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Thomson's City: Mid-Nineteenth Century Glasgow

John McKean

Few architects inevitably stamp their mark on a city's image, transforming it by their interventions. In the changing kaleidoscope of the city of Glasgow, there is no stronger individual than Alexander Thomson (1813 - 1875). It is not that he built the most. There have been others who designed as much and more. It is not just that his works stand out as figures against the grainy urban ground of the city. It is, on the other hand, that nobody was better able, first, to understand the actuality of the form of the city (and therefore its image) and then, through his skill, to make that form clearer and stronger. Thomson's buildings help articulate that city form, which itself, then, becomes more clearly embedded in the *imago urbis*.

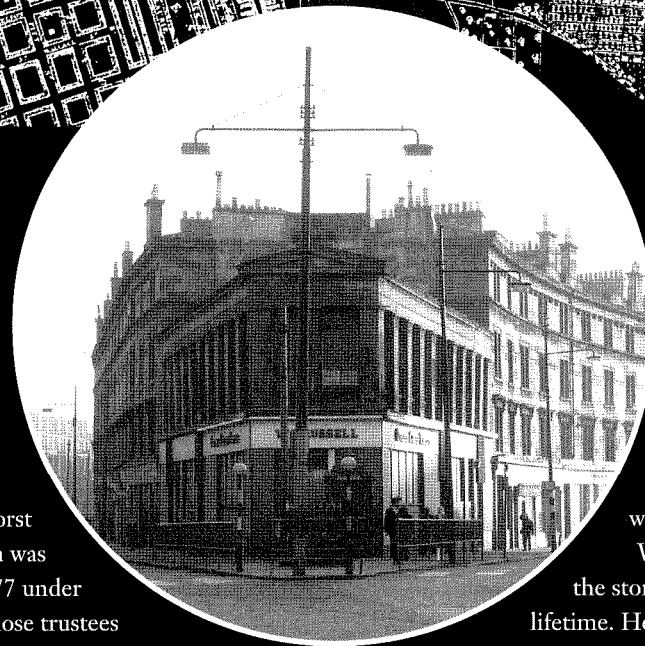
Thomson's forms are exuberant, forceful, astonishingly original. But they are always vigorously embedded in his city, memorable in that they make the city more memorable. There are as many virtuoso architects who did not do this, indeed, who shouted their individuality in contrast to their context so loudly that such was impossible.¹ Each of these architects adds to the crystallization of the city's *imaginaire collectif*, but Thomson's value as a lens through which to view Glasgow is in his reinforcement of the city's identity. I will exemplify this argument by discussing five of his buildings, but first the context of urban Glasgow must be outlined.

The city's form, at least for a century up to 1914, was characterized most obviously by two things: first, in plan, the dominating gridiron layout of much of its center, and second, in built reality, the sense that it was a city almost entirely of walls — largely four stories high, surrounding back-courts and enclosing streets — within which virtually the whole population lived.

Opposite page, top: The gridiron that dominates the center of Glasgow.

Opposite page, inset: Queen's Cross, a typically sharp corner in the city of four-story tenements. Here Thomson simply repairs and punctuates the street form. Photo by John McKean.

Illustrations courtesy John McKean, unless otherwise indicated.



Looking at any historical map of the city, the first “urban artifact” (to borrow Aldo Rossi’s term) that one sees is the ancient cross of Glasgow, off which runs a pattern of secondary roads and myriad tight closes and wynds. By Thomson’s time these were the worst slums in Britain. Much of this area was demolished between 1868 and 1877 under the City Improvement Act, for whose trustees Thomson produced the scheme, a “renewed” urban block, that I will discuss as my first example.

As its second urban artifact, to the west of that center of gravity, we see Glasgow’s first formally planned “new town.” The western end of this development, centered on Buchanan Street, soon became the central commercial area of Victorian Glasgow. My second Thomson example, the Egyptian Halls, is in here.

The third urban artifact by the time of Thomson’s birth is what most clearly stands out as the Glasgow grid: the rigid gridiron, discontinuous but unified, both north and south of the River Clyde. Thomson designed many tenement blocks (almost all now demolished), whose strength, appropriately, is that they quietly reinforced the city-dwelling form, the

Glaswegian blocks of four-story walls. But my third example, St. Vincent Street Church, shows how, where appropriate, Thomson does articulate the urban form, reinforcing those tenement walls by punctuating them with civic monuments.

With these three urban structures, the story of Glasgow reaches Thomson’s lifetime. He lived within this gridiron until 1856. By then the bourgeoisie was looking for housing in the more picturesquely laid out terraced and tenemented streets as well as, to a lesser extent, in areas of detached suburban villas. At mid-century pockets of this new suburban pattern were developing, and my fourth example is Thomson’s early and prototypical contribution: the “Double Villa.”

If the dwellings of high-Victorian bourgeois Glaswegians were as likely to be spacious flats as small villas, their other less dominant expression was the terraced house. Thomson’s Moray Place, an early, perfect terrace of small houses, is my last example. Taking my examples in the chronological order of Glasgow’s development (rather than in their order in Thomson’s biography), we will see how they fill out an image of the city.

The City Improvement Housing Block

Victorian Glasgow's response to "the housing question" was uniquely extreme. By the 1850s and '60s, the hammer and chisel of the "maker-down" (who divided and subdivided substantial terraced dwellings) sounded in recent tenements² as they long had in older, spacious dwellings. Now a new phenomenon appeared: blocks of tenement buildings, which to the street appeared almost identical to each other and kept the similar basic common-stair design, were being designed as one- and two-room dwellings.

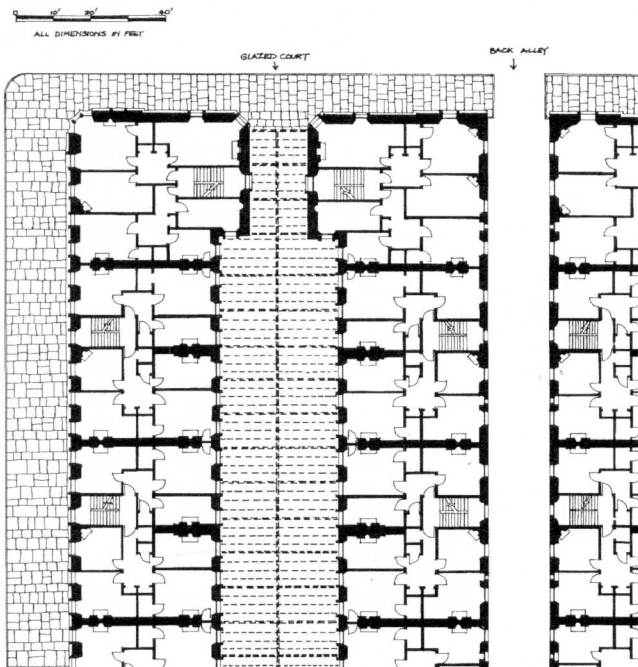
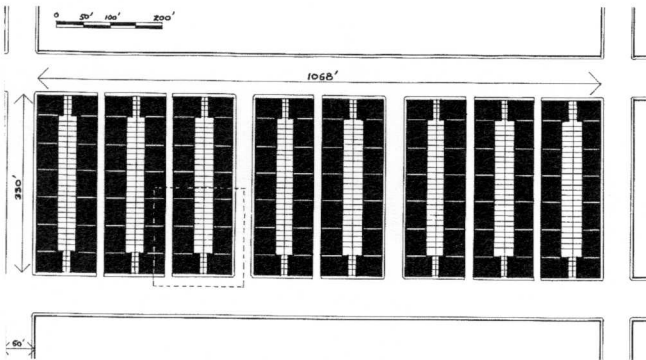
Thomson built many streets of tenements, containing dwellings that ranged in size from reasonably spacious to tiny. Despite irrepressible efforts to articulate the street face, he never broke the morphological rules that would force an inappropriate architecture out of this city building. His respect for this distinction and for building an appropriate urban hierarchy is clearest in his proposal for renewing a working-class area that was one of the oldest and most notorious corners of the city.

Glasgow's City Improvement Act of 1866 argued "that in connexion with the Reconstruction of these portions of the City provision was made for Dwellings for the Labouring Classes who may be displaced in consequence thereof..."³ The Improvement Trust, which the act set up, asked the Glasgow Architectural Society for "suggestions on how improvements should proceed." The society set up a subcommittee that involved Thomson and, among others, James Salmon, J. J. Stevenson and John Honeyman.⁴ Nothing is known of the subcommittee's response; only Thomson's proposal, of which we have but confused newspaper reports, survives.

Thomson responded to the city's morphology. That this was unfashionable is clear from the positions of his colleagues on the subcommittee: Salmon, deploring the tenement, preferred English-style terraced housing; Stevenson favored conservation of the Old Town; Honeyman favored conservation and tall, flat-topped blocks like those being built in England as philanthropic model dwellings. The strongest sense beneath this range of views is the new conventional wisdom of "romantic nationalism."

Thomson clearly stands apart from these voices; in tune with a different Glasgow, he responds not to sentiment but to city form. He is neither repairing nor remembering the forms already demolished for the new mass housing. But with an urban strength and at a scale of Glasgow's real urban patterns imposed by his predecessors, his proposal echoes with its idealized city block the Glasgow grid rather than the taste of his colleagues.

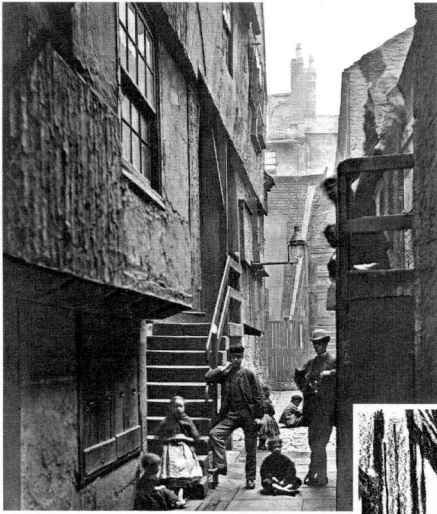
Thomson started with a huge grid, 330 feet wide and 1,104 feet long. He laid two major cross streets, 80 feet and 60 feet wide, and strung between them ladders of tenements, offering only the ends of the buildings to the main streets. Blocks were paired; a narrow entrance between them opened to enclose 32-



Top: Block plan of Thomson's City Improvement scheme.

Bottom: First-floor plan of a part of the scheme.

Reconstruction of plan by author, based on Queens' Park Terrace (now demolished), Thomson's tenement block most near in scale to this project.



Left: A slum off the High Street, photographed before demolition in 1868 for the City Improvement Trust. Photo by Thomas Annan.

Below: Glass-covered gallery of Thomson's proposed tenement block. Drawing by John McKean.



foot-wide courts from which dwellings in the dozen tenements off each court are entered. The startlingly original idea was that these courts became atria covered with a veil of glass, open at both ends and permeable to the city streets. Each great gallery would provide a warm, safe, healthy social environment.

The public face (the ground floor on the main roads and the two cross streets that divided the city block) was lined with shops and pubs, encouraging an adult public street life. The courts offered a temperate environment — in Thomson's words, "playgrounds for the young, where they may run about under shelter. Glasgow is notorious for the mortality amongst children. But the warmth which would result from this method of building would be conducive to the health and comfort of all."⁵

Such a scheme presented an increased density of meaning over the traditionally monovalent clarity of tenement morphology; for example, it offered a variety of types of urban place and ambiguity about fronts and backs. But at the same time it clearly offered separate places for domestic urban life (centered on women's talk and children's play); for public urban life (the more purposeful necessities of getting and spending as well as the pubs where men met); and for service.

Beyond that, the detail is my reconstruction. The huge city block is developed as eight pairs of typically sized and shaped tenements spaced along the two long sides, the parallel main streets. As the paired rungs of a ladder, double rows of five tenements, between which the space widens into the long, glazed court, join the end tenements on the main streets. Dividing the block are two cross streets. Each tenement is about 40 feet by 50 feet on plan, and four stories high. Facing all the surrounding streets, the ground floors are given to shops, two per tenement. On each floor are six or seven rooms (Thomson says each is at least 10 feet by 10 feet), which might constitute one two-room flat and one four-room dwelling; some, as Thomson says, are one-room homes.⁶

The remarkable strength of this rational housing plan — its order, its scale (it was designed as housing for more than ten thousand people), its potential to create a really new urban artifact out of housing for the poor — is difficult to appreciate from this reconstruction. For it is the link with actual topography and real lives, the making into actual substantial building, its detailed reality working out, that breathes life into these dry bones. And that opportunity never came.

The Egyptian Halls

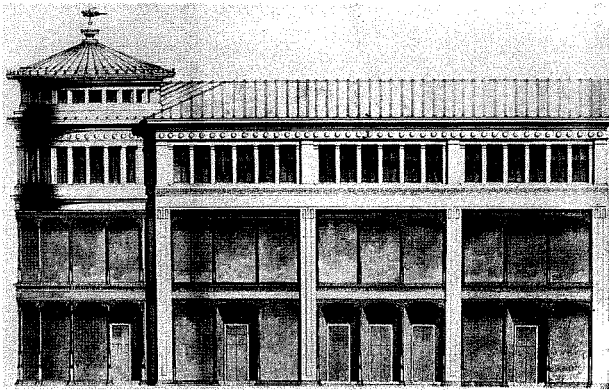
The urban warehouse and office building was a new type that took form, in the cities of Europe and eastern U.S., in the third quarter of last century. Until then the grand ones had taken their form from town hall, market hall or palace, the smaller from urban domestic blocks.

But by the 1850s, suddenly, a new urban commercial architecture of cast iron and glass was beginning to appear in New York, Glasgow and other industrial centers. Over the next two decades, Thomson built a considerable number of warehouse and office blocks deep in the first Glasgow artifact of gridded streets, around the edge of the Merchant City. In Glasgow's third urban artifact, the Blythswood grid, he built a few more.

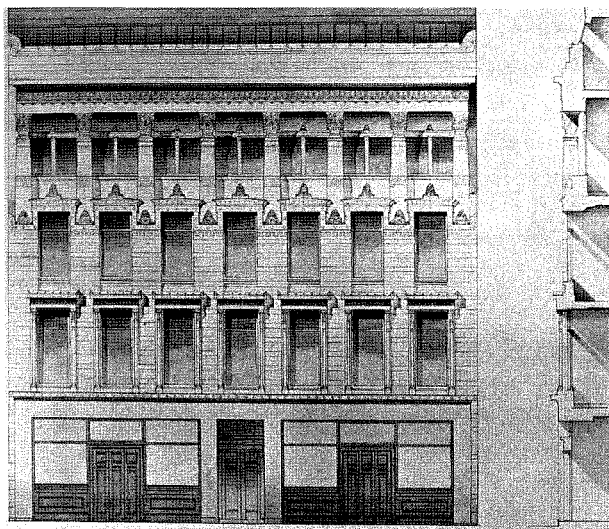
The Egyptian Halls was designed in 1871. Fully glazed, wide bays face a ground floor of shops; there are three main commercial levels and an attic lit by a continuous row of sloping skylights; floors are interrupted only by the necessary cast iron columns and central staircase. There is no exercise in planning, nor any attempt to divert the blank plan from being undifferentiated lettable space, a direct response to speculative capitalism.

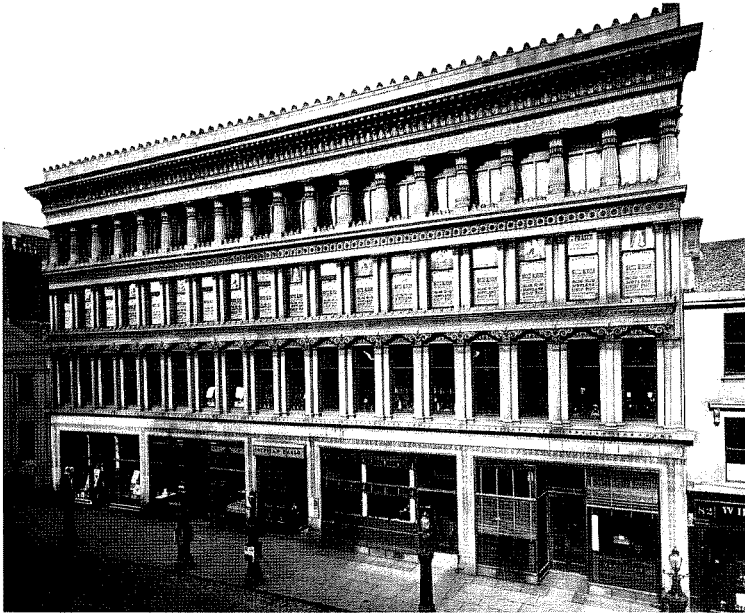
The street and the city, however, are enriched by the exuberant and richly articulated facade, a great area of glass set within a complex masonry frame. From the light and fully glazed ground floor, the building becomes heavier with each story, ending in squat stone columns that bulge under an immensely heavy cornice. There is an urban sense of indeterminate length; unambiguous, horizontal layers pile precariously one colonnade on top of the other, the details a highly personal invention. Capitals could have vegetable inspiration, but whether in cast iron or (as here) carved masonry, Thomson makes them his own. The eaves gallery (in front of the continuous glazing) supports a gigantic entablature as deep as itself, producing an effect of sublimity only comparable to Chicago a generation later. The Egyptian Halls glorifies the strutting promenade of high Victorian commercial Glasgow.

From their perspective of traditional architectural history, Walker and Gomme rightly observe, "the peculiar triumph of Egyptian Halls is to combine a sense of personal style unexcelled by any other Scottish architect with the detachment from mere idiosyncrasy which not only gives the building a compelling visual logic of its own but makes it so convincing a part of the street and city in which it stands."⁸ Just as clearly, we can see it representing the city's developing meaning. Here is no articulation of architectural form (as we see in the next example) but an enrichment of the street that clothes a new building type — undifferentiated commercial space whose only meaning is in its public presentation.

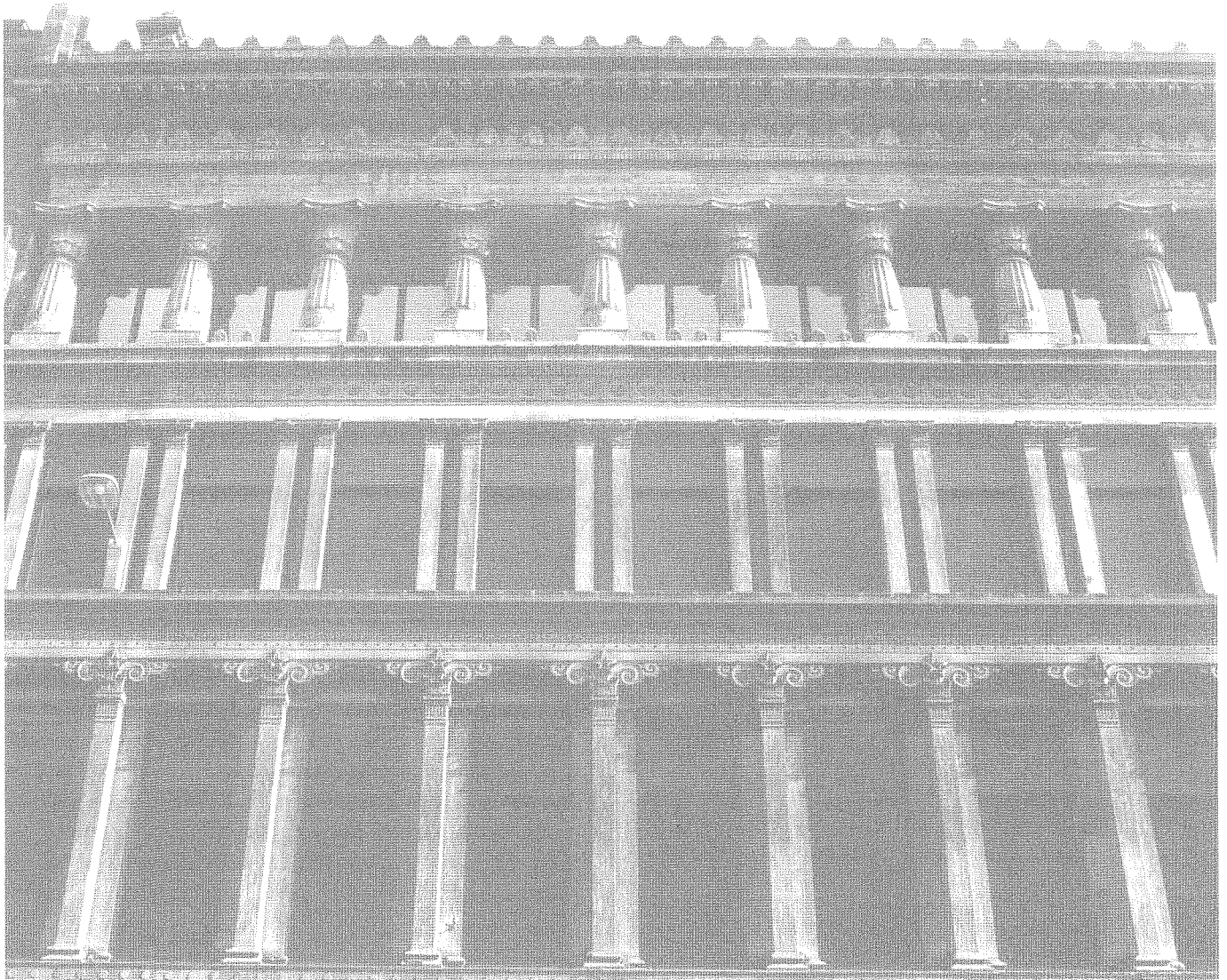


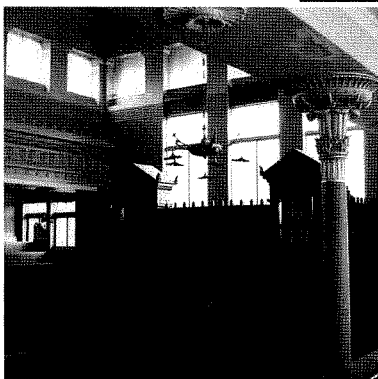
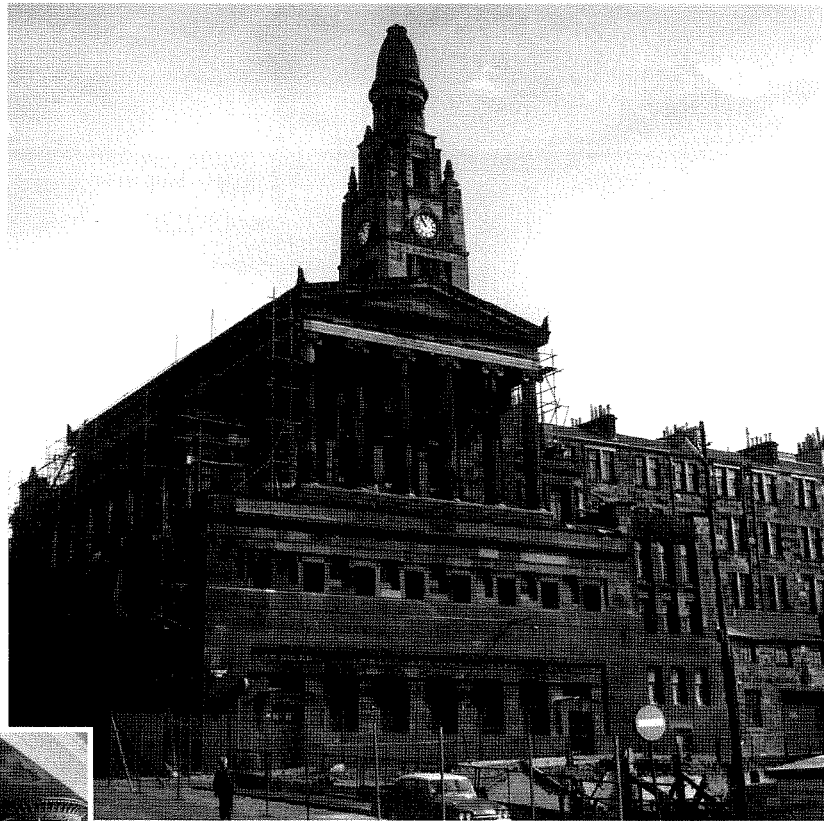
Early experiments with a new building type, the urban commercial block. Above: An unbuilt Thomson project for a corner block, dating probably to the mid-1850s. Courtesy Mitchell Library, Glasgow. Below: Early twentieth-century student's measured drawing of the Cairney Building, Thomson's finest built commercial block, destroyed in the 1930s. Courtesy John McKean.





Above: The Egyptian Halls with its original neighbors. The ground floor is long destroyed; the whole building is now under threat of demolition. Courtesy National Monuments Record of Scotland. Below: Elevation, Egyptian Halls. Photo by John McKean.





St. Vincent Street United Presbyterian Church on its site, looking from the south. The temple, which encloses the upper part of the church, sits atop its vast artificial acropolis. (The adjoining tenement housing, also by Thomson, is now demolished.) Below: St. Vincent Street church, interior. Courtesy John McKean.

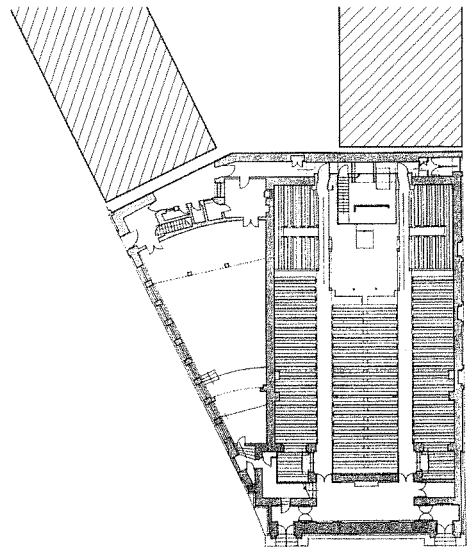
St. Vincent Street Church

Next we move half a mile west to a less rhetorical context, to the gridded city of dwellings, with its evenness of image. Here individual buildings silently mass into walled streets. Apart from the clue of a rolling topography, we locate ourselves in this grid primarily by abstract processes — reading, thinking, remembering — that are all in the head.⁹ Embedded in this pattern but articulating a unique form out of the amorphous grid, the St. Vincent Street church puts the body back into the gridded city.

Virtually at the same moment, from 1856 to 1858, Thomson designed three remarkable churches for the dissenting church to which he belonged, the United Presbyterians. Despite their obvious family resemblances, they remain unlike any other building before or since.¹⁰ In each, a given urban corner is exploited as Thomson “builds the site” (if with a rather different rhetorical strength than that of Mario Botta, who originated that felicitous phrase). Thomson’s theme is the romantic–classic one, whose image was the entire Athenian Acropolis rather than only the Parthenon atop it. On each site, Thomson builds his own acropolis, yet each composition is dominated by a tall tower that manages to diminish the dominance of the main temple mass and, with a leap of scale, address the town directly.



Above: Caledonia Road United Presbyterian Church, photographed by author after its gutting by fire and touched up to resemble the form of its earlier urban appearance. Right: Caledonia Road church sits at a point where two grids meet. Thomson used nearby tenements, which he also designed, to help knit the church into the city.



At St. Vincent Street, the steeply sloping location is handled with spectacular drama. This corner site on the Blythswood grid slopes steeply down to the west and even more dramatically down to the south. Here Thomson builds up a square plinth to 20 feet above the highest point on the site, making a gigantic substructure 40 feet tall to the south. On this plinth, freestanding and with a portico at each end, stands a mighty Ionic temple. Its form is seen from the south (to quote a friend of Thomson) “as in a Turneresque picture dominating a series of streets rising above streets like rock-hewn steps of some titanic staircase.”

The interior is powerful and architectonic. The large square auditorium, perfectly fulfilling the Presbyterian liturgy, is uninterrupted save for six slender cast-iron columns rising through the space to carry the gallery and then the roof. Buried in the artificial hillside, its upper galleries appear from the outside to be low buildings that flank the temple that sails above. This magnificent, light and powerful interior is far from a reflection of the architecture of the city that it builds on the outside.

The exterior scale is quite different; the form is majestic without being monstrous. The tower, placed with unerring compositional care on the highest point, helps set the church apart and balances rather than overstates the street corner

itself. Where one great mass, reflecting the interior, would have drowned the tenemented streets, Thomson’s composition has a grandeur that is appropriate rather than overwhelming.

With this work, Thomson has added a recognizable and particular physiognomy to the city grid. Sited with the eye of a J.M.W. Turner or a Capability Brown, Thomson’s church grows from its ground as a punctuating figure responding to both the steeply rolling topography and the dominant morphology of the street-lining walls. As if to reinforce the unity of this figure to its ground, to make the church/city transition more smooth, the first tenement blocks on each side are also designed by Thomson. The church animates the soulless grid; it articulates the town, not by contradicting it (wounding, disfiguring or amputating it), but by giving it memorable form.

Thomson’s churches are what Aldo Rossi calls “primary elements,” in that “they characterize the process of spatial transformation in an area.... They play an effective role in the dynamic of the city, and as a result of them, and the way they are ordered, the urban artifact acquires its own quality, which is principally a function of its placement, its unfolding of a precise action, and its individuality.... they are characteristic or, better, that which characterize a city.”¹¹



The Double Villa within the context of Glaswegian suburbia.

The Double Villa

My last two examples are rather different, being what Rossi calls “dwelling elements.” Each, like the tenement I began with, is an attempt, more or less, to propose a particular type for the town. While the urban fabric of residential Glasgow was being renewed and, of course, from the mid-century onwards enlarged beyond the grid with fine streets of four-story tenements, a new suburban fabric was beginning to be strung together by the proliferation of villas.

In the mid 1850s, when Thomson built his Double Villa, the detached suburban ideal was still the exception, town street housing still the norm, in the cities of Europe.¹² But from mid-century, the European bourgeoisie’s flight from their mercantile and now industrial city centers can also be seen here. This pattern, of course, invokes anti-urban memories right back to Vitruvius, who talks of the *villa suburbana* as the urban man’s resort. The first century A.D. Romans, with their clear urban types of *domus* and *insula*, invented the villa as an escape from their teeming city of a million inhabitants, a city seen as unhealthy and dangerous, nineteenth century Glasgow exactly.

The new Victorian suburb of villas had the twin aims of show and separation, of pomp and privacy. In his Double Villa, Thomson precisely reflects those goals, and (exactly as Alberti prescribed) he forms the building picturesquely to appear more grand and more imposing than the size of dwelling war-

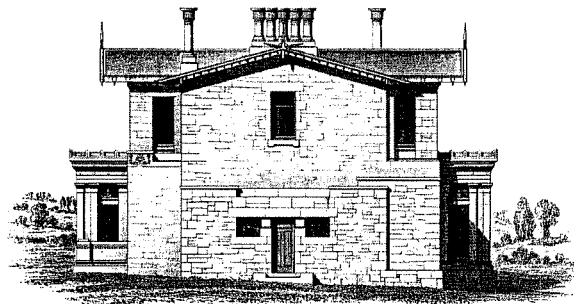
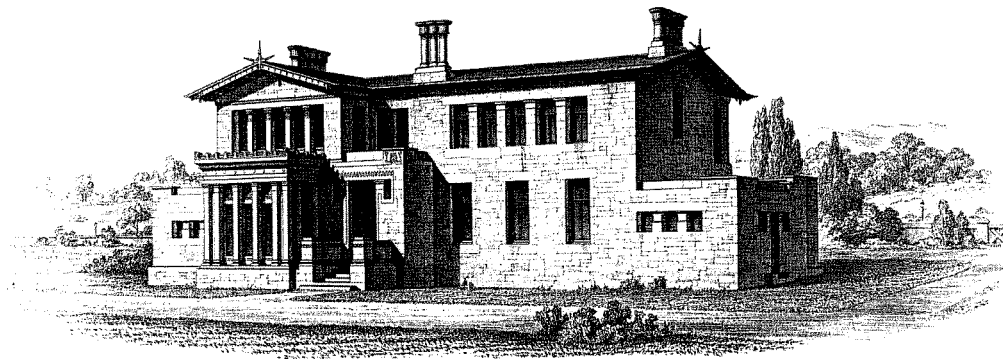
rants, sitting on its arcadian terraced gardens. He provides the dwelling place, where the culturally anxious nouveau riche merchant and his family can relax and assume the social role that the architect’s costume so appropriately suggests.

The concept is very simple: the two dwellings are not paired with bilateral symmetry, mirrored about a party wall as became typical. Instead, the double unit is made up in a rotational symmetry of two identical left halves; the plan of one, rotated, joins the party walls to the right of each unit. As the published account said, “The effect of each of the fronts is that of a villa of good size... . In this way each house looks much larger than it really is, greater variety is imparted to the design, and greater privacy is gained for the occupiers of the houses... . The front of the one house faces east, and the other west, and the views from them are equally good in both directions.”¹³

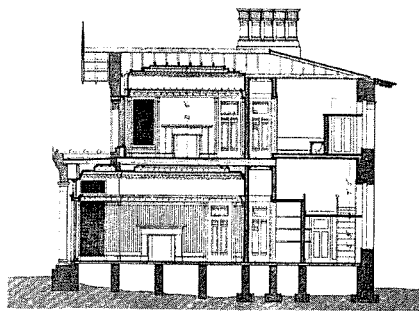
Once again, Thomson’s dynamic composition, precisely geometrical¹⁴ yet picturesquely satisfying, fulfills the urban — or, rather, suburban — task brilliantly. The smaller (“back”) windows fit a geometric order rather than respond to the varied occupation behind them — for that is all of minor importance. His major (“front”) rooms, by contrast, have not windows at all but rather are formed by colonnades, sealed from the Glaswegian weather as unobtrusively as possible. It is both these together, of course, that form the identical opposite, elevations.

Inside, there is nothing particularly striking about the layout: a compact and directly arranged three-bedroom house, on a two-story plan about 33 feet square, with a little single-story service extension. The main rooms, the dining room to the left of the hall and the drawing room above it, are treated with lavish care in articulation and definition of surface and space. The other, lesser rooms are formed with a plainness that can be forcefully, brutally direct.

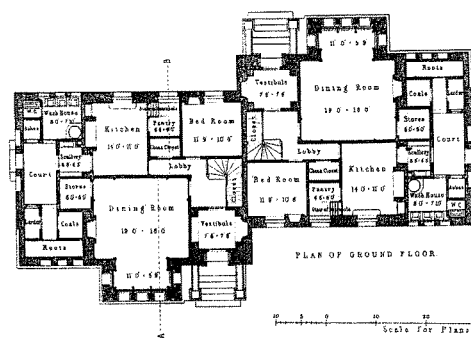
The Double Villa, speculatively designed for unknown inhabitants, is a proposed type, meant to colonize the suburban landscape with a low-density carpet of objects, potentially building a new “suburban artefact.” But if it is generalized, that does not make it just a background for bourgeois life to fill out. Thomson, in his domestic interiors, considers architecture to be total design, inside and out.¹⁵ Leaving little to the imagination, or, indeed, their action, was exactly what his clientele wanted. Thomson’s *gesamtkunstwerk* responds to the dominant need of a culturally deprived client group for stable respectability, of the socially insecure merchant for instant culture, for a persona behind which he can relax. In his interiors, Thomson takes the role of provider of culture, he is valued more for his sensibility than his skill: It is a central problem of the nineteenth century. The crisis of urban unity, from which the villa fled, feels a correspondence in its need to endow the individual dwelling with such emblematic significance.



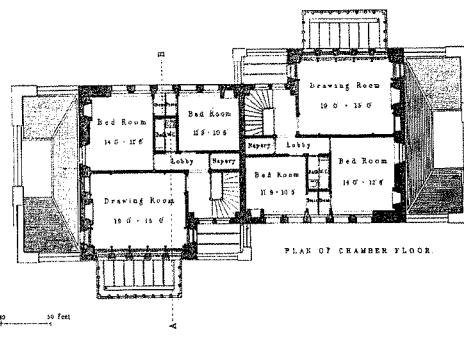
ELEVATION TOWARDS THE SOUTH



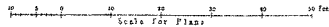
SECTION THROUGH DINING ROOM DRAWING ROOM &c.
OF LINES A & B ON PLANS



PLAN OF GROUND FLOOR



PLAN OF CHAMBER FLOOR



Perspective, elevation, section and plans
of the Double Villa. From *Villa and Cottage
Architecture* (Blackie, 1868).

Moray Place

Down the bosky hill on which stood the still isolated Double Villa, toward the city center and just beyond the new Queen's Park, Thomson next built Moray Place. Here was a rather different statement on the central tension of the time, between the social city and the private family. A tiny, perfect terrace of houses, it is formal, geometrically uncompromising, yet delicately suburban. Moray Place is quite unlike the known morphological pattern of Glasgow, where two-story terraces were almost unknown. The new sense of scale he explores, coherent yet intimate, midway between the communality of the four-story urban walls and the individuality of suburban villas, is quite original.

Between pedimented pavilions, with their delicately incised detail and still domestically scaled double-height order, runs an even colonnade. The weighty ground floor pattern, with its equal steps of solid and void, is surmounted by an elegant row of 52 sharply-cut square columns. It is all scaled to obscure the eight modest dwellings that this plane encloses. The individual dwellings are indistinguishable in perspective as the severe simplicity of openings masks, on the ground floor, the difference between the deeply set windows and doors and, on the first floor, the difference between the deep-set windows and the almost identical blind panels covering party walls between the dwellings. The shallow pitched roof and concealed rainwater removal allows a precise and simple low cornice to mark the edge with the sky.

Inside are small dwellings.¹⁶ Outside, the effect is of calm, of the precise and remarkably well-proportioned colonnade — humanized as so often in Thomson's work by utterly appropriate, linear, decorative patterning. It is less a front individual privacy, more a cover to a community; the "stoa" memory, after all, refers to a public, social place. It offers a potential form for a new suburban balance between the household and society. But it is one that was not developed.

The City of Alexander Thomson

The Glaswegian form of the stern, classic city of four-story walls was adhered to right up to 1914. Indeed it was in the 40 years from Thomson's death to 1914 that the city of today's Glaswegians was formed.¹⁷ There was still urban coherence, good manners and order in the town making, if more bombast than refinement in the monuments to capital's self-confidence. The difference is that no one again made the transformations that gave definition to the ordinary pattern, that offset and identified the city for their moment, as Thomson so brilliantly had articulated Glasgow in the earlier generation.

Thomson received very little press coverage in his lifetime, and soon after his death in 1875, building work in Scotland virtually stopped for a decade during an economic depression as deep as that of the early 1990s. Just as it was picking up again in the later 1880s, an English architectural magazine first hinted at my theme. It wrote of Thomson: "The strong influence of his work is apparent in nearly all Glasgow architecture, giving to it — the city — a character unique among the large cities of the country."¹⁸ Thus Thomson did not stand against the city, but his work gave the city character. And that is why we can fairly call this essay the city of Alexander Thomson.

Notes

This is part of an essay that appears in a collection about Thomson edited by S. McInstry and G. Stamp and published by Edinburgh University Press in 1993.

1. Charles Rennie Mackintosh comes to mind in this regard.
2. "Tenement" in Glasgow specifically means a group of dwellings off one, shared staircase giving direct access to the street. They were built in city blocks four stories high.
3. From *The Minute Book of Trustees under the Glasgow Improvements Act*, 1866, "Anno Vicesimo nono Victoriae reginae, Cap.LXXXV."
4. Each a well-known, and very different, Glasgow architect; Stevenson was later to launch a famous career in England.
5. From Thomson's talk to the GIA as quoted in *The Morning Journal* (17 March 1868). I have reconstructed the project from this brief report. There are clearly misprints (yards for feet at one point), and it is equally clear that other information does not tie together. It is obvious from the description that Thomson had worked out the project in drawings of considerable detail. My proposed layout seems best to fit the clues given; my detail planning and imagery is based very conservatively on various tenements that Thomson built; I expect Thomson's design would have been startlingly original.
6. This arrangement almost precisely fits the few figures we have from Thomson, such as 3.83 sq. yds. per person or 124 shops per superblock.
7. Edward P'Anson, "Some Notice of Office Buildings in the City of London," lecture at the Royal Institute of British Architects and published in its *Transactions*, 1864-5, p. 31 et. seq.
8. David Walker and Andor Gomme, *The Architecture of Glasgow* (London: Lund Humphries, 1968), 149.
9. As Camillo Sitte put it, "A [grid] network of streets always serves only the purposes of communication, never of art, since it can never be comprehended sensorily, can never be grasped except in plan." Camillo Sitte, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, trans. George Collins and Christine Crasemann Collins (1889; London and New York: Random House, 1965), 91.
10. These are the Caledonia Road Church (designed early in 1856, built 1856-7), St. Vincent Street Church (designed towards the end of 1856, built 1857-9), and an unbuilt project for St. Georges' Church Edinburgh (designed in 1858).

11. Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982), 87, 99.

12. In Britain, this was especially true north of London and particularly in Glasgow, where the commuting pattern was to become almost a reverse of the convention, in that the inner-city tenement house remained the norm for all classes while the new heavy industries were located further out. "Glasgow itself was the dormitory, the Singer works at Clydebank, or the various steelworks at Newton and Coatbridge were the work destinations." See John R. Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969)

13. *Villa and Cottage Architecture* (Blackie, 1868), 45. The preface, pp. viii and ix, explains that the written material was "furnished by the architects."

14. Thomson's geometric obsession, with 3:5 proportions and with root-two geometry, is clearly seen in plan, elevation and perspective of this building.

15. See Thomas Gildard, "Obituary: Alexander Thomson," *The British Architect* (16 April 1875).

16. Similar in arrangement to the 2,200 sq. ft. Double Villa, here the 1,600 sq. ft. terraced houses have a dining room below a magnificent full-width drawing room, one large and one small bedroom, a kitchen and maid's room.

17. Or more precisely those of us whose memories stretch earlier than the destruction of the 1960s and '70s

18. *The British Architect* (28 September 1888), p. 222.

Moray Place, demonstrating a new sense of scale between the urban and suburban, coherent yet intimate. Photo by Thomas Annan, courtesy John McKean.

