# A history of James Craig's hall for the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh

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**ABSTRACT** The architectural history of the College's George Street hall, completed in 1781, has commonly been overlooked because it was demolished and deemed to have been a disappointment to both its owners and its architect, James Craig.<sup>1</sup> This article reassesses the College's ambitions and Craig's efforts to match them, by accounting for the number of drawings which were made for the site and building, Craig's sources of inspiration and the building's appearance and influence. The paper reveals that the hall was actually intended to be part of a larger complex of buildings and rival Register House as the New Town's most impressive public edifice. The building has not been examined in this way before, and Craig's use of his library, drawing equipment and knowledge of London's architects and architecture are discussed to offer insight into his personal vision for the hall's appearance and meaning.

**KEYWORDS** Architecture, Craig, Edinburgh, hall, RCPE

DECLARATION OF INTERESTS No conflict of interests declared.

#### Published online April 2008

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Before James Craig began work to plan and build the College's hall and library between 1775 and 1776, the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh had indicated the extent of its ambitions with a series of aborted building projects between the 1750s and the 1770s. Two of these included drawings presented by Robert Adam<sup>2</sup> and Sir James Clerk of Penicuick. Both architects gave the proposed building a large domed structure to meet the College's desire to have a new meeting hall and library. Neither Adam's nor Clerk's plans were adopted, however, because they were too expensive and, in Clerk's case, because Register House was to take the site intended for the College building.

Clerk's plan represented Rome's Pantheon,<sup>3</sup> and was intended to house meetings, a library and resident librarian, rooms for reading and research, consultations and waiting together with servants' quarters,<sup>4</sup> at the northern terminus of the new bridge over the Nor Loch. Designed in 1765, it was intended to be the New Town's first public building. However, between 1767 and 1771, the College was asked to vacate this site for Register House. In response, the College first considered planning a new hall, library, cold bath and garden in the Old Town,<sup>5</sup> but finally opted to relocate Clerk's Pantheon complex to another New Town site on the south side of Princes Street<sup>6</sup> – a project that was abandoned by 1773.<sup>7</sup>

In 1775<sup>8</sup> the College resumed its intention to build a new hall and library in the New Town, selecting a site on the south side of George Street and the architect James

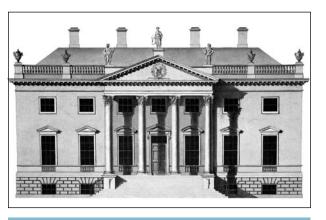


FIGURE I One of James Craig's five remaining drawings, showing the front elevation of the hall.

Craig as its designer.<sup>9</sup> Five ink-coloured drawings remain in the College to show this building (Figure I). The intention was for art to be integrated into the building, with both the exterior and interior decorated with sculptures and paintings. The College had its choice ratified by Robert and John Adam, as well as Edinburgh Town Council, all of whom had experience of working with Craig.<sup>10</sup>What Craig provided – a large rectangular box plan, subdivided into rooms – met the salient function of the College, which required a large hall for meetings and a place to house its library.

This, however, was not all that the College intended. The edifice was also to have a complex of buildings to accommodate research, examinations, consultations and treatments, as well as accompanying rooms for servants and the librarian and a garden. The College looked to

Craig to match its expectations. Craig was already famous for planning the New Town, and was known to the College's members and patrons. Among his friends, admirers and patrons were Sir Alexander Dick, Sir John Pringle, Dr John Hope and Dr William Cullen as well as the Earl of Bute, the Duke of Buccleuch and even King George III, who had approved of his New Town plan. In this light, the College's decision to commission Craig reflected a shared vision to improve both Edinburgh's provision of medical care and its architecture.

#### THE 1775 PORTFOLIO OF PLANS

The College's surviving drawings for Craig's building, which was completed in 1781, do not represent all that he made between 1775 and 1780. The existing plans were probably drawn between February and March 1775, when the College first accepted the architect's 'outlines of a plan'." They include elevations for the front (north) and back (south) of the hall, a section of the library and plans for other rooms, such as the vestibule and committee room. The contract Craig signed in April 1776 records that the building would have a library, meeting hall, vestibule, committee room and antechamber.<sup>12</sup> One further design in the College portfolio shows a flat, pilastered elevation with lonic capitals. This does not fit in with Craig's plans and may have been drawn by the architect David Henderson, either in 1775 or in the 1780s for the wings Craig and the College intended to build for the hall. There is no signature on this design; how the College acquired it and why it was included in the portfolio remains a mystery.

The portfolio indicates the initial brief Craig had been given. The primary function of the building, as planned in 1775, was to house the library and hold meetings. Craig met this objective by giving the most space to a great hall. Writing in 1835, Dr Nathaniel Spens described the building as containing one large room, with a lobby and other rooms.<sup>13</sup> Topographical prints of the building show it to have been a two-bayed hall with a grand portico. Craig's own depiction of the site and form of the hall, on his circus plan of 1781, demonstrates that it ran on an east–west axis rather than extending back to the mews lanes to the south.

#### **MISSING DRAWINGS**

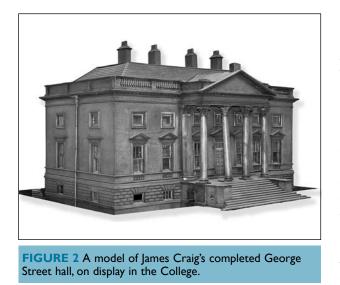
There is abundant evidence that some of Craig's drawings are missing. The College Minutes for 5 April 1776 specify nine agreed drawings to complement the building contract, none of which can be accounted for today.<sup>14</sup> This implies that drawings were prepared to complement the estimate and agreement, including ground plans for cellarage, a basement or underground storey running nearly 25 m across, ground, principal and attic storeys and the roof. These drawings would also have indicated the provision of rooms, fireplaces,

doorways and staircases throughout the building, as well as for the venting of the heating system and for water and sewage pipes.

The 1776 contract specified that alterations had to be made to the 1775 designs, including removing the main façade's statues, enlarging the portico's columns, taking away the staircase planned for the western half of the hall, changing vents and adding stone stairs for the ground, principal and two intersole (mezzanine) floors. All these changes imply that Craig made new plans to show the alterations. How these drawings went missing is not clear. By 1785 the College had mislaid Craig's plan of the 'Great Room' in the hall, and failed to locate it. Following his death in 1795, Craig's goods were sold at auction. The banker Gilbert Innes of Stow bought a plan of the hall which Craig had kept in his own home at the foot of West Bow.15 This accounts for one drawing, but its subsequent history is now lost. In all, Craig would have made more than nine drawings to meet the agreement made in 1776 and to begin construction. This number does not include further working drawings he made for William Christie, the overseer, to give to tradesmen, and for the College's building committee and the Lord Provost's committee to approve, as well as plans to show further alterations to the building.

An impression of Craig's hall can be gained through his surviving drawings as well as the 1776 contract. The cellarage under the George Street front had a basement level above it, which was in turn joined to the principal floor, the first floor and finally the attic and roof. The contract also describes an intersole level, a mezzanine floor typical of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century architecture. This level had two rooms, but its position cannot be located on existing evidence and the rooms' functions are not clear. However, the fact that the College wanted Craig to remove the western stairs of the hall implies that the architect had devised a symmetrical plan with eastern and western staircases and possibly matching intersole rooms. There were also some smaller rooms: a vestibule, two committee rooms and an antechamber connected to the main hall and library. The main hall contained the library and was the single largest room on the ground floor. A series of unspecified rooms on the first floor may have formed an administrative or residential level directly above.

Physicians and visitors to the hall could enter from George Street, passing through iron gates, along a short walkway and then up great stone stairs to the portico and main door. They could either go into the main hall, or take the eastern stair to move through the building. The physicians could hold meetings and undertake research in the library, and many other rooms were available for examinations, consultations and private meetings. College servants would have been accommodated in the basement. The contract shows that Craig oversaw the foundation of



the building and designed a roof made of king post trusses. He also supplied drawings for window mouldings, two Corinthian columns and pilasters for the portico, and mouldings for wall and column bases, astragals, cornices, friezes, parapets, architraves and decorative details for the medallions to decorate the building's portico, hearths, walls and ceilings.

#### **'EXTRA WORK' DRAWINGS, 1776-80**

Once work began on the hall in 1776, Craig produced further drawings up until 1780. The College's accounts describe these as 'extra work'.<sup>16</sup> There are many examples of such drawings, including designs for the foundation of the portico's steps, mouldings for the front façade's pitched and circular window pediments and the main door's pediments, cornices and decoration. There were also further payments for drawings of gables, cornices and window surrounds.

Craig devoted much time to designing the building's main steps, portico and front door. He wanted to make a great impression and provided designs and models to demonstrate his intentions. The front door's cornice was to carry enriched leaf carving, and its dentils were to have carvings of pineapples<sup>17</sup> – the Georgian symbol of hospitality and a fruit that the physicians may have studied in botanical gardens. Craig also created five panels for the soffit (underside) of the portico between its four Corinthian columns and matching pilasters. This area was decorated with a carved rose in the centre of each panel,<sup>17</sup> a popular decorative motif in New Town architecture and one that was appropriate to its Unionist iconography. This feature, like the portico itself, was copied at St Andrew's and St George's Church, which faced the hall after 1780. By the 1780s Craig wrote to the College to ask to complete building the portico and balustrade as he saw fit and to follow drawings,18 even attempting to reintroduce the statues he had presented in 1775 but had been asked to exclude.<sup>19</sup>

Between 1776 and 1780 extra designs were made to decorate the centre of the portico with Apollo's lyre and Asklepios's rod surrounded by laurel branches and tied with a ribbon,<sup>17</sup> which corresponded to the standing statues of Apollo, Asklepios and Hygeia that Craig had intended in 1775. Drawings for the decoration of the architrave were illustrated by a wooden model that Craig made to demonstrate the effect he wanted, akin to the wooden model that was made of the completed hall (Figure 2).<sup>20</sup> Further designs for the portico included two rods of Asklepios on the pedestals on either side of the stair leading to the portico,<sup>21</sup> as well as designs for the stairs and its steps. The main door was also decorated with richly carved consoles.<sup>21</sup> Less spectacular, but of no less importance, were designs for locating and fixing rain water cisterns and related pipes and guttering<sup>17</sup> to ensure the building was protected from damp. All the accounts for extra work on the building's exterior imply that Craig supplied up to 19 extra drawings as well as at least one wooden model.

At least eight further drawings were required for the interior of the building. The accounts indicate the addition of a new wall in the understorey to create a passage and support the columns of the library's gallery, as well as elliptical brick arches in the library to replace the segmented ones originally planned.<sup>21</sup> Craig also created decorative designs for the vestibule, including an enriched Doric cornice and architrave, a laurel leaf foliage surround for a painted decoration of the 12 zodiac signs to go around the door leading to the library, and a design for the ceiling's plasterwork.<sup>21</sup> (The zodiac design is similar to the one that Craig used for the king's seat in the New Church at the east end of St Giles between 1777 and 1780.<sup>22</sup>) On the opposite side, the library door to the vestibule was given a pediment.<sup>22</sup>

There were probably extra drawings for the eastern and western committee rooms, as well as the antechamber, as Craig argued that the 15-foot high committee rooms would look 'naked' without friezes below the cornices.<sup>22</sup> The cornices themselves carried classical ovolo carving, and Craig wanted the same for the friezes.<sup>22</sup> The surviving drawings of the vestibule or antechamber indicate that Craig supplied picture frames and niches, with laurel surrounds, for sculpture and paintings to adorn the hall. He also made drawings in 1780 for the parapet wall and iron gates for the front of the hall. In all, Craig supplied the College with at least 28 extra drawings to supplement those agreed by contract. The total number of at least 40 drawings indicates the large amount of work the architect did to plan and build the hall.

#### **TWO WINGS FOR THE HALL**

Craig was contracted to have completed the hall by 1778, but by 1779 another project occupied his time, which was indicated during negotiations for the contract

in April 1776. This scheme was to build wings for the hall to the east and west of the main building. There are no College accounts or correspondence about the proposed function of the wings, but the project indicates that the College wanted a much larger site and a series of buildings in the New Town.

The College minutes show that the physicians continued to plan wings in 1783–84 and even consulted Craig about the scheme, although he was not contracted to build them. Details of the designs for these wings, and the walls, railing and gates for the hall, can be found in College minutes and Town Council papers. Sadly, the drawings for these works are now missing. However, Craig revealed the plan for the wings in his portrait and described to the Town Council the designs for the walls, railing and gates as being in a 'very light style', likening them to those in Sir Laurence Dundas's mansion on St Andrew's Square.<sup>23</sup> If the wings had been built, the hall would have covered most of its block on the south side of George Street, and have been the largest public building in the New Town.

The inclusion of the College hall and its intended wings in Craig's portrait by David Allan, painted in the spring of 1781,<sup>24</sup> suggests that the architect considered this to be one of his most important construction projects, alongside his New Town circus plan which he had advocated to Edinburgh's magistrates and London's Royal Court from 1770 onwards. Craig saw the hall and circus plan as examples of the need to break the straight street lines of the adopted New Town layout, and as opportunities to plan and build further grand public buildings and houses. By the time Allan painted the portrait, Craig may still have retained his customary naive idealism for seeing the completion of both the hall's wings and the New Town circus. In the portrait, the architect was not only showing off two projects for which he was already known, but also advocating what he believed New Town architecture should look like.

#### **SOURCES OF INSPIRATION**

The true extent of the ambitions underpinning the George Street hall can be gleaned by references to other medical buildings and architectural theory, as well as considering Craig's relationship to the College, other architects and his own family. Craig came from a family active in Edinburgh's Town Council. His grandfather, Robert, was a successful magistrate and his father, William, was the city's sword- and macebearer. All of Craig's brothers and sisters died in infancy, and when his father died in 1762 he lived with his mother and aunt as the head of the family. Craig's mother, Mary Thomson, was the sister of the poet James Thomson, whose work was popular throughout Britain. By way of devotion to his famous uncle and his mother, Craig developed an aesthetic that used tracts of Thomson's poetry to illustrate his designs, such as on the New Town circus

plan, and decorated buildings with devices that played on some the poet's famous works, such as *The Seasons* (published between 1726 and 1730).<sup>25</sup>

In the family's drawing room guests would have been struck by Craig's library and art collection. The architect's debts meant that, following his death in 1795, these collections were sold at auction.<sup>26</sup> (Craig had a reputation for mismanagement and debt as well as innovation and ingenuity. Besides this, the planning and building of the College hall represented a high point in his career; the 1780s and 1790s did not bring any further commissions for major public buildings.) The Commissiary Court listed his household contents, providing details of Craig's books on architecture and design. They included widely known books on architecture from the 1720s to 1750s as well as modern works by the Adam brothers, Sir William Chambers and John Gwynn. There were also books on mathematics by Edinburgh College's David Gregory, John Wilson and Colin McLaurin, texts on Euclid's Elements and books on architectural drawing by James Gibbs, William Salmon and others. These complemented further texts on iconology by George Richardson, studies of specific buildings such as the Radcliffe Library in Oxford by James Gibbs, the Pantheon and the palace and gardens of Versailles and a large collection of poetry. Craig's library - where he and his draughtsman and pupil, James Begg,27 designed their projects - also housed statues, paintings, prints and architectural and planning equipment, such as sets of mathematical instruments, ink stands and glasses, two camera obscuras, pencils and a working desk.

What Craig presented to the College in his plans for its hall were visual references to other works and buildings - adaptations rather than copies of his sources of inspiration. Such clever conceits demonstrated his mastery of modern architectural models and learning. One source of inspiration was the architect James Gibbs, in particular his Rules for drawing in architecture. The measurements of the hall's Corinthian columns, entablatures and pedestals correspond to those recommended by Gibbs.<sup>28</sup> However, from the main façade's portico Craig excluded the capitals, pedestals and steps from Gibbs's rules for drawing. He also refused to apply the same rules to the drawing of the elevation of the hall and the section of the library. This selective approach to design was used throughout: Craig wanted to demonstrate that he was more than a copyist, and could synthesise sources to create something new. Similar research using other authors from Craig's library, such as Batty Langley or Isaac Ware, may provide further evidence for his sources of the building's design.

For Craig to use Gibbs as a source of inspiration was not surprising in itself as Gibbs was a hugely influential architect throughout Great Britain. However, it would have taken a trained eye and some careful measurements to make the connection between the hall's architecture and Gibbs's rules of drawing. Craig did, however, intend other more obvious and appropriate dedications to Gibbs – for example, he intended to have both eastern and western wings surrounded by railings and obelisks. He also designed dedications to other architects he knew and admired. Such references illustrated Craig's tuition, taste and abilities as an architect and theorist who wanted to innovate, instruct and nourish the people 'of first taste', as he called them.<sup>33</sup> His intention was for such people to employ him as a designer and constructor of further important public buildings, thus granting him a similar recognition as his mentors.

One example of Craig's clever adaptation of a design feature can be seen in the large semi-circular segmented arches he gave the library's interior fenestration (Figure 3). The segmented arch was typical of Gibbs, but the scale of the library's windows was designed not only to give light, but to refer to other buildings Craig had seen, or knew of, through his contact with Robert Adam. The library's fenestration played a visual joke upon the theme of orangeries that Adam had designed and built in England, such as the ones at Hampton House, home to the actor David Garrick; Kenwood House, home to the Lord Mansfield; and Orleans House, home to the Secretary of State for Scotland, James Johnston, which was also called 'the Orangerie' to recall its fine gardens.<sup>29</sup> Of these, the fenestration given to the orangery at Kenwood House is closest to the physicians' library window design.

With this feature, Craig was alluding to the library being a place where knowledge grew and flourished, as well as to Lord Mansfield's support for the New Town plan during a long-fought feuars' dispute with Edinburgh Town Council between 1771 and 1776. It was also a reference to Craig's professional relationship with John and Robert Adam. John Adam not only arbitrated disputes during the building of the hall, but was also a working partner for the New Town plan in 1766-7, and builder of the Botanic Gardens from 1776.25 Craig worked on the greenhouses at the Gardens, and by referring to orangeries he was asking the physicians to remember his work on these hothouses. The physicians may have enjoyed the connections between the pineapples carved into the dentils at the entrance to the hall and references to botany, Adam and their own Dr John Hope (botanist to the king) as well as remembered patrons of the College like the Earl of Bute, who took an interest in medical gardens, and Lord Mansfield, as a backer of the New Town's architecture.

For those who were in on the orangery joke, the play upon Garrick's Hampton House was also appropriate to Craig's social circle and pretensions. The architect was a fan of the actor and kept prints of him at home.<sup>26</sup> Garrick was also part of the London patriotic literati

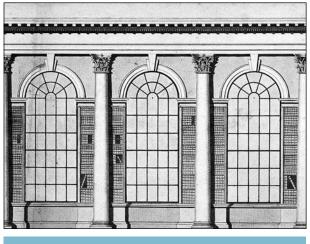


FIGURE 3 A detail of the hall's library windows with their segmented arches, from one of Craig's surviving plans.

who would have appreciated Craig's relationship to Thomson. Meanwhile, the octagonal Orleans House in Twickenham also played upon Craig and Thomson's Unionist sympathies, as well as possibly inspiring the wings that Craig and the College intended for the hall. Indeed, when Craig went to London to dedicate the New Town plan to George III in the winter of 1767, he also used the opportunity to pay homage to Thomson. He went to Richmond, where Thomson lived, and then set about designing a monument to the poet.<sup>30</sup> This project was to occupy his mind from then until the 1790s when he proposed to build an obelisk to Thomson at his birthplace at Ednam.<sup>31</sup> On his visit to his uncle's abode Craig may also have taken the opportunity to see and sketch houses in Richmond and Twickenham that Thomson and his contemporaries knew and lived in, and thereby complement his collection of poetry with a collection of architectural references. These gave Craig's architecture both individuality and the zeal to convert interpretations of poetry and literature into designs for monuments, buildings and entire towns.

In 1779, in correspondence with the College and the Town Council about the wings, Craig promoted the projection of three sides of an octagon that he had designed for the wings' front elevations. He argued that such projections offered a welcome variety of design to the repetitive straight lines of the New Town street plan, suggesting that the design represented a 'real ornament' when it was introduced in the central street between two cross streets. As if to soothe the New Town planning committee's nerves, Craig argued that these projections should protrude no more than the pillars of the advocate Mr Crosbie's house in St Andrew's Square or those of the Princes Street Coffee House. On a much bigger scale, the circus plan he designed also broke the New Town's continuous straight street plan. In other projects Craig returned to the octagon. The Observatory on Calton Hill, designed in 1775-6, was an octagon with wings; the new pulpit in the New Church was an octagon; and an octagon

was used again for the South Bridge designs in the 1780s.<sup>32</sup> Both the Lord Provost, John Dalrymple, and the College enthused about the wings scheme in 1778–9. Craig said they would be an 'ornament'<sup>33</sup> to the hall and New Town. 'Nobody is more anxious or can be so interested as Mr Craig for the Beauty of both the Hall and of the New Town,' wrote the College to the Town Council in 1778.<sup>33</sup>

As with the façade and library, the design of the wings for the hall played on a series of visual references based on Craig's drive to develop his aesthetic around Thomson and his personal knowledge of London's architecture. With its central feature of an octagonal projection, the original source of inspiration may have lain with Isaac Ware's design for Chiswick House.<sup>30</sup> Equally, Craig may have turned to Gibbs for inspiration and looked to the work he did at the Radcliffe Library and at Cross Deep House in Twickenham, a house which had two semioctagonal wings on either side.

The design for the wings' entrance door and tympanied fenestration set on a heavy-belted cornice recalled Gibbs's work for the Radcliffe Library. This inspiration was amplified in the obelisk monument designs for the railings connecting the wings with the hall that Craig may have seen in Gibbs's *Designs of buildings and ornaments*. The reference to the Radcliffe Library was appropriate to the Royal College of Physicians as the Oxford University library had been built to house the collection of Sir John Radcliffe, a royal physician and an outstanding patron of public architecture.

Another inspirational building for the College hall wings was Sir Christopher Wren's Greenwich Hospital. Craig adapted the appearance of Wren's masterpiece, exploiting the fact that the physicians' hall had been built back from the main street. The proposed wings gave Craig the opportunity to provide domed buildings to either side of a main block, which reversed Wren's provision. The idea made a visual reference to a famous hospital, which added beauty to the College's new building. In his booklet, the *Plan for improving the City of Edinburgh*, Craig wrote a little of his knowledge of Greenwich and London.<sup>34</sup> Although always based in Edinburgh, the architect liked to demonstrate his personal knowledge of English and London fashions, as well as his connections with nobility and royalty.

# **ABANDONING THE HALL**

By 1835 the College was contemplating selling Craig's hall. Planning had begun in the 1760s and building in the 1770s, with the hall finally opening in 1781. This lengthy process, however, resulted in a building with a life span of only 54 years. At the time, the reasons given for abandoning the hall included its lack of space and warmth. Since then, the building has been perceived as a failure and as an example of Craig's inability to manage a successful career. Yet the reasons for the hall's demise do not lie solely with its architect. The facts were that the College's ambitions outweighed its ability to pay for the project's completion and to secure enough land to build a grand hall with wings. In the 1770s Dr Hope reported that the College did not have enough income raised from membership subscriptions to sustain further extensive building campaigns, however desirable.<sup>35</sup> Such ambitions also failed to grasp the fact that Edinburgh Town Council, though always sympathetic to the College, was administering the planning and building of the New Town and needed revenue to support itself following the Ayr Bank crash of 1772. This meant that it gave feus to the east and west of the hall to builders rather than to the College to develop into wings. Builders such as Robert Wright and William Smith could develop the sites faster than the College could. Needing money to balance its accounts, the College even considered selling the building off in January 1781 to be redeveloped as the new Assembly Rooms.<sup>36</sup> However, this proposal was not taken up and the College and its library moved into the building and set about finishing it off.

Still, it is Craig who often carries the blame for the demise of the George Street hall. Disputes over payments and his support of a journeymen's strike in 1778–9 have been cited as weaknesses rather than strengths in Craig's management of the building. These problems are better known than the ambitions behind and appearance of the hall, but they do not indicate the true quality of the building nor the admiration that some leading physicians had for it. The surviving portfolio of Craig's drawings, together with nineteenth-century prints, clearly show an impressive building, and the College accounts indicate that the hall was built to a high standard, had a sound structure and ornate details and decorations that influenced neighbouring buildings.

Surviving accounts of the building supplies for the hall further indicate the quality of its structure. Between 1775 and 1780, Alex Whyte, a marble merchant, supplied the 'Doctor's Hall' with wood, plaster, stucco, black and white marbles, coloured lintels and jambs and white tiles for the hearths.<sup>37</sup> At the same time, Alexander Semple, a carter, drove cut stone from the Ravelston quarry to the hall for masons to assemble.<sup>38</sup> The tradesmen who built the hall included an important and ambitious group of builders who were to dominate New Town architecture for the next 20 years.<sup>39</sup>

In 1835 both Dr Hope and Dr Spens objected to the proposed sale of the property,<sup>13</sup> despite considering that the hall was too small and cold. Perhaps they, like Craig, had always thought the building ill-suited to the College's needs once the wings had been abandoned – the project never being completed to either the College's or architect's full ambitions. Craig's correspondence with the College between 1781 and 1782 is a sad account of his failure to

complete the building, but it also indicates his desire to plan and build a great piece of architecture in the New Town.

### CONCLUSION

This preliminary inspection suggests that James Craig and the George Street hall deserve more attention from architectural historians. Craig worked harder than the surviving portfolio of drawings implies, and intended more work to follow after the main hall was built. These plans, together with accounts and correspondence, indicate that the College hall's architecture was more subtle and important than it has been given credit for. They also show Craig to be an architect who worked on a project on which he staked his career, and that his design had integrity and ambition and was executed to meet the foremost needs of his patrons.

The ornate classical design of the George Street hall was more than a Corinthian façade. It was a careful blend of references, which cited English architecture designed by Scottish architects as sources of inspiration – a Unionist

architecture that was most appropriate to the New Town's meaning and Craig's intention for its recognition throughout Great Britain. What prevented the completion of the entire project included events out of the architect's and the College's control, such as Edinburgh Town Council's management of the New Town, the Ayr bank crash and the journeymen's strike of 1778.

The hall's architectural history is perhaps best understood as a story of unfulfilled potential. Craig managed to design a building that combined ambitious architectural theory with personal and emotional meaning, which he intended to be communicated through references to poetry, landscape, buildings and contemporaries of James Thomson as well as the academic, noble and professional patrons in his life. Craig's desire to maintain the good reputation of the Craig and Thomson names, as well as further his reputation as an architect, inspired his work for the College and his aim to secure its place in the New Town. Further studies of Craig's work and that of the tradesmen who built the hall would reveal its deeper significance to the architecture of the New Town as a whole.

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