	<u>Date erected by.</u>	<u>Secondary architect.</u>	<u>Builder.</u>
1.	John Ogilvie, builder.	1868-69.	Jesse Hall.	Ogilvie.
2.	Prof. William Swan.	1849-51.		McIntosh.
3.	Isabella & Agnes Christie.	1849-51.		McIntosh.
4.	Euphemia Pitcairn Meldrum.	1849-51.		McIntosh.
5.	Rev. Daniel Fraser.	1849-51.		McIntosh.
6.	Rev. Daniel Fraser.	1849-51.		McIntosh.
7.	Meldrum Downie, builder.	1869.		Downie and Scott.
8.	David Scott, joiner.	1869.		Downie and Scott.
9.	Frederick Fair.	1873-74.		
10.	Capt. Francis C. Turner.	1874-75.	Hall and Henry.	Bruce.
11.	George Bruce, builder.	1876.	Henry Bruce.	Bruce.
12.	George Bruce, builder.	1876.	Henry Bruce.	Bruce.
13.	George Bruce, builder.	1880.	Henry Bruce.	Bruce.
14.	George Bruce, builder.	1880.	Henry Bruce.	Bruce.

Information derived from various documents and letters in St.A.U.M. MS.37746 as noted in the text, in addition to entries in the Valuation Roll for St. Andrews, Minutes of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police and Town Council, and the Fifeshire Journal.

Appendix I

Abbotsford Crescent, original plan and elevation by John Henderson,
modified by John Chesser. Original purchasers, probable dates of
erection, secondary architects, and builders.

East to west.

<u>Stance.</u>	<u>Original purchaser.</u>	<u>Date erected by.</u>	<u>Secondary architect.</u>	<u>Builder.</u>
1-2. (Chattan House)	John McIntosh, builder.	1873-77.	Hall and Henry.	McIntosh.
3.	John McIntosh, builder.	1873-77.	Hall and Henry.	McIntosh.
4.	Dr. William Baird Airston.	1850.		McIntosh.
5.	Eleanor Jameson Inglis.	1850.		McIntosh.
6-7-8. (2 houses)	John McIntosh, builder.	1870-71.		McIntosh.
9.	Lt. Col. Edwin Maude.	1869-70.	John Lessels.	McIntosh.
10.	John Luke.	1869-70.	John Lessels.	McIntosh.
11.	Maj. Robert Bethune.	1869-70.	John Lessels.	McIntosh.
12-13. (Kinloch/Abbotsford House)	Sir Alexander Kinloch.	1869-70.	John Lessels.	McIntosh.

Information derived from various documents and letters in St.A.U.M. MS.37746 as noted in the text, in addition to entries in the Valuation Roll for St. Andrews, Minutes of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police and Town Council, and the Fifeshire Journal.

Appendix J

Howard Place, plan and elevation by John Chesser. Original purchasers,
probable dates of erection, secondary architects, and builders.

South to west.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Original purchaser.</u>	<u>Date erected by.</u>	<u>Secondary architect.</u>	<u>Builder.</u>
1.	U.P. Congregation.	1864.	Peddie and Kinnear.	David Pearson.
2.	William McCulloch, teacher.	1870.	John Milne.	
3.	William McCulloch, teacher.	1870.	John Milne.	
4.	William McCulloch, teacher.	1870.	John Milne.	
5.	Capt. George Tod Wright.	1870.	John Milne.	
6.	John Milne, architect.	1875-76.	John Milne.	
7.	James Gillespie and Scott.	1898.	Gillespie and Scott.	
8-9.	James Gillespie and Scott.	1898.	Gillespie and Scott.	
10-11.	Walter William Duff.	1897.	Gillespie and Scott.	William Ness.
12.	Hugh Rose, builder, and	1876.	David Henry.	Rose and Robertson.
13.	David Robertson, mason.	1876.	David Henry.	Rose and Robertson.
14.	,,	1870.	David Henry.	Rose and Robertson.
15.	John Balsillie.	1870.	David Henry.	

Information derived from various documents and letters in St.A.U.M. MS.37746 as noted in the text, in addition to entries in the Valuation Roll for St. Andrews, Minutes of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police and Town Council, and the Fifeshire Journal.

Appendix K

Queen Street. Original feuars, dates of erection, architects and
builders.

<u>Street no.</u>	<u>Date stance taken.</u>	<u>Date erected by.</u>	<u>Original feuar.</u>	<u>Builder and architect.</u>
2.	Jan. 1868.	1869.	Commercial Bank.	McIntosh, D. Rhind.
3.	1856.	Nov. 1857.	Wm. Woodcock.	not known, attr. Wm.Scott.
4.	1856.	Nov. 1857.	Miss Jean Clark.	not known, Rae.
5.	Oct. 1859.	March 1860.	Wm. Oswald.	Oswald, attr. Rae.
6.	April 1860.	Dec. 1860.	Dr. J. Adamson.	not known, attr. Milne.
7.	April 1860.	Dec. 1860.	Wm. Stobie.	not known, attr. Milne.
8.	March 1859.	1860.	Wm. Stobie jnr.	not known, Milne.
9.	1856.	Nov. 1857.	Misses Stobie.	not known, Rae.
10.		1860.	Wm. Stobie.	John McPherson, Rae.
11.	June 1859.	Feb. 1860.	Capt. Thomson.	not known, Milne.
12.	9th April 1860.	Dec. 1860.	John Milne.	not known, Milne.
13.	9th April 1860.	1862.	John McIntosh.	McIntosh, attr. Rae.
14.	9th April 1860.	1863.	John McIntosh.	McIntosh, attr. Rae.
15.	22nd Dec. 1862.	1863.	David Scott.	McIntosh, Milne.
16.	1863.	1863.	Thomas Rodger.	Pearson, Milne.
17.	1863.	1863.	Thomas Rodger.	Pearson, Milne.
18.	1863.	1863.	John McGregor.	Mcintosh, Milne.
19.	Oct. 1863.	1864.	John McGregor.	not known, attr. Milne.
20.	Oct. 1863.	1867.	John McIntosh.	McIntosh, attr. Milne.
21.	Jan. 1866.	1867.	John McGregor.	not known, attr. Milne.
22.	Jan. 1866.	1867.	John McGregor.	not known, attr. Milne.
23.	Jan. 1866.	1868.	John McGregor.	not known, attr. Rae.
St.Regulus.	Jan. 1866.	1868.	John McGregor.	not known, attr. Rae.

Queen Street Terrace.

<u>Street no.</u>	<u>Date erected by.</u>	<u>Original feuar.</u>	<u>Builder and architect.</u>
2.	1868.	John McGregor.	Wm. Oswald, attr. Milne.
3.	1868.	John McGregor.	Wm. Oswald, attr. Milne.
4.	1868.	John McGregor.	Wm. Oswald, attr. Milne.
16.	1897.	Mrs. Leighton.	not known, Henry.
18.	1901.	G. W. Burnett.	not known, Milne.
20.	1901.	G. W. Burnett.	not known, Milne.
26. St. Margaret's.	1871.	Capt. Douglas.	not known, Henry.
15. Cowansrigg.	1879.		not known, Henry.
17.	1893.		Wm. Ness, G&S.
19.	1893.		Wm. Ness, G&S.
Rectory.	1896.		Thomas Liddel, G&S.
St. Andrew's Church.	1869.		McIntosh, R. Anderson.
,, , Hall.	1893.		not known, Henry.
H.T. Church Hall.	1901.		Thomas Liddel, G&S.

Dempster Terrace.

<u>Street no.</u>	<u>Date erected by.</u>	<u>Original feuar.</u>	<u>Builder and Architect.</u>
1.	1901.	James McGregor.	Wm. Ness, G&S.
2.	1900.	John McGregor.	Peter Walker, G&S.
3.	1900.	John McGregor.	Peter Walker, G&S.
4-11.	1870-71.	John McGregor.	not known, attr. Hall.

Madras Place/West View.

1.	1848-55.	John Brown.	not known, not known.
2.	1848-55.	John Brown.	not known, not known.
3.	1848-55.	John Brown.	not known, not known.
4-6.	1855-59.	John Brown.	not known, attr. Hall.

Information derived from individual feu dispositions recorded in the City of St. Andrews Cartulary, and entries in the Fifeshire Journal, Minutes of St. Andrews Commissioners of Police and Town Council, the Valuation Roll for St. Andrews, Gillespie and Scott's Contract Ledger 1885-1905, and from other sources as recorded in the text and notes.

Appendix L

The Scores. Names of buildings, patrons, dates of erection, architects
and builders.

<u>Name of building.</u>	<u>Patron (s=speculation).</u>	<u>Erected.</u>	<u>Architect.</u>	<u>Builder.</u>
The Baths.	David Dewar, Alex. Vilant.	1810.	attr. Balfour.	
Tontine/Sea View.	Tontine subscribers.	1809-17.	attr. Balfour.	
The Whaum.	Mr. Melville.	1820-46.		
1 Gillespie Terrace. rebuilt for	Walter Foggo Ireland.S. James Walkinshaw.	1849-51. 1868.	Rae. John Harris.	
2 Gillespie Terrace. rebuilt for	Walter Foggo Ireland.S. Elizabeth Walkinshaw.	1849-51. c1862.	Rae.	
3 Gillespie Terrace.	James Balfour Melville.S.	1854.	Rae.	
4 Gillespie Terrace.	James Balfour Melville.S.	1854.	Rae.	
5 Gillespie Terrace.	William Murray.S.	1849-51.	Rae.	
6 Gillespie Terrace. rebuilt for	Allan Briggs.S. Robert Chambers.	1849-51. 1865.	Rae. Hall.	Ferrier.
R. & A. Clubhouse. major alterations.	Royal & Ancient Golf Club.	1854.	Rae.	Pearson
Clifton Bank.	John Paterson.	1881.	Milne/Hall & Henry.	Carstairs & Carmichael
Bay View West.	David McArthur.S.	1856-58.	Hall.	McIntosh.
Seaton House.	John Buddo.S.	1864.	attr. Hall.	
University House. additions for	Barron Grahame of Morphie. Lord Borthwick.	1864-65. 1863-65. 1871.	Rae. attr. Starforth. attr. Hall & Henry.	McIntosh.

Rockview.	Dr. John Adamson.	1864-66.	Hall & Henry.	
North Cliffe.	Dr. Oswald Home Bell.	1864-66.	Hall & Henry.	
additions for	Mrs. Allen.	1892.	Henry.	
Edgecliffe.	John McGregor.S.	1865-66.	Rae.	McIntosh.
Kirnan.	Prof. Lewis Campbell.	1867.	Peddie & Kinnear.	McIntosh.
Castlecliffe.	Thomas Purdie.	1869-70.	Bryce.	McIntosh.
Craigard.	John McGregor.S.	1870-71.	attr. Hall & Henry.	
East Bay View.	David Anderson, jnr.	1870-71.	Hall & Henry.	
Castle Lea.	Thomas Rodger, snr.	1870-71.	Hall & Henry.	
Castlemount addition.	Misses Paton.	1874.	Hall & Henry.	
further additions for	Dr. Paton.	1914.	Henry.	
Skating rink.	Messrs.Hart,Robson & Davies.	c1875.		
Dhu Craig.	David Balsillie.	1873.	George Birrell.	
The Hirscl.	David Lamb.	1879-80.	Hall & Henry.	
St. Salvator's.	Wm. Davison & John Patterson.	1879-80.	Milne.	James Ritchie.
Castlegate.	Jesse Hall.S.	1879-80.	Hall & Henry.	
Kilrymont.	George Bruce.S.	1885-86.	Hall & Henry.	
St.James' temp. Church.	Roman Catholic Church.	1884-85.		
Presbytery.	Roman Catholic Church.	1885-86.	Gillespie & Scott.	James Ritchie.
St. Colme's.	William Ramsay.S.	1890-91.	Henry.	Liddel & Loudon.
Kilrule.	Thomas Harris.S.	1891-92.		Thomas Harris.
Castlehouse.	Thomas Harris.S.	1893-91.	attr. Thomas Cappon.	Thomas Harris.

Grand Hotel. additions.	Grand Hotel Co.	1893-95.	James M. Monro.	William, Allan & Cowan.
27 Murray Park.	Mary Murray Matheson.	1897.	James M. Monro.	
St. Swithin's.	Prof. Arthur Butler.	1893-94.	attr. Milne.	
Scores Villas.	William Woodcock.S.	1893-94.	Gillespie & Scott.	
Westcliffe.	G. C. Douglas.S.	1895-96.	Henry.	Liddel.
Hazelbank.	G. C. Douglas.	1896-97.	Milne.	
Tayview.	David Bett.S.	1896-97.	Milne.	
Kinellar.	G. W. Burnett.S.	1897-98.	Henry.	A. & J. Carstairs.
Swallowgate. additions for	Prof. James Bell Pettigrew.	1898.	Milne.	
Kennedy House.	Mrs. Bell Pettigrew.	1894-95.	Rowand Anderson.	
St. Katherine's West.	Prof. George Ritchie.	1910-11.	Rowand Anderson.	
St. James' stone Church.	St.A. School for Girls Co.	1895-96.	Gillespie & Scott.	
	Roman Catholic Church.	1897-98.	Gillespie & Scott.	
		1909-10.	Reginald Fairlie.	J. H. White & Sons.

Information compiled from the text and notes.

Appendix M.

St. Andrews Gazette, 16th October 1880.

The Union Club Plans.

Sir, in the paragraph of last week's St. Andrews Gazette our name was introduced in a connection to which we object.

The idea that is suggested, and all through implied, is that designs in fair competition and under equal conditions had been submitted by the architects therein named for the alterations on the Club buildings, and that Mr. Milne had been successful.

Messrs. Kinnear and Peddie may state their own case if they think fit, but we object to the false impression sought to be created going abroad without contradiction.

Our connection with the matter is very simply stated, and is as follows. In the summer of 1879 Messrs. Kinnear and Peddie, by instruction of the Committee of the Club, prepared two designs for enlarging and remodelling the buildings. These designs apparently did not generally find favour among the members, mainly, we believe, on account of the expense; and at the Autumn meeting their further consideration was delayed till the

Spring meeting of 1880. A resolution was, however, agreed to that any member of the Club might in the meantime, submit plans for the improvement of the buildings, provided such plans were submitted to the Committee not later than 1st February 1880. Some time after the meeting a client of ours, and a member of the Club, called and asked us if we would prepare for him a plan to be submitted by him in accordance with the resolution. He stated the alterations which he thought would give the extra accommodation required, and which would generally meet the view of the members, and mentioned that the expense would need to be well within a thousand pounds, as he thought the Club would not be willing to spend more than that sum.

We made plans to embody our clients views, but during the time they were in preparation they were seen by another client, also a member of the Club, who made a suggestion that we thought so good that we made an alternative plan to set it forth, and sent the whole to our client to be submitted by him before 1st February. When the plans were considered by the Committee the alternative plan was adopted and kept by them, and the other returned to us. Some minor alterations were mentioned as desirable on the accepted plan, but it was not returned to have these made, and we heard nothing more of the matter for months. Bye and bye it appears that Mr. Milne, who had professional business with the steward of the Club, learned through that, and possibly

other backstair channels, what had taken place, and as most people think obtained access to our plans. He then wrote the Committee asking if he might submit a design, and saying if his design was not accepted it would not be charged for. The Committee granted the desired permission, and Mr. Milne (long after 1st February) sent in a design, which, we are informed, was in all essential features of plan a reproduction of the design which the Committee had accepted from our client in the circumstances just narrated. The minor alterations mentioned to us as desirable were made, and that, we are informed, is all the difference. It will thus be seen that there was no competition in any fair or honourable sense of that term, as is sought to be suggested; and we decidedly object to any such colour being given to a transaction which we are quite sure all professional men will condemn as a breach of etiquette. If a competition had been invited by the Club, under suitable conditions, we would have had it in our power to say whether we would enter such a competition or not. If we chose to enter (a most unlikely event) we would have been bound to accept the Club's decision if fairly given, and if we failed we should not have grudged the successful man his honours. But after being brought into the business as we have been, and by no voluntary action of our own, and then to have Mr. Milne seeking to make the public believe that he has been successful in a fair competition, would be allowing a statement of the case

that is entirely untrue, both in fact and in intention, to pass unchallenged.

We protested at the time and in the proper quarter against the shabby treatment we were receiving, and should not have again referred to the matter but for the dishonourable use sought to be made of our name in the paragraph in question.

Messrs. Kinnear and Peddie, as they were employed by the Committee, have doubtless been paid their fee, but we who were seen to have supplied the ideas of the present alterations have not even received thanks.

Yours, HALL AND HENRY.

Appendix N

(Scottish Catholic Archives, ED4.150.5.)

Memorandum from Fr. George Angus to Mgr. Smith, 1884-85.

The Presbytery of St. Andrews.

I. I propose to build a house at one end of our ground at St. Andrews, for my own use and that of my successors.

II. A possible objection is that in case a community should be established here, whether to serve the Church, or as a Seminary, or as a Sanatorium, or a house of Retreat etc., the proposed Presbytery, adapted for the occupation of one priest, would be useless.

III. This is not the case. The west side of the house at the east end of the Church and ground will be almost a blank wall. There is plenty of room now to build two houses, when I propose to build one, and two or more could be added on to my Presbytery at any time. Indeed, by moving the permanent Church, when about to be erected, 10, 20, 30, or 40 or more feet westwards, several houses could be placed in the same line, and in communication with my proposed house, should they at any time be required.

IV. The cost to the diocese would not be more than at present. The priest must live and pay rent some where. Far better that he should live, and if possible he ought to live, close to his Church. The ground being our own there would be no ground rent or feu-duty, and thus the rent of the house would be cheaper. If the diocese could buy the house, when built, out and out - so much the better. Then no more rent would have to be paid: the diocese would possess a Presbytery, and as there are £700 in hand there ought not to be great difficulty in making the purchase. Besides it would be money well invested.

I add some considerations from a personal point of view.

A. In remaining at St. Andrews, it is of the first importance that I should be properly settled, and get my books and belongings un-packed and in their places. This is not easy in renting furnished houses when one may be turned out at intervals. And such a contingency is very unsettling for the priest, of course if there were no alternative *cavit quaestis*, but as we have the ground and can get the house at no additional expense, why not do it, at once?

B. With regard to the establishment of a community of any kind connected with the Church here, that of course is a question for Authority to take up. At the same time it is right that I should respect what I clearly said

before I was received into the diocese, that I cannot form any part of any community: in remaining here it is a sine qua non that I live in my own Presbytery. I must decline to live with any other person or persons, priests, students, lay persons or others, and I cannot have any other persons to live with me. Nor do I contemplate allowing my friends to make a hotel of my Presbytery. To prevent this I have carefully allowed for one spare room only, as I should not care to have more, or to keep servants enough to wait upon more.

I think it better to put all this down in black and white so that no complications or mis-understandings may hereafter arise. G.A.

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