THE LIFE AND WORK OF SIR ROBERT ROWAND ANDERSON, 1834-1921

Sam McKinstry

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

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THE LIFE AND WORK OF

SIR ROBERT ROWAND ANDERSON, 1834-1921

Sam McKinstry

Presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
Department of Art History, University of St. Andrews
I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No.12 on October 1983 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D on October 1984; the higher study for which this record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1983 and 1986.

Date 23/3/86 Signature
I, Sam McKinstry, hereby certify that this thesis which is approximately 100,000 words in length has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date 23/8/86  Signature
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abstract</th>
<th>iii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER ONE</strong> Early Life, Education and Training, 1834-1864</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER TWO</strong> Aspects of Architectural Thought in High Victorian Scotland</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER THREE</strong> Practice Building - Church and Domestic Work, 1864-1872</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER FOUR</strong> Prominence - Competition: Successes and Key Commissions, 1873-1879</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER FIVE</strong> Eminence - Partnerships, Projects and Patrons, 1880-1887</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER SIX</strong> Premier Practitioner and Champion of Scottish Architecture, 1887-1900</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER SEVEN</strong> Elder Statesman, 1900-1921</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### APPENDICES

1. Obituaries 321
2. The National Art Survey 328
3. Theoretical Sources 329
4. The Anderson Inheritance 334
5. An Assessment of Anderson's Architecture 351
6. List of Works 355

### LIST OF PLATES

372

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Published Sources 381
- Unpublished Sources 388
Sir Robert Rowand Anderson was the dominant figure in Scottish architecture during and beyond the late Victorian period. Although his oeuvre is for the most part well known, and notwithstanding the fact that the historical drawings from his office were made available for study in 1979, his life and work have not hitherto been investigated in depth. The purpose of the thesis which follows is to make good this deficiency.

While the absence of family papers has posed problems ever since Anderson's death, (evident from the biographical errors in his obituaries), a large number of primary sources were discovered in the course of research. These included Anderson's scrapbook, notebooks and a diary, correspondence relating to his earlier commissions, and numerous letters in public and private collections. In the last few years, several short but helpful publications on specific aspects of his work have also appeared.

Drawing on this material, the thesis presents a chronological account of Anderson's career dealing, in Chapter One, with his hitherto uninvestigated early life and training. Chapter Two sets the scene for the evolution of his theoretical position, not previously examined. Chapters Three and Four deal with the expansion of his practice and his rise to eminence, while Chapters Five, Six and Seven cover his activities at the height of his fame, such as his restorations, and his committee and educational work. The Appendices include Obits and notes on the sources of his architectural theory, as well as a list of works and a quantification of his influence.
The thesis makes it clear that the popular view of Anderson as a highly professional and gifted manipulator of historical styles is inadequate: he was a thoroughgoing functionalist. It also draws attention to the great influence he exerted on the generation immediately following, not only through his conservative restoration and the high quality of his design, but also by actively fostering a Scottish tradition in architecture and its associated crafts.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>ECC</td>
<td>Department of Ancient Manuscripts, Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh Collection Catalogue of the Drawings from the Office of Rowand Anderson. This citation will normally be followed by page and folio numbers, and is used throughout to refer to the relevant Anderson office drawings. Example - ECC p.38 No.110</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECYB</td>
<td>Scottish Episcopal Church Year Book and Directory for 1960-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISA</td>
<td>Minute Book of the Institute of Scottish Architects, kept by the Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland, Edinburgh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSFDC</td>
<td>Journal of the Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McG &amp; R</td>
<td>David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSM</td>
<td>Mount Stuart Manuscripts (property of the Marquess of Bute)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMRS</td>
<td>National Monuments Record of Scotland</td>
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<tr>
<td>RA Scrapbook</td>
<td>Sir Robert Rowand Anderson's Scrapbook (copy kept at the National Monuments Record of Scotland)</td>
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<td>RIAS</td>
<td>Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland</td>
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<td>RIAS Quarterly</td>
<td>Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIBAJ</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSA list</td>
<td>The Royal Scottish Academy 1826-1916, A Complete List of the Exhibited Works</td>
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<td>SAAM</td>
<td>School of Applied Art Minute Book, kept in the Library of Edinburgh College of Art.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SRA  Strathclyde Regional Archives, Glasgow
SRO  Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh
Trans AIS  Transactions of the Architectural Institute of Scotland
Trans EAA  Transactions of the Edinburgh Architectural Association
CHAPTER ONE

EARLY LIFE, EDUCATION AND TRAINING, 1834-1864
Early Years

On April 5th, 1834, Robert Anderson was born in the Parish of Liberton, Edinburgh, the son of James Anderson S.S.C., Solicitor, and Margaret Rowand, his wife. In all probability, the child was born at Ferneyside, in the family's four roomed country cottage on the Drum Estate.

The 1841 Census provides information on the Andersons at their usual residence, 2 Hay Street, Edinburgh, at the time fairly new tenemented housing off Nicholson Square on the south side of the city. Present that day in addition to both parents were Robert and two sisters, Catherine aged fourteen, and Janet aged four. A female servant, Mary Black, aged twelve, is also mentioned on the Census return.

James Anderson was the son of George Anderson, an Edinburgh haberdasher and a Member of the City's Merchant Company. James' wife, Margaret, was from Govan. Anderson had been admitted to the Society of Solicitors before the Supreme Court in 1828, after successfully completing legal examinations and upon payment of the substantial joining fee of fifty five pounds five shillings.

The Nicholson Square area at the time was a respectable one, if not so prestigious as the growing New Town. A family friend, Robert Deuchar, himself a solicitor, lived nearby, and the Andersons' neighbours included prosperous tradesmen such as a Carver and Gilder and a Coachbuilder. Hay Street also possessed a ladies' school, run by a Mrs. Schultz.
On October 4th, 1841, Robert was admitted to George Watson's Hospital, in right of his grandfather's membership of the Company of Merchants. George Watson, a wealthy citizen of Edinburgh, had in 1703 left 144,000 pounds Scots "to raise a Hospital for entertaining and for educating of the male children and grandchildren of decayed merchants in Edinburgh". By 1741 William Adam had erected a long, symmetrical and rather plain classical building for the Hospital Trustees, close to George Square, where the Royal Infirmary now stands. This was only a few minutes' walk from the Anderson home.

The Governors of the "Hospital", or school, had found over the years that "decayed merchants" were relatively few in number, and Watson's wishes were interpreted liberally. About half of the boys at George Watson's were the sons of professional men such as solicitors or accountants, the other half coming from the families of successful tradesmen and small businessmen. Cases of genuine hardship were the exception rather than the rule.

A good picture of Anderson's life at the Hospital emerges from its Minute Books. The school catered for seventy to eighty boys at any one time; among those already there when Robert enrolled was his brother, George, who had joined a year and a half previously. George was three years older than Robert.

The boys boarded at the school, but were allowed to dine at home on Saturdays. The daily timetable began with an early rise in the morning, at six or seven o'clock, with breakfast at nine, dinner at one, an afternoon meal at four, and supper at eight thirty. These events punctuated periods of tuition and leisure activity. The school diet was carefully scrutinised: contracts for "butcher meat",
"sweet milk", oatmeal and bread were regularly reviewed. When the
boys had outgrown their school uniforms of "green and drab", they
were given to the poor. An earlier writer had commented, in
relation to their diet and dress, that "the treatment of the boys is
nowhere to be paralleled". 12

The curriculum originated from two sources, the interests of the
Merchants' Company in the propagation of trade, and the classical
traditions of the City of Edinburgh. The subjects taught were
Book-keeping, Geography, Latin, Greek and French, in addition to
Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. 13 Attendance at Greyfriars Kirk,
a short walk away, was a regular feature of school life. Provision
was also made for Scottish dancing, singing and drawing, the latter
an activity for which young Anderson developed an early fondness. 14

Life at the school in the 1840's was not without its interruptions:
several boys died as a result of illnesses paltry by today's standards,
and in 1843, a few of the masters, in sympathy with the Seceders at
the Disruption, decided to resign. The Hospital was very much aligned
with the Established Church.

Specific mention of the Andersons in the Hospital Minutes is
confined to one unfortunate incident. In January 1846, a large
number of the boys were involved in a book theft. The school had
a library of about two hundred books which were being stolen and
sold a few at a time to booksellers in the Grassmarket. 15

George Anderson was one of a number of older boys considered to
be responsible, and his father was asked to remove him from the
Hospital. Robert, twelve at the time, had also been involved in
handling stolen books, and was confined to the Hospital for six weeks.
The Governors were of the opinion that the older boys had led the
younger boys astray, hence the lesser punishment.
While the incident hardly illuminates a major crime, it reflects well on James Anderson, the only parent recorded as taking the trouble to call for his disgraced son.

Notwithstanding this episode, Anderson undoubtedly benefited greatly from his years at the Hospital. The combination of healthy diet, disciplined regime and caring atmosphere helped produce a strong constitution, habits of hard work and marked self confidence, all of which were evident to the end of his long life. At the same time his exposure to French, Latin and the rudiments of book-keeping would stand him in good stead throughout his business career.

Legal Training and the Lassels Office

On June 12th, 1848, Robert Anderson became apprenticed to Keegan and Welsh, Solicitors. As members of the S.S.C., the partners would almost certainly have been known personally by James Anderson. Welsh was a solicitor of thirty years' standing, and Anderson may well have articed his son with succession in mind. During this period, Robert received ten pounds per year allowance from George Watson's Trust.

For some unknown reason, Anderson later in the apprenticeship left Keegan and Welsh and joined his father. In spite of this change, he became dissatisfied with legal work, and after four years decided to pursue a career in architecture. This was not entirely surprising, since, in 1849, while still a legal student, he had enrolled at the Trustees' Academy in the Royal Institution Building in Princes Street, unaccountably terminating the classes five months before the end of the session, in 1850.

At some point in 1852 or 1853, Anderson finally severed his legal apprenticeship by parental consent, and joined the
architectural office of John Lessels. 22

Having already started one apprenticeship, he was denied a second. The only route open to him in his new career, therefore, was to work his way up from the bottom by becoming a draughtsman or an assistant, then perhaps a partner in an architectural firm.

Anderson would have seen a wide range of work passing through the Lessels office in the 1850's. This included alterations to Borders mansions in various styles, such as 'Blackadder', Berwickshire (now demolished), where an eighteenth century classical house was refronted with two storey bay windows and a large wing added. 23 At Turtleton House, also in Berwickshire, a neo Jacobean farmhouse was extended, and Jacobean window heads added to the dormers. 24

In the mid 1850's, Lessels was commissioned by the Walker Trust to undertake a number of schemes for the extension of the Western New Town. This involved the creation of classical terraces which would complement those further east. Lessels' work in Melville Crescent or Drumsheugh Gardens, in spite of this constraint, is quietly impressive. 25

Anderson would undoubtedly have acquired a good grasp of historical styles while in the Lessels office. At the same time his employer set a high personal example: a former student of Edward Irving and Thomas Carlyle, he was renowned as a man of integrity as well as being a splendid draughtsman. 26

Lessels was sufficiently impressed by Anderson to entrust him with the superintendence of the re-roofing of Old Greyfriars Kirk, a building he had attended as a schoolboy. 27

In 1845, a fire had destroyed Old Greyfriars (the eastern portion of the church), and administrative delays in obtaining
planning permission to repair it were not overcome until the middle 1850's. It was alleged at the time that the planning authorities, Free Kirk men, had been deliberately obstructive.

The repair of the church involved some drastic changes. The arcades were removed, and the windows converted to lancets and filled with stained glass, perhaps the first occasion on which this was done in the Established Church. A good open timber roof was added. David Cousin, the City Architect, was in overall charge of the restoration, suggesting that Anderson's involvement may have come about through the strong personal friendship between this architect and Lessela. Cousin and Lessela would in due course collaborate on larger schemes.

The Trustees' Academy

Anderson's determination to obtain an architectural education to match his growing practical experience in the Lessela office showed itself in two ways: he enrolled in the classes of a teacher of architectural drawing, and also re-registered at the Trustees' Academy. While it is no longer possible to ascertain what his drawing tuition might have involved, the surviving records of the Trustees' Academy, together with independent accounts, afford a fairly detailed picture of his education there. The registers record that he began classes on 7th February 1853 on the recommendation of Robert Deuchar, continuing until late 1856.

The Academy was one of a number of activities funded and administered by the Board of Manufactures, a government department created after the Treaty of Union in 1707 to encourage Scottish Industry. The Board had interests in areas as widely diverse as
fishing, jute and flax. Underlying its interests in the arts and design was the belief that good design would increase trade.

The Trustees' Academy was the first school of design in Britain, albeit one with very humble beginnings. When its first classes commenced in 1760, it catered for about twenty students, drawn from trades such as house painting and pattern making. By 1798, according to Robert Brydall, "the Academy entered into a new era of its existence" under John Graham, a gifted artist and teacher, who introduced painting into the curriculum. 32 Sir David Wilkie, Sir William Allan and Sir John Watson Gordon trained in the Academy at this time.

The first forty years of the nineteenth century brought a succession of distinguished artists and teachers to the Academy, widening its influence and building up its cast collection both in quality and quantity. A significant change occurred in 1837, when for the first time a separate master, Charles Heath Wilson, was appointed to teach ornament and design. At this juncture William Dyce took over from William Allan, who had been in charge of the fine art side of the Academy until his election as President of the new Royal Scottish Academy. 33

When Anderson enrolled at the Trustees' Academy, it was still divided into two distinct functions, with Alexander Christie in charge of the department of Ornament and Design, known as the Trustees' School of Design, and Robert Scott Lauder in charge of the fine art areas, which included the study of "the Antique".

Christie, a former student of William Allan, had studied in London before assuming the Directorship of the Trustees' Academy in 1845. At that point, he was also personally responsible for the
architecture and design section of the Academy, while its fine art training came under the management of a subordinate, John Ballantyne. Early in 1852, Robert Scott Lauder had replaced Ballantyne as head of the fine art areas and Christie had been forced to relinquish his overall control of the Academy, as the Board of Trustees felt that artistic training had deteriorated under Ballantyne.

In 1889, Robert Brydall recalled that Christie, an Associate of the Royal Scottish Academy, "drew well and painted with considerable vigour, but was rather rough, hard and strong in his manner". "Even at this early date, Brydall was unaware of his impressive achievements as an educator in architecture and design.

In 1913, G.S. Aitken gave a much more balanced and meaningful account of his activities:

To Mr. Christie the students were much indebted for stimulus in their work. He began a class for Architectural Study and Sketching, lectured on Styles, and took the students to neighbouring old buildings such as St. Anthony's Chapel, Duddingston Church and Holyrood Abbey, going further afield to Melrose and Dryburgh. Members went on their own responsibility to other places such as Dalmeny, Kirkliston and Falkland Palace. The drawings produced were submitted to the Board of Trustees who awarded prizes to those selected. Lord Murray gave each student in 1855 a copy of Billings' 'Power of Form' and they were addressed by him and Noel Paton on different occasions. The students were taught 'pictoral anatomy' by Professor Millar, who explained the construction of the human frame, using a well built soldier as his model.

A School of Design that had become larger, more ambitious and better equipped than ever before now had a vigorous and useful architectural arm, under the direction of an innovative and inspiring leader.
Christie's surviving copy letter books confirm Aitken's account, and at the same time throw light on the non-architectural activities at the School, such as the acquisition of an eclectic selection of text books, drawings involving "outline from the flat and round and shaded drawings, modelling from the flat, round and flowers" and "exercises in perspective and ornamental composition". The letter books also describe the purchase of samples of woodcarving and measuring rods, the latter to allow the architectural students to undertake measured drawings.

When Anderson in due course left Alexander Christie's classes and came under Scott Lauder's jurisdiction, he found this master at the height of his powers. Lauder had himself studied at the Trustees' Academy and had worked as an artist in London and on the continent before taking over at his old school in 1852. As a teacher, Lauder was endowed with immense enthusiasm and personal charisma.

He was a friend of the Rev. John Thomson, who, according to Brydall, may have influenced his style, which was characterised by "breadth of effect and flow of line". Yet, as a teacher, Lauder did not seek to produce mirrors of himself. The artists who studied under him absorbed his influence while retaining their own originality.

Throughout the 1850's, some 140/150 students each year were taught by Lauder and Christie, and while each master had his specific responsibilities, it is plain that there was a degree of freedom and interchange between the departments. Not surprisingly in the circumstances, Anderson became "intimately associated" with Lauder's painter pupils.

Anderson proved to be an outstanding student, and his talents were quickly recognised. At some time circa 1854/55, while in
Christie's classes, he won first prize for his measured drawing of the Norman chancel arch of Duddingston Church. (Plate 1). He also won first prize for drawings of St. Anthony's Chapel, conjecturally restored, and incorporating a "vesica piscis".  

By 1855 it had become clear that, as well as having ability, Anderson was both ambitious and a self-publicist. His measured drawings of St. Margaret's Well, Restalrig were published in the Building Chronicle (Plate 2), and captioned as follows: 

We present our readers, in this number with drawings of this rare and picturesque but now nearly annihilated specimen of mediaeval art, prepared from external measurements by Mr. Robert Anderson of Edinburgh, a young and promising student of architecture.  

The well was in due course rebuilt in Holyrood Park.  

Anderson left the Trustees' Academy in 1856 convinced of the importance of measured drawings both for training and for accurately analysing and reproducing historic styles, beliefs directly traceable to Christie. In later years his architecture would be admired for its "breadth of treatment", perhaps due in some measure to Scott Lauder's influence. 

The Scott Office  

Anderson presumably remained in Edinburgh until the Greyfriars restoration was completed in 1857, after which he obtained a position as an assistant to Sir George Gilbert Scott at his Spring Gardens office in London.  

At this point, Scott had just published Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture, and until 1858, the outcome of the Foreign Office competition was still uncertain. That year, a new
Tory administration gave Scott the commission, and work was in hand on the revised Gothic design while Anderson was in his employment. He was to be absent when, in 1859, Scott was ordered to alter the style.47

T.G. Jackson's account provides useful insights into the workings of the Scott office during these years.48 Below Scott there was a three tier hierarchy, starting with pupils, senior pupils, then salaried assistants. The salaried assistants (Anderson included) transformed Scott's expressive sketches and loose instructions, often delivered at breakneck speed, into fully developed drawings. Counting the clerks and other specialists, the staff numbered approximately twenty seven during Anderson's stay.

This team coped in a hectic fashion with a vast volume of work, much of which was ecclesiastical. Anderson may well have been familiar with such buildings as Exeter College Chapel, Oxford (1857-9), Woolwich Dockyard Chapel (1858-9), St. Michael's, Crewe Hill, Cheshire (1858), St. James', Doncaster (1858), or All Souls, Halifax (1856-9). The latter work Scott considered to be his most successful church.49

The ecclesiastical work also consisted of major long term restoration programmes at the Cathedrals of Gloucester and Lichfield. By this point in his career, Scott's restoration policy had become more conservative than ever before.

A diverse selection of secular commissions was also passing through the office, ensuring the widest possible exposure to the practicalities of architecture, as well as the opportunity to become involved in some of the finest Gothic structures of the period.

That apart Anderson must have noted Scott's ability to delegate
tasks and yet remain in overall control of the design process, as well as the business as a whole. Later events would also suggest that he had observed Scott's ability to successfully enlist support and exert pressure when he felt that injustice had been done.

Continental Tour

The cumulative impression given by all of Anderson’s activities after leaving the legal profession is that he was taking carefully premeditated steps. The next of these was his continental tour in 1859.50

Scott, Burges, Waterhouse and others had, by their own example, made such tours virtually mandatory for the aspiring architect.

Anderson’s itinerary involved visits to Bayeux and Caen, and in the area of Paris, Provins. He also journeyed south to Bourges, and to Limoges, at the west end of the Massif Central. A large number of drawings were made in the towns and villages skirting this vast area, followed by some in the vicinity of Lyons.51

He next travelled to Italy, visiting, in the very north, a mixture of well known and less well known locations, before travelling further south to Florence, Pisa, Siena, Perugia and Viterbo. It seems likely that he would take the opportunity to visit Paris, Rome and Venice, as he was sketching nearby, but no evidence survives to confirm this.52

The emphasis in Anderson’s studies was clearly on secular and domestic Gothic, and upon the little known, a policy that may well have been intended to ingratiate himself to Scott. It would also ensure that his book of drawings when published would create an impact, as well as providing him with a fund of ancient examples for future use.
Anderson's eye was taken by elevations of Gothic buildings in the early and Geometric styles, in particular those where wide expanses of wall plane had been preserved, and the detail carefully rationed out. The most striking examples in this style were the Maison du Grand Veneur at Cordes, or a house in Place Champollion at Figeac. 53 (Plates 3 and 4). His Italian studies show similar preoccupations. Elevations such as these were augmented by sketches of tracery details, sections of mouldings, roof timbers and particulars of chimneys.

In the late 1860's, the sketches would be published as Examples of the Municipal Commercial and Street Architecture of France and Italy from the 12th to the 15th Century. While Anderson was in possession of sufficient finished drawings in 1862 to let him present a paper to the Edinburgh Architectural Association on his recent travels, increasing demands on his time appear to have delayed the production of his book, causing him to enlist the help of Axel Hermann Haig the artist/draughtsman. 54

Of the 103 plates, Haig was responsible for seven, "Italy" numbers 20, 36, 40, 42, 43, 44 and 51, where his initials can be seen quite clearly. These plates are marked "from sketches by RA" or "from Photographs and Drawings by R.A." Haig and Anderson were to remain friends for many years, Haig sending Anderson an inscribed copy of his biography at a much later date. 55

Anderson's book eventually ran to two editions, the earlier bearing the inscription

To Professor G.G. Scott, R.A.,
This Work is, by Permission, Most Respectfully Dedicated, with Feelings of Most Profound Esteem and Admiration for his Great Achievements in Art, by the Author.
His plates are crisp, accurate and competent, and most were carefully worked up from measured sketches. Little attempt was made to produce artistic effects. He would later make it clear that he saw drawing as a means to an end, and never an end in itself.\textsuperscript{56}

On his way back to Britain around the end of 1859, Anderson spent a short period of time working in the office of P.J.H. Cuijpers in Roermond, Holland.\textsuperscript{57} Cuijpers was then rising in esteem both nationally and internationally, although his most famous buildings, the Rijksmuseum and the Central Station in Amsterdam, still lay in the future.

However, he had come to the notice of London architects with his church work, which was characterised by "three decker" arcading in nave, triforium and clerestory. Muthesius has suggested that Cuijpers was drawing on English sources, as well as Viollet le Duc, at this time.\textsuperscript{58} The canted nave of the Maria Magdalenakerk, Amsterdam (1887) recalls several of Street's designs (e.g. St. John the Divine, Kennington, 1871).\textsuperscript{59}

While Anderson would note with interest his use of brick and restrained structural polychromy, there were few new ideas that could be directly transposed into a Scottish context. Nevertheless, a brief spell in such a prestigious office was bound to stand him in good stead.

\textbf{Home, Broughty Castle and St. James', Leith}

In 1860, Anderson, then in his twenty sixth year, was back in Edinburgh. By this date his family had moved to the New Town, where his father was now practising. On his return, he advertised
his services as an architect, working out of his father's address at 8 Dundas Street. Nothing is known of his activities during this preliminary period of independent practice.

That same year, however, Anderson reminded the city of his prowess and recent experiences by exhibiting three drawings at the Royal Scottish Academy, *Town Hall in Twelfth Century*, St. Antonin, France, Palazzo Pubblico, Perugia, Front facing the Cathedral, and a Design for a fountain.

The young architect is next heard of in 1861, working in the office of the Royal Engineers, then located at 42 Northumberland Street. It is impossible to say whether this employment was calculated to enhance his constructional skills, or whether it resulted from necessity. Scott, for example had worked for a period with a builder on completing his own continental tour for this very purpose, and could well have advised Anderson to follow the same course of action. Whatever the explanation, subsequent events would prove that his new appointment did not prevent him from undertaking incidental private commissions, although he must nevertheless have been heavily committed with hundreds of sketches to work up to publication standard for his forthcoming book.

The records of the Royal Engineers' office in Edinburgh have unfortunately disappeared for the period in question, and the only information available is that provided by Oliver and Boyd's *Edinburgh Almanac* for 1861 and beyond. In the office at this time there were three Army Officers, Colonel Skyring, Captain Crease and Lieutenant Howard. The rest of the staff were civilians, Robert Anderson, Patrick Comber and George Fabian, all described as "Clerks of Works", plus three clerks.
The Engineers, with their pragmatic military bias, were not interested in aesthetic squabbles, such as Ruskin's objections to iron, a lack of inhibition that produced some of the most adventurous structures of the Victorian period, including the Albert Hall (1865), or in Edinburgh, the iron-framed Royal Scottish Museum (1861). Their Commander (until 1858), Lieutenant Colonel Moody, had, however, published a grandiose scheme of Additions and Alterations for Edinburgh Castle. This scheme, beautifully illustrated by Francis Dollmann, would have drastically altered the Edinburgh skyline, adding giant barracks six stories high to the north and west elevations in a florid Baronial style.  

By 1860, both Moody and Francis Forke had departed, and the Engineers were employed in the more prosaic task of strengthening coastal fortifications in preparation for an attack from the French. This called for solid building - thick walls and strong foundations. To Anderson fell the task of transforming Broughty Castle, Broughty Ferry from a crumbling ruin into a serviceable fort standing alongside several batteries of guns facing out to sea.  

Illustrations of the castle immediately before rebuilding show it to have been in serious disrepair. The central keep was roofless, with the wall heads exposed to the elements. The facing stones had fallen off very large areas of the structure, exposing the less carefully chosen stones at the hearts of the walls. It had been in this state for many years.

The Clerks of Works in the Engineers' Office seem to have been de facto architects, a speculation which appears to be supported by the rapid turnover of officers at 42 Northumberland Street. It is likely that the officers had a managerial role. Anderson in any case felt free in later years to claim full responsibility for carrying out the work.
Historical restoration of the building in a careful and archaeological fashion was not a primary objective. It had to be made sound and strong as well as large enough to accommodate sufficient gunnery and other military personnel in the event of naval threats to the Tay.

This resulted in a rectangular extension to the keep on the north west side, which, as well as increasing accommodation, provided enfilading fire in the event of a land based attack. The tower was re-roofed, the battlemented parapets restored for practical reasons, and the walls made sound. On the three floors, windows were formed or enlarged to suit the building's changed use. At ground floor level, the two vaults were adapted as a magazine. It was, however, possible to carry out a small amount of accurate restoration. The gables of the tower's cap house were given crow steps, on the assumption that the original ones had been removed prior to 1860. The eastern gunports were formed to a sixteenth century keyhole design. 68

Beyond the keep, and roughly within the boundaries of the old enceinte, two sixty eight pounder guns and six ten inch shell guns were mounted on earthworks. A two storey fortification, full of loopholes for musket fire, provided enfilading cover on the two seaward boundaries of the fort. This was reached through a tunnel. The curtain wall on the northern (landward) side of the fort was rebuilt with a lean to guardhouse, and the west curtain wall extended seawards to form an enclosure. 69

The result was an installation which became obsolescent almost as soon as it was commissioned in 1861 (Plate 5). Rapid developments in military technology, including the breech loading gun and greater fire power, made the castle and its sea batteries
very vulnerable, especially with the onset of the ironclad and the
dreadnought. 70

The next architectural task facing Anderson was at the new
St. James' Episcopal Church, Leith. At the end of 1859, sufficient
monies had been provided through legacies to upgrade the
accommodation of the congregation there. 71 Scott had been
selected as architect, and had dined with Bishop Terrot, at that
point the Primus of the Church, to discuss designs. A letter from
Scott to Terrot, dated 3rd January, 1860 reveals that a Brechin based
design had been dismissed as too costly, and one based on Dunblane
Cathedral had been agreed. 72 Scott had a fondness for east or
west elevations based on Scottish models.

By November 1860, the drawings (delayed) were forwarded to the
church, after an increasingly heated and illegible correspondence
between John Burlison and the incumbent, the Rev. White. The tone
and speed of the letters captures the hectic atmosphere of the Scott
office at the time. Tempers became frayed on both sides as
timetabled dates were exceeded, and accusations of incompetence
were flying back and forth.

On November 20th, 1860, Scott wrote to White stating that

I have had an application ... to name a clerk of
the works. I have a strong objection to local
architects in that capacity. A clerk of the
works is best selected from among plain, practical
men and one who devotes all his time to the work.

The job at this point was developing into a fiasco. Local
tenderers were unable to understand Burlison's bills of quantities.
This precipitated another spate of half legible but plainly
vituperative notes between Leith and Spring Gardens. The situation
prevailed for the best part of 1861, with relations between the
architect's staff and the client at an unprecedented low, and
many of the contractors pondering their financial position.
By November 20th, 1861, Anderson had been put in place as Clerk of Works. There is no record of any invitation to the post, or who issued it. It is perhaps sufficient to say that, with his growing reputation in Edinburgh, his experience with Scott, and his personal acquaintance with Bishop Terrot (to be discussed later) it was perfectly understandable that this should come about.

Anderson's timely arrival at St. James marked a turning point. The presence of an intermediary who could understand the problems of the client, the architect and the contractors soon caused the acrimony to disappear, a fact evident from subsequent correspondence. Anderson appears to have quickly assumed command, taking charge of drawings and supervising the work. On 4th December 1862, J.T. Moubray, W.S. was able to write to Scott that

Mr. Anderson the clerk of works called here last evening and stated that he wished me to desire Mr. Johnston the surveyor, immediately to measure the work already executed.

Matters were at last under control, a conclusion obvious not only from the tone of the correspondence, but from the reduction in its volume.

Receipts for salary from Anderson still survive, and these show that he earned two guineas a week from 20th November 1861 to 20th February 1864, some two hundred and forty pounds. Scott himself gave a receipt for two hundred and fifty pounds on 13th August, 1864. Another receipt dated 20th February, 1864 shows that Anderson took a cab from Leith to 42 Northumberland Street, the Royal Engineers' office, late on a Saturday night, suggesting that the young architect had been working hard in his dual role.

The design of the Church owes nothing to Anderson. It was cruciform, with a rounded apse facing Leith Links, a "Dunblane"
west end, and a broach spire at the south east angle formed by
apse and transept. It now lies closed, its interior stripped
and its fabric deteriorating, a fading tribute to Scott's design
and Anderson's competence and single mindedness.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 SRO Census 1841. 685.2, Book 38. Hay Street.

2 S R D. Register of Sasines 7105 and PR 1496.58. James Anderson and his wife disposed of a cottage, gig house, and grounds on the Drum Estate in 1837.

3 S R D. Census, 1841. 685.2, Book 38. Hay Street.


7 ibid.

8 George Watson's Hospital Roll Book, 1841.


10 ibid.


12 Miller The Company of Merchants, p.28.

13 ibid.

14 Scotsman 3 June 1921, p.6.

15 George Watson's Hospital Governors Minute Books, January 1846.

16 George Watson's Hospital Roll Book, 1841.


19 George Watson's Hospital Roll Book, 1841.

20 RIBAJ, 29 June 1916, p.265 Royal Gold Medal Presentation to Sir Rowand Anderson.

21 S.R.O. Lists of Students, 1848-56 NG 1/51/1.

22 Scotsman 3 June 1921, p.6.
23 N M R S. Copy Drawings BWD/56/2 and BW1741

24 N M R S. Copy Drawings BWD 91/2 and 3.


26 Scotsman 13 November 1883, p.5.

27 Scotsman 3 June 1921, p.6.


30 For example, at the Edinburgh University Medical School Competition in 1875.

31 SRO Trustees' Academy Registers NG1/51/1.


33 Ibid. pp.149-150.

34 Ibid. pp.384-5.


38 Brydall Art in Scotland, p.430.

39 Lauder was also Thomson's son in law.

40 Gordon The Royal Scottish Academy, p.146.


42 ECC p.35, No 235.

43 Building Chronicle, January 1856, pp.6-7.

44 McKeen Edinburgh, p.78.
Scotsman 3 June 1921, p.6.


It is assumed that the continental tour took place after a period in Scott's office.


ibid.

ibid. Plates 15, 16, 18, 20, 23.

Trans EAA 14 April 1909, pp.76-7 Valedictory Address by John Watson.


Scotsman 3 June 1921, p.6.


Cuijpers' unexecuted design for a Picture Gallery, illustrated in the Ecclesiologist, Vol.XXII (1864) p.279, seems to confirm Muthesius' opinion. Its massing strongly resembles Deane and Woodward's Oxford University Museum, 1855-60.

Slater's (late Pigot & Co's) Royal National Commercial Directory and Topography of Scotland, 1860, p.133.

RSA list, pp.16-18.
62 Jackson Recollections of T.G. Jackson, p.51.

63 Oliver and Boyd's Edinburgh Almanac

64 NMRS Drawings. EDD/8/42 and 43.

A small "co-operating battery" was built across the Tay at 
Port on Craig.

66 Sir Francis Mudie, David Walker, Iain MacIvor Broughty Castle 
and the Defence of the Tay (Dundee: Abertay Historical Society, 


68 Mudie, Walker, McIvor Broughty Castle, p.64.


70 ibid.

71 St. James Church, Leith, loose papers (with incumbent). 
Clipping from Scotsman, 1 November 1859.

72 ibid. letter.

73 ibid.

74 ibid.

75 ibid.

76 ibid.

77 ibid.

78 NMRS Photographs ED 15565, ED 15569.
CHAPTER TWO

ASPECTS OF ARCHITECTURAL THOUGHT IN HIGH VICTORIAN SCOTLAND
ASPECTS OF ARCHITECTURAL THOUGHT IN HIGH VICTORIAN SCOTLAND

Theoretical Issues, 1850/60

The stylistic variety which characterised Scottish architecture of the High Victorian period was underpinned by a loosely integrated body of architectural theory. It is necessary to identify major themes within this, as well as some of its more notable proponents if the evolution of Anderson's own theoretical position is to be understood.

Fortunately, the transactions of the Architectural Institute of Scotland survive to help in this task. The founding of the Architectural Institute represented the first successful attempt to bring Scottish architects and other interested parties together to discuss architectural matters. It was inaugurated in 1850, and ceased to exist in 1871 for reasons that will be examined later.

While the Institute had the Bairds, John Burnet Senior, John Carrick, John Honeyman, J.T. Rochead, Alexander Thomson and James Salmon, all of Glasgow, in membership, the majority of the published papers remaining from the 1850's/1860's are by prominent figures from the Edinburgh scene. While this precludes the possibility of a really comprehensive appreciation of the Scottish architectural theory of the period, an offsetting advantage is that most of the key theorists were personally known to Anderson, and in some cases were very close acquaintances.

The papers presented at the Institute's meetings reflected its diverse membership. Some speakers dealt with practical matters, such as drainage, while others simply outlined their visual experiences on recent foreign tours. These papers took their place
alongside serious theoretical discussion, or papers where theoretical positions were struck while describing historical architecture.

In Session 1852-3, no less a figure than R.W. Billings delivered a paper "On Certain Features of the Ancient Architecture of Scotland". What he said can be assumed to have carried considerable weight. In his initial remarks Billings set out a fundamental premise -

The ancient architects were undoubtedly artists, and very clever artists too, for we never find their works fail. Their buildings were always adapted to the sites. In illustration of this, look at any of their buildings and see not only how beautifully they are composed, but also how wonderfully they harmonise with the surrounding scenery. In Churches, the spire crowns the valley, giving contrast by its long perpendicular line to the low undulating lines of flat country.

And again,

One cannot help thinking that the designer has invariably placed the point of effect exactly in the right place, and that in no other position would the same effect have been obtained. We feel that there are certain laws for the amalgamation of scenery and building which should be observed.

At this point, historical description became theoretical exhortation - contemporary architecture ought to follow the same principles.

Billings next discussed Baronial architecture, again turning description into admonition -

We must not look to the old baronial architecture of Scotland with a view to mere enrichment; it is not there that the architect will gain the most important and useful lessons. We must look on these old houses as compositions where detail is quite out of the question.

The paper went on to deal with variations in turret sizes and the peculiarities of newel stairs, inter alia, mostly from the
point of view of their picturesqueness. But Billings next found himself struggling for a clear cut explanation of "the jutting lines breaking out all over a building", which he described as typically Scottish: "You can hardly tell whether the perpendicular or horizontal line of composition prevails". Nevertheless he contented himself that "These lines are often exceedingly picturesque, and are found when we get a building on an irregular site".5

Billings had made his theoretical position absolutely clear. For him, architecture involved the pleasing of the eye above all else, an opinion perhaps predictable in a man whose reputation had come about as a result of his drafting talents.

In 1851, John Dick Peddie took the floor at the Architectural Institute with a paper "On the Architectural Features of Edinburgh". Peddie, together with his future partner, Charles Kinnear, would soon be involved in one of the largest Edinburgh practices. He was to specialise as a classicist, with Kinnear specialising in Baronial. His architectural philosophy began to emerge in the earliest words of his speech:

The importance of preserving to Edinburgh its full beauty can scarcely be exaggerated. To its beauty the Scottish capital owes much of its celebrity ... Edinburgh owes its singular beauty to the great variety and marked character of its natural features - to the singularly happy adaptation to these of the buildings which cover them - to the consequent variety of these buildings - to the individual beauty of many of them - and to the wonderfully expressive combinations presented by its different parts.6

Peddie continued by describing the architecture which pleased him:

The architectural objects of Edinburgh are in many cases of great beauty. They present themselves in an astonishing variety. We have the broken, picturesque and tumultuous piles of the Old Town - the long, regular, disciplined line of Princes Street. The baronial castellated buildings of the jails - the classic monuments on the Calton Hill - the bold light arches of the North Bridge - the elaborately ornamental spire of the Scott Monument.7
He then described how he had

hastily glanced over the principal features of Edinburgh. ... To preserve its beauty should be an object of the most anxious solicitude. ... we must, if we would succeed in attaining beauty, design everything, not as a member of an architectural group only, but of a great natural scene.8

Reverting to Calton Hill, he advocated the removal of Nelson's Monument, with a substitute building erected in its place.

The building here erected must be classical. This I would assume. It must be a lofty and broad pile to cover the table on which it stands and it must approach an apex to finish the outline of the hill; and these conditions I apprehend can only be fulfilled by a building of broad base, and finished with a dome of low elevation compared to most modern ones. In outline, it should perhaps resemble a Turkish Mosque. It would be thus assimilated in character to the Observatory.9

The paper ended with praise for the Parthenon and an exhortation to emulate it by completing Playfair's edifice on Calton Hill.

These were the recommendations of an architect who placed a tremendous emphasis on the visual dimension to the point where buildings would be shaped to fit into broad architectural groups, or into a wide landscape scene. Like Billings, Peddle's theoretical position seems to be visually dominated, or at least one where visual qualities are assigned greatest weight.

A decade later, John Lessels, Anderson's former employer, presented a paper entitled "An Inquiry as to the True Principles for our Guidance on the Restoration of Old Buildings". It was characterised by moderation and deference to the opinions of others, and demonstrated a great reverence for works of antiquity, most notably in a desire to preserve as much as possible even when "the walls ... have in many places got dilapidated, and there are
portions of them slightly displaced". Should these be refaced with new stone? Should window tracery adjacent to any such new work be altered to suit that new work? "I think I can anticipate a negative to both of my questions, and am afraid you think me very foolish to have asked them".

Still speaking of ancient buildings, Lessels had further observed that

many of them also, from the lapse of time and other accidental causes, present to the eye objects of such picturesque beauty, that poets and painters find in them a constant theme for the exercise of their talents, and they have now become so much enhanced in value by the associations that surround them, that one feels it to be desecration to interfere with a single stone, or even to remove one single stem of the ivy which threatens, in the luxuriance of its growth, to overthrow the very pinnacle to which it has clung in its aspirations.

These sensitive remarks were understandable, given that their author was himself a painter of some merit. Lessels had to his credit a number of pictures with Romantic titles such as *Landscape with Fine Old Ruins of an Abbey*, and owned a collection of works in a similar mood by JMW Turner and Grecian Williams. His architectural drawings were often given a *chiaroscuro* reminiscent of Billings.

Reverting to the main theme of his paper, Lessels continued to clarify his position:

In carrying out extensive restorations, or alterations on a dwelling-house, characteristic of any period of architecture, it will, in general, be desirable to adhere to that character in the new work as far as the requirements of the proprietor will admit. I repeat, as far as the requirements will admit; for as 'fitness' ought to be the groundwork of all good Architecture, adherence to a particular style will not compensate nor prove an excuse for the want of it. ... It will not do therefore to neglect the major principle for the sake of carrying out the minor.
In the same vein, he stated that

I cannot conceive a greater absurdity than for a man, in the erection of a new mansion, to confuse the size of its windows to the dimensions of pigeon holes, to the exclusion of all the glorious benefits of sunlight, in the silly idea that he was carrying out the pure Scotch style, overlooking altogether its progressive character.16

With these words Lessels explained how he reconciled the demands of historical authenticity and the requirements of modern life when designing in the Baronial style.

Having touched on the ideas of one influential figure, Billings, and two major practitioners, Peddie and Lessels, it is now appropriate to examine another mid-century theoretician, one whose ideas must be particularly relevant to the present analysis: Alexander Christie, Anderson's teacher at the Trustees' School of Design, had himself presented a paper to the Architectural Institute "On the Adaptation of Previous Styles of Architecture to our Present Wants". The paper was relaxed, witty and urbane, with a scriptural text or two thrown in for good measure.

Christie began by asking a familiar question:

Why adopt any previous style whatever - why not invent a new one? Why should we, who boast increased intelligence and comforts, be housed in imitation of our benighted ancestors? ... The answer to all this is very simple. We do not require any new style of building.17

The reasoning behind his bold assertion was twofold. Firstly, style was a by product of construction. The Etruscan arch had been "found in the granaries of Egypt, as a piece of hidden construction before it became the feature of a style".18 Secondly, it followed that, if the existing repertoire of constructional principles still sufficed for man's needs, then their concomitant, the historical styles, were quite sufficient. He continued that
of the three great principles of architectural construction, the Beam, the Arch, and the Tie, we have added to the second, and we may fairly claim the third. A stray skew arch or two may be found in old Gothic buildings (I think there is one at Oxford); but it was only when the rigid railways required rivers and roads to be bridged over at all angles, that its power and convenience caused it to rise into importance.

Christie clearly believed that, not only were ancient constructional principles and styles adequate, but that their full potential was only beginning to be realised. As further examples, he went on to cite Telford's Bridge at the Menai Straits, the roofs of railway stations, or the Crystal Palace, which rivals "the mightiest structures in stone and lime". All stood as testimony to what could be achieved "when a special and worthy purpose calls for the exercise of inventive power or constructive ability".

Christie was also impressed by the "tapering line" and "faultless construction" of factory chimneys.

He next turned to the central theme of his paper, concentrating on Greek architecture, which was "said to be unfit for our purposes". This Christie rejected.

Though Greek art requires a certain symmetry of form, it never demands symmetry of plan. Is there in any group of modern buildings more irregularity of plan, less symmetry of situation, more varied form, or more successful splendour than is to be found in the Acropolis of Athens?

However, the greatest difficulty with regard to the Greek seems to me to be in the fenestral arrangements, and in provision for the chimneys.

but he was hopeful that ingenuity and technology combined could "render Greek forms as plastic in our hands as Romanesque or Gothic".

Christie thus dismissed Pugin's allegation that Greek architecture was
"barbarous", exhorting archdects to find "good in every thing", stylistically speaking, a logical conclusion for a speaker who had earlier stated that all European styles "sprang from our wants".26

While Christie was so obviously rationalist and functionalist in his approach to historical architecture, he built nothing. The other three theorists, however, expressed views which were undoubtedly representative of those held by many active Scottish architects.

Critical Issues, 1850/60

A major source for the establishment of the architectural thought of the period is provided by the Building Chronicle, a monthly journal specialising in Scottish architecture. The Chronicle commenced publication in 1854, and ceased in 1857. It was revealed in later years that it was edited and in large part written by James MacLaren of Dundee, at the time a young architect with a literary bent.27

If the speeches at the Architectural Institute give insights into the theories being advanced by leading practitioners, the Building Chronicle provides a more comprehensive national picture. In addition, it involved itself in criticism, an activity inappropriate at the Institute, where architects presented papers before their professional colleagues.

The Chronicle included reviews and illustrations of recent buildings, reports of architectural societies, including the Architectural Association and the Liverpool Architectural Association, where J. & J. Hay were office bearers. The Hays had Scottish connections, and had a substantial share of Scottish Commissions in the 1850's.28
McLaren's editorials provided the analytical and critical meat. Broader issues of British significance were covered, such as the superiority of the Classical over the Gothic style, or vice versa. The Chronicle reached the predictable conclusion that neither had an undisputed claim to pre-eminence. In response to Puginian arguments for the Britishness of Gothic, the Chronicle remarked that

the truth is that, neither in Scotland nor in England has there ever been a style of architecture exclusively expressive of its immediate locality. Especial modifications, we grant, have obtained in different parts of Great Britain, as in our old Gothic churches, baronial and other structures ... but especially as it regards our civil and social architecture, we have ever been cooperative with our continental neighbours in forming compounds, which render the idea of positive originality positively absurd. 29

A reasoned firmness characterised the Chronicle's critical approach.

In the June 1854 edition, the editor presented a detailed critique of Scottish architecture, entitled On the Principles of Design.

We hold it, that the Architecture of the present day suffers from the entire want of a Catholicity of principle in the Critic, from the consequent disregard of such principle on the part of the architect, and from the ultimately resultant indifference of the Public. 30

These strong words were soon explained:--

Thus the architect, as he now appears, is too frequently in the position of a man who keeps a shop stocked with the miscellaneous ingredients of design, and material for constructive invention... He has all the old fashions from Egypt, Greece and Rome; all the mediaeval fashions of Italy, Normandy, England, France and Germany; he has also a 'choice assortment' of Mohamedan 'goods', and an extensive selection of the newest fashions from modern Italy; he has everything, in short, except a fixed principle, in respect to the 'true purpose of architecture as a means of expressive beauty, dependent upon
the universal admission of its details as the symbols of ideas, and of its combinations as a kind of grammatical expositions, to be conventionally agreed upon, in illustration of a comprehensive intent.31

Apart from what he identified as a general want of principle of almost any kind, McLaren was here bemoaning an indiscriminate and superficial use of the historical styles.

There are many very imposing and elegant pieces of architecture which, as regards their application and expression, are mere masks, greatly belying, if not positively contradicting, the character and purpose of the building on which they are employed.32

As an example he cited the Palladian front to a shop

the nature and simplicity of whose use are much disguised by the character and richness of its Corinthian assumptions, as would be the wrinkled brow of a poor old almswoman by a braided hair front. ... Will not our readers instantly go with us in acknowledging the absurdity of passing under a classical portico, with all its accompaniments of rich window dressings and balustrades, to an interior where there is nothing but white washed rooms and passages, undistinguished by any decoration in the least degree answering to the ostentatious promise of the façade?33

After exteriors which falsify interiors, McLaren passed to a related fault, situations where

the fashion chosen is wholly inappropriate to the buildings purpose. ... We have now our mind's eye on two edifices, both beautiful, but in which the merit of appropriateness, and the defect of unsuitability, are respectively exemplified in a striking degree. The one, unequivocally describes itself - a PRISON! It is not a mimic castle, with little round towers and battlements, and cross slots for imagined archers, and a doorway with a portcullis-looking fanlight, and the hundred other toy epitomes of the things which were used in feudal times to prevent bold enemies from getting in; but it is simply a building to prevent its criminal inmates from getting out.34

Having identified what the prison was not, McLaren next dealt with what it was.
two great cubical wing masses, majestic in their simple form and substance, stern in their few frowning features, and uncompromising in their denial of all communion with the sights and sounds of freedom without. They attest, as it were, the fearful decision of offended justice.

He now moves to a second example,

Its central and most prominent feature is a portico of the severest un-ornate Doric - the Hercules of the Greek orders ... the features are simple and few; and the great excess of solid over void gives a sombre breadth and substance. ... We have not yet examined the bas-reliefs ... but they will doubtless be illustrative of the severe purpose of the building - possibly of the operation of philosophy, or science. ... Is it the academy, the library or museum of a learned incorporate society?

But in spite of all appearances, "we are told it is a THEATRE!" a place which puts "a very grave face on a matter of amusement". The point was well made.

In the May, 1854 edition there appeared an article innocuously entitled Amateur Criticism of Architectural Works, but which contained critical dynamite. The criticism was as vehement as its origin was strange.

Patrick Allan Fraser was a man of property from Arbroath who had started off as a house painter. He then became an artist, marrying well in the process. Fraser was not loth to publicly express his views on the wide range of topics which occupied his enquiring mind, and the Chronicle was reporting on his recent lecture on "Architecture, with Special Reference to Local Buildings", delivered to the Arbroath Literary and Scientific Association.

While deploring his "penchant for dwelling on points of difference rather than points of agreement", the Chronicle found
"much to approve in the good taste and intelligent acumen evinced". 40

But, apart from his amateur status, a major obstacle lay in the path of his critical credibility - he had earlier remodelled his house, "Hospitalfield," in a manner of which the Chronicle did not approve:

The traveller from Dundee northward, may, as he nears Arbroath, catch a glimpse of the conical turrets of an old Scotch mansion on his left, designed, we should say, in close imitation of that particular style. Presently the train whisks past the lodge and gateway - an orthodox Tudor subject - the archway of which has been manufactured into a ruin. You may also be informed of a Corinthian picture gallery attached to the castle. 41

Although Fraser opened his speech by admitting, in relation to "Hospitalfield," that "those who live in glass houses should not throw stones"., 42 the Chronicle found it difficult to square his mordant criticism and his expectation of being forgiven for errors committed "in his chrysalis state". 43

Fraser came immediately to the point at the start of his lecture:

During all my examinations of ancient buildings ... I have ever found strong proofs that one great principle, that of usefulness, had suggested and controlled their original construction, and however quaintly picturesque in some of their lesser features, even they clearly indicate the fact of their having grown out of the requirements of the individuals or bodies for whom they were erected, and that invariably their exterior forms correspond in character with their interior arrangement, and with the end and object for which they were designed. But I have failed in my attempts to discover any such leading principle as usefulness regulating the construction of modern buildings. I see Police Offices, Infirmaries, Railway Stations, Clergymen's Manse, Jails, Country Mansions, Villas, and farm houses, all possessing pretty nearly the same external features, and all bearing evidence of a want of consistency or harmony between their exterior and interior arrangements and the requirements of those for whom they have been erected. 44

He continued with a criticism of Arbroath Infirmary, a building in the "Elizabethan" style :-
Besides the two end gables necessary for the construction of its main roof, this building has other three gables, placed with geometrical exactness, on the front elevation. Now I object to those three gables, not on the ground of their having been so placed, but from their being comparatively of no use. They do not contribute to the internal accommodation in the way they pretend to do ... their principal use appears to be merely to make the building look Elizabethan.45

The Chronicle was not entirely happy with all Fraser said about the building, as it had undergone alterations at the hands of several architects. It was, however, in general agreement with his criticism of Dundee Infirmary, which he described as merely an imitation of an English baronial residence of the sixteenth century, and not intended to be carried out in the interior consistently with its exterior form. This building, besides two long octagonal towers in front, and the usual profusion of gables common to the style, has two large pretentious towers, one on each of the two sides of the main building. Now in really old Elizabethan houses, towers were not erected for ornament merely.46

"To the shrewd good sense of this, we have nothing to add", commented the Chronicle.

Next, new wings at Forfar County Jail came in for criticism. These new wings had been built in the castellated style, and rejoiced in "battlemented parapets, flat roofs, and a bartizan turret at each corner in imitation of an old feudal castle". On visiting the building the Chronicle found "a strange conglomeration of style outside, and most erratic arrangements internally - such indeed as to make us emphasize Mr. Fraser's opinions on it".47

Fraser next attacked disguised chimneys, which sometimes came in the shape of a black iron pipe peeping up at the back of the battlemented parapet, ashamed to own that it is a chimney, and unwilling to lessen the dignity of the Castle by admitting the existence of a fireplace.48
As well as receiving the slightly qualified blessing of the Building Chronicle, Fraser's views were credible enough to warrant a hearing at the Architectural Institute. On 4th February 1856 he delivered a lecture in the same vein, illustrated with drawings exemplifying faults of the kind described above, all out of "an earnest anxiety to see the architecture of this country more in accordance with our requirements". 49

To summarise, architectural criticism in the 1850's and 1860's had several dominant themes. At its worst, architecture was seen to lack any kind of guiding principle, substituting for this an erratic and superficial use of the different historical styles. This criticism, as well as being closely linked to contemporary notions of associationism and propriety, was inextricably bound up with emergent notions concerning the morality of architecture.

Anderson can be assumed to have been well acquainted with the debate. He took the Building Chronicle, having published his drawings in it in 1855. He was also active at the Architectural Institute, giving a paper there in 1860 on his recent tour, and presiding at a further meeting to discuss its implications, a meeting judged a success. 50 It was not typical of him to keep press cuttings on other architects in his scrapbook. The one exception to this was an article concerning a family mortuary chapel completed in Arbroath about 1884, designed, significantly, by Patrick Allan Fraser. 51
NOTES AND REFERENCES


2 Trans AIS, Session 1852-3, p.29.

3 ibid. pp.29-30.

4 ibid. p.33.

5 ibid. p.34.

6 Trans AIS, Session 1850-51, pp.141-2.

7 ibid. p.143.


10 Trans AIS, Session 1859-60, p.54.

11 ibid. p.55.

12 ibid. p.54.

13 Dowell's List, 4 March 1884, p.391.

14 ibid.

15 Trans AIS, Session 1859-60, p.61.

16 ibid. p.62.

17 Trans AIS, Session 1853-54, p.58.

18 ibid. p.59.

19 ibid.

20 ibid. p.60.

21 ibid.

22 ibid.

23 ibid. p.69.

24 ibid.

25 ibid. p.70.
26 ibid. p.75.
28 Building Chronicle, May 1855, p.190.
31 ibid.
32 ibid.
33 ibid.
34 ibid.
35 ibid.
36 ibid. p.36.
38 J.M. McBain Eminent Arbroathians (Arbroath: Brodie and Salmond, 1897) p.401. Fraser at one time published his theological views, dismissed by McBain as "mere essays by an amateur pamphleteer".
39 Building Chronicle, May 1854, pp.4-5.
40 ibid.
41 ibid.
42 ibid.
43 ibid.
44 ibid.
45 ibid.
46 ibid.
47 ibid.
48 ibid.
50 Trans AIS, Session 1859-60, p.6.
51 RA Scrapbook, p.22.
CHAPTER THREE

PRACTICE BUILDING - CHURCH AND DOMESTIC WORK, 1864-1872
Prologue - The Scottish Episcopal Church in Expansion

The building of St. James' Church, Leith, was a sign of renewed life in the Scottish Episcopal Church, which had been in a state of revival since the beginning of the Victorian period. The Church was not, contrary to popular belief, an English implant. It was, and is, Scottish and Reformed, but never abandoned episcopacy or embraced Calvinism after the Reformation. After a number of struggles involving Scottish monarchs of opposite religious hues, the Presbyterian faction became the Established Church in 1690.¹

This development ushered in troubled times for the Episcopalian minority, who were suspected of disloyalty to Queen Anne and the Hanoverian succession, because of association with the exiled House of Stuart. Episcopal worship was banned, and Episcopalians were persecuted and imprisoned. In 1792, though, sanctions against Episcopalians were lifted with the repeal of the Penal Acts.²

The Church had traditionally been strong north of the Tay, where the campaigning of the Presbyterian party had been less persistent. Between 1838 and 1858, however, the number of congregations had risen from 75 to 150, and the Church was in a state of revival nationwide.³

A number of factors can be brought forward in partial explanation of the revival. Firstly, the population was expanding, providing a greater target for the Church's missions. Secondly, the general barrenness of Presbyterian worship, where church music
and decoration were still kept under strict control, was causing disenchantment among an increasingly educated and growing middle class. At the same time, the Oxford Movement was making inroads into the Episcopal Church. It is difficult to dissociate these latter trends from Romanticism.

In the mid Victorian period, the Church had in its ranks a number of clergymen whose activities almost single handedly produced great increases in Episcopalian congregations. Most notable among these was Alexander Penrose Forbes, Bishop of Brechin from 1847 to 1875, a scholar of some distinction with a reputation for selfless charity and personal piety. Forbes was educated at Oxford, and came from the Forbes family of Pitsligo, eminent Episcopalian. During his episcopate he consolidated a large number of small churches into larger units, and carried out mission work leading to the creation of a number of new congregations in Dundee. A friend of Pusey, Forbes was influenced by the Oxford Movement. When he decided to build a Cathedral Church in Dundee, he chose Scott as architect, hoping that he would design "a builded prayer in stone and lime, a standing creed." In the event he was not disappointed.

It would be a mistake to regard the Victorian Episcopalian Church as being unanimous either doctrinally or liturgically. It had a history of internal disagreement on liturgy, and the Penal Acts of the eighteenth century had caused further fragmentation. As a rough guide, those portions of the Church north of the Tay, traditional Episcopalian territory, were to prove more disposed to the Oxford Movement than those south of it.

In Edinburgh, two distinguished churchmen were presiding over a revival of a different character. Charles Hughes Terrot, a
mathematician with a logician's approach to Christianity, had become Bishop of Edinburgh in 1841. E.B. Ramsay was Dean of Edinburgh and had been the incumbent of St. John's, Princes St., since 1830. Although both were Englishmen, they had acquired a great fondness for Scotland and its traditions. Theologically they were moderates, suspicious of the Oxford Movement. Both men had emerged from an Episcopalian tradition where friendship and co-operation with senior clergy of the Established Church was perfectly acceptable. At one stage Terrot had gone as far as to say that

\[
\text{every conspicuous perversion of a lay member of the Episcopal Church in Scotland has occurred under the baneful influence of some English clergyman.}
\]

Under Terrot and Ramsay, large congregations built up in St. John's, and in the churches in and around the New Town; on the south side of the town, working class congregations were also expanding and prospering. One exception to the moderate approach prevailing in the Diocese was the new church, St. Columba's by the Castle, where the congregation re-instated the Scottish Liturgy in 1848. This involved a movement towards ritualism, and was carried into effect in spite of opposition from Ramsay and Terrot. 

It was not unusual for senior Episcopalian clergymen to participate actively in learned societies, and in the intellectual debates of the day. In 1854 Forbes invited Alexander Christie to deliver a lecture on industrial design to a Dundee audience, subsequently reported in the Building Chronicle. Christie roundly condemned shoddy design and associated quick profits, and brought with him ancient locks as examples of good design.
Both Ramsay and Terrot were active members of the Architectural Institute. In session 1850/51, the former gave a paper "On the method by which the Members Generally May Practically Follow Out the Architectural Purposes of the Institute". Having declared himself an amateur, Ramsay refrained from practical advice, turning his paper into a treatise on the revival of Gothic, followed by an exhortation to avoid contention over stylistic issues, which, he argued, was "inconsistent with the liberal spirit of the times". In the course of his lecture he revealed he had once known Rickman, an association that presumably contributed to his impressive grasp of Gothic architecture.

On 13th January, 1857, Bishop Terrot in turn delivered a paper, "On the Elements of Architectural Beauty, in reference specially to the Recent Structures in Paris". After protesting his lack of expertise, Terrot prefaced his visual experiences with characteristically incisive comment:

> The beauty, then, of the human form, depends upon its apparent adaptation to its purpose. We need not, indeed, deny all truth to the systems which profess to define beauty by certain combinations of different angles and proportional length of parts; but it is very certain, that the sentiment of admiration is excited, not by the perception of mathematical relationships, but by the perception of fitness for a desirable purpose.

Thereafter, Terrot commented on his preferences and dislikes in Haussmann's remodelled Paris, sparing some remarks for the excellencies of Chartres Cathedral.

It is tempting but inaccurate to equate Ecclesiologically inspired church building in the Scottish Episcopal Church with the advances being made there by the Oxford Movement. While the Tractarian influenced congregation at Perth had commissioned a
young Butterfield to build St. Ninian's Cathedral in the late 1840's, this was the exception rather than the rule. In his useful analysis of Ecclesiological influence in *Fashions in Church Furnishings*, Peter Anson paints a picture based on the North but which was typical of what was happening across Scotland. Gradually, and one by one, Episcopal congregations from about 1850 onwards started to introduce Ecclesiologically inspired furnishings, and occasionally an Ecclesiologically correct church would appear, usually as a result of a clergyman, or an architect, or both exercising their preferences. There was no great demand for innovations of this type from the congregations, which were predominantly conservative in outlook.

In 1843, a young architect, Mr. Hay, designed a very plain first pointed Gothic chapel for Cruden, Aberdeenshire, which was definitely in advance of all that preceded it. This had a chancel with a raised Holy Table and reredos, and sedilia. Prior to that point, Episcopalians had made do with "preaching boxes" with pulpits on side walls. A second church of note was designed by John Henderson of Edinburgh, at Woodhead, Fyvie, in 1849. According to Anson,

> The interior arrangements of this rural church in Aberdeenshire were excellent. A thoroughly correct granite font stood at the west end of the building. The chancel was paved with encaustic tiles. Prayer desk and pulpit stood on the north and south sides of the chancel arch. The only criticism was the "jack in the box contrivance of getting into the pulpit through a hole in the wall."

Henderson's church now stands disused, a plain and unpretentious building with a slated broach spire added in later years. Built of long, flattish pieces of rubble, and situated in a belt of mature trees it may once have justified its reputation as "one of the best
specimens of a village church in Scotland*. (Plate 6)

Not mentioned by Anson is Henderson's St. Mary's Episcopal Church at Dunblane. The date 1843 is carved above its door, and the church was consecrated and opened for worship in 1845, having been subjected to full Ecclesiological treatment, with chancel, ascents to the holy table and an open timber roof. The proportional relationship between chancel and nave, viewed externally, is less than happy, and the church can be considered no more than competent. (Plate 7) St. Mary's is typical of Henderson's Episcopal productions, both in scale and in quality, and yet, for twenty years, he obtained the lion's share of this denomination's commissions.

A selection of Henderson's extant Episcopal works is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Sittings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>St. Catherine's</td>
<td>Blairgowrie, Perthshire</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>St. Mary's</td>
<td>Dunblane, Perthshire</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>St. Andrew's</td>
<td>Fasque, Kincardineshire</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>St. Mary's</td>
<td>Hamilton, Lanarkshire</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>St. Columba's by the castle</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>All Saints</td>
<td>Woodhead, Aberdeenshire</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Holy Trinity</td>
<td>Dunoon, Argyllshire</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>St. Mary's</td>
<td>Dalmaunoy, Midlothian</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>St. Mary's</td>
<td>Arbroath, Angus</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Holy Trinity</td>
<td>Lemington, Lanarkshire</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>St. Mary's</td>
<td>Port Glasgow, Renfrewshire</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>Christ Church</td>
<td>Lanark, Lanarkshire</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>St. Baldred</td>
<td>North Berwick, E. Lothian</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Date of consecration, or opening, whichever is the earlier

(Source - Scottish Episcopal Year Book and Directory, 1961)

It is now worth turning to Henderson's larger commissions, where financial constraints appear to have been less of a consideration. His St. Mary's Church, at Hamilton, although in need of refurbishment internally at the time of writing, is, as usual, Ecclesiologically
"correct", but the relative proportions of nave and chancel are again weak. At St. Mary's, Arbroath, coarse detailing and generally poor proportional relationships between the parts and the whole contribute to a lack of coherence. At St. Baldred's, North Berwick, where Henderson's exterior work is largely masked by John Kinross' additions, the interior beauty of the nave is diminished by the rather low and insubstantial tie beams of the open timber roof. 20

Henderson's magnum opus was Trinity College, Glenalmond, again for the Episcopal Church. The College was founded by W.E. Gladstone, J.R. Hope, and Dean Ramsay. 21 Henderson secured this highly prestigious commission in 1841, continuing on it until 1851. Helped by a glorious wooded site and superb vistas, Henderson's residential and teaching blocks seem reasonably competent, and his Decorated chapel possesses pleasing proportions and a fine open timber roof. There are minor lapses. The dormer heads of the residential blocks, for example, are of a pedimented configuration, when historical authenticity would have called for woodwork in pointed arch format.

Later, the Ecclesiologist reported that

the design of the building was in due time entrusted to Mr. Henderson, who as a Scotchman, and belonging to the Church, was employed at that time for most of its ecclesiastical structures ... . The rich red sandstone of which the pile is built warms the landscape, otherwise there is little to remark in the architecture, which is a sort of conventional Gothic, not exactly Middle or Third Pointed, with heavy labels, and other features likely to occur in the building of a second rate architect of that epoch. 22

Relenting slightly, it continued :—
Still we are unwilling to be severe upon Mr. Henderson for this treatment; for when he was designing, S. Augustines was only being contemplated, and Hurstpierpoint not dreamed of.23

Both conclusions were accurate. Henderson was scarcely an architect of the first rank, but did not deserve to be reprimanded so severely by a publication whose precepts he had sought to implement almost single handedly in Scotland from the early 1840's.

While a member, and even an official of the Architectural Institute, Henderson gave no lectures, and left few clues as to his personality. His secular architecture is in the same vein as his ecclesiastical - competent, unpretentious, but largely uninspired. His house designs at Morningside, Edinburgh or his bank on the North Bridge (now part of Edinburgh Central Library) all lack obvious distinction. He died in his home at 7 Greenhill Park, Edinburgh, on 27th January 1862.24

While Henderson was awarded most Episcopal Church commissions from the 1840's until his death, some larger commissions went to Scott, who, in addition to his involvement at Dundee was responsible for St. Mary's, Broughty Ferry in 1848, intended to seat 450.25

This was an undistinguished design, but Scott was in better form at Hawick, where he built a fine 400 seater, completed in 1858.26 (Plate 8) This was followed by St. James, Leith (1864). Other Ecclesiologically inclined architects were occasionally invited north, such as Slater and Carpenter, who designed the beautiful St. Peter's, Lutton Place, Edinburgh, built in 1860.27

Christ Church, Falkirk, 1864

On July 23rd, 1863, Robert Anderson was married to Mary Ross,
daughter of Henry Ross, a tenant farmer from Kinnahaird, near Strathpeffer, in Ross-shire. The wedding took place in Contin Parish Church, "according to the forms of the Established Church". Anderson described himself on the marriage papers as an "Architect, Civil Staff, Royal Engineers". At that time his work at St. James, Leith was well advanced, he had a salary from the Engineers, and he had just designed a new Episcopal Church for the growing congregation in Falkirk. He was well placed to provide for his new wife, and together they set up house at 11 Duncan St., off Drummond Place, in the New Town.

On 26th April, 1862, Bishop Terrot had issued a fund raising circular which began as follows:

In the town of Falkirk and its outskirts are upwards of two hundred Members of the SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH without a Clergyman, without a Church, and without any means of grace save a service in a room on Sunday evenings, which the incumbent of Dunmore is able to afford them after his duties have been performed.

On May 8th, 1863, Dean Ramsay laid the foundation stone of the new Church, preaching an informative sermon as he did so.

Of the proposed Church he said

This will be, strictly speaking, an ecclesiastical building, and will be in the form of church architecture. You are aware that, in this country since the time of the Conquest, a particular style has been appropriated to architecture for church purposes ... although a poor country, Scotland has appreciated the magnificent Gothic architecture. Therein is involved a great principle - the principle of the association of ideas. This ... can be explained in one word - certain external forms which suggest certain ideas. When we see a building in the ecclesiastical style of architecture, we know it is a church and we have solemn ideas in such a building ... I am happy that this church
will be right in this respect; and I am sure that, owing to the skill of the intelligent architect, carried out by the builder, this church will be a building that nobody will mistake.31

The vestry minutes do not begin until several years later, making it impossible to establish conclusively how/commission was awarded, but they contain no references to other architects. Anderson seems to have been given the job outright on the strength of his contacts, reputation and good work at Leith. His "intelligence" was by this time well appreciated by Terrot and Ramsay from the Architectural Institute and, presumably, Scott's good reports.

Ramsay's words confirm his churchmanship. He was no ritualist, and had refrained from commenting on the liturgical implications of the new church's Ecclesiologically correct design.

By April 14th, 1864, the church was complete, and the necessary £1300 had been raised, thus enabling it to be consecrated.32 The ceremony was carried out by Bishop Terrot, in the company of the Rev. J.A. White of Leith and the Rev. A.W. Hallen of Alloa, amongst others.

The new building, constructed as a two-cell chapel with provision for a south transept, is by no means an apprentice piece. It is in the High Victorian "muscular" tradition with wide expanses of plain wall punctuated by crisp detail. A nave of four buttressed bays gives way to a semicircular apse, against which a little flat roofed vestry abuts. The lancets are in early Gothic with crisp hood mouldings, changing to plate tracery on the walls of the chancel. A bellcote with a single bell rises from the junction of nave and chancel, and a
porch is placed at the North west corner. Built of yellow rubble, a dash of High Victorian constructional polychromy has been provided in the form of red stone banding carried round the walls at the window bases, hood moulding terminations and cornice. The church is particularly impressive when viewed from the east, projecting an air of dignified restraint (Plate 9). The round apse recalls Pearson's St. Peter's, VauxhallBridge (1859). While the more severe phases of Gothic were in favour in the Scott office during these years, the exterior is much more austere than Scott's contemporary productions, in which his liking for rich Gothic ornament still shows through.

Within, an open timber roof of tiny scissor beams evokes Butterfield. In the words of the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* (no doubt provided by the architect),

> The chancel arch is of dressed and moulded stone, and springs from moulded and carved corbelled shafts. The chancel is properly fitted up with altar table and rail choir and prayer desks; and in the nave on the north side is the pulpit, the whole of stained and varnished deal. The nave is seated with open pews also of stained deal. . . . The Church will be lighted during evening service by four handsome coronae, one of forty and three of twenty four lights, made by Messrs. Milne and Son of Edinburgh.33

The south transept was added by Anderson, Simon & Crawford in 1900, at which time the interior was lined with dark red brick, with buff banding, echoing the polychromy of the exterior.34

Prior to this, the walls seem to have been of exposed rubble.

A schedule of disbursements from the building fund is contained at the back of the first vestry minute book. It provides the following information :-
James Law, Mason £ 718-2-3½
James Black, Carpenter £ 350
James Miller, Plasterer £ 26-10-1
R. King, Plumber £ 39-0-5½
W. Fairbairn, Surveyor £ 18
John Meiklejohn, Heating Apparatus £ 43
James Milne, Gasfitting £ 30-18/-
D. Draper, Slater £ 54-19-8
Ferguson and Bell, Painters £ 10-13-6

A total of £ 79-1-8 was paid to Anderson, representing the customary five per cent, as well as expenses and extras.

An alternative design for the west wall survives. This was to have borne a double bellcote, supported by two full length buttresses in the manner of the Abbey Barn, Caen, to be illustrated in due course in The Domestic and Street Architecture of France and Italy. This was simplified, presumably for financial reasons.

All Saints, Edinburgh, 1864-66

The year 1864 was a particularly happy one for the Andersons. On 5th June, a daughter, Annie Ross Anderson, was born. Despite his success at Falkirk, there was no immediate rush of commissions, a situation that may have reflected either a general dearth of work, or particular pressure at the Engineers' Office.

There were however, good omens for the future. In April 1864 Anderson was approached regarding designs for a new Episcopal Church at Brougham St., Edinburgh. For some years before this date a congregation had developed under the care of the Rev. Alexander Dimmie Murdoch, a missionary based at St. John's, Princes St. The congregation at this time worshipped in a building in Earl Grey St.

W.L. Moffat and William Hay, two fellow Edinburgh architects, were also approached, and all three submitted plans to Dean Ramsay. The Minutes of the Building Committee record that on 3rd June, 1864
"the meeting resolved that Mr. Robert Anderson should be the architect". This was heartening news, coming two days before the birth of his daughter.

Initially it was intended that the new church should seat 600, and a rough cost of £4000 was established. An undated drawing of a church larger than that eventually built still survives. It depicts an austere but impressive church of nave, aisles and chancel in Geometric Gothic, rising high out of the ground. Its height and a bell flèche over the crossing suggest French inspiration.

The design underwent several changes in response to the realities of fund raising. By March 20th, 1866, a new design had been produced, involving a smaller church of nave, aisles and chancel, with an elegant saddleback tower at the west end. This design, too, was cut down, the new church, dedicated to "All Saints", opening without a tower on 20th June 1867, with seating capacity for 450. The small corner site was a difficult one, but in spite of this the building was correctly oriented and well handled.

The group of buildings now visible (Plate 10) results from several additions. A narthex and the small scale tower were added in 1876, the Builder commenting that while a massive tower was contemplated "this feature has been abandoned in the meantime, and the church is complete without it". The Building News was able to report on 22nd June 1877 that a school and hall, able to seat 500/600 people had been completed in Glen Street at a cost of £4000, the mason being Mr. A. Angus.

In addition, a rectory was built alongside the church in 1878, linked to it by the vestry and narthex, and finally, in July 1888,
plans were produced leading to the completion of the Lady Chapel. The executed design retained the French character and Ecclesiological correctness of its predecessor. Internally, the nave has four bays, divided by circular red sandstone columns surmounted by squared abaci, with vigorous stiff leaf carving on the capitals.

Apart from the columns, the rest of the building is in yellow sandstone. The chancel terminates in a pentagonal apse, and has an ascent of seven steps to the altar. It contains several aumbries, and is floored with encaustic tiles. The church does not possess a distinct chancel arch, the entrance to the chancel being marked out by cylindrical wall shafts raised from the piers of the last bay.

The roof of the church was superbly judged. A wagon format was chosen to give loftiness to the interior. The collar beams and intervening rafters cling to the surface, avoiding the inevitable spatial interference caused by tie beams. The roof arrangements and rose window confirm the building's French derivation.

If All Saints Church consolidated Anderson's reputation as a Church architect, another point of significance lay in the fact that it allowed him to deal with David Bryce, the feudal architect, over the questions of feu duty and plot shape.

**Accelerating Progress - 1866**

While very little, apart from the designs and negotiations for Brougham Street, seems to have come about in 1865, 1866 witnessed an acceleration in Anderson's career, establishing a momentum which would not stop until his old age.
During this year, a domestic commission came his way, from a Mr. Waddell of Portobello. Although the building, its stables and gardens no longer survive, the drawings indicate that it was a house of two storeys plus attic, asymmetrically planned, with trefoil headed Gothic windows (Plate 11).

To the left hand side of the entrance hall, a stair provided access to the upper floors. Several generously proportioned public rooms lay to the right, the living room having a canted bay window. The walls dividing the rooms on the ground floor appear to have been load-bearing, and were carried through the next storey, determining the room divisions. A drawing room corresponded with the living room on the floor below, and the remaining rooms were dressing rooms or bedrooms. There was nothing innovative about the design or planning; the house was sensibly arranged and the Gothic detail was restrained, reaffirming the construction rather than disguising it. It was located at the junction of James Street and London Road.

During 1866, a monument to the sixth Duke of Atholl, designed by Anderson, was erected on a hillock four miles south of Pitlochry, at Logierait. The edifice, visible for miles around, stands fifty to sixty feet high, and is in the form of a well proportioned Iona cross, decorated with abstract Celtic patterns. Shallow reliefs depicting the sporting interests of the late Duke adorn the lower parts of the shaft (Plate 12).

In 1861, while working on St. James Church, Anderson had been invited to design a monument to the 78th Ross-shire Highlanders, who fell during a revolt in India in 1857-8. This had been erected on the esplanade of Edinburgh Castle, and although on a far smaller scale than that at Logierait, was clearly its antecedent (Plate 13).
The Logierait commission had, in fact, been granted as a result of the success of the earlier memorial.

Towards the autumn of 1866, a number of Episcopal Church commissions came up almost concurrently. The first of these was a new church for the Helensburgh congregation, who, since 1843 were housed in Holy Trinity Chapel, described as "a small plain edifice in the Tudor style of architecture". The arrival in the town of the railway in 1857 caused a rapid growth in the population, necessitating a new church. On August 1st, 1866, Anderson's design was approved by the vestry. Once again, he had been commissioned outright.

On February 21st, 1867, the foundation stone was laid by the Bishop of the Diocese, and with Anderson and the Building Committee in attendance, the church was dedicated to St. Michael and All Angels. Others present included R.F. Shaw Stewart, Chairman of the Building Committee and relation of the wealthy Shaw Stewarts of Ardgowan, Inverkip. None of Anderson's contacts from previous commissions seems to have been there; with the Church's administrative headquarters in Edinburgh, his growing reputation was probably sufficient to secure him the contract.

Situated on a good corner site, the Helensburgh Church is broader, squatter and more "muscular" than his earlier churches. Its short but lofty proportions, western wheel window and rough faced red sandstone construction combine to suggest an Early French derivation. This is confirmed by the interior, where the red and cream voussoirs of the nave arcade sit on squared abaci and the capitals are again vigorously carved. A pointed wagon roof, planked over, with surface ribs, is continued in the chancel (Plate 15). The rafters are exposed on the aisle ceilings, separated by white plaster.
The details and proportions of the chancel are pleasing; it is lit by three lancets on the east wall, surmounted by a vesica. The encaustic tiling of nave and chancel pavements becomes progressively more complex as the altar is approached. Richly patterned encaustic tiles and bands of smooth red brick decorate the chancel walls.

The church cost £2,500 in its initial state, and the bulk of the work was carried out by a local builder, James McKinnon of Helensburgh. The subscribers to the church included W.E. Gladstone and the Hon. G.F. Boyle.

Although the correspondence on the building of the church has been lost, Anderson's specification still survives. It reveals that he called for certain of the stones to be "scabbled ... in the manner of old work" and carefully matched for colour. The stone to be used for the internal dressings was to be "the best riven rock from Dumbarton Quarry, uniform in colour". The wagon roof was to be of fir, "from Riga or Danzig", and the slates of the previous church were to be used where possible. Anderson designed screen, pulpit and choir stalls, and special drawings were provided for the gargoyles. An impression of punctilious care pervades the entire document.

The church was opened for worship and consecrated early in 1868.

While the Helensburgh Church was in hand, the Earl of Mar & Kellie was planning to upgrade the accommodation of the Episcopalians at Alloa. On 13th October, 1866, he wrote to the Rev. A.W. Hallen, the incumbent, advising him of his intention to endow a new church at the foot of his park. This was near the heart of Alloa, and contained Alloa Tower, a fourteenth century
keep which the family still used, as well as a more modern house designed by George Angus.

His letter called for a swift reply "as I expect an architect here in a few days". The answer was in the affirmative, naturally enough, although his original site was considered unsuitable, and a site on Broad Street, at the western edge of his park, was eventually chosen. For the first time in his career, Anderson had an absolutely free hand, with no competition, and a wealthy landed aristocrat prepared to meet all costs. The church was, however, to be small, in its initial phase having to accommodate only 155 people.56

Building operations began with the laying of the foundation stone on St. John's day, (December 27th), 1867, when the church was dedicated to St. John. The congregation were in no rush to vacate their old quarters, which had been sold to the Roman Catholics for £600 on the condition that they were not handed over until the new church was ready.57 This was opened and consecrated with immense ceremony on 4th August 1869. Present among a large number of civic and ecclesiastical dignitaries that day were Bishop Forbes of Brechin, and the Primus of the Episcopal Church, the Bishop of Moray and Ross.58

The new building (Plate 16) originally comprised nave and chancel, the south Aisle not being added until later, although it was provided for in the original drawings and plans. On the exterior, the five bays of the nave are pierced with Geometric windows, filled with stained glass from the very beginning. A tower with broach spire and louvred belfry also acts as an entrance to the nave. On the west wall, the window tracery is
again Geometric, and the labels have uncarved bosses. Built of yellow sandstone, the church is now severely blackened by the smoke of Alloa. In the *Alloa Advertiser* of 7th August, 1869, a six thousand word article appeared on the consecration and opening of the new edifice. The reporter, doubtless informed by the architect, noted what had become a recurring and characteristic feature of Anderson's church designs, observing that "the building, which externally is severely treated ... is utterly devoid of unnecessary decoration". 59

On the opening day, the church was a blaze of High Victorian colour, the compensating richness of its interior described in detail in the *Advertiser*:

The decorations of the church are profuse in the extreme, and indeed superb. No expense has been spared to make them completely and handsomely beautiful. The passages between the low-backed and comfortable seats have been laid with encaustic tiles in the nave; the walks round the nave are for several feet coloured with deep India red; from thence to their heads they are of a vellum tint, with diaperings of chocolate, ochre, and Indian red, and then to the wall plates are powderings of stars, fleur-de-lis, etc. Between the windows are circular medallions, each one bearing a bust of an apostle, with his emblem and name. Over the entrance is to be a rich canopy covering a figure of St. John ... Inside the chancel the decorations are profuse and brilliant. The leading decorations of the chancel vault are a choir of angels, painted on blue grounds and medallions bearing the emblems of the Passion. 60

In addition there was a pulpit of alabaster and marble, and a triptych reredos in Venetian mosaic by M. Salviati. Overhead, a pointed wagon roof sprung from "richly coloured mouldings". 61

Among the many toasts given later at a celebratory luncheon at the Earl of Mar & Kellie's residence was one to the architect, given by the Earl.
You have all this day had an opportunity of judging what I think may fairly be called his exquisite and classical taste, but there is much I have to thank him for besides this. In our numerous discussions in no instance whatever have we had a dispute. His success, I think, has been great and I trust it may lead to his being the acknowledged best ecclesiastical architect in Scotland.62

According to the Advertiser,

Mr. Anderson, in responding, said that he was a man more of deeds than words; that he could not express the pleasure he felt in the opening of the church ... Though pleased with the work they had this day done, he was only sorry that its very success was a signal of the closing of his connection with a work in which he had ever taken great pleasure.63

The Ecclesiologist, in its only review of an Anderson building, stated that a "poor Episcopal chapel" was about to be replaced with "an excellent church", and that the "ritual arrangements are thoroughly good, except that the rise is of six, instead of seven steps". Not given to unreserved praise, it continued that "the vestry has a transverse gable, which we do not like" and thought the two doors at the west end unnecessary. While the tower was "a good composition", the belfry stage "ought to be a few feet higher, so as to clear the ridge of the nave roof". In its usual omniscient manner, the same journal ended its account by attributing the design to a "Mr. Willis".64

The Earl kept a tally of the cost of the church,65 from which the following information has been taken:–

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purchase of old houses</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>2504</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slater</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plasterer</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumber</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In 1872, the Earl and Countess had provided for the erection of the North Aisle of the church, and in the same year the Earl died. In 1874 his recumbent effigy, in alabaster, was placed on the north side. It too was designed by Anderson.

While working on designs for the Earl of Mar & Kellie, Anderson had been commissioned to build a new church by the Episcopalians of Cupar, who were worshipping in a chapel designed by Burn in 1817, on an ancient site. The congregation was quite small and not wealthy, but on the 11th of December, 1866, the vestry were perusing "plans and schedules of measurement and two communications ... received from Mr. Anderson the architect". The vestrymen, however, were not at this stage totally happy with the designs, stating a little belligerently that the architect "had not attended to the suggestions as to the construction of the seats" and were of the opinion that the "side aisle will be much too dark and request the architect to provide for sky lights in the roof of the aisle".

Their criticisms in this respect suggest that they were unfamiliar with the finer points of Cambridge Camden Ecclesiology. The vestry secretary was nevertheless able to record at a later meeting that "the architect has changed his plan from the one submitted ... by removing altogether the windows in the aisle and
substituting six small clerestory windows in the nave".\textsuperscript{70}

The vestry minutes bear witness to the fact that, in the earlier stages of negotiation with "the architect", attitudes had become hostile. A timely and unannounced appearance by Anderson off the Edinburgh train instantly altered the relationship. The minutes are thereafter deferential, and by the spring of 1667, work on the new building had started.

The church was built on a cramped and narrow main street site, not wide enough for a nave with two aisles. A single aisle was built on the left of the frontage, while a neighbouring building prevented the introduction of windows on the right hand side.

(Plate 17) The facade is once more understated and elegant, with much of its effect deriving from the unusually low springing points of the lancets.

Within, nave and aisle are separated by an arcade forming three bays, extremely pleasing in its simple dignity. Once again the nave was given a pointed wagon roof. The chancel has a roodscreen, added later, and ascends to the altar in five steps, floored in Godwin's encaustic tiles, which are enriched towards the altar in the usual fashion. There is an ambry in the chancel wall.

St. Andrew's Church, St. Andrews

Meanwhile, at nearby St. Andrews, the Episcopalians were well advanced in their fund raising for a new church, Bishop Wordsworth having issued an appeal circular on 28th June 1865.\textsuperscript{71} The existing church could only house 220, and had already been enlarged.
Wordsworth thought it desirable that

at St. Andrews, of all the towns in Scotland, the Episcopal Body should be worthily and adequately represented by its place of worship. For many centuries the Ecclesiastical Metropolis of our land, it is still the seat of the oldest of our Universities ... . Upon these and other accounts, it is felt that cause would be given for general disappointment and complaint if the endeavour were not made to render the new Church which is to be erected not only a spacious but a handsome one.\(^2\)

On 22nd October, 1866, a vestry meeting was held regarding the design of the proposed new building.\(^3\) It had earlier been decided that competitive designs should be obtained from the local architect, John Milne, and from Robert Anderson, whose reputation had clearly gone before him. G.E. Street was to select the best design. One plan from Milne and two from Anderson were examined, together with Street’s report which recommended one of the latter’s designs. This was ratified by the vestry, and Anderson was awarded the commission. The incumbent, the Rev. Robert Skinner, was asked to convey the decision to Anderson, and to invite him to St. Andrews to confer with the Building Committee.

On November 14th, the Vestry studied Anderson’s sketch of the new church, (without its spire), referred Milne’s account to the Building Committee, and sent the St. Andrews architect the relevant section of Street’s report.\(^4\) At this point, with the relationship cemented, communications to and from Anderson started to flow.

Fortunately, the whole of Anderson’s correspondence has been preserved. This affords a first hand view of progress with the church, as well as providing a valuable insight into his personal and professional behaviour.
A letter of 26th November 1866 begins:

Dear Mr. Skinner,

I have sent off by rail the drawings of the Church and a tracing showing the position of the Church on the site & the drains. The drains will be glazed fireclay & the fall to the main drain in Queen Street will be seen from the section at the top of the tracing to be ample.

Anderson's handwriting is large, clear and neat, conveying something of the directness of his already powerful personality. His words are plain and his message brief and to the point. He seems as much concerned with practical matters, such as drainpipes, as he is with aesthetic issues.

By 19th January, the relationship with Skinner had become less formal. A letter of that date begins "My dear Skinner" and contains the following important message:

If you are going to develop [sic] into a Cathedral I think the position of the tower & spire should be altered, it ought to be central, at present the design is of the parish church type - there is nothing about it that would indicate its being a cathedral. The removal of the tower and spire to the centre would of course ... involve greater expense so that it may be useless to make the suggestion but if you thought it would be entertained I have a design that I sketched roughly since I got your note that would eclipse all my former efforts & which I would get put into proper shape for submission to the vestry. I am sure the position of the tower will be considered objectionable by those who consider that each class of buildings should have its own characteristics. I believe such an objection was made in the case of Inverness.

His letter concluded with the information that he was preparing a description of the church for the press.
Although nothing came of the plan to make the Church into a Cathedral, it would seem to be related to the fact that Bishop Wordsworth had for many years been in dispute with the clergy and congregation at St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth, where Tractarian inspired ritual had long been a source of irritation to the prelate. Relations were, in fact, so poor that between 1859 and 1872 he would officiate at St. John's Church in Perth rather than St. Ninian's. This, combined with the existence of the ruined Cathedral in St. Andrews must have made the idea of an alternative very attractive.

The letters next describe the arrival of T. Wilson, the Clerk of Works, to examine the foundation for the St. Andrews church. His recommendations were that field drains should be dug, and that Anderson's money saving suggestion to sell the good timber resulting from site clearance should be implemented.

By March 4th, the Dundee Advertiser had incurred Anderson's displeasure. A letter to Skinner reads as follows:--

I have sent a short note to the Editor Dundee Advertiser although I don't think such gross ignorance of mediaeval art as the article displayed deserved it

The letter continued with the announcement that

I expect to be in London shortly as soon in fact as I can get the Schedules for the different trades sent out & I think of taking the drawings of the Cathedral with me & submit them to the Ecclesiological Society. What say you?

This, too, came to nothing.

On 5th April, a letter intimated that all the working drawings and schedules had been sent by rail, and that the specification was almost complete. This was followed a few days later by some
comments to Skinner on the fate of the old church, Anderson suggesting that its materials would be better used in a parsonage rather than in the new church. On 13th May, a further money saving suggestion was made by the architect - to use the Clerk of Works on the Cupar church job at St. Andrews, splitting his wage one third Cupar, and two thirds St. Andrews. 80

Work on the new building was well advanced by July 20th. A letter describing the arrangements for the imminent Foundation Stone ceremony reveals that Anderson provided a bottle for the insertion of coins. 81 On July 31st the ceremony took place with full masonic honours, the notice indicating that the stone was laid by John Whyte-Melville, Esq., Vestryman, and Grand Master Mason of Scotland, witnessed by Skinner and Bishop Wordsworth. The notice also lists the contractors, J. McIntosh, Mason, J.R. Swann, Carpenter, J. Hart, Plumber, and J. McPherson, Plasterer. The Clerk of Works, T. Wilson, and "Brother Robert Anderson", Architect, were also mentioned. 82

By October, 1868, building was sufficiently well advanced for Anderson to write to the Building Committee including

an estimate from MacGregor for oiling all the red pillars in the interior. The oil will bring out the color of the stone as well as tend to harden it 83

a request epitomising the blend of practical and aesthetic care which had characterised the architect's involvement from the beginning of the commission.

The church was opened in 1868, and dedicated to St. Andrew, its tower unbuilt. A description had appeared in the Episcopalian magazine, the Scottish Guardian, in 1867 :-
The Church consists of a clerestoryed nave, north and south aisles, north and south porches, choir with north aisles, sanctuary, and in the re-entering angle, formed by the south aisle and choir, is the tower and spire, the ground floor of which is appropriated as the vestry, the large archway between it and the choir being filled with the organ. The dimensions of the church are as follows:—

- Total length, 122 feet;
- Nave, 76 feet long and 25 feet broad;
- Aisles, 10 feet broad;
- Choir and sanctuary, 35 feet long and 22 feet broad;
- Height to eaves of nave walls, 31 feet;
- And to ridge of roof, 57 feet;
- The tower is 19 feet square at the base, exclusive of the buttresses, and the height to the top of the spire is 160 feet.

The style of architecture adopted is that of the thirteenth century. The whole of the nave and aisles will be seated with open deal benches for a congregation of 600, and the choir will be furnished with a throne for the Bishop and stalls for the clergy and choir. On the north side of the sanctuary is the credence, and on the south side the sedilia. In the gable of the south porch is a niche for the statue of the patron saint.

The total cost of the church was £5,557.8.0, which included architect's fees as well as the cost of the land. Estimates for the major contractors, approved on 22nd May, 1867, amounted to:

- Mason £2,826
- Joiner £1,215
- Slater £130
- Plasterer £52
- Plumber £159-18/-

In later years, the tower was taken beyond the belfry stage, parapeted, and given a pyramidal cap. In 1938, concern was expressed about its stability, resulting from the subsidence of the area of ground on which it sat, and it was taken down.

Mr. J.L.H. Scott, partner in the St. Andrews architectural firm James Gillespie and Scott, and Vestryman at the Church, recalls that his father and predecessor in both capacities felt the case for removing the tower had not been proved.
A photograph of the church with its tower survives (Plate 18) and immediately explains why the design met with Street's approval, conforming closely as it does to the latter architect's late style. As usual, the effect is one of understated elegance, depending on the subtle interplay of delicate and crisply cut mouldings with broad passages of wall plane. Some windows have been designed in Early Gothic style, while others contain plate tracery, suggesting a chronological transition.

Within, the view eastwards is very fine, and the internal stonework has survived in pristine condition, contrasting sharply with the blackened walls and sadly truncated tower outside. In common with all of Anderson's buildings to date, the church was stoutly and unpretentiously built, with thick walls and strong timbers.

**Further Commissions, 1867/9**

If 1867 witnessed major successes, it was also during this year that Anderson met with his first known professional disappointment.

The vestry minutes of Falkirk Episcopal Church record that, on November 14th, 1867, a decision was taken to build a parsonage house and that plans were to be obtained from the Edinburgh firm of Brown and Wardrop. These were "to be compared with those of Mr. Anderson", and a house built whenever the ground was available.

In the early history of the new church, a clergyman had refused to come as rector because the stipend would not enable him to keep a pony carriage and an extra servant. The first incumbent, the Rev. J.G. Sutcliffe, too, was demanding in his own way. Anderson prepared no less than nineteen design drawings for him,
all for the parsonage house, and still did not get the job, which went to his rivals. All of the drawings are variations on the themes shown in one of the designs (Plate 19), envisaging a house that was more or less square in plan, with kitchen offices in a side block. The house would have harmonised with the church, its Gothic character emphasised by the display of timber framing on the exterior.

In contrast with Anderson's quiet design, Brown and Wardrop's parsonage, with its deep eaves, prominent barge boards and steeply raked roofs seems a little ostentatious, while it is undoubtedly well planned. These architects had no qualms about falsifying one of the three pantry windows by the front door, in order to improve the composition.

Judged in terms of Anderson's subsequent career, the Falkirk failure amounted to little more than a minor setback. At some point in 1867, he was asked to design a new church for the Episcopalians at Kelso. The congregation had become too large for the old St. Andrew's Chapel, which was in any case thought to be structurally unsound. On 25th May, 1868, Mrs. Robertson of Ednam laid the foundation stone of the new church, and building began, using entirely local labour.

Anderson had submitted several designs, one of which (Plate 20) shows what might have been achieved if the funds had been more plentiful. The Church as executed consists of a nave with two aisles, and chancel, and the spire is corbelled out in a very unusual fashion from a cluster of buttresses at the south junction of nave and chancel. It is built of squared red sandstone rubble with cream dressings (Plate 21).
The interior, like the exterior, is austere but well proportioned, with a splendid view eastwards. The roof, once again, consists of a multitude of tiny scissor beams high in the apex. (Plate 22) The chancel roof was originally decorated with a pattern of sacred symbols executed in distemper. 93

The architect was responsible for the design of the deal benches and the scenes depicted in the east window. The theme of the window is the “humiliation and exaltation of the Redeemer, the principal subjects being the Crucifixion, the Transfiguration and the Ascension”. 94 It was executed by Burdison and Grylls and its sombre colours attempt to emulate mediaeval work, with some success. 95

The church was Ecclesiologically "correct" on all major points and widely appreciated in its day. The local paper, reporting its consecration on 7th August 1869 stated that:

the church has been built from the plans of Mr. Robert Anderson, architect, Edinburgh, who has within a few years past designed five or six Episcopalian places of worship in various parts of the country, and whose work in each case has attracted considerable notice, as comprising elegance and utility in an unusual degree. 96

The church cost "upwards of £4000" and the contractors were as follows:

Messrs. Robertson, Mason
  * Bulman, Carpenter
  * Henderson, Plumber
  * Michie, Slater 97
  * Weddell, Glazier.
Independent Practice, 1868

It was in 1868 that Anderson finally severed his connection with the Royal Engineers' office. At this point several churches were in progress, the publication of The Domestic and Street Architecture of France and Italy was imminent, and fresh commissions were coming in to his new office at 43 George Street.

The first of these called for a four storey block of tenements at Balfour Street, on the north side of Leith Walk. The flats are now demolished, but the drawings show that Anderson provided a symmetrical building, with a central stair well culminating in a Gothic gable at attic level. A chimney stack ran up each of the two side walls, adding up to planning of the utmost simplicity.

Each flat had a lobby, coal cellar, room and kitchen and water closet. The rooms were rectangular and each kitchen was given a bed closet. The accommodation was clearly for working people, and the designs were approved by John M. Balfour on 8th October 1868.

So far, Anderson's commissions had all been executed in the Gothic style. The first known departure from Gothic was the (now demolished) St. Patricks R.C. School in the Cowgate, Edinburgh. St. Patrick's Church still stands in the Cowgate, although it was refronted by Reginald Fairlie in 1929. The school was intended to harmonize with the classical style of the original church, and to sit in front of it.

Elevations dated 10th December 1869 show that the ground sloped gently downwards from north to south, and that there was a sudden drop in levels from west to east. Anderson's design amounted to a rectangular box divided into two bays by shallow
pitched roofs resting on classical columns thin enough to have been made of cast iron. The "box" ran from west to east, parallel to the Cowgate. The street facing walls had no windows, the recessed situation of the Cowgate making roof lights more appropriate. The drop in levels from West to East was handled by arching the sunken expanse of ground and using the arches for storage and coal. On the eastern and western walls, each bay was lit by a lofty circular window.

One small departure from the school's strictly rectangular format was a room set at right angles to the main body of the building, emanating from the north east corner, and intended as a small classroom. On its west wall it was punctuated by a Venetian window.

Internally, the school space had a wood panelled dado, the only other features being the round windows and the central colonnade. The brief comments contained in the Builder dwelt mainly on the heating arrangements, which consisted of a fire supplied with air from beneath. It also indicated that the cost was £1600.102

Anderson's next commission was the tiny St. Mungo's Episcopal Church, Balerno, built in 1869 and comprising a nave of four bays. (Plate 23) Inside, a roof of tiny scissor beams, dark stained, complements painted brick walls.103

The year 1870 brought a commission for more flatted accommodation, at Inverleith Terrace, Edinburgh, close to the Botanic Gardens. This was for three blocks of flats with bay windows rising from a sunken basement. The flats were sensibly planned with dining rooms at street level and drawing rooms above, and exist today in a form slightly different to that intended,
the main difference being the detailing of the rustication around the doors. (Plate 24) Anderson seems to have had no qualms about designing in the classical style. David Bryce, as feuing architect, was again involved in approving the plans.

The drawings for the flats are not by Anderson himself, indicating that the volume of work coming in at this time fully justified his earlier decision to commence independent practice.

Also designed and built during this period was a splayed block of tenements straddling Inverleith Terrace and Inverleith Row. Four storeys high, this block boasted special sanitary arrangements. A twelve foot square ventilating shaft communicated with open air at both top and bottom, and bore an individual soil pipe from each flat. The intention was to obviate smells on the stairway, and make repairs inobtrusive.

In 1871, two further Episcopal commissions came in. At Pittenweem, Fife, a new rector, P.H. Moneypenny, had taken office and designs for a new church were asked for. Anderson produced two separate plans for a small church, each Ecclesiologically correct, one with a tower, the other with a belfry at the crossing. The congregation made do with alterations.

The second commission was for a large new Episcopal church at Dumbarton, to seat 550. The vestry minutes record that Anderson was asked to submit plans and a rough estimate in April, 1871, and that three alternative designs were soon provided. The site was difficult, affording a narrow frontage to the street, and lighting was a problem, with buildings on either side.

A design with a round apse was rejected, and funding was such that only the base of the proposed tower could be entertained.
When building began, its progress was slowed down and its cost increased through the insolvency of the building contractor at an early stage. This made the final cost of the church £9000, some £2000 in excess of what might have been spent. It was opened on 27th November 1873.

The church can be considered one of Anderson's finest designs, with a beautifully proportioned interior of the utmost simplicity. Large east and west windows, filled with Geometric tracery, compensate for the absence of side windows and illuminate a nave of five bays, with north and south aisles, arcades supporting a clerestory of double lancets, and a high open timber roof of fifty six tiny scissor beams. The chancel roof is a pointed wagon with surface rib, and the chancel arch springs from ground level. A magnificent stone reredos was donated years later and was also designed by Anderson.\footnote{110} The walls are plastered throughout. (Plate 24a)

The exterior of the church is characterised by reserve and gravity. (Plate 25) At the rear of the building, Anderson also designed a parsonage house, which now stands in a state of disrepair. (Plate 26) Its rooms are rectangular, and those upstairs have combe ceilings. A stone staircase emphasises the building's ecclesiastical function.

The Restoration of St. Vigean's Church, Arbroath

St. Vigean's, Arbroath, was Anderson's first recorded church restoration. Fortunately, his whole correspondence with the church survives,\footnote{111} affording a number of invaluable insights into his personal circumstances, as well as his architectural thinking.
The Parish Church of St. Vigean is situated in open countryside three miles north of Arbroath. It sits on a smooth green mound about forty feet high, past which the Brothock burn flows. While Christianity may have come to the district as early as the seventh century, the church was not consecrated until 1242. A tower was added later, but there was little alteration to the fabric until the Reformation, when the position of the pulpit was changed and a west gallery added. By 1720, major repairs to the walls were needed, and towards the end of the eighteenth century the roof was replaced, an east gallery was built and the belfry repaired. 112

In 1827, a second north aisle was built and roof repairs carried out, but these were poorly executed. By 1871, the church needed urgent attention. At this point, the incumbent, the Rev. Dr. William Duke, decided to go ahead with a major restoration. An etching of the church in 1848 appears in Forfarshire Illustrated, and shows its unrestored condition. (Plate 27)

Duke, aware of the necessity for a sensitive restoration on such a historic and beautiful site, decided to seek opinion from ecclesiastical colleagues on the best architect for the job. At the beginning of 1871, he wrote to A.P. Forbes, the Episcopal Bishop of Brechin, to the Rev. George Jamieson, the incumbent of St. Machar's, Aberdeen and to the Rev. George Alexander at Stirling. On January 10th, Alexander replied, recommending that James Collie of Bridge of Allan be employed. Collie had successfully restored the Church of the Holy Rude at Stirling "a Gothic structure of the 15th Century", had overcome unexpected problems successfully, and his work had met with the approval of Stirling of Keir "the great man of taste in this neighbourhood". 113
Jamieson's reply, dated 9th January 1871, discussed his own recent experience:

I have to inform you that Mr. Matthews of Abdn. was employed as an Architect, but assuredly we had no cause to congratulate ourselves on the choice, chiefly arising however from an utter want of supervision of the work. Upon the whole we were all disappointed by results.

We have several fair architects in Abdn. Besides Mr. Matthews, there are Mr. MacAndrew, Mr. Smith & Mr. Mackenzie. We had to get Mr. Scott down from London, but heritors wd. scarcely bear the expense of employing Mr. Scott. Moreover Mr. Scott is for the present in bad health.

His Kirk Session had subsequently employed MacAndrew to erect a pulpit canopy which was "prettily enough drawn out and executed". This was scarcely an enthusiastic recommendation.

The Bishop of Brechin's reply came in, with his congratulations on the proposed restoration, which he observed "is a delicate operation and should be in fac simile". He next warned that many historical churches had been ruined by poor restoration, followed by some advice:

Before you commit yourself to any architect I would make enquiries about Mr. Robert Anderson of George St. He is a pupil of Gilbert Scott's & has published some interesting plates on Continental Gothic. He has also done some good work in Scotland.

Both Collie and Anderson were contacted early in January. Anderson wrote back on the 4th, arranging to come on the 5th and passing on the season's greetings. Collie did not reply for some weeks, but wrote two letters on 25th and 26th January indicating his willingness to do the work and promising drawings by mid March.

A letter from Anderson to Duke dated 31st January reveals that he was about to start, and that he had apparently been given the job.
It reads:-

My dear Sir,

Thanks for the Arbroath paper. I suppose Mr. McDonald will send me an excerpt from the Minutes of Saturday's meeting. I have made arrangements to begin on Monday first. I shall first measure and draw all the existing Church. I should then like to visit some of the old churches in the district, if there are any such, because as every district has its architectural peculiarities, I may get at these other Churches information that will enable me to solve some of the difficulties about St. Vigeans.

Preparatory to my visit you might get the 'harling' removed from the lower part of the tower also at all the corners and round one or more of the aisle windows. I would also require to get up into the nave roof.

Could you get a carpenter's 'straight edge' not less than 12 feet long. I will bring a level with me.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

R. Anderson.

An undated letter from this same correspondence reveals that the Clerk of Works was to be a "Mr. Smith".

On 3rd February, Anderson accepted by letter an invitation from Dr. & Mrs. Duke to take up quarters at the Manse. The day before, he had sent on Mr. Small "one of my clerks" to get on with measurements until his arrival.

A letter of 22nd February is very enlightening.

My dear Sir,

St. Vigeans

the plans &c are well advanced & I think you may calculate on getting them by the 3rd of March. Who shall I send them to? I shall not terrify the heritors with ornament. Some may think it too plain. I have not added a single superfluous feature or detail. I have made the aisle windows of two lights thus (sketch follows). There are numerous precedents for this form of window & I should think that the original windows were of this nature. I think you will like the effect of them when you see the drawings, to introduce tracery would have the effect of trying to put
the old work out of countenance. I have been
I fancy very successfull\/sic\/ with the roofs.
Very plain, but thoroughly characteristic. I
cannot screw up the accommodation much beyond
the 500. I have retained a small west gallery
& the north aisle but this latter I have moved
eastward so that the sitters may be within
range of the pulpit. We are all busy on the
plans etc and will make everything as complete
as we can foresee,
I remain,
Yours faithfully, 117
R. Anderson.

On 2nd March Anderson wrote that the plans were about to be
posted and that "I have given my best attention to everything, &
I feel I have done as much as can be done for the church. The
alterations will cost not less than £1500 & the chancel will
cost £500".

On 11th March 1871 Anderson wrote to Duke a letter which
contained startling information.

My dear Sir,
I am not at all surprised at what you tell
me. I felt certain from Mr. Bairn's father's
manner & one or two expressions he let drop
that he knew of the existence of a counter set
of plans & estimates. However, all's well
that ends well & as your party have carried the
day, I hope everything may now go on without
further interruption. 118

Collie and Anderson had unwittingly been set in competition
with each other, either by the Kirk Session, or by a faction
within it. Anderson had, however, become suspicious when
various members of the Session had attended his office to examine
the plans.

A letter of 1st April reveals that matters were back on course.
In it Anderson advised a hypocaust for heating, to avoid the
disfigurement and expense of hot water pipes, and recommended
the use of English slates, which he believed were more resistant to
the sea air than their local (Dunkeld) equivalents.

On 23rd May 1871 Anderson wrote to Duke in wild alarm -

For anysake keep clear of Munich glass, you will ruin the church if you introduce it. The very fact of its pleasing you from its 'pictorial effect' is the very reason why you should shun it. Whenever glass becomes a feature in the sense you mean then it ceases to be decorative of the structure which it ought to be. This is its sole function, & whenever glass or any other decorations assert themselves too much, then you may be sure something is wrong.

He continued this almost Puginian passage with the admonition that

The interior of a church should be so designed, that everything of furniture and decoration should be so subordinated to the structure that the general effect is one harmonious whole & if any glass, sculpture or painting distorts this, it is instantly to be suppressed. Take warning from Glasgow Cathedral, or the Parliament House here, where the blazing impudence of the glass prevents you from seeing anything but itself.

Anderson next made a plea to be allowed to design the glass himself, but this was not granted.

In early July, he was busy designing sediliae for the chancel, which necessitated higher walls than originally planned, arguing in defence of the extra cost that "windows well elevated from the floor have always a good effect". The same letter concluded: -

Very glad to hear that the work is giving satisfaction. Be sure & tell me what the Bishop of Brechin says. He is so awfully critical.

remarks confirming his ignorance of the Bishop's role in securing his involvement in the commission. His comment provides an interesting insight into Forbes' personality.
On 13th July, 1871, Anderson wrote to Duke, as follows:—

My Dear Sir,

The Irvingites or as they now call themselves the Catholic Apostolic Church are about to build a new church here. They have called upon me regarding it, but of course they are considering other names as well as my own. Would you have the kindness to write me a note stating your own & the opinions generally of my designs for the restoration of St. Vigeans & the manner in which it is being carried out. You might also mention the name of any notabilities who have visited the work and approved of what is being done. Your early attention to this will greatly oblige,

Yours faithfully,

R. Anderson.

A few days later Anderson was able to write back

My Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your very flattering recommendatory letter. I am extremely obliged for your promptness in sending it.

Later correspondence goes on to reveal that, by September that year, varying opinions had been expressed at St. Vigeans on the restoration of the tower:—

I also return the photo of the English Church. I do not think it would be correct to finish the tower of St. Vigeans other than I have already shown on the drawing. It must be remembered ... that we must go by Scotch and not English precedents.

On September 27th, the Building Committee asked Anderson to finish the tower with a battlemented parapet. He attended their meeting on 18th October when it was recorded that he was "unable to carry out their instructions satisfactorily and he was clearly of the opinion that to finish the tower in that manner would not be a restoration". He was convinced that it had originally been finished with a stepped gable, and his observations were
persuasive enough to carry the argument. The lower stages of
the tower in fact resembled those at Muthill and Dunning.

The next letter of importance throws light on Anderson
as an employer. On 27th October 1871 he wrote a private letter
to Duke:—

My dear Sir,

In your letter of 25th received this morning
you say 'I am not satisfied with Mr. Smith's
relations to Ford and hope that he will have
nothing further to do either directly or
indirectly with business affecting St. Vigeans'.
This expression of your opinion regarding
Mr. Smith has given me a very painful shock.
He has now been in my employment for some years
& I have up to the present time reposed great
confidence in him not only as a man of experience
but as a man of principle. An architect is to a
great extent at the mercy of his Clerk of Works.
I hope therefore that if you are aware of any
improper conduct on the part of Mr. Smith that
you may rely on my treating your communication
as confidential. I have now placed him in
charge of a work involving three times the outlay
on St. Vigeans and where it is of the utmost
importance that I have a man who is not to be
trifled with.'125

Letters later in the year discuss the patterning of the
encaustic tiles, and the restoration is obviously well advanced
by the winter. On 14th February 1872, a stunned Anderson wrote
a tear stained note to Duke.

My dear Sir,

I am sorry I have been able to do nothing
for you since I was last at St. Vigeans. When
I returned I found our child very ill and a day
or two afterwards the doctor pronounced it to
be an aggravated case of typhoid fever. Since
then I have been able to do nothing & have only
had my clothes off twice & that for a few hours
only.

The poor little darling has suffered
terribly & several times we have been waiting
for her last sigh. The doctors have given
her up but still she clings to life. At this
moment she seems better to my eye than when the
doctor paid his farewell visit to her.
4.45 p.m.

I grieve to say our only darling died at 1-15 today. I fear I will be unable to do anything till next week.126

The poignancy of these words needs no amplification.

Annie Ross Anderson, aged 8, was laid to rest in Warriston Cemetery, her grave marked by a simple stone decorated with a carved plaque of Christ holding a child on his knee.

By 20th February, Anderson was back in harness, attending to interior details, and advising Duke to ensure that all work was in a clean state before being handed over by contractors. On 9th May 1872, the restored church was re-opened and has remained virtually unaltered since.

Having done so much in circumstances at times trying, Anderson found himself asked the following year to reduce his account. This he refused to do, having made "moderate charges for everything, omitted some things, and made a handsome deduction from the total".127 Shortly afterwards, St. Vigean’s asked him to design its communion plate, a request he agreed to.

A later sketch of the restored interior (Plate 28) shows Anderson’s fine open timber roof, chancel arch and apse. If the apse and tower were speculative, they at least had local precedents, and inside and out, old and new work are carefully differentiated (Plates 29 and 30).

On April 8th, 1872, Dr. Duke gave a paper on the church’s restoration at the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland stating that the church has now been restored, in accordance with the plans prepared by Mr. Robert Anderson of Edinburgh, and under his superintendence - a sufficient guarantee for the character of the work.128
Duke went on to describe what the restoration had entailed. Anderson had removed the eighteenth century external stair to the tower, raised its level to make a belfry, replaced the parapet and saddleback roof, and built a new stair turret at the south east corner. The new apse was built, underneath which he placed a vestry and a heating chamber. 129

The second north aisle, added in fairly recent times, was removed, and an expanded and more suitable replacement substituted. Radical surgery was also needed in the ancient heart of the building, where the south aisle arcade was well out of plumb. This was rebuilt. The later flat ceiling was removed, as was the roof, and both were replaced by an open timber roof, on the line of that of 1485. The entire church was refloored.

Anderson had unified the church stylistically for the first time in hundreds of years, and it had never been in better repair.

The Anderson Practice in Context, 1872

Anderson had now emerged as a man of immense industry, integrity, obvious talent and experience. His reputation was well established nationally, and examples of his work could be seen throughout central and north east Scotland. Since the late 1860's he had occupied an office at 43 George St., and had around him several clerks, at least one clerk of works, and at least one draughtsman.

While building up his practice over the years, Anderson's theoretical position had been emerging. At Alloa, the local newspaper had remarked on the severity of his church design, declaring that it had not one superfluous feature. At Kelso
his increasing reputation was ascribed to an ability to combine the useful and the beautiful "in an unusual degree". At St. Vigeans, he had argued, in relation to stained glass, that good design found a basis in "the decoration of construction".

At some time in the early 1870's Anderson met R.W. Billings in London. His account of the meeting is as follows:--

I had just before then seen a building of his erected for the North London Water-Works. It is in the form of a castle. I asked him why he made a water work like a castle. His reply was: 'What would you have me make it like?' I replied 'A water work'; but said he 'Can you tell me what a water work is like, as I must have a type to work from?' As I could not do so, or convince him that he might originate one, I had to retire from the dispute leaving Mr. Billings quite satisfied that a castle was a very good representative for a tower for pumping up water.130

In the early 1870's, the architectural philosophy which Anderson propounded was far from commonplace. While he had been engaged in Episcopal Church commissions in the late 1860's, John Lessels, his former employer, had secured a large and prestigious commission for Thomas Nelson Jnr., son of the wealthy Edinburgh publisher. The result was "Arthursley" (now St. Leonards) in Dalkeith Road, a building in a full blooded Baronial style. In keeping with the theoretical position expressed a decade earlier,131 Lessels gave the building large modern windows, laying aside historical authenticity. (Plate 31) While he was undoubtedly happy that it met his avowed criterion of "fitness" for contemporary needs, an examination of the rooms produces a suspicion that, in some cases, their shape makes concessions to the "picturesque" sculpting of the exterior. At least one bow window in the south wing of the house appears to exist largely to justify its corbelled and turreted exterior. This was by no
means unusual, given that country house design was still dominated by the ideas of David Bryce and his pupils.

John Dick Peddie and his partner Charles Kinnear were also prospering in their practice at around this time. In 1870 Peddie displayed drawings of his new Craiglockhart Hydropathic Hotel at the Royal Scottish Academy. The building was designed in a symmetrical classical style, and Peddie disguised the boiler house chimney as an Egyptian obelisk.

Wardrop and Brown, who, a few years earlier had won the Falkirk parsonage commission from Anderson, were also prospering in their large practice; their commissions included "Picturesque Villas" and parsonages with porches supported on "rustic" tree trunks.132

There were exceptions to the widespread tendency to accord the visual dimension pre-eminence. One such was Alexander "Greek" Thomson, who provides an interesting and perhaps surprising parallel to Anderson, the more so because he expressed his rational and functional beliefs in a critique of Scott's design for Glasgow University.

He attacked its Gothic style on structural grounds, lumping it together with all arcuated styles:

Every stone in an arch is a wedge, and every stone above it is a hammer ... the simple unsophisticated stone lintel contains every element of strength.133

Thomson continued his provocative remarks with an attack on the building's symmetry, expressing ideas remarkably close in spirit to those later propounded by Anderson :—
Under the circumstances, it might have been expected that ... the opportunity would have been seized of exhibiting the flexibility of Gothic architecture, and its adaptability to all circumstances, of which so much has been said; - that the disposition and form of the various parts would have represented and expressed the character and purposes of the building. But there is nothing of the kind. 134

In fact,

Mr. Scott has dropped the best apple out of his basket.135
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CHAPTER FOUR

PROMINENCE - COMPETITION SUCCESSES AND KEY COMMISSIONS, 1873-1879
PROMINENCE - COMPETITION SUCCESSES AND KEY COMMISSIONS, 1873-1879

Anderson and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

When Dr. Duke of St. Vigeans gave his paper on the restoration of his church to the Antiquaries in April 1872, he may well have been addressing an audience which included Robert Anderson.

Anderson had become a member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1871. The Antiquaries read and discussed papers on archaeological finds ranging from ancient burial cists to trepanned prehistoric skulls. Architects would frequently unearth such objects in the course of restorations, thus intensifying their already considerable archaeological interest. St. Vigeans had itself yielded its share of discoveries.

On January 13, 1873, Anderson gave his first paper to the Antiquaries. In studying the crypt of Roslin Chapel, he had detected ancient diagrams on the walls. With the help of illustrations (Plate 32) he pointed out relationships between the markings he had found and parts of the executed building, although none corresponded exactly with built work. This, he contended, explained their presence on the walls. In ancient practice, final details were worked out on the floor. They must therefore have been "mere trials or tentative drawings to solve questions in construction". The information was sufficiently memorable for McGibbon and Ross to quote it in Castellated and Domestic Architecture some years later.

By joining the Antiquaries, Anderson had put himself in touch with a highly influential group of men. Already there when he joined were John, Third Marquess of Bute, the Marquis of Lothian,
the Earl of Northesk, and the highly respected solicitor and historian, William Forbes Skene. Among the architects then in membership were Andrew Heiton of Perth, John James Stevenson of London, and David MacGibbon of Edinburgh.

**Sketching**

Anderson's visit to Roslin and his detailed study there were an indication of his continuing preoccupation with the sketching and measured drawing of old buildings. This had started in his days at the Trustees' School of Design, had again manifested itself during his continental tour, and was once more in evidence in 1865, when he exhibited a perspective of a cottage interior at Ethie, Forfarshire in the Royal Scottish Academy's exhibition that year.\(^5\)

A sketch book surviving from the 1870's indicates the breadth of his interests.\(^6\) Alongside a silhouette of the west front of Brechin Cathedral (Plate 33) can be found sketches of wrought iron work from the churchyard gates there. Nearby, he had measured and sketched the beautiful and austere arch mouldings of the Maison Dieu Chapel. On the secular front, a series of notes reveals Anderson visited Balvaird Castle, near Strathmiglo, Myers Castle, near Auchtermuchty Station, Pitcarlie, between Auchtermuchty and Newburgh, and Pitairthie, near Dunino.

His interests were by no means confined to Scotland. The sketchbook also contains evidence of a visit to Grantham, where he took notes and measurements from the sediliae there, as well as examining the patterns and colours of tiles. His visit took place on 15th February 1870. On the same trip he drew capital and arch details at Ely Cathedral, recording their shapes and colours.
Nave seats also took his eye, and were measured and sketched.

(Plate 34) At York Minster a few days earlier he had studied a stone tomb, and at Peterborough tile details once more came under his scrutiny.

His interests were not restricted to ancient examples. An undated comment reads "Small lights in Baptistery of St. Peters Vauxhall. Very Good". At the same place he took measurements of the pews and notes on their designs. A little Gothic Villa took his eye nearby and he recorded its plan and elevation in sketch form. As well as demonstrating his interest in J.L. Pearson, the sketchbook contains the addresses of three London churches by James Brooks:

- St. Chads, Noel Square, Hackney Road
- Columbia /sic/ Ch. Kingsland Road
- St. Sawour's Hoxton PennSt.

Anderson was clearly following contemporary developments, especially as they affected High Victorian Gothic of the "Vigorous" school.

Most of the sketches in the book are both unidentified and undated, and cover inter alia pulpits, reredoses, organs, mouldings, plate, stained glass, candlesticks, wrought iron and gas brackets.

On the more strictly architectural side, stencilled wagon roofs and side elevations of churches appear alongside arcades, tracery, and church plans. Making a fairly predictable appearance in the midst of this material are illustrations from A.W. Pugin's Gothic Furniture and F.A. Paley's Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts.

Bryce, Anderson and Bryce

In 1873 Anderson, aged 39, entered into partnership with David Bryce and his nephew John Bryce. This is attested by the
existence of the drawings for Inverleith Terrace, most of which bear Anderson's address at 43 George Street, but a few of which bear the Bryce address, 131 George Street. The latter are dated 1873. The drawings for Stonehaven Episcopal Church, an Anderson commission, also bear the Bryce address and the same date.

The absence of documentation on the working of the partnership suggests an arrangement based on trust and an ostensible ability to get on well together. That apart, the presence of drawings relating to Bryce's Royal Infirmary commission among the Anderson office drawings perhaps indicates that the Anderson staff were involved in some of the drafting for this job.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that the contact occasioned by the Inverleith Terrace work caused the partnership to be initiated. Bryce could not have failed to have noticed Anderson's progress since their early contact at St. Michael's Episcopal in Dorougham Street.

It is nevertheless difficult to understand why someone of Bryce's reputation and age (he was 70 in 1873) should have been interested in forming a partnership with a youngish architect, albeit one in high repute. Perhaps succession was the motivation, possibly linked to a short term requirement for manpower. It is in some ways equally surprising that Anderson should have been interested in the partnership: his remarks to Billings, his functionalist principles, and most of all, his austere and fastidiously designed buildings were in many ways the antithesis of Bryce. At the same time he must have been flattered, and would be well aware of the possibility of inheriting Bryce's domestic and institutional clients at a not too distant point.

In any event, the partnership did not last, there being no trace of it after 1873, nor any indication of the reasons for its dissolution.
Both men were very forceful, in some ways too like each other, and a conflict of wills does not seem improbable. While their design philosophies were different, there is no evidence of a conflict arising from this source, although it too seems a likely cause.

One job undertaken by Anderson while in partnership with Bryce was to have lasting ramifications. Early in 1873, Anderson was summoned by the Marquess of Bute, and asked to report on the ruined cloisters of Paisley Abbey, where ancestors of Lord Bute had been buried. The Marquess wanted the cloisters restored, and a report by "Bryce and Anderson" was communicated to him by his Edinburgh solicitors in June 1873.9

It had come to Bute's attention that the Municipal Authorities in Paisley were about to demolish the cloister court at the west end of Paisley Abbey, in order to widen the road. A Mr. Semple, a local Antiquary, had advised the authority that none of the cloister buildings at this end of the Abbey were worth preserving.

According to Anderson, he maintained that no part of the building the Authorities wished to clear away belonged to the mediaeval period of the Abbey. The photographs and drawings taken at the time will show ... that the very opposite of this was the case. The upper floor had been altered to form part of the Dundonald Mansion, but the walls from foundation to eaves, and the vaulting of the ground floor was original work of the time of Abbot Tarvas about 1450.10

In spite of Anderson's report and an offer by Lord Bute to subscribe £10,000 for town improvements if the demolition did not go ahead, the Authorities had their way, and the road was widened. This left the "marks of attachment" on the main walls, and showed
up the shortness of the windows, so designed to allow a cloister underneath. Although the report did not have the desired effect, it did, however, result in Anderson studying the Abbey in detail, leading him to believe that its ruined choir, transepts and tower could be restored, and its former glories recovered.

The Catholic Apostolic Church, Edinburgh

In 1873, immediately after the dissolution of his short lived partnership with Bryce, Anderson and his staff moved to 44 Northumberland Street, next door to the Royal Engineers' Office. It was here that the contract and working drawings for the Catholic Apostolic Church were prepared. The Builder of 5th October 1872 revealed that Anderson had won the competition, and had described his design thus :-

The design, according to the instructions, is Norman in style, and consists of a spacious nave in the form of a double cube, with an unusually deep chancel, terminated by an apse. The chancel is flanked by aisles, in one of which is to be placed the choir organ; and the other, which terminates in an apse, is to be used as a chapel. The grand organ is to be placed in a gallery in the tower, which occupies the centre of the west elevation, under this is the main entrance, from which diverge passages leading to the baptistery on the right, and a hall to the left. The window lights of the nave are placed well up from the floor, and slender attached shafts run up between them to support the beams of an open timber roof of very simple character. Severity and dignity of effect have been aimed at, and if carried out in its entirety, the building will form a marked feature in the city.

The Scotsman of November 22nd, 1873, reporting on the foundation stone ceremony a few days earlier, clarified that
the orthodox system of nave and aisles has been abandoned, in order that there should be no obstruction in the shape of massive pillars between the clergy and the people.

It is now appropriate to look at the Catholic Apostolics, and why they felt so strongly about the circumstances in which they should worship.

The Catholic Apostolic Church was another by-product of the general craving among educated Victorians for a more subjective and mysterious form of religion, another manifestation of the Romantic zeitgeist. Its Edinburgh congregation was typical of those elsewhere - wealthy, middle class and educated. It drew its support from the professionals living in the New Town, and it was housed in a classical building in Broughton Street, thought to have been designed by J. Dick Peddie. The chief promoter of the new church was William Fettes Pitcairn, a Writer to the Signet in his seventieth year in 1873.

The Catholic Apostolics, governed by a "college of apostles", and with a fourfold ministry of "prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers", made elaborate furnishings and instruments obligatory in each of their churches. This went far beyond anything Edward Irving had ever intended. Irving, (1792-1834) the brilliant and saintly minister of the Caledonian Church in Hatton Gardens, London, was the figure who had inspired the first leaders of the Catholic Apostolic Church with his eschatological beliefs and his ready acceptance of charismatic manifestations.

According to Peter Anson,

the Irvingite liturgists must have made a careful study of the numerous publications of the Cambridge Camden Society, also the illustrated books by A.W. Pugin, which came out during the 1840's.
The results of this, and the wanderings of the first "apostles", in France and Italy, produced a ritual where thuribles for burning incense and oil lamps and tabernacles for the reserved sacrament took their place alongside sanctuary lamps and faldstools.

The Catholic Apostolics believed in frequent services, beginning with morning prayer at 6 a.m. each day, and including prayer at 5 p.m. At these services, a selection of apostles, evangelists, prophets, pastors and deacons (most of whom were laymen) would appear in variously coloured cassocks, mozzettas, capes of purple and white, albs, maniples, dalmatics, rochetts and surplices, according to rank. Eucharistic vestments were white, with black or violet for special occasions, when gold thread was also specified. The Church had created its own unique and precocious blend of Reformed faith, ritualism and the charismatic gifts, and the leaders of its Edinburgh congregation had opted for a new building which enabled all to see the magnificence and symbolism of the ceremony. The Norman style in its own way symbolised a period which was considered to predate Romish corruption and excess. This the Catholic Apostolics were at pains to avoid, and hence their services were, perhaps surprisingly, austere.

Anderson's design for the first phase of the church is simplicity itself - a large scale two cell church with a rounded apse on a long chancel, the nave adorned on the exterior with four square arcaded pinnacles with pyramidal terminations. (Plate 35) The windows are high on the walls, giving the lofty effect he favoured. The integrity of the wall surface is preserved, and the windows judiciously spaced and proportioned. In order to afford ample changing rooms for the clergy, a separate vestry was provided on the north side, where access to a giant undercroft was also obtained.
The walls were indicative of Anderson's belief in strong building, being 4 feet 6 inches thick in the nave and 2 feet 9 inches thick in the chancel. 20

The church, in the state illustrated, was consecrated on April 22nd, 1876, at which time an estimated £17,000 had been spent. 21 No illustration of the intended square tower survives.

In the interior of the church, Anderson had provided a massive Norman chancel arch, pierced at the base on both sides in the manner of Gerona Cathedral, but unlike Gerona, not leading to an ambulatory. The "open timber roof" described by the Builder was in fact a semicircular wagon roof with surface ribs, but on the question of the non-completion of the church, its correspondent proved to be more accurate. In 1884 the British Architect recorded that, while £20/25000 had been spent, the necessary funds for the completion of the western portion, including the tower, not being forthcoming, the work was not proceeded with. Since then, a new and less costly design for the church has been approved of at a cost (exclusive of the tower) of about £5000. The new design shows a lofty bell tower. A porch is situated in the position of the originally intended tower, while detached from the porch, and a little south from it, will be the baptistry. In designing these additions, the architects ... have adopted the style of the transition period between Norman Gothic and Early English. 22

The bell tower was to have been round, with a plain shaft, enriched at the top with two tiers of arcades, in other words, a Brechin tower. This would have been a unique feature among Victorian churches, but as can be seen from the illustration, (Plate 36), the scheme was executed without it. The lack of funds can only be explained in relation to the size of the congregation, not the individual wealth of its members, who practised titheing.
The glorious apocalyptic mural painting covering the interior of the church (Plate 37) was executed by Phoebe Traquair between October 1893 and October 1897. In 1883 Anderson published a drawing showing the decoration of the chancel arch with the four orders of the ministry, Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists andPastors, but Phoebe Traquair's interpretation of the same theme was naturally more painterly.\textsuperscript{23}

The church is now owned by a Baptist congregation, who worship in the porch, the magnificent nave and chancel now used, tragically, as a workshop and store. The huge organ has been removed, and much of the furniture transferred to other denominations.\textsuperscript{24}

The Catholic Apostolic Church in Edinburgh was Anderson's biggest commission to date in 1873, and a landmark in neo Norman design which has not been surpassed in Scotland. A tremendous coup in its own right, the commission also brought Anderson to the attention of a thrusting young Catholic Apostolic advocate, John Hay Atholl McDonald, who himself was destined for greater things.\textsuperscript{25}

\textbf{Church and School Work in the Middle 1870's}

In 1873, Anderson had given the Episcopalians of Stonehaven a choice of three designs for a new church.\textsuperscript{26} The first of these (Plate 38) highlights an aspect of his design philosophy as yet unmentioned, great persistence. Having failed in his attempt to get a saddleback tower built at Brougham St., Edinburgh, and having acquired a strong appreciation of the local associations of such towers from the St. Vigean's restoration, he incorporated one in his first design for Stonehaven.

A second design involved a nave and chancel arrangement under a continuous roof line, with a broach spire. The design finally
accepted was, however, less ambitious incorporating a spirelet rather than a spire, with simpler (and doubtless less costly) fenestral arrangements in the transitional Norman/Gothic style, clearly owing much to the Catholic Apostolic design.

The funds available only permitted the building of the nave during the first phase, which began with the laying of the foundation stone in 1875. It was laid by Alexander Penrose Forbes, Bishop of Brechin, who was bound to have been impressed with the outcome of his recommendations at St. Vigeans a few years earlier. Stonehaven had special significance for Forbes. The Episcopalians there had suffered abominably under the Penal Laws in the eighteenth century, and he himself had been incumbent there in 1846. Within a few weeks of carrying out this happy duty, the bishop was struck down by an illness, from which he soon died.

During the building phase, relations between Anderson and the Building Committee were stormy. An undated fragment of a letter from Anderson to a James Stevenson contains some very forthright remarks on the unreasonableness of the Committee, and an assurance that in spite of wild accusations to the contrary, the cost target of about £3000 would be met. This rancour did not prevent the congregation from consulting Anderson about the completion of the church some years later, after which the rounded apse and baptistry were added by Arthur Clyne of Aberdeen, basically to Anderson's designs.

The finished work exemplifies externally his choice and economical sense of line (Plate 39), and the interior forms a graceful and austere sanctuary still recognised as such by the present congregation (Plate 40).
In early 1874, a new challenge came into the Anderson office in the shape of the first new schools to be built for the Edinburgh School Board under the provisions of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872. Prior to this Act, a limited amount of schooling had been provided by churches and charitable bodies, but the provision was patchy, and its quality variable. The Act provided for the incorporation of existing schools into the system, should their administrators so desire it, but more importantly, it provided for the election of School Boards in each parish and burgh, charged with the erection and supervision of new public schools to be paid for with the aid of Parliamentary grants. In this way, the Act sought to rationalise the provision and make it universal.

The Edinburgh School Board, constituted under the Act, had approached a limited number of architects which included Anderson, William Beattie, McGibbon and Ross, Moffat and Aitken, and Pilkington and Bell. On May 7th, 1874, the Board's secretary, Donald McKinnon wrote to Anderson:

I have much pleasure in stating that the Board have awarded you the first premium for your designs, and in terms of the Rules of Competition they have assigned to you three schools, viz. West Fountainbridge, Causewayside and Stockbridge.

At the same time the second premium was awarded to W.L. Moffat, who was given Leith Walk and Bristo schools, and the third premium went to William Beattie, who was given North Canongate school.

The nature of the competition was explained by the Builder at around the time the buildings were completing. Two sites were given as a test to the architects, sites differing materially in their nature:
one at Leith Walk, which being entirely isolated, and having ample space at command, gave free scope to the architect; the other at Fountainbridge, situated in a narrow street and closed in on each side by adjoining buildings, and, therefore a more difficult one to grapple with.35

On September 2nd, specifications for Causewayside were requested, on November 8th, the plans for West Fountainbridge were approved by the "Scotch Education Department", and on December 3rd, permission to proceed with West Fountainbridge was given.36 Slightly later in the month Stockbridge and Causewayside were approved. By May 1875 tenders were being compared and decided upon,37 and work was in progress in 1875 and 1876, a report on the opening of Stockbridge School appearing in the Scotsman of 13th January, 1877.38

In some ways Anderson was the victim of his own ingenuity, as he was given the most difficult of the test schools, Fountainbridge, while the runner up was given the easier Leith Walk commission. Similarly, Stockbridge was on a restricted triangular site.

Although Fountainbridge School has been demolished, its plans survive. They confirm that Anderson designed a three storey school, basically in the shape of an inverted 'T'. On the crossbar of the 'T', the Fountainbridge frontage, Anderson placed staff and cloakrooms at both sides, keeping them apart with a shallow court. Behind this court, on the stem of the 'T', he placed the co-educational infant and juvenile schools, while the older boys and girls were educated separately in classrooms at the furthest extremity of the building's main axis. Separate boys' and girls' playgrounds were situated on either side. A stair was provided from each of the cloakrooms at the front. The main door was on the Fountainbridge
frontage, behind the shallow court. This frontage was in the form of a giant Gothic order, stretching through the three floors of the school well into the gable. Three sets of double sash windows with pointed heads and plate tracery illuminated each floor, while in the gable, a continuous hood moulding knitted the topmost window heads together. Almost at the apex of the gable, a circular light with a hood moulding above completed the composition. 39

Stockbridge School, while on a difficult enough site, gave more scope for architectural display, but elevation came after plan in true Puginian spirit. Following the line of the irregular triangle of ground at his disposal, Anderson decided on an L shaped building, with long classrooms separated by moveable partitions for the infants on the front (Hamilton Place) elevation. Separate and lofty stairs were provided on either side of this elevation, while boys' and girls' classrooms and staff rooms took up the rest of the building, including the north wing. The Hamilton Place elevation (Plate 41) utilises devices similar to Fountainbridge - giant Gothic orders surmounted by drip mouldings, and sash windows with plate tracery heads. Chamfered chimneys were placed where necessity dictated, the most notable one breaking up the symmetry of the main elevation. An elegant ventilator rises from the apex of the main roof. Other typical Anderson touches include prominent reinforcing arches, also present at Fountainbridge.

Further evidence of the architect's sincerity of intention may be found in the undisguised structure of the stairs - sturdy iron beams forming a foundation for the steps. The school is still in use, and if maintained, could remain so for many years to come.
The third establishment, Causewayside, seems from surviving drawings to have been on a site requiring a narrow frontage. 40 Anderson again opted for a T plan, with the co-educational infant rooms on the stem of the T, and boys' and girls' classrooms to the right and left of the frontage, next to their respective entrances and toilets. The drawings once more show plate tracery used on window heads, and a central flèche for ventilation.

All three schools were refined, austere, most carefully planned, with well proportioned elevations. Over at Leith Walk, Moffat and Aitken's school still survives, a mediocre design which, although meeting the planning requirements, is executed in a bad angular Gothic in some ways redolent of the Hays of Liverpool.

While Anderson and his fellow competitors were awaiting the results of the Edinburgh competition in the spring of 1874, he, together with Moffat and Pilkington and Bell were invited to submit designs for new schools in Kirkcaldy. 41 It is highly improbable that they would have been asked unless the Kirkcaldy School Board had heard of their interest and involvement in the Edinburgh competition. The Kirkcaldy Board requested six architects to submit designs. Little of Kirkcaldy, Paxton of Kirkcaldy and John Milne of St. Andrews were invited with the others. Little and Paxton declined to compete. 42

The plans, for one school in the west of Kirkcaldy and another in the east, were put on public exhibition on tables in the Town Hall until 30th May, 1874. 43 The Board Minutes reveal that on 20th May, 1874, a motion to give Anderson the commission for both schools was narrowly defeated by five votes to four, and the final
decision was that Anderson should be given the West school, and Milne the East. Anderson submitted finalised designs by mid June, amended plans by October, and boring operations had begun by the spring of 1875.

While the plot of land allocated to the West School was spacious enough, there were problems below ground. In December 1875 the Board Minutes record that old coal workings beneath the site were giving difficulty, remedied when Anderson recommended arching the foundations at an additional cost of £60/£70. During 1875, the Board had shown complete confidence in the architect on both the technical and commercial fronts. The minutes record in connection with a technical difficulty that "it was again resolved to leave the matter entirely in the hands of the architect". On a contractual problem it is recorded that Anderson presented himself at a Board Meeting where he admonished a reluctant contractor on the Board’s behalf. The Board Minutes also yield the contractor’s names and tender amounts:

- Mason - Alexander Fraser, Pathhead, £2796-10/-
- Joiner - Wm Little & Sons, Kirkcaldy £1488-8-6
- Plasterer - Alexander McPherson, St. Andrews £179-0-0
- Plumber - Alexander Torrance, Kirkcaldy £289-0-0
- Slater - Wm Muir, Kirkcaldy £295-9-8

The two schools, built of local stone from Deu and Dubbie quarries, were completed in mid 1876, the East slightly before the West. The West school’s finish thenceforward became a local standard for building specifications, so carefully was it carried out. As usual, Anderson’s school met the requirements for arrangements, with separate boys’ and girls’ entrances and rooms, and central co-educational accommodation at its heart (Plate 42).
It proved to be an elegant single storey building, using the plate tracery and ventilation flèche motifs in evidence in the Edinburgh schools. A matching schoolhouse at the side has similar features (Plate 43). The commission was a happy one for Anderson, who retained in his scrapbook an undated newspaper cutting containing a lengthy piece of light hearted doggerel called The School the Kirkcaldy Board Built. The last two lines of the extract following may well have summed up his feelings about the job:

Then they all sally out with due decorum
Gather around the central form
Of the chairman, so heavy and good,
Who has looked at the stone and inspected the wood,
The slates on the roof and the walls and door,
The caves which threaten, less or more
To swallow up the stones and wood,
Which the joiners have sawed and the masons hewed,
And they proceed to dine very well pleased,
With the School the Kirkcaldy Board built.

Restoration Work at Iona

In August 1874, some designs for a small school in Lanark bore no fruit, but on September 1st, Anderson was in Iona, writing to W.F. Skene, successful solicitor to the nobility, Celtic historian and fellow member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Skene came from a distinguished and wealthy family, the Skenes of Rubislaw, who, as their name suggests, owned Rubislaw Quarry in Aberdeen. In addition, the family were Episcopalians of long standing, and Skene was full cousin to Bishop Forbes of Brechin. W.F. Skene had worshipped in the English Church in St. Vincent St. in the New Town, until, in 1874, he effected its transfer to the Episcopal Church.
That year Skene, nearing the end of his professional practice, had found time to write, together with Bishop Forbes, a revised introduction to Adamnan's Life of St. Columba. Both Skene and the Duke of Argyll, the owner of Iona, had become involved in asking Anderson to undertake restoration work there, and Anderson's letter is a first report to Skene.

Running to fifteen pages, the letter is deferential, but written in an intimate tone. In it Anderson recounts that he has been on Iona for about three weeks, and has had to send to Edinburgh for masons and to Glasgow for scaffolding in order to undertake what amounted to the first serious restoration of the ecclesiastical buildings there. The work involved a great deal of rubbish removal and some exciting discoveries, a necessary prelude to the building undertaken during later restorations. At the Nunnery, Anderson had cleared away rubbish, built up gaps in the walls, and restored the freestone corners. On the south side of the Nunnery, under a pile of rubbish, a cross wall and the base of an ancient stone altar had been uncovered, and this Anderson sketched in his letter.

Accumulations of soil were also cleared away, revealing several ancient grave stones. At the Cathedral, an "enormous amount of rubbish & fallen walls" were cleared away. This made the cloister court and its ambulatory stand out, and involved emptying the transepts and nave of debris. A few artefacts were found, a key, a ring, some pottery, but nothing of great significance.

The letter also gives an impression of Anderson's energy and zest for life - "The bathing is splendid here and I have not
missed a day", he wrote, adding afterwards that "I am sure you have'nt better air, milk, eggs, butter & salt water. I could stay another month here with pleasure".57

But he could not, for reasons which he outlined as follows :-

The Edinburgh University Extension will be my next magnum opus. The Committee have decided to invite a few architects to submit preliminary sketches. Six have been applied to, Bryce, Cousins, Wardrop, Lessels, Peddie & Kinnear & self. I understand Bryce has declined. I do not know if any of the others have. As the plans are to be sent in by the 1st of November & they expect us to visit several buildings in England it will require very close application to this to get done in time.58

The letter concludes with the news that he had made a progress report to the Duke of Argyll, and had been asked to Oronsay by a Captain Stuart of Colonsay to advise on the ruins there.

A later letter dated 2nd March 1876 revealed that after delays caused by the weather, "very little remains to be done", and that complete repairs had been made to the Cathedral and monastic buildings. The letter concludes with recommendations that boundary fences be erected to stop tourists from walking over the graves, and to replace the stone walls which precluded proper views of the buildings.59

While work at Iona was in its early stages, other commissions were coming in. On 17th September, 1874, Anderson had written to Sir H.J. Seton of Stirling, advising him of difficulties in extending the Episcopal Church there.60 This resulted in plans for a new church, an elegant early Gothic design with five bays and an apsidal chancel, altered at the discussion stage to a square ended one.61 Although a fine broach spire with lucarnes
was designed, it was never a serious proposition, merely being indicated lightly at the south west corner of the building on the plans. The church was dedicated in 1875 and is a splendid work, the interior superbly proportioned if a little let down by the rough quality of the brickwork filling the spandrels of the nave arcades. The exterior is grave and dignified (Plate 44).

**Edinburgh University Medical School**

By the 1870's, Edinburgh University Medical School, housed in the western side of Adam's Old College, had massive accommodation problems. In 1871, five professors had put in a requisition for more space to fit in larger student numbers and to provide for the growing levels of practical and laboratory work introduced into the curriculum.

Negotiations for extra land in the immediate vicinity of both the Old College and Adam's old Infirmary across Nicholson Street had been going on throughout the previous decade, but had been inconclusive. Late in 1871, the University Senate agreed to purchase Park Place, to the south of Teviot Row. The ground here was nearly level, the new Royal Infirmary stood nearby, and the Old College was also close at hand.

After some difficulties in buying out the tenements in Teviot Row, the competition for the New Medical School's design was put in hand in August 1874. It was limited to six of the most prominent architectural firms in Edinburgh, Lessels, Cousin, Paddie and Kinnear, Wardrop and Reid, Robert Anderson, and David Bryce. As Anderson indicated in his letter to Skene, Bryce had as usual declined to compete.
The initial submission date of 1st November was extended to January 1st, 1875. The Builder of 23rd January revealed that four schemes had been submitted and were under consideration, as Cousin and Lessels had decided to collaborate in their customary fashion. It also revealed the thinking of the Building Committee, who, "while desirous of seeing due attention to style, discouraged elaborate ornamentation". The Committee, like the Catholic Apostolics before them, had the usefulness of their new building at the forefront of their minds. Prominent in their thoughts were the facilities they so urgently required, which included an anatomical museum, a lecture theatre, and a College hall. The Builder also mentioned a preference for roof lights.

Given the co-incidence of the practical bias of the Building Committee with Anderson's own architectural philosophy, it is hardly surprising that he undertook a research programme of incredible intensity prior to submitting his entry. His researches are contained in a notebook, where over 70 pages are crammed with details from a British and continental trip. This encompassed visits to Liverpool University, Owens College, Manchester, University College, London, Oxford University, South Kensington Museum, the Albert Hall, the Sorbonne, universities and like institutions at Utrecht, Amsterdam, Berlin, Leipzig, Bonn and Aachen.

In these places every remotely relevant detail caught his eye, and he scribbled in his book plans of anatomy rooms, bone rooms, measurements of desks, glass specifications, details of pipe arrangements, and, interalia, lighting and gutter fixtures. While at Liverpool, he took the opportunity to record some details at St. George's Hall, but this appears to have been one of the few
relaxations on his trip. At London University he noted that north light was best for microscope work. At Oxford he noted that Wren's Sheldonian theatre "holds 4000 when crowded" and that the stairs leading to its horseshoe galleries were situated against the flat wall. At the Albert Hall all that seemed to interest him were seat details.

On 19th October, 1874, he scribbled down the plan of the circular anatomy theatre at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, noting also the position of the lecturer's table. At the Sorbonne, he drew a sketch plan of a semicircular lecture theatre, where a passage skirted round the perimeter.

At the time, German education was in high repute, but not everything he saw there was to his liking. At one institution he noted "Anatomy Class Room Badly Lighted". At another he noted "Dr. Ludwig's lecture room frightfully close and badly ventilated. Wants height". At the Bonn Anatomy School, opened just two years earlier, he noted "classrooms are octagons with very large windows - much rattling during wind". He did, however, approve of the laboratories at the Chemical Institute in Bonn, and learned there that glass was best for furniture where there were acids as "other things are easily attacked". When he returned, he was armed with ideas on layouts, lighting, furniture and the latest equipment, information which would impress as well as prove useful.

The Builder of 23rd January had also provided a brief description of each competition entry. Cousin and Lessels' design was in Venetian Gothic, with a large dome surmounting the hall. Peddie and Kinnear, hedging their bets, submitted both a Classical and Gothic design; presumably Peddie was responsible
for the Classical design and Kinnear for the Gothic. None of these designs are believed to survive.

Wardrop & Reid's submission, in Gothic, still exists.68 These architects had presumably chosen Gothic to harmonise with the surrounding buildings, which included Bryce's Baronial Royal Infirmary next door, and George Heriot's Hospital in Jacobean diagonally opposite. The design was for a fairly run-of-the-mill Geometric Gothic building, asymmetrically massed, with plate glass windows (Plate 45). The type of stonework to be used was not indicated, and for this reason the design, although ordinary, is done less than justice. The internal planning was, however, chaotic. Wardrop and Reid failed to provide an interlinking circulation system, there were quite a number of changes to floor levels, and arrangements within departments were irregular and therefore confusing (Plate 46). Perhaps surprisingly, therefore, two of the nine professors involved in the decision voted for Wardrop and Reid's scheme, although four voted for Anderson's.69 The remaining three were undecided, but no support appears to have been forthcoming for the Peddie and Kinnear and Cousin and Lessels schemes. A sub committee appointed to look specifically at "Circulation and Services" then settled the matter by reporting that Anderson's plan met their requirements best.70 The award was communicated to Anderson in a letter dated 29th January 1875, and the other competitors each received a hundred guineas for expenses.71

Anderson's winning designs were for a complex of buildings which hugged the boundary line of the irregular but almost square parcel of ground between Teviot Row and Stable Lane. Along the Teviot Row (north) axis he placed the main frontage of the complex,
to contain the Materiæ Medica and Medical Jurisprudence departments. 72

Behind this lay an open court, half of which was to be filled with a great semicircular graduation hall. Parallel to the main frontage, the south block was to contain an anatomical museum and the Anatomy Department, while on the west, a block with irregular projections into Middle Meadow Walk was to contain Physiology, Midwifery and Pathology. 73 A small court surrounded by other teaching blocks completed the complex on the south (Plate 47).

The design was symmetrical on the Teviot Row elevation, and asymmetrical on all other sides. It was in the early Italian Renaissance style, described at the time as "Cinque Cento". 74 The great surprise of the design was an extremely bold campanile of square section and pyramidal top, completely unsolicited, and modelled on St. Mark's in Venice. Its graceful proportions and crispness of line completed the complex of buildings, and would have made the Medical School visible all over Edinburgh. One of Anderson's design drawings shows it in its intended position (Plate 48).

It is impossible to say finally what prompted Anderson to choose the Early Renaissance style for the new school. Savage has plausibly suggested that the Royal Scottish Museum in Chambers St. might have inspired it. 75 It is also possible that Anderson may have been aware that the designs being submitted were predominantly Gothic, and wanted to catch the assessors' eyes with something different, without compromising functional flexibility. Credibility is given to this suggestion by the Scotsman of 7th April, 1877. In discussing the style of the new buildings,
it described how it naturally commended itself to an architect so wisely heedful of the practical, on account of its plasticity and adaptability to varied internal arrangements. 76

If not conclusive on the matter of style, the newspaper report certainly leaves no doubt about Anderson's design philosophy, continuing that: -

In catering on the difficult task of providing for the varied requirements of ten distinct professors, Mr. Anderson proceeded on the sound principle, too often disregarded by architects, of first securing the necessary accommodation in the most desirable shape, and then considering what sort of elevations would adapt themselves to the interior thus adjusted, so as to secure an artistic ensemble. The result is a building with a distinctly pronounced organic character. Every external feature expresses the nature of the internal arrangements, and shows how kindly the beautiful adjusts itself to the useful when the latter has been, in the first instance, conscientiously consulted. 77

Anderson's internal arrangement was simple, direct and clear. Each block of buildings had a single axial corridor, off which the variously shaped rooms were located. Stairs were placed at the ends of blocks, and departments could access each other easily, as departmental corridors were connected to each other, or to stairs, at both ends. The studies made in England and abroad were selectively incorporated. The college hall, like the Sheldonian Theatre, was for functional reasons modelled on Roman amphitheatres. Microscopy was given north light (as in Wardrop and Reid's design) and lecture theatres were provided on semicircular lines.

By mid 1877, nothing had been built. Negotiations for properties on the boundaries of the site had been continuing, as had negotiations with the various professors in the Medical School,
intent on bringing to the matter their "mature deliberation and experience". When specifications were finally called for on 6th June, 1877, the plans had changed. Property had been acquired at the east end of Teviot Row, thus enabling the graduation hall to be swung out from its position in the large courtyard. This in turn allowed replanning of some of the departments adjoining. An extra floor had been added to the west pavilion of the Teviot Row elevation, and the east pavilion had been supplanted by the campanile, moved alongside the proposed graduation hall (Plate 49). Despite the modifications, the internal accommodation had not in essence changed.

Although the plans were finalised, funds were not available to undertake the whole scheme, and it was started early in 1878 on the basis that the graduation hall and campanile were to be deferred. Tenders for the south block were scrutinised late in January that year, to be followed soon afterwards by tenders for the north block. Building was periodically stopped as professors argued the case for last minute alterations with the building committee, who eventually disallowed changes in 1883.

In 1886 the school was completed. Its north elevation (to Teviot Row) has, at ground floor level, a row of round headed windows set in channelled masonry, while above, round headed windows, set in a pilastrade, are decorated with transitional Early Renaissance tracery (Plate 50). In the centre a pedimented and balconied aedicule rises to attic level, marking the coffered entrance to the main courtyard. The shallow roofs are in red tiles throughout. The main courtyard is a stunning exercise in asymmetrical geometry. While a channelled masonry basement is
common to each of the four surrounding walls, each is otherwise treated uniquely.

On the west, the reduced requirement for light enabled Anderson to express large expanses of the fine ashlar wall, articulated with a crisp row of round headed windows. On the south wall, the large windows are marked by a giant order (Plate 51). On the north wall, the exterior is mirrored (less the pilasters), and on the east wall, a staircase is expressed through an exterior turret which balances the visual effect of the aedicule at the entrance.

In July 1880, Anderson received a further public opportunity to hammer home the design philosophy behind the school. A Mr. Scott Moncrieff complained that the boiler house chimney had only been decorated, and not disguised. Through the Scotsman's pages Anderson observed that this is no doubt frequently done, for example at the Calton Jail you have the chimney disguised as a mediaeval watch tower, at the Hydropathic Establishment at Craiglockhart and many other places the chimney takes the form of an Egyptian obisk. At the Natural History Museum, South Kensington, thousands of pounds were spent in dressing up the ventilation shafts as Italian campanili, and at a printing office in the High Street you may see a large chimney in the form of a Scotch thistle.81

In the event, the chimney was erected according to plan, form following function as it had done throughout the commission.

On the constructional side, several factors are worthy of note. The school is stoutly constructed with thick walls and heavy iron beams throughout. The beams are undisguised in many parts of the building, such as the ceilings of certain of
rooms and laboratories, and under some of the staircases. In an earlier cost cutting scheme Anderson had put forward a number of suggestions which included slighter construction.\textsuperscript{82} These were not implemented.

Anderson was also well aware of the need for a clerk of works of the highest calibre and integrity to supervise this mammoth project. From the beginning the job was entrusted to Allan Clark, a Hawick man who had spent a period of time working in London. Clark was to handle the work with great distinction for twenty years, through to the completion of the McEwan Hall.\textsuperscript{83}

If the school competition in Edinburgh a few years earlier had brought Anderson to the notice of his fellow citizens, the University competition victory stamped his dominance on the capital. Bryce had died just after the Medical School started building, leaving Anderson in an unassailable position in the city, if not in the country.

\textit{Anderson and the Edinburgh Architectural Association}

Although Anderson continued to attend the meetings of the Antiquaries, he appears to have been too busy to devote himself to the preparation of papers.

However, another social outlet fitted in more closely with his sketching activities and architectural practice, the Edinburgh Architectural Association. The Association had been formed on 23rd December, 1858, when it was christened the "Edinburgh Young Men's Architectural Association". It was set up to provide an architectural forum for the younger architects, who felt they were not well enough catered for by the Architectural Institute.\textsuperscript{84}
Anderson had played an active part in the Association from 1862 while also maintaining close links with the Institute. By the early 1870's, the Institute "silently disappeared" after an attempted merger with the Association had failed, and the Association in many ways became its successor as far as Edinburgh architects were concerned. Its activities included the preparation and criticisms of essays, talks on design, and architectural outings. It grew from strength to strength, acquiring a library and having among its ranks and office bearers the finest architects in Edinburgh.

Hippolyte Blanc, David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross were prominent in the Association, and the latter architects had already begun to show the interest in old Scottish architecture which would lead to their master work. Thomas Ross in November 1869 had read a paper on sketching, and had suggested that an Association Sketch Book, contributed to by members, should be inaugurated.

This represented an interest near and dear to Anderson's heart, and in 1875, he proposed a motion: -

that the Edinburgh Architectural Association should undertake as a part of their annual work the publication of a volume of Sketches and Measured Drawings of Old Scottish Architecture, and that a special Committee of the Association be appointed to superintend its production.

This was agreed, and Anderson became part of the Committee of Management, contributing drawings of the choir windows at Brechin and drawings of the chapter house windows at Glenluce Abbey to the first edition.

At the height of his fame, Anderson never deserted the Association or its sketch book, a project he clearly believed in intensely.
1875 started with the University competition win, and between this and the school and church work already described, Anderson's office must have been hard pressed. In the spring of that year, several small commissions for alterations to schools in the vicinity of Iona came in. In February, drawings were prepared for the alteration of Penny cross School in Mull, followed by alterations to the tiny Iona School in April, 1875. At around the same time, alterations were designed for Ballevulin School, presumably in the same neighbourhood.

Later in the year, Anderson was busy at Jedburgh, looking at the ruined Abbey for the Marquis of Lothian, a fellow Antiquary. By the 1870's, the Abbey, one of the most complete ruins in Scotland, was in urgent need of structural repair. The nave arcades, which supported a tall triforium gallery and clerestory, were in danger of collapse and the south wall and one of its two ornately carved doors lay in ruins. That apart, a certain amount of stone had fallen off the arcades and into the nave.

Anderson examined the ruins with Sir George Gilbert Scott, who was in Edinburgh, probably in connection with St. Mary's Cathedral, at the time. Scott endorsed Anderson's recommendations, which were to rebuild the fallen stone in the nave, and then to place a series of light wooden tie beams on top of the walls in order to hold them apart. The south wall was to be rebuilt, and a replacement door was to be carved and inserted there. This was to be an exact copy of its sister door further along.

The Marquis of Lothian was not sure of the aesthetic effect of the proposed wooden tie beams and wrote to Anderson in August 1875
suggesting they be put lower. As Anderson was on the continent at the time, his clerk, George Wilson, suggested to Lothian that he try sample beams in a lower position and also in the recommended position to judge the effect. Later photographs show they were erected to Anderson's plan.

The repairs and restoration work were conservatively done, the south wall rebuilding clearly showing old and new work separately. The replacement door still remains (Plate 52).

Jedburgh was another case where Anderson laid the foundation for future work. The restoration was completed after the First World War, when a faulty crossing pier was rebuilt and Anderson's tie beams were removed after further operations on the arcades.

By the end of 1875, St. Serf's Episcopal Church, Dunimarle, Culross, was at an advanced stage. In 1872, Anderson had shown designs for this church at the Royal Scottish Academy's exhibition. The design was for Mrs. Sharpe Erskine, who about thirty years earlier had commissioned R & R Dickson to convert her home into a mock-Tudor castle, thereafter entitled Dunimarle Castle. This public spirited lady intended the church as a place of worship for the Episcopalians of Culross, as well as a mortuary chapel for herself.

The chapel was erected just below the grounds of the castle, and not far from the main coastal road. It was Anderson's most "Vigorous" church design. A newscutting informs that the style of architecture adopted is that of the transition (end of the twelfth century), being the style exemplified in the earlier remaining parts of Culross Abbey... It is of oblong shape, measuring internally 66 feet by 18 feet. The east end is apsidal, and the west gable is surmounted...
by a massive belfry, having two tiers of openings for a peal of three bells. This gable is strongly buttressed, and has a large circular window filled with rich tracery.94

The Church was both opened and consecrated on 1st July 1876, the first incumbent being the Rev. William Bruce, personal chaplain to Mrs. Sharpe Erskine, and a member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.95

Seen from the south, the church (now disused) immediately suggests the work of Brooks, with its expanses of smooth wall, well separated lancets and rounded apse (Plate 53). The robust gable again suggests the Abbey Barn, Caen. The roof of the interior is a semicircular wagon, the boards of which are chevron stencilled in once rich colours. The insides of the massively thick walls also bear evidence of what was once rich stencilling. There is no chancel arch, in keeping with the continuous roof line of the exterior, a moulding indicating the division inside.

On the chancel ceiling the hemicycle is broken into five divisions, corresponding with the five apse lancets. Around the chancel walls is the text "God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth". The floor of the nave is in black and white tiles, with the floor of the chancel in elaborate encaustic tile patterns, ascending to an altar no longer in place. In the centre of the chancel is a mould covered brass plate marking the burial place of the church's donor.

In spite of the depredations of time, it is still apparent that Anderson here designed a beautiful and evocative sanctuary, one where historical associations and feelings of the numinous could easily be aroused.
Just prior to the consecration of St. Serf's by Bishop Wordsworth, Anderson was contacted by the Leslie School Board in Fife. The Board had been preparing to erect a school from as early as 1874. In April that year David Mackenzie of Dundee had been appointed architect to the Board. In July of the same year it had been minuted that he was not answering correspondence. In September the Board decided that plans from Edward and Robertson of Dundee were not satisfactory from a practical point of view. These were revised, but by 26th June 1876, the new plans were also rejected, and it was resolved to "write Mr. Robert Anderson, Architect" to prepare plans for the new school. The Board was presumably familiar with his work at Kirkcaldy, some ten miles distant.

Although this work no longer survives, plans indicate that Anderson designed a medium sized school on the T plan, already experimented with at Causewayside and Fountainbridge. The designs were ready within three weeks of the request. Anderson had clearly decided that there was no point in changing a successful formula. Plate tracery, a fleche-shaped ventilator and steeply raked roofs combined to produce a design that was still unique and purpose built. The school seems to have been completed around 1880, and cost over five thousand pounds.

Tynemouth, Dundee and Kirkcaldy

At the end of 1876, Anderson prepared three sets of designs which bore no immediate fruit.

The first of these was for a new church at Tynemouth, where a population of 17,000 were served by a single church. Anderson's
site plan is dated 18th September 1876, and at around this time he took the train south, armed with two similar designs, one of which incorporates a clergy house (Plate 54), the other less ambitious. 99

At this juncture, the Bishop of the Diocese, Dr. Baring did not approve of a second church, and the matter had to wait until his decease before proceeding. 100

Even more enigmatic was the request to Anderson to prepare a new residence for the Bishop of Brechin. It would appear that, after the shock and confusion caused by Forbes' death in 1875, plans were laid to provide a suitable residence for the new bishop and his successors. The diocesan minutes are silent on the subject.

Anderson was consulted, and eight alternative designs were prepared, all dated October 1876. 101 The example shown (Plate 55) is typical of those submitted, although some were for a three storied building, and others for a two storied version.

This very fine design has all the usual Anderson hallmarks, economy of decoration, reserve, and pragmatic layout. The project appears to have been dropped, as, a few years later, Forbes Court, Broughty Ferry, a classical house with an added wing by a different hand, became the Diocesan residence. It may have been bought second hand to save expense, or perhaps to honour the memory of Forbes, whose own lifestyle had been characterised by selfless frugality.

In late 1876, Anderson was also invited to submit a design for a new Free Church in Kirkcaldy, presumably on the strength of his school competition success. The Building Committee there
cast their net widely and well, asking for competitive designs from other architects - Campbell Douglas and Sellars, Glasgow, J. Matthews of Matthews and Mackenzie, Aberdeen, and John Honeyman of Glasgow. 102

Anderson's effort was a departure from what he was best at, comprising a church with a rounded west end and a flat east end terminating in a suggestion of a chancel, with a central pulpit. A U shaped gallery made its way round the north, west and south walls of the church. The gallery was top lit with a large number of roof lights which would almost certainly have led to maintenance and leakage problems. To the side he set a square tower surmounted by an octagonal spire. 103

Matthews won the competition with a superb church in the best Scott tradition. His design (Plate 56) followed a standard Scott approach - multitudinous pinnacles, string courses, mouldings and other details, added to pleasing proportions. Concern was nevertheless expressed at the eventual cost, which exceeded an estimate of £11,500 by some fifty per cent. 104

The Caledonian Railway Offices, Glasgow

The mixture of events which made up 1876 included, in June, a trip to London at the behest of the Caledonian Railway, who were in the process of rationalising their operations in central Glasgow.

Their southern system terminated at Bridge Street Station, on the south side of the Clyde, while trains to and from England used Buchanan Street Station. The railway's staff worked in an overcrowded office in Buchanan Street. What was needed was a
central terminus where it was possible to change trains without traversing the city. It was also perceived that new office accommodation was required. Blyth and Cunningham of Edinburgh, the country's most experienced designers of bridges and railway systems, had been consulted as early as 1873. It was anticipated that Parliamentary approval would be given for the changes, and on the assumption that they would be allowed to cross the Clyde and stretch the line from Bridge Street to Gordon Street, designs for a new station at Gordon Street were approved on 18th October, 1876. Shortly afterwards, Parliamentary permission was granted.

How Anderson came to be involved is not entirely clear. There was no competition, and it would appear that his Edinburgh reputation caused Cunningham to propose him. On May 1st, 1877, the Railway's Board Minutes record that

> Mr. Cunningham and Mr. Anderson attended, and submitted designs for the new Station Buildings, one of which was approved of and initialled accordingly.

The same Minutes give a picture of a Board of Directors totally embroiled in the problems of running an expanding railway - dealing with frequent accident investigations, checking passenger and mileage statistics to verify their market share, and having to raise new capital regularly from shareholders who looked for good returns. It is indeed distinctly possible that the Directors were simply too busy to deal with the bureaucracy of an architectural competition, hence the manner and swiftness with which the decision to appoint Anderson was taken.

On 26th February 1878, invitations to tender for the new
Station Buildings were published in the national press. Later that year Watt & Wilson's tender for £172,586.13.5 was accepted. Two mammoth projects, this one and the Edinburgh University Medical School, were now in motion.

By the time the go ahead was given to the builders in 1878, the new station was well advanced, a large number of dwellings, stores and offices having been cleared from the area beforehand. Anderson's plan for the new buildings was, like the Medical School, simple in essence. Given that Gordon Street and part of Hope Street were devoted to the Station Buildings, it was logical to locate the main entrance at the corner, and for the circulation to radiate in both directions from this point. The ground floors of the buildings were designed to accommodate booking offices, luggage depositories, waiting and refreshment rooms, offices for Stationmaster, superintendents and other officials, with the whole general staff of the company on the other floors. All ranks, from clerks to the Board, were to be located in a series of large and small rooms.

These functions were accommodated along central spiral corridors nine feet wide on each of seven stories, including basement and attics. Anderson had at his disposal 242 feet of frontage on Gordon Street and 302 feet in Hope Street. At the junction of these two axes he placed a large square tower, which was intended to hold the Board Room. A stone entrance stairway was set in the angle between the tower and the edge of the Gordon Street frontage.

The new buildings were stoutly constructed: the corridors were floored with concrete slabs laid on malleable iron joists, and in the 2 ft 6" gap beneath were three channels, the centre
one bearing heating pipes, and the other two for ventilation. The floors of the offices were laid on wooden joists again undergirded with malleable iron. This immensely strong grid was encased in thick walls of Dunmore stone.112

The style of the buildings was described at the time as "an adaptation of the Renaissance order" and a "modification of the Queen Anne style".113 Its inspiration was clearly the 16th/17th century, at the point where the mullioned and transomed windows of late Gothic combined with the semicircular arches and pediments of the early Renaissance. The scale of the buildings and the pointed roof of Anderson's square tower strongly suggest Flemish town halls of that era (Plate 57).

Anderson had two requirements of the windows - that they expressed the rooms behind them, and that they admitted sufficient light. As well as achieving these objectives, they were used to give visual variety to the two major facades which were otherwise left undecorated. On the lower floors, round heads and transitional tracery predominate, with mullions and transoms featured on the upper stories (Plate 58).

Characteristic Anderson touches occur throughout the design. Crisp mouldings punctuate and emphasise the wall plane, especially on the tower, and the lofty rake of the roofs and pedimented dormer window heads are carefully calculated to produce a noble and refined effect.

In July 1879, the new line across the Clyde was opened, and the station, christened the Central Station, set in use. At the same time the new Station Buildings were beginning to take shape.114
1877 and 1878

Although a relatively small amount of new work came into the Anderson office in 1877, the enormous quantity already in progress perhaps explains why the practice transferred to 6 Wemyss Place that year.\textsuperscript{115}

In 1877, new church work included an Episcopal church for Leven in Fife. Surviving design and contract drawings show a beautifully proportioned, Ecclesiologically correct Gothic design with a Brechin tower - Anderson’s first known attempt to have such a feature built.\textsuperscript{116} (Plate 59) Contract drawings were produced in 1878, but the church was never erected. Anderson had produced a design for 200 sittings, approximately 50 more than was wanted. The cost was £2,000, considerably in excess of the figure the vestry had anticipated.\textsuperscript{117} Nevertheless, the work was put out to tender, producing a dispute between the selected builder and Anderson over the material to be used.

After referring the matter to solicitors for advice, it was decided to abandon Anderson’s scheme.\textsuperscript{118} Matthews and McKenzie of Aberdeen were given the commission and produced a less elegant if cheaper building.\textsuperscript{119}

Anderson’s designs for a new Episcopal church at Greenock were exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1877. One illustration survives,\textsuperscript{120} showing a church of severe but nevertheless beautiful lines (Plate 60). The job went to Paley and Austin, who produced a church of reasonable quality, but which has certain proportional failings, especially apparent in the tower.

On the domestic front, Anderson’s projects for 1877 included a
double villa for Colinton, a leafy and largely unspoilt Edinburgh suburb. The Anderson persistence is strongly in evidence in the design - it was a virtual reincarnation of his unsuccessful design for Falkirk parsonage a decade earlier. Functional planning and sensible room shapes and sizes were again in evidence. 121

In 1878, he was involved at Yester House, East Lothian, completing minor alterations and work on outbuildings. 122

At Kirkcaldy, a Mr. Hogarth, a member of the School Board and a corn merchant in Cupar asked Anderson to design a double villa for himself and a Mr. Lockhart. 123 This again produced a variation on his Falkirk Parsonage scheme, with projecting tie beams, steeply pitched roofs and sensibly shaped interiors. Situated on a mound and just along the road from the West School, the double villa still makes an impressive composition (Plate 61).

Ecclesiastical commissions taken in 1878 included a new Episcopal church for the Old St. Paul's congregation in Jeffrey Street, just off the Royal Mile. The congregation was meeting in temporary accommodation, having deserted their converted wool store, which had become unsafe in 1873. Anderson's designs, while exhibited to the Building Committee, were not carried out, those of Hay and Henderson being preferred for reasons which can no longer be ascertained. 124

Small commissions coming in in 1878 included the monument to the late Dean Ramsay, a "Runic cross of red granite", twenty four feet high and situated just to the east of the chancel of St. John's, Princes St., Ramsay's former charge. The work was carried out by Farmer and Brindley, 125 and is in the same vein as Anderson's memorial
to the 78th Highlanders on the esplanade of Edinburgh Castle, or his monument to the Duke of Atholl at Logierait.  

Later that year, James Slater was carrying out an Anderson design for the base of an old tombstone at Newbattle Abbey, at the request of the Marquis of Lothian, and Farmer and Brindley had executed a marble slab designed by Anderson for the same client.

**Mount Stuart**

At a point where Anderson had never been busier, a further immensely prestigious prize came his way: the rebuilding of Mount Stuart, near Rothesay, for the Marquess of Bute.

In December 1877, a fire had destroyed the central portion of the old Mount Stuart, a Neo Palladian building by the Adam office, with flanking wings by Alexander McGill.

Anderson, in good standing with Lord Bute as a result of his Paisley Abbey and Antiquarian contacts, was, in the spring of 1878 asked to survey the burned out house and to produce designs for its rebuilding in sympathy with the still extant classical wings. An alternative proposal, to build a completely new house at Torr Wood, a little inland from Mount Stuart, was never pursued.

Anderson's plans would have resulted in a rectangular block larger than the old corps de logis, nearly symmetrical, with two bay windows to the landward side of the house and a square two story entrance hall off the door between these bays. Behind this, a series of well shaped rooms would have occupied three floors. Part of the scheme involved expanding the kitchen offices by adding three sides to one of the wings, making it part of a square around a central courtyard. The old house would have been transformed into a
nineteenth century home where the rule of symmetry deferred to functional utility. Elevations, if ever drawn, do not survive.

These designs bear evidence of a change of heart on Bute's part - a loose and sketchy hand, in all probability Anderson's, has superimposed a large cube containing a smaller cube inside. The idea of Mount Stuart in its finally built form had been born, at some time in late 1878 or 1879.

On October 2nd, 1879, Bute was writing about the new designs to his wife:—

Anderson's plans are exceedingly nice. The house seems to bid fair to be a splendid palace. There were only a few things, partly in regard to the picturesque and partly the luxurious wh. I suggested alterations in to him. And these I shall see better in the model, when I am in Edinburgh.

This letter puts beyond doubt the obvious fact that the design was Anderson's, in spite of the involvement of a patron with strong architectural inclinations.

Mount Stuart in its final form had the most elementary of plans. It consisted of a huge square block placed between the two wings surviving from the old house, and at its heart lay a large and lofty hall, once again square, round which the rooms were deployed. On the ground floor, on the seaward side of the house, a large library and drawing room were placed, while opposite, on the landward side an entrance hall and dining room were introduced. The great hall, rising through three stories, gave way on one side to a grand staircase, and on the other to an outer hall. The great hall was to become the architectural centrepiece of the project, and would in due course be clad in
the finest marble, alabaster and porphyry that money could buy (Plate 62).

On the first floor, accessed from the grand staircase, bedrooms for Lord Bute, Lady Bute and the family were planned on the seaward side, with other bedrooms occupying the rest of the floor. On the second floor, two walls were given over to smaller batchelors' and ladies' bedrooms, with a third devoted to servant's quarters, and the fourth to the grand staircase.  

Outside the main block, the plans for extended kitchen offices were retained in altered form, the two classical wings were to be kept, a conservatory was to be built parallel to one of the old wings, while at the other side of the house, an apsidal chapel was planned. The whole conception was as clear and logical as the retention of the original wings would allow, and in any case these did not interfere with the clarity and simplicity of the main block (Plate 63).

The elevations, no doubt in Gothic to satisfy Lord Bute's mediaeval and Roman Catholic tastes, are pure Anderson. On the seaward side, the drawing room and library windows consist of two lights each, surmounted by quatrefoils and an enclosing label. These stretch along the main facade, nine in number. The second floor windows are lancets, with the exception of three in the centre illuminating the family bedroom, which have foils, labels above and a balcony outside. Lord and Lady Bute's bedrooms at either side are marked by oriels, corbelled out on crisp mouldings, and terminating in lacy crockets. On the top floor, a stone balustrade runs round an eaves gallery, above which a steeply pitched roof is pierced by tiny Gothic dormers, and
surmounted by tall and elegant chimneys. On the landward side, the windows were asymmetrically arranged, but the same design principles prevailed (Plate 64).

The facades are carefully controlled and without exuberance, perhaps a little stern in character. Their sources are unmistakable. The secular Gothic halls and houses of Cordes and Figeac, illustrated in Anderson's book, bear the same characteristics, respect for the integrity of the wall surface and expression of the underlying shape and function of the rooms. The beholder of Mount Stuart is left with the feeling that, above all else, the house is the work of a disciplined designer and punctilious planner.

Anderson's previous experience of secular Gothic had largely been restricted to educational establishments. A comparison between Mount Stuart and Kirkcaldy West School reveals, indeed, a surprisingly large number of common themes, whether chimney configurations, roof pitch, plate tracery or large expanses of plain wall. As with Kirkcaldy, the University and the Central Station buildings, form followed function, with chimneys and stairways introduced where they were needed and frankly expressed. The picturesque skyline of Mount Stuart was no pure contrivance: it took account of the building's practical requirements.

Immediately preceding Lord Bute's letter to his wife in October 1879, preparations had been set in hand for the accommodation of workmen. Construction was in progress soon afterwards, most of the working drawings coming out of the Anderson office in 1880. In April 1882, Anderson objected to the house being illustrated in an incomplete condition, indicating
structural advancement, but not completion by that date. 136

The building seems to have been ready for occupation late in 1885, 137 pointing to a long building cycle probably partly occasioned by its isolated location, and the need to bring the building materials (especially the red Corsehill sandstone) by sea.

On the practical side, the heating and ventilation of the building was carefully planned, with a London consultant, Wilson Phipson, in charge. 138 It was also intended from the outset that electric lighting would be installed, making it the first building in Scotland with such a system. Anderson as usual built robustly, reinforcing the structure with heavy metal beams. 139

Bute, while allowing the architect a great deal of scope with the rebuilding, had no intention of relinquishing control completely. He loved architecture and design, and always kept a string of architects in employment at his various properties, in order to expose himself to a broad spectrum of ideas. 140 His vast wealth, mystical inclinations and unhurried approach would in due course enable him to decorate the interior of the house in a lavish and sometimes eccentric manner. Earlier, with Burges at Castle Coch, he had collaborated with an architect whose eccentricity exceeded his own. The opposite was the case at Mount Stuart, where the visitor can scarcely ignore the at times contrary spirits of architect and patron.

In spite of their differing natures, Bute and Anderson undoubtedly got on well. The relationship was to last until Bute's death, and work on additions and alterations to the house
was to come into the Anderson office a good thirty years after the inception of the building. The wings and chapel were to be added later and are discussed in Chapter Seven.

1879

Anderson's only surviving diary covers his business appointments during 1879, providing valuable insights into his activities and *modus operandi* during one of the busiest and most successful phases of his career.

The diary records that, during this year, he personally visited the Caledonian Station site many times, and likewise the University. He was also frequently summoned by Bute to discuss the plans and the model of the new Mount Stuart House.

His meetings with Bute would take place in Harrington and sometimes at Chiswick or London. Later in the year, Anderson would visit Mount Stuart a number of times to meet the clerk of works, contractors and factors, or to inspect the excavations there.

The diary makes it clear that Anderson was personally responsible for all the design decisions relating to his practice. It records several discussions with Mr. Lockhart of Kirkcaldy on the design of his new house. It also records that Anderson had several meetings about alterations wanted at Montrose Asylum, and reveals that in 1879 he was discussing modifications at Fettes College, and a new Sanatorium and lodge cottage there. He had succeeded Bryce as College architect after his death a few years earlier.

The diary also records Anderson's dealings with the Rev. Sprott, who consulted the architect about a new parish church.
in North Berwick. In addition, Anderson also handled design discussions with the Building Committee of Old St. Paul's, Carrubbers Close, and had discussions with the Building Committee of Forfar Episcopal Church on the design for a new church there. Preliminary discussions with Dr. MacLeod of Govan on designs for a large new parish church were also set in progress, and the architect returned to Tynemouth in an attempt to revive the church project shelved in 1876.

One of the many design discussions of 1879 was with the Edinburgh Conservative Club. Anderson recorded the occasion with characteristic brevity: "Met Committee and went over plans. Internal arrangements approved of. Elevation to be revised".

Anderson had now acquired a lifestyle similar to that of his deceased mentor, Scott, travelling around the country in trains, visiting places as far removed as Kelton in Kirkcudbright and Montrose. On these visits he attended to practicalities such as the inspection of work in progress or the checking of the quality of materials at woodyards or quarries, as well as discussing design matters.

While the diary records a myriad of visits in connection with small commissions or extensions to existing commissions, it also confirms that he still managed to find time to submit drawings to the Royal Scottish Academy, something he had done throughout his career. In 1879 he submitted a drawing of the new Episcopal Church at Stirling, two views of his design for Kirkcaldy Free Church, a drawing of Stockbridge School, and a drawing of the houses being built at Colinton. Anderson had been elected an Associate of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1876, and at the time was only the fifth
Scottish architect ever to be permitted membership. At this point he was in good standing with Fetes Douglas, a future President, with whom he discussed painting, lighting and heating alterations at the National Gallery on 9th October that year.

It is clear, therefore, that by 1879 Anderson was very much in demand, having attained that position on merit, through competition successes, sheer hard work and patent competence. The diary records that a range of people, nobility included, were calling at the office to employ him.

Anderson, now in his forty fifth year, next decided to build himself a house at Colinton. He had designed a double villa there in 1877, and the diary records that he was visiting Juniper Green, slightly further westwards, probably in connection with Baberton Court, a Gothic house he had also designed. He must have been well aware of the area's rural charms.

On July 14th, 1879, Anderson bought a piece of ground bordering on Woodhall Road, Colinton, from the Company of Merchants, the title deeds confirming that the formalities were completed at the end of September. The land thus purchased comprised a long narrow strip of over two acres, running approximately north to south, and bounded by two public roads, as yet unmade. Anderson divided the land into two long narrow plots, building himself a smallish house on the westermost strip.

The result was "Allermuir", named after a summit in the Pentlands directly to the south. The house was designed on two axes, one running from west to east and facing the garden, and containing two public rooms of good proportions, one above the other. Each was given its own bay window, from which fine views of Allermuir Hill could be obtained (Plate 65).
At right angles to this a series of bedrooms was accessed from the main stairway, with kitchen offices filling the angle between the two wings. At the west end of the house, the main door gave entrance to a generous hall, leading to the handsome main staircase. At the north end of the house trees were planted, deliberately obscuring the elevation. The plan was clarity itself. All rooms radiated sensibly from the entrance hall, and the kitchen was logically and conveniently placed for service.

The house was designed in the Scots Jacobean style. During and beyond the Jacobean period, Scottish domestic architecture had become less defensive in character, and occasionally incorporated English motifs. At "Allermuir" these were represented in the bays and oriel of the garden frontage, which were blended with sash windows in a manner both functional and historically authentic. The end result resembled the east range at Pinkie House, Musselburgh (1613).

Inside, Anderson panelled the walls extensively in oak, and broke up the ceilings with simple mouldings of a Jacobean character. He also panelled the entrance to each of the bay windows in a semicircle, adding variety to the rectangularity of the house, while emphasising the depth and solidity of the walls, a device which would turn up again and again in his work. It must have been with considerable pride that he had "R.R.A. 1879" carved above the door. These letters signified the fact that at around this time he had adopted his late mother's maiden name, Rowand, as his middle name. Alongside, the words "Adsit Deus" (let God be present) were also carved. Although details are lacking, Anderson seems to have been quietly religious, and would soon become a vestryman of the Colinton Episcopal Church.
His previous church connections are a mystery. His name cannot be traced among the surviving records of Edinburgh's Episcopal churches, although it should be made clear that not all of these remain. It is unlikely, however, that he would have become a vestryman if he had not come from an Episcopalian congregation.

At Colinton Anderson put down deep roots, both ecclesiastically and domestically. In so doing he made a major architectural statement. "Allermuir" was the product of twenty years' reflection on the nature and essential character of old Scottish architecture. In many respects it was the antithesis of the overblown revived Baronial style popularised in mid century, and helped to sound its death knell. When Anderson showed drawings of "Allermuir" at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1880, it was widely noticed, especially by younger architects, who would in due course reveal its influence in their own work.
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The date 1879 renders unintelligible the rumour, still circulating in Colinton, that the house next door (Torduff) was built first, and rejected by Anderson's wife.
CHAPTER FIVE

EMINENCE - PARTNERSHIPS, PROJECTS AND PATRONS, 1880-1887
The Anderson Office in 1880

Anderson had been involved personally in drafting the designs for the Brechin Diocesan residence in 1876. The surviving drawings indicate that, after this date, the pressure of work was such that he had to delegate all final drafting to assistants.

In 1876, Archibald McPherson had left the practice to set up on his own, having proved himself a fine draughtsman and assistant over the previous three years. His successors were no less competent. In 1880, John Watson was working as an assistant in the office. He too was a superb draughtsman, and had been a member of the Edinburgh Architectural Association Sketch Book Committee when its first volume of drawings was published in 1875/6. He had also been deeply involved in sketching trips, spending up to three months a year on this activity.

Arthur George Sydney Mitchell was another outstanding pupil, at that point in the latter stages of his training. Mitchell, a graduate, was the son of Sir Arthur Mitchell, the Queen's Commissioner for Lunacy in Scotland, and a very active member of the Society of Antiquaries. Anderson was clearly able to attract the cream of the young men to his office.

Around this time, George Washington Browne joined his employment as chief assistant. He too had impeccable credentials, having started his career with Campbell Douglas and Sellars in Glasgow from 1873 to 1875, following this with two years experience in the London office of Douglas' former partner, John James Stevenson.
Anderson and Stevenson had worked together under Scott in 1858. A brief spell working for A.W. Blomfield was terminated in 1878, when Browne won the Pugin Scholarship, enabling him to undertake a continental tour. The fruits of this tour would later be published as *Pugin Studentship Drawings*, by G. Washington Browne, Architect. Before joining Anderson as an assistant, Browne had also spent a short period in Nesfield's practice in London. His willingness to come said a great deal about Anderson's growing reputation south of the Tweed.

These promising assistants found a wide portfolio of commissions in hand in 1880, and an immense amount of work.

**Church Work, 1880-81**

The building committee at Forfar Episcopal Church had favourably evaluated Anderson's work at Stonehaven and selected him as their architect, and the foundation stone of the new church had been laid on October 6th, 1879. The new building was for 600 sittings, and turned out to be in the same vein as his previous work, Ecclesiologically "correct" and very unostentatious. It was given four bays, a north aisle and a deep chancel, and the main entrance was located in the base of its incomplete tower, situated at the north west angle (Plate 66). Stylistically very Andersonian, the church incorporates a transition from Early Gothic to the plate tracery of early Geometric, moving from west to east, and was built of beautifully squared snecked rubble in local red sandstone, with cream dressings and tracery in Polmaise stone. The masonwork on the archaeologically accurate mouldings is as crisp as a contract drawing.

In the interior, Anderson chose an open timber roof, of tiebeam
and kingpost construction, each kingpost having four supporting struts touching the roof at right angles. The arcades between the nave and the north aisle rest on compound piers. Six steps lead up to the altar in the chancel, paved in Godwin’s encaustic tiles in black, red and yellow, increasing in richness towards the east. The chancel walls are clad in bands of red tile and white alabaster, but as usual the polychromy is subdued. The plate tracery of the east wall of the chancel is more impressive from the outside than the inside. As was often the case, funding was not available to build the rest of the tower and broach spire, which would have soared to over 150 feet. Drawings showing its intended effect still hang in the church.

The discussions which had taken place in 1879 with the representatives of North Berwick Parish Church next resulted in three designs being prepared and presented at different dates in 1880. The first design, executed in February, involved a broach spire, the second, dated July, was for a cruciform church with a central saddleback tower at the west end (Plate 67). When the funds for a church with a tower were not forthcoming, Anderson must have wondered if he would ever manage to erect a tower to this design.

In the event, a cruciform church was soon in progress, seating approximately 450 at ground level and 300 in the gallery, which embraced three sides, including the transepts. The rather plain tracery and snecked rubble strongly recall the finish of Forfar Episcopal, and the design was kept "Ecclesiological" with the inclusion of a chancel. This was Anderson's first known success with a design for a Presbyterian church. The tower and porch were added by Henry & McLennan in 1907. (Plate 68)
In August, 1880, three designs were produced for St. John's Church, in the Canongate, Edinburgh. The most elegant of these proposals showed a beautiful Gothic church of five bays, with a clerestory of round windows, a short chancel, its west end in the Geometric style. The second submission involved a more or less rectangular Presbyterian preaching box in Gothic with U shaped gallery and a pulpit on the back wall, and was subsequently modified to include two squat Franco-Scottish tourelles on the frontage, for stairs. The roof in this final scheme culminated in a flèche shaped ventilator.

The Builder of April 3rd 1881 reported that the architect had defended the design by implying that funds were restricted. Elaborate detail was out of the question, and an attempt had been made to produce an aesthetic effect from "simple constructive necessities". Shortly after its completion, the journal described the church as "one of the most singular churches we have seen" and commented that apparently the "architects cannot produce much of an effect with restricted means". It felt the church was clumsy, unattractive, and lacking in proportion.

Today the church is used as a store by Moray House College of Education, and although the windows on the frontage have been given metal frames and the ventilator removed, the judgement still seems justified (Plate 69). While Anderson had to provide accommodation for 875 on a low budget, the result was nonetheless regrettable, especially when compared with what might have been.

Domestic Work 1880-81

Interesting developments were also taking place on the domestic
"Allermuir" was coming to completion, and Baberton Court at Juniper Green was in the office. The latter, a muscular Gothic villa relying on lofty effects, was laid out in the usual functional style, and possessed one of Anderson's trademarks - a reinforcing arch, in this case located above the window to the staircase. Also of note is the three tier canted bay window, and bare expanses of snecked rubble (Plate 70).

This house appears to have been the precursor of "Torduff", built in the neighbouring plot to "Allermuir" in the early eighties, and let by Anderson until the 1890's when it was sold. It too was named after a summit in the Pentlands. In common with Baberton Court, it was given a Gothic arch above the main door (at the side), and well shaped rooms throughout. It was also fronted with a three deck bay window, culminating in a balcony and railing.

At the same time, Anderson was busy in Morningside, Edinburgh, on the Braid Estate, where town and country met. Since late 1879, in conjunction with the builder James Slater, he had been designing the first houses at Nile Grove. This was the start of a series of speculative ventures with Slater which would span thirty years.

The Braid Estate belonged to Lady Cathcart, and the legalities associated with the development were handled by the solicitors Skene Edwards and Garson. W.F. Skene had retired a few years earlier, and was now involved full time on his historical works, but Anderson's association with the firm had continued, and he had been engaged both as feuing architect and designer.

Among the first properties to be built were what now comprise numbers 4 and 6 Nile Grove (Plate 71), semi detached houses of
sneaked rubble, and breathing the spirit, if not the actual detail, of "Allermuir". These were owned by Anderson, and let as an investment. Number 8 followed soon afterwards, a large and undistinguished villa with a balcony at attic level in the "Torduff" manner.

At about the same time the little sanatorium at Fettes College was in the course of construction. This turned out to be a delightful two storey building, L shaped, in a softer than usual Gothic style. A round stair turret nestles in the crook of the two axes, providing access from adjoining domestic offices. A corridor runs along both floors of the main axis. On the top storey the passage was given a pointed barrel roof, again featured in the largest room there. The main entrance is lit and accessed by an off centre window and door. Anderson's thoughtful and familiar touches can be found everywhere, from the careful exposure of heating pipes at key points, to the red cretings on the roofs, not to mention the encaustic tiles and bespoke window ironmongery. The building is well massed, and while an extension was intended, it is complete as it stands (Plate 72). Nearby is its sister building, the north lodge cottage. (Plate 73)

The Central Hotel, Glasgow

In the autumn of 1880, Anderson received information which must have given him mixed feelings. At a time when his practice was, to say the least, hard pressed, the Directors of the Caledonian Railway decided that the nearly complete Railway offices at the new Glasgow Central Station should, if possible, be converted to a luxury hotel.
The *Glasgow Herald* of October 5th, 1880, announcing the change of plan for the "handsome buildings", described how they had already been examined by professional men, who are of opinion that their conversion under revised plans may easily be accomplished.

The Caledonian Railway's Board Minutes record that, on 8th November,

Mr. Anderson, Architect, attended and explained, on plans of the Station Buildings, what he proposed to do in order to adapt them to a Hotel, stating, however, that it would be necessary, before finally deciding on the arrangements, that he should visit other great Hotels, and also have the advantage of advice from a competent Railway Hotel Manager. 21

Once again, function was put to the fore, and, as at the Medical School, a research programme was initiated.

Thereafter, extensive reconstruction began. This turned out to be a task of horrendous proportions. The grand staircase at the corner of Gordon Street and Hope Street had to be pulled down, as did the east staircase in Gordon Street. The great tower was no longer to be used for board rooms and offices, and instead was to contain a great staircase, gently climbing to all of the floors. At the bottom end of Hope Street, a two storey dining room, 76 feet by 30, had to be created. This involved cutting away a complete section of the second floor, and demolishing a hundred feet of walls 2 feet 6 inches thick, which separated small offices. 22

This left the conversion of the offices, which averaged 37 feet by 18 feet, into hotel rooms. The large office doors into the corridors had to be walled up and the offices were divided into two or three apartments, calling for many more partition walls. The hotel bedrooms were to average 18 feet by 11 in size, and were each to have a fireplace, receiving daylight from the large double
casement windows originally intended for the stricken offices. This gave the builders "no small difficulty", and on the back of the building, many new windows had to be pierced and original windows walled up. The bedrooms were each given three doors, one to the corridor, and one to each of the rooms on either side. At roof level, attics were added to increase the accommodation to 400 rooms, contained in seven floors.  

If the reconstruction of the Station Buildings produced frustration and difficulty, it must have pleased all concerned that the revised structure could be furnished and decorated with a sumptuousness befitting its new function. This involved wainscoting all the rooms in oak, walnut or mahogany, with classical columns in the corridors, and a glorious main staircase with a scrolled ironwork baluster (Plate 74). In the dining room and main hall, plaster cornicing and ceiling mouldings would in due course complement wood panelling a floor high.

The task eventually took until mid 1883 to complete, and in its own right would have made Anderson a rich man. The final cost of the Central Hotel came to £363,806-19-11, of which £229,918-0-7 went to Watt & Wilson, the main contractor, with £78,135-17-6 spent on fittings and furniture. The balance had been spent on the land.

A newspaper report of a speech from Watt & Wilson's topping out party, on 28th June, 1883, is very revealing. It confirmed that the job of conversion had been "dreich", and "troublesome", "a source of worry to everybody concerned – the directors, committee, architect and ourselves". Some appreciation of the immensity of the task can still be obtained in the eastern stairwell.
of the Gordon Street block. There, stumps of massive "T" beams and patches of brick work tell the story with unusual eloquence.

It should be remembered that the Hotel originally occupied only half of its present site in Hope Street, and terminated in a fine pavilion which completed its massing admirably. This was destroyed when the building was later extended down Hope Street by the Railway's architect, James Miller, making the elevation there very monotonous.

The original composition can be seen in one of the design drawings, which still hangs in a glass case in the Hotel foyer. Anderson exhibited it at Munich in 1891, and in Chicago in 1893. It was awarded medals in both centres.27

Free St. George's Tower

Late in 1880, Washington Browne's draughtsmanship was in evidence when Anderson submitted his design for the completion of Bryce's Free St. George's church in Shandwick Place.28 The church had been erected without its tower in 1869, in a lively Baroque style. Bryce's unbuilt designs for the tower had involved two superimposed clusters of Corinthian columns, a design which, by 1869, would have been a quaint anachronism.29

Browne prepared a pencil sketch of Anderson's design, and this was mounted on card. It shows his sketching style well, highly competent, with a fussy and very Puginian penchant for impressionistic flecks of pencil. The design caused controversy almost from the moment building began.

Anderson had chosen to complete the church in a Venetian style, with a tall campanile of square section, but substantially
different from his unbuilt design for the University. There he had modelled his tower quite closely on St. Mark's campanile in Venice, the main deviations being that he had carried four pilasters up each side instead of five, and had likewise settled for only four openings at the top. He had also incorporated clock panels in the University design. 30

At St. George's, the clock stage already existed just above roof level, at the base of the proposed campanile. From this point Anderson intended to thrust skywards a tall square tower of plain ashlar, clasped at each corner by angle buttresses. Above this a shallow cornice introduced a belfry stage, of less width than before, with three squared openings to each side. This was to be topped with a stone balustrade featuring an urn at each corner. Springing from this level, an octagonal lantern with a cross finial on its spirelet completed the campanile (Plate 75). Its design obviously derived from another church dedicated to Saint George, San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice.

On April 23rd, 1881, the Builder announced that

the tower ... is making satisfactory progress. 
So far as built, it consists of a mass of unpierced masonry, upon the ultimate effect of which it would be premature to hazard an opinion. 31

By January 7th the following year its correspondent enthused :-

Of all the recent additions to the ecclesiastical edifices in the city, the most important is that of Mr. Anderson's new tower for Free St. George's, not only from its intrinsic merit as a design, but from the prominent and important position it occupies. 32

On March 22nd, Professor Blackie of Edinburgh University had a
humorous but critical letter published in the *Scotsman*. The
tower was "in defiance of the rudimentary axioms of aesthetical
science", being "neither congruous with the building from which
it rises not with the parts of which itself is composed". 33

The next day, two letters were published, one agreeing with
Blackie, although regretting the church had not been in the
Gothic style. 34 Another wrote that "there is nothing in the
proportions or position of Free St. George's inconsistent with
the addition of its tower". 35

On March 24th, George Reid of the Royal Scottish
Academy came to Anderson's defence: -

Professor Blackie cannot be speaking
seriously when he advocates the propriety
of making the nose ugly, because the rest
of the face happens to be so. Let us have
at least one redeeming feature.

I am not concerned with Mr. Bryce's
intentions; let his part of the work speak
for itself, or let those who admire it do so.
If Mr. Anderson has succeeded in adding a
beautiful feature to it, he deserves our
thanks. 35

Blackie replied firmly: -

judged by the acknowledged principles of
aesthetical science, the church of Free
St. George's is weighed in the balance and
found wanting. 37

This good natured but serious dispute is hard to understand
in the light of the visual evidence. Anderson was too professional
an architect to produce a tower at marked variance with an existing
building, although his intention seems to have been to subtly tone
down its Baroque exuberance. If the controversy proved anything,
it was simply that Bryce's architecture had fallen from favour.
Many of the other correspondents, as well as a senior Academician,
had expressed strong disliking for the church, and none had anything
positive to say about it. 38
By 1881, Anderson clearly needed to share the executive strains of a huge practice, especially in the light of developments at Glasgow Central Station. Washington Browne was taken into partnership in that year at the age of twenty seven. At around the same time the office moved to another New Town address, 24 Hill Street.

With Anderson's blessing, Browne had already submitted a competition entry for the Glasgow Municipal Buildings Competition. The competitors were supplied with predetermined ground plans, prepared by John Carrick, the City Architect, making the competition in its earlier stages an exercise in facade design. Browne's sketches, while again displaying his fussy pencil flecks, also disclose a sophisticated classical building with a horizontal emphasis on a rusticated base. The building was to be flat roofed, with its pedimented windows spaced far apart, elegantly dividing broad expanses of ashlar in a cool Palladian manner. The composition was completed with a tall campanile topped with a lantern, rising from the Cochrane Street elevation. Broad guidance from Anderson cannot be ruled out, as the design was opposed in spirit to the rich detailing of Browne's later facades in the François Premier style. The entry was not, however, successful.

Several years were to elapse before Browne's personal touch would be perceptible in designs emanating from the partnership; even then, this would be restricted to fairly minor works. The fact was that most of the works completing or starting in the early 1880's had their origins in the middle or late 1870's, and had been placed with Anderson as he entered his prime.
While this involved Browne in virtual anonymity, it represented an unparalleled opportunity to a young architect ready for responsibility and in need of experience. Browne must have been a tremendous asset to the office, with his drafting skills and a commitment to functionally based design, assimilated in the London offices of leading Queen Anne practitioners.

The Conservative Club, Edinburgh

The erection of a new clubhouse for the Scottish Conservative Club, Edinburgh, began in 1882.

The Club had been founded in the late 1870's, and was inundated with applications for admission from its earliest days. By the early '80's, its membership had to be restricted to 2000, and there was still a substantial waiting list, not unrelated to the fact that its fees were modest. The Club was financially very successful, and in 1879 its officials had accepted Anderson's floor plans for a new and more appropriate building.

The Edinburgh correspondent of the Builder, commenting on the acquisition of the prime Princes Street site late in March, 1880, noted that "there is a considerable breadth of frontage, which will afford good scope for architectural display". The elevations were agreed in sufficient time for Anderson to exhibit drawings of them at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1881.

From 1882 until 1884, the building, based on a free interpretation of Early Italian Renaissance palazzi, gradually took shape. The style was a natural choice for two reasons: Barry had made it fashionable for club architecture over the previous three or
four decades. Moreover, Princes Street boasted major classical works by Adam and Playfair, as well as a palazzo in Venetian Renaissance, the Life Association building, in which Barry himself had collaborated with David Rhind.

Prior to the Club's opening on 1st February 1884, a newspaper reporter, attuned to the architect's thinking, noted that it shows in all its arrangements an adaptation of means to secure the ends for which such a building exists, which bespeaks the most thoughtful care, extending to the smallest details, on the part of the architect.44

On the ground floor Anderson provided a magnificent hall and staircase, accessed from an outer vestibule. To the left, an L shaped reading room afforded views of Princes Street through a canted bay window. This feature was continued through the next two floors. A corridor on the ground floor, lit by stained glass windows, led to the remaining apartments, a library, some parlours, a lavatory, and several billiards rooms. The building stretched back 140 feet, and had a frontage of 67 feet 4 inches.45

The great stair terminated on the first floor, and led to the dining room, which occupied the whole front of the building, including the next stage of the bay window. Immediately behind, a corridor led to a private dining room, secretary's and steward's rooms and lavatories.

A smaller stair provided access to the next floor, which contained the members' smoking room, occupying the whole front of the building, and commanding a fine view of Princes Street, through the last stage of the bay window. A lesser smoking room, card room, lavatories, members bedrooms and a waiters' room took up the rest of the floor.46
The storey above was given over to members' bedrooms, nineteen in all, divided into five sets, with a bathroom for each set. Alongside was a bedroom for the boots', footman's room, and brushing room, all connected to the members' bedrooms by electric bells, devices which Anderson also had installed at "Allermuir".

In conformity with existing rules of propriety, and no doubt in recognition of the life style of the membership, service quarters, kitchen offices and stores were pushed to the extremities of the building. Menservants' apartments, wine cellars, stores and boiler rooms were located in the basement. Tucked behind the dormer windows of the roof were rooms for female servants, and at the back, kitchens, pantries and larders. Above this, and beneath a flat roof to the rear were a laundry and drying space.

One of the journalists surveying the Club was unaware of any other building possessing kitchens at the top of the house, and felt this was a sensible way to prevent smells permeating the apartments from the basement. He was equally pleased with the ingenious system of discreet service stairs, food and wine lifts, and pneumatic tube apparatus for despatching orders to the kitchen.

The materials used for decoration were sumptuous, and the standard of workmanship "equal to the finest cabinet work". The walls were panelled in oak, walnut and sequoia wood, and many of the corridors paved in mosaic and lit through stained glass.

Entrance hall and grand staircase were particularly imposing. The hall was warmed by an oak and marble fireplace, and floored in mosaic. The stair, of Arbroath stone, was 8 feet 6 inches wide,
and treated "in the Italian manner", with a carved oak balustrade and hand rail. Two sides of the staircase were arcaded, affording fine perspective views, and it was lit by a large three light window, by Ballantine, in memory of Lord Beaconsfield, featuring Britannia and emblems of literature and politics. 51

The bays, general proportions and placing of the windows expressed something of the building's function on its exterior, which was quietly but imposingly decorated with a cornice and broad swagged frieze (Plate 76). Each window was given an architrave, the windows of the first floor had alternating segmental and triangular pediments, and the first, second and third floors were given balconies of varying sizes. The journalist noted that "the architect, as is his wont, has taken care to preserve plenty of wall space". 51 All floors, with the exception of the rusticated ground floor, were faced in ashlar, and the roof tiles, in Anderson's Colinton manner, were of a warm red colour.

The building eventually cost £32,000, the site and furnishing some £38,000. The main contract was given to Arthur Colville. 52

Anderson & Browne, 1882-3

During the period 1882/3 the large commissions already described continued to dominate the activities of the practice, with Anderson not surprisingly taking a leading role at the University, the Central Hotel, the Conservative Club and Mount Stuart. Browne would occasionally attend meetings connected with these projects when Anderson was otherwise engaged. The relationship appears to have been healthy, if one sided.

In November 1882, contract drawings for a large villa were signed.
This was for a Mr. Beatson of Colinton Road, Morningside. The house (now demolished) was of two floors, with a number of dormers piercing a piend roof. Asymmetrically placed windows indicated a functionally determined plan. Nurseries and servants' quarters were sited in an adjoining wing, almost forming an independent entity, and capped by its own piend roof. The dormers were decorated with alternating triangular and segmental pediments, one of which surmounted the main door. The composition was handsome, with a horizontal emphasis and a feeling of squatness which suggests Browne's hand.

Another job from this period was undoubtedly tackled by Anderson himself. In 1883, contract drawings for a new east window and gable for St. Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen, were completed. St. Machar's was a late Gothic structure, built between 1357 and 1546, and had been restored in 1867 by Matthews of Aberdeen. The minister, the Rev. George Jamieson, when approached by Dr. Duke in 1871 in connection with St. Vigeans, had expressed his displeasure at Matthews' efforts. It was therefore predictable that Anderson would be engaged for additional restorations at St. Machar's on the basis of his success at St. Vigeans and subsequent achievements.

The existing east window and gable had been erected after the collapse of the main steeple in 1688, and consisted of a small aperture with vertical mullions, surrounded by rough masonry. This was to be torn down, and a Geometric window, covering twice the area of its predecessor, installed inside a new gable. While Anderson's choice of tracery was appropriate to the first phase of the church's building, the relationship of width to height in the
new window, combined with the thickness of the tracery bars, made it less than satisfactory. Nevertheless, it undoubtedly represented a vast improvement on that which it had replaced (Plate 77). It was removed in a 20th century restoration and substituted with a window which harmonised better with the west end of the church.

Anderson and the Royal Scottish Academy

In 1881, Anderson had exhibited the University Medical School and Conservative Club designs at the Academy. The following year the Central Station Hotel designs were shown. Towards the end of January, 1883, he submitted drawings of the Normand Hall, Dysart and the Lady Flora Hastings Homes, Colinton.

On February 10th, 1883, a week prior to the opening of the annual exhibition, the members of the Academy met together to vote on a vacancy in their ranks caused by the death of Sir Daniel MacNee the painter. In keeping with the rules of their Charter, only those in full membership were entitled to vote. The new Academician would be chosen from Associates of the Academy, a status conferred on Anderson in 1876. Not surprisingly the ballot resulted in the replacement of one painter with another: W.D. McKay was raised to full membership on that occasion.

At some time later, presumably after the annual exhibition closed on April 12th, Anderson resigned his Associateship in protest at the poor representation of architecture in its ranks. At the point at which he resigned, there was only one living representative of the architectural profession in full membership, John Dick Peddie. Peddie had resigned as secretary in 1876, ostensibly on health grounds, but immediately preceding his election as M.P. for Kilmarnock Burghs.
Anderson was determined that the virtual rejection of architecture by an Academy pledged by Charter to its support should not go unchallenged. Subsequent events would, however, prove that his resignation was only the first step in his protest.

If the Academy had failed to recognise Anderson's outstanding achievements by 1883, the Royal Society of Edinburgh felt sufficiently strongly about them to elect him a fellow that same year.60

Wardrop, Anderson & Browne

The year 1883 also witnessed the death of Charles Reid of Wardrop and Reid. His partner, James Maitland Wardrop, had died the previous June, leaving Hew Montgomerie Wardrop, aged 27, in charge of a huge practice, with several major commissions outstanding.61

At this point it is necessary to provide a brief history of this particular firm. In 1849 James Maitland Wardrop had gone into partnership with Thomas Brown, introducing a style much influenced by Bryce. Brown retired in 1873, and Charles Reid, chief draughtsman, was assumed as partner, the business continuing in a strong Baronial vein.62

Brown had enjoyed good connections with the farming community, and Wardrop with the landed gentry, explaining two strands of the practice's work, which also included prison, courthouse, bank and church commissions.63 It was a mammoth practice, one of the biggest in the country, and had to its credit the remodelling of Callendar House, Falkirk (1869-1877) where its showier proclivities can still be seen. Other commissions included the addition of a wing to Culzean Castle (1875-1878) and alterations at Haddo House, where a good quality (if discernibly Victorian) refurbishment had been undertaken.64
Integration with the Anderson practice was typical of the closely knit Edinburgh architectural fraternity, but, as with the Bryce merger, involved two potentially conflicting ideologies.

After the removal of the office to the Wardrop and Reid address, (19 St. Andrew Square), in 1884, the partners' involvement in the various commissions seems quite clear. Wardrop handled the work emanating from his father's practice, while Anderson handled all other new work, with the exception of a few commissions dealt with by Browne. This seems to have reflected the sources of the commissions rather than any discrimination against Browne.

The completion of Beaufort Castle, Beauly, for Lord Lovat had been inherited by Wardrop from his father. Designs had been prepared as early as 1880, and work had begun when Wardrop, and then Reid, died. Although the drawings of the additions and alterations do not survive, pictures of the castle prior to its gutting by fire in the 1930's show a building extensively and showily "Baronialised" in the Wardrop and Reid manner. It did, however, incorporate a good chapel, with Geometric tracery and an open timber roof. Sir John Stirling Maxwell was later to note that its walls were so solidly built that they were almost undamaged by the fire. The job was not complete until the late 1880's, and this, together with designs for the reconstruction of the Hirsel, Coldstream, must have taken up much of Wardrop's time throughout 1883/4. The latter plans were never executed.

Keeping Anderson (and no doubt Browne) fully stretched at this time were the rebuilding of St. Mary's Parish Church, Hawick, which had previously been gutted by fire (Plate 78), the completion of the Normand Memorial Hall, Dysart, (Plate 79) and an addition to
the nave of the ancient Kirkliston Parish Church. 68

In 1884, Browne was involved in designs for Nile Grove in the Braid Estate. On the north side, two terraces were coming to completion, Nos. 9-23 and 29-39. The British Architect described them as "a Row of Middle Class Houses at Edinburgh ", remarking that they were intended to meet the wants of the lower middle class, professional and other people of moderate income who wish to get away from the flatted houses nearer the centre of the town. They consist of dining room, drawing room, three bedrooms, servants' bedroom, bathroom, kitchen offices, &c. The most careful attention has been given to the sanitary plumbing and drainage. 69

The houses sold from £750 to £1,100 each, and were moving quickly.

A comparison with Anderson's earlier houses, numbers 4 and 6 across the road shows that the pediment and swag motif of the dormers had been continued on Nos 9-23, but that Browne had opted for a shallower roof pitch and smoother masonry finish (Plate 80). Browne's facades are a little softer in feeling than Anderson's, and while his houses are distinguished they are not outstanding. The next row is plainer, with a steeper roof pitch to accommodate dormers (Plate 81), and overall symmetry has been achieved without sacrificing the external expression of layout in each house.

Browne's facades pay a faint homage to the Queen Anne style, notably in the free use of pediments, but the resemblance does not go much further. The houses are limited to two or three levels, use a restricted range of materials, and are restrained in appearance.

The development carried on the tradition of intimate scale and modesty begun by Anderson at "Allermuir" in 1879, where he introduced lower ceilings and more modest living spaces than was usual.
It also indicates a compatibility of design approach in the two men.

At around this time Browne also designed a house for Professor Ewart the Zoologist, at Bog Road in Penicuik. The house (now the Craigie House Hotel) was of two floors with an attic and was again asymmetrically and functionally planned, with dining and drawing rooms on the ground floor and bedrooms and a study in the upper floor and attic. This time the exterior was tackled with Queen Anne freedom, and while the front door and some windows are Gothic, a large bay window to the front is pushed out on timber corbels carved as snakes and crocodiles, and half timbered and pargetted. The house is built in snecked red rubble, and has a certain squatness typical of Browne.

**Ecclesiastical Commissions**

Meanwhile, in North Shields, after a number of false starts, St. Augustine’s Church was nearing completion. After Bishop Baring had effectively stopped the project in the late 1870’s, a site was donated by Captain Livesick, at the corner of Washington Terrace and Jackson Streets. The captain also gave £1000 to which the Duke of Northumberland added £500 and a £60 per annum endowment. The foundation stone had been laid by Earl Percy, M.P. on September 21st, 1881, after which the project faltered several times. On June 11th, 1884, however, the nave and aisles, to a different design than originally submitted, were opened for worship. Anderson’s clerk of works was David Lindsay, of Edinburgh, and the contractor was G.F. Shotton, of Tynemouth. (Plate 82)

The executed design was cruciform, the nave and aisles of
five bays, and the style Early English. The church was given a barrel roof with projecting tie beams, and the walls were lined with fine red brick. This material had featured increasingly in Anderson's churches. At Helensburgh, it appeared on the chancel walls, and at Stirling it had been introduced on the nave walls in subdued polychromatic form. At North Shields a fine red brick was used throughout the church, without polychromy, producing a velvety ambience. Anderson was clearly satisfied with the result, as it was to occur frequently in later work.

The general design of the church was loosely based on St. Andrew's, St. Andrews, a photograph of which survives at North Shields. The windows at the west end consist of two pairs of lights, each with a sexfoil above, and the ensemble is surmounted by a vesica. On the chancel wall, a large oculus sits on top of three lancets (Plate 83). The simplicity of the fenestration on the chancel wall recalls Arbroath Abbey or Pluscarden. The spire of 160 feet was never a serious proposition in the circumstances.

While one of Anderson's church commissions was drawing to a close in 1884, another was beginning, at Glencorse, near Penicuik. This commission would at last enable him to build a saddleback tower, but more importantly, it gave him the opportunity to design another Ecclesiological church for a Presbyterian congregation. Situated in quiet, wooded country, the church presents a short chancel and a sturdy saddleback tower to the road (Plate 84). The side aisles are buttressed on the exterior, and lit with triple lancets. Inside, the walls are clad in dark red brick, the communion table sits in the chancel, and a gallery runs along the back of the west wall. The composition is in the "Vigorous"
tradition, with a chimney honestly displayed on the northern edge of the saddleback roof in the manner of Butterfield. The Ecclesiological inclinations of the incumbent may be judged from the fact that he insisted on the church's chancel pointing east, which involved reversing the orientation originally intended by the architect.  

Another Anderson commission in progress in 1884 was the conversion of a section of the west end of Biel House, East Lothian into a private chapel for Miss Constance Nisbet Hamilton. Biel House was a building in monastic and battlemented Gothic, largely the responsibility of William Atkinson. The alterations involved a new roof of open timber, collar braced, and the creation of a raised chancel and seating. A wheel window was pierced through the west wall, and the windows to the South converted to Perpendicular tracery. In late November Miss Hamilton invited Anderson to call and visit the chapel in its completed state and to enjoy a few days of relaxation. Pressure of work would not allow the latter, but he arranged an overnight stay to see the chapel "by gas and daylight". Miss Hamilton was evidently satisfied with the work, and commissioned a porch with an ogee arch for the chapel in 1886, and some structural alterations in the main house in 1887. This included the provision of a sacristy for the chapel. In addition, a half timbered estate cottage was commissioned in 1886.

The year 1884 had also witnessed Edinburgh University's tercentenary celebrations. That year the University took the opportunity to recognise Anderson's work at the Medical School, conferring on him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws.
Govan Old Parish Church

Anderson's church work to date had been impressive, but would pale into insignificance compared with the design coming to fruition at Govan. This church would arguably be his best, with the possible exception of the Catholic Apostolic Church in its final state. It was also to prove immensely influential.

In 1875, the Rev. John Macleod was brought to Govan by the congregation there. A son of the manse from Fuinary in Morven, Macleod had captivated his previous congregation at Duns with the conviction of his preaching and his commanding presence.78

On his arrival at Govan, Macleod almost immediately began a programme of church extension, at which he worked unceasingly until his death. This would eventually result in the remarkable total of thirty three quoad sacra or daughter churches.79

Partly as a result of his coming, the old church became hopelessly inadequate for the numbers flocking in. This enabled him to initiate one of his great projects, the creation of a church in Govan where industrial ugliness could be transcended and worship heightened through the introduction of liturgy, and where daily services could be held.80 These ideas were novel in the Established Church at this point in time.

Rowand Anderson had been consulted in 1876, initially in connection with the extension of the existing church.81 Further meetings took place in 1879, and by 1882 the idea of a new church had crystallised, and extra ground was being acquired.82 In July that year Anderson twice met Macleod in London, firstly to go over designs, and secondly to discuss how galleries could be incorporated. This latter question was crucial for Macleod, who
"wanted to 'grip' his people, and see every face in the congregation", but at the same time did not wish galleries to mar the associational effects of an archeologically accurate Gothic building. Probably at Anderson's instigation, they visited St. Peter's Church, Eaton Square, a classical Commissioner's church built earlier in the century to the designs of Henry Hakewill. The placing of the galleries in this church provided the solution to the problem at Govan, and Anderson took measured sketches to work into the design.

Macleod had visited Italy, and had noted that the great Franciscan basilicas were laid out so that the arcades did not interfere with the view of the preacher, and as a result of this the arcades at Govan were intended for access only. By October 1882, the design was completed. In December 1883, the drawings for the roof were sent to Macleod, together with an alternative scheme for a tower. In January of 1884 Anderson was in Glasgow arranging for the Building Committee to place contracts.

The last service in the old church was held on 18th March 1884, after which it was moved stone by stone to Golspie Street and re-dedicated as Elderpark Parish Church. The new church took shape between this time and 1888, during which period several minor alterations were made to the original designs.

The end result conformed to a pattern established by Anderson in his earlier churches. In common with so many of these, it comprised a lofty nave in Early Gothic style, heavily buttressed, with shallow side aisles, leading to a chancel, originally short through lack of funds, but extended in 1908. On its north side, the foundation for a heavily buttressed tower with four pinnacles
at the belfry stage, and an octagonal spire, was laid. This was never built. The Church has remained unaltered, although the grounds have deteriorated seriously in recent years (Plate 85).

The building's plan shows a wide nave and deep chancel, which like the Catholic Apostolic Church has two openings pierced in the chancel arch, Gerona style. At the north east corner is the Steven Chapel, built for the daily services instituted by Macleod and still carried out. Next to this is a transept, over which part of the galleried accommodation is located. A porch at the west end leads to a gallery above, and at the south east corner a Baptistry completes the arrangements (Plate 86).

The interior is dark and mysterious. The walls are lined in Anderson's favourite red brick, which produces a soft and contemplative atmosphere. The arcades, mouldings and dressings, in cream stone, stand out against the brick. The chancel, and the views towards it, are the great glory of the building. On the east wall, a giant oculus sits on top of three lancets, producing a spare but beautiful effect, modelled on Pluscarden Priory.

The roof is highly unusual. It is a trefoil barrel, the centre portion of which is plastered and ribbed, while the two side portions are planked over. Massive tie beams punctuate its length. The timber of roof, galleries and furniture is dark toned, and the nave is lit by stained glass, mainly by Kempe, who was persuaded this once to design for a non Anglican congregation.

The interior had been given much thought. The red brick lining of the walls was seriously debated by the building committee, who were eventually persuaded by Anderson that the material was both cost effective and aesthetically acceptable. The organ case,
pulpit, communion tables, desk and choir stalls were all
designed by Anderson and executed by Whytock and Reid. The
gas fittings were supplied by Starkie Cardiner of London to
Anderson's designs. The timber roof might well have been
inspired by Goldie's Our Lady of Victory R.C. Church in Kensington,
or by Oldrid Scott's 1881 church at Upton, Slough.

If Anderson won the argument about the purply red brick of
the walls, he was less successful in arguing the case for his
alternative tower design. This provided yet another manifestation
of his persistence of vision, and involved a Brechin style tower,
(Plate 88) which would have worked out cheaper than the favoured
square design.

The cost of the church eventually rose to about £27,000, a
tribute to Macleod's fund raising efforts. The great
shipbuilding families gave generously. Sir William and Lady Pearce
donated over £7,000. The Misses Steven of Bellahouston provided
the funds for the Steven chapel, as well as substantial funds for
the rest of the project. Mrs. John Elder gave £2000.

The partnership of Macleod and Anderson worked very well.
Both men had a serious, intense disposition which had brought
them to eminence in their chosen vocations, manifested in recently
conferred Honorary Doctorates. Contemporary photographs show strong
facial resemblances, down to the heavy walrus moustache favoured
by each.

If Macleod invented Scoto-Catholicism at Govan, Anderson housed
it in a building which would set standards for Scottish
Ecclesiology for years to come.
The year 1885 saw Hew Wardrop with two important commissions in hand, major additions to the Place of Tilliefoure, near Ballater in Aberdeenshire, for F. Gregson, and the remodelling of Ballochmyle House near Mauchline for Claude Alexander. Both of these commissions were handled entirely by Wardrop.

Tilliefoure involved extensions to a turreted, crowstepped and harled seventeenth century house, which already had a horizontal emphasis. The extensions would increase the horizontality of the group. Robert Lorimer, who had been articulated to Wardrop at the time of the merger, would be closely involved in the project.

In April, 1885, Browne visited Mount Stuart "to take instructions", but at some point later in the year, decided to set up on his own. The exact reasons for this development are not known. He had Anderson's confidence, but must have been concerned at his inability to generate business on any scale, and at the size of the design decisions he was making. His position in the firm had weakened further after Wardrop's arrival.

Late in 1885, Wardrop began to work on Ballochmyle. Claude Alexander, formerly an eminent soldier, had been MP for South Ayrshire until 1885, and was shortly to be knighted. The original house dated from 1760, and was by John Adam, appearing in Vitruvius Scoticus. It was a symmetrical classical house with two wings linked to the main block by quadrantal arms. On two occasions, the house had been extended on its north east side, destroying its symmetry but maintaining its classical identity.

On this occasion, and no doubt connected with the changing
circumstances of its owner, the demand for increased accommodation required more drastic treatment. The site area of the house was to be more than doubled, the new accommodation being built onto the back of the existing house in such a fashion that it formed the main frontage. The design drawings were completed in February 1886, and by April that year, Wardrop was writing to Lady Alexander about estimates.

The increased accommodation involved new public rooms, hall, staircase and entrance on the ground floor, with some extensions to the kitchen offices. At ground level, the two Adam wings were to be removed.

On the upper floors, bedrooms and nurseries were to be added, and at attic level, bedrooms provided for servants. This involved a dramatic increase in roof pitch to accommodate the dormers.

On the new frontage, the hall and staircase were set off centre to back on to the original Adam hall. To the left of the main door, three windows of a large dining room were expressed, and at the extreme ends, two large canted bay windows illuminated a Drawing Room and Kitchen. At roof level, the composition was completed with two ogival cupolas. These and the bay windows created a stylistic transition from English Jacobean into eighteenth century classical, and gave the group a stylistic unity (Plate 89).

Significant developments were also taking place at Mount Stuart. On June 3rd, 1885, Lord Bute wrote to G.E. Sneyd, his secretary and friend that

the house is just like a carpenter's shop. Perhaps the men may be out in a month or six weeks. Anderson has been very careless and the work's very ill done. There will have to be a perfect revolution when once I'm clear of him.
There is no longer any evidence of what had caused this ill feeling. It seems reasonable to assume that the supervision from Edinburgh was not as frequent or as careful as it should have been, and that poor workmanship had got past the Clerk of Works.

The matter is very puzzling, as Anderson normally demanded the highest standards of contractors. Furthermore, Anderson and Bute had collaborated closely for twelve years. In October the previous year Anderson had been in Greece with Bute, inspecting the ruins of Athens. While there he had "made a very bad effect ... by refusing to pay the whole cost of sending his plans". It is perhaps to this that the souring of their presumably close personal relations can be traced.

The rift did not last long. During the erection of Galston R.C. Church, paid for by Bute, was in progress. This project had been under discussion for some considerable time. It had begun early in 1882 when Bute wrote to his wife from Italy, enclosing a sketch and asking her to select an architect to build a Byzantine chapel for the Roman Catholics of Troon. Pullan, who together with Texier had published some research into Byzantine church design in the early 1860s, was mentioned as a possibility despite Bute's observation that he "seems rather a brute", a misgiving that also led him to suggest someone "or anyone else". Taking his further advice that "Englishmen are a-sea with Scotch tradesmen", Lady Bute selected Anderson.

In the event, the church was not built at Troon, but at Galston. Bute's sketch plan had been for a domed and cruciform church inscribed in a square, and it was built almost exactly to his
requirements, with one exception. Bute mentions in a letter of June 1882 that "The Spire (?) is very pretty and much better adapted to our climate". It would seem that Anderson had raised a functional objection to the central dome, which was now to be contained in a conical spirelet.

By September of 1884, the capacity of the church had been expanded to 400, and its cost estimated at a surprising £5000. When asked by Lady Bute to explain this, Anderson advised that it involved more complicated construction than usual, but reassured her that it would be very fine when built.

Site and ground plans were forwarded to Mount Stuart in April, 1885. Building began almost immediately, the church completed in 1886 and the presbytery in 1887. As requested by Bute, the church was built of brick "as these buildings depend for effect upon the decoration", and slated in red tiles. (Plate 90) The decoration was never carried out, resulting in a white plaster walled interior.

The National Portrait Gallery and Museum of Antiquities

The building of the National Portrait Gallery began in 1885, but the project had been alive since 1882, the year that John Ritchie Findlay became a member of the Board of Manufactures. Findlay was the senior partner in the firm which owned the Scotsman newspaper, and was then 58 years old. He was a shy man with a warm personality, liberal both in his thinking and in his charitable activities. His liberality with his personal riches assumed a new order of magnitude in 1882 when he anonymously offered to endow to the nation, through the Board of Manufactures,
£10,000 towards a National Portrait Gallery, provided an equal amount could be found from public resources. His endowment was matched, and the project began.¹⁰⁹

At the same time the Society of Antiquaries, meeting in the Royal Institution at the Mound, was having accommodation problems with its publicly owned antiquarian collection, a fact well known to Findlay, a member since 1873, and now its secretary.¹¹⁰

The Treasury had been approached about a new home for the Antiquaries' collection, but merely suggested a reshuffle of the activities taking place in the Royal Institution, with the Government Art School, under the Board of Manufactures, spilling over into the Museum of Science and Art in Chambers Street. This was felt to be unacceptable.¹¹¹

Findlay anonymously solved the problem with a further endowment of £20,000, intended to provide a home for the Portrait Gallery and the Antiquaries collection in the same building.¹¹²

Anderson, architect to the Board, had previously been involved in minor additions and alterations at the Mound.¹¹³ By late 1884, a rectangle of ground occupying 260 feet of the frontage of Queen Street, and with a depth of 70 feet, had been purchased for £7,500 and Anderson's plans had been prepared, submitted and approved.¹¹⁴ It was felt from the first that the site, basically north facing, would be ideal for a gallery, in that it would admit plenty of light and keep the building separate and thus less at risk from fire. The donor had in fact stipulated that the building should be isolated, probably for reasons of identity, as much as from fire considerations.¹¹⁵

Anderson's designs, and the contract drawings which followed them in June 1885, were absolutely typical of his architectural philosophy. Galleries and Museums, in accordance with late Victorian
convention, called for broad areas of exhibition space, a plentiful supply of light, and generous access facilities. All of this could be accomplished in a long rectangular building of three floors, with a central main entrance. This was made logical and possible as a result of the decision to dedicate the east side of the building to the antiquarian collection, and the west side to the Portrait Gallery, the division between the two occurring at the eastern wall of the central block.116

Light was to be provided at ground floor level by eight large Gothic windows, four on either side of the main entrance, and, on the floor above, by a continuous band of paired Gothic windows, each divided into two openings by Geometric tracery. On the upper storey a large hall corresponded with the central court of the entrance hall, which rose through the ground floor and the next storey. The galleries on either side of the top storey were to be lit from above, their external walls unpierced.

The main entrance opened into a vestibule, 25 feet by 13, leading to the central court, 44 feet square. Both central court stories were to be arcaded, serving as ambulatories.

The solution was very straightforward, and it was predictable that Anderson would in his usual manner emphasise the functional rationale of the building in his releases to the press. On this occasion, stylistic considerations were also involved. The Builder of 3rd January, 1885 explained that

the design is carried out in the thirteenth century Gothic style which the architect has adopted by considerations of utility as well as beauty, the style being one which readily adapts itself to the providing of sufficient window openings for such of the galleries as require to be lighted from the sides.117
The choice of style might also have been influenced by the Board's intention that the frontage of the building should provide a setting for statues of eminent Scotsman, fulfilling the function of an external gallery. The concept, inextricably linked with the idea of the Gallery itself, carried strong late Romantic overtones of nationalism and heroism.

The designs thus produced bore the unmistakeable Anderson stamp - wide unpunctuated stretches of masonry, articulated by crisply delineated Gothic detail, and inside, simple and clear planning. The exterior of the Portrait Gallery was Cordes and Figeac writ large. Its frequently noted resemblance to Mount Stuart can be explained by the fact that both buildings derived stylistically from these same sources.

Anderson's contract drawing of 1685 showed the Queen Street frontage of the building terminating in two Franco-Scottish tourelles. These would have underscored the design's predominantly French inspiration and repeated the tourelle theme. at St. John's Church, Canongate. The small plate traceried windows on either side of the main entrance had already appeared in several commissions, including the parsonage house at St. Michael's Episcopal in Brougham Street, while the elaborate pointed doorway with flanking pinnacles represented a scaled up and more ornate version of the main doorway of Forfar Episcopal Church. Also appearing on the frontage of the Gallery were the ubiquitous reinforcing arches of "Allermuir", Baberton Court and many other buildings. The most notable reincarnation was the triple arcading and ambulatory behind the main door, present in grander form at Mount Stuart.
When construction began in 1885, the finances were not sufficient for the building's east and west terminations to be undertaken, although in 1887 Findlay would anonymously provide the additional money to carry them out. In the same year he would anonymously disapprove of the tourelles, partly because they excluded some light, and partly because he was dissatisfied with their appearance. Niched octagonal turrets, springing at first-floor level from angle buttresses and culminating in crocketted pinnacles, were eventually substituted.

An alternative plan to leave the side wings undecorated was also considered. This was completed with a folding flap arrangement enabling the design to be visualized with or without pinnacles. In 1888, a parapet to skirt the wall heads was approved.

Anderson's selection of materials brought no surprises. Red Corsehill sandstone from Dumfries, the material used for Mount Stuart, was chosen, but in due course would prove too brittle for the ornate carving to survive the Edinburgh atmosphere and climate. Also present in the entrance hall was a quantity of smooth red brick, which complemented the red sandstone of the arcades.

The building committee set up to monitor the progress of the Gallery included Sir William Fettes Douglas, President of the Royal Scottish Academy, a man whose intellectual inflexibility was exceeded only by his lack of discretion. It was during Douglas' Presidency that Anderson had resigned from the Academy. Perhaps not surprisingly, therefore, the minutes of meetings between Committee and architect, while brief, convey a frosty atmosphere. One minute records that the Committee disapproved of the "unnecessary ornate character of the wrought iron standards". Delicacy seems not to have prevailed.
The same committee would eventually supervise the completion of the elaborate scheme of statuary and the scheme of historical mural decoration, the latter executed by William Hole. 125

The Gallery would be opened on 15th July 1889, while the decoration was not complete until many years later. 126

When designing the Gallery in 1884, Anderson may well have been conscious that, as the natural heir to Playfair and Bryce, he was in a position to make a major architectural statement for posterity. If this had any place in his thinking, its outward expression is perhaps the boldness of the red Gothic facades in the bland expanses of the New Town (Plate 91).

**Anderson in 1886**

While Wardrop was busy with Ballochmyle, Tilliefoure and the interior of Udny Castle (a Baronial house built by his father near Pitmedden, Aberdeenshire), Anderson was also working on a number of important commissions.

These included the erection of a dome to complete Robert Adam's Old College at Edinburgh University. Adam's plan had been for a graceful tapering dome, rising to about twice its width. 127 It was to have been built of timber and lead. Anderson, in contrast, decided on a larger structure incorporating more masonry, in order to provide accommodation for the Professor of Fine Arts, and to house the bust of Robert Cox, a Writer to the Signet who had left money in his will for the dome's completion. 128

The lower stages were erected by the Spring of 1887, and it soon became clear that Anderson was neither adhering closely to Adam's plan nor to classical precedent. 129 A rounded stair turret,
particularly prominent when viewed from inside Adam's Old College quadrangle, had been grafted on to the Dome's exterior (Plate 92). This asymmetrical excrescence expressed the stair's function in an almost Baronial manner, and had antecedents at the Medical School.

When the structure was in due course completed, its lantern was topped with a sculpture of a youth bearing the torch of knowledge, executed by John Hutchison R.S.A. 130

In Parliament Square, the memorial to the Duke of Buccleuch was also in the process of construction. The Builder of October 10th, 1885, described it in detail:

The monument, which is Tudor-Gothic in style, after the manner of Henry VIIth's chapel, is hexagonal in form, and divided into four stages. The first stage, a base, is richly moulded, and has buttresses at the angles, above which are bucks bearing heraldic shields. The next stage contains a series of six oblong bas-reliefs in bronze, having moulded frames on three sides, and projecting canopied work on the upper side. ... At the angles of the next stage, are short, twisted columns supporting statuettes under canopies ... The upper stage is elaborately decorated with foliated enrichments, and a small representation of a hunting scene.131

A statue of the Duke surmounts the monument, which at twenty feet high, forms a notable landmark outside St. Giles' Cathedral. (Plate 93)

In 1886, Inveraray Episcopal Church was nearing completion. A site had been granted by the Duke of Argyll, Anderson's former employer at Iona, and the architect had provided designs for a church to seat 200 people, in early Decorated Gothic. It was given stout walls, deep window reveals, and its east end was veneered with local porphyry and black stone. 132

Also at an advanced stage in 1886 was the Ardgowan Estate Office in Greenock, for Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, Lord Lieutenant of Renfrewshire. An old Baronial mansion, the former home of
Shaw-Stewart's ancestors, had previously served as the estate office, but was in decay and in the path of a new stretch of the Caledonian Railway. Anderson's design was in a classical style of c.1700, but asymmetrically massed and with vestigial Jacobean touches (Plate 94). To the right of the main door was Sir Michael's room, panelled in oak. Adjoining and connecting with this room was the factor's office, and behind this again, accommodation for the surveyor and his clerks. To the left of the entrance was a cashier's office and waiting room. The cashier's safe was sixteen feet square and of fireproof construction. The upper floors were occupied by the legal department and its clerks, and at the back, a coach house and stables were provided. 133

The elegant proportions, ashlar and off centred balustraded roof turret make this one of Anderson's most successful buildings. In addition to these commissions, work was also beginning on a large house for Bruce the papermaker, of Currie. The contract drawings reveal a building which was, in effect, an expanded "Allermuir" (Plate 95). On the ground floor of the house the main entrance opens into a large hall, with a bay windowed dining room to the left and a drawing room and parlour to the right. Kitchen offices were located at the rear and bedrooms were accessed from a straight corridor along the top floor. 134

On the exterior, crowsteps, gable chimneys and red snecked rubble combine to produce a handsome Scots Jacobean building. Details were altered in the course of construction, and several extensions, including an observatory, were added later (Plate 96).

While engaged on these commissions, Anderson had been involved in other matters. Towards the autumn of 1885, an information leak
from the War Office revealed that it intended to undertake some building on the esplanade of Edinburgh Castle. Lord Balfour of Burleigh objected, arguing that such additions or alterations ought to be discussed publicly in view of the Castle's historical and architectural importance. Articles in the Edinburgh Press indicated that Balfour had "rightly interpreted the mind of the citizens of Edinburgh and of Scotsmen generally". Although it was disclosed that a mere £1,200 had been earmarked for the alterations, the press were adamant that "gimcrack imitations of the old Scottish baronial style" were out.

This led to private representations being made by none other than Miss Constance Nisbet Hamilton of Biel. As a result, a newspaper article appeared, intimating that Anderson was to be consulted about the alterations. On August 17th, he despatched a thank you note to Biel with the hope that "some good may come out of it and that Edinburgh Castle may at last get justice done to it". In spite of the outcry, a drawbridge and gatehouse, to the designs of R. Lawson Scott of the Royal Engineers, were erected in 1887-8. This coincided with Hippolyte Blanc's restoration of the Portcullis Gate, for which funds had been provided by Nelson the publisher.

During 1886, the Marquess of Lothian was contemplating the restoration of Holyrood Abbey Church, to commemorate Queen Victoria's Jubilee. A confidant, Andrew Ross, was asked to present him with an objective summary of the general arguments for and against restoration, in view of the possibility of objections from the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. It would appear that Lothian was unimpressed by the Society's position, and
shortly afterwards Anderson was invited to report on the feasibility and cost of the Abbey's restoration.

In his report he indicated that the walls of the ruin were strong, that decay was only superficial, and that there was a large body of evidence on which to base a faithful restoration. An estimate of £25000/£30,000, covering the restoration of the nave only, was provided as a guide.  

Anderson also observed that the foundations of the choir and transepts still existed and that if funds could be collected for their restoration, Holyrood could become "the Westminster Abbey of Scotland". His report next took a remarkable and revealing turn, giving an insight into his widening vision:

The greatest drawback we have to progress in the Arts in Scotland is the absence of buildings capable of absorbing all the best art works that can be procured in stone, metal, wood, glass &c &c. At the present time for such works we have to go to England or abroad. If we had the shell of such a building as Holyrood Abbey it would be a school for art workmen for many years to come and on this ground a strong appeal could be made to the working classes of Scotland, because it would raise the standard of workmanship, and the money they give now would all come back to them twofold in employment.  

Anderson acknowledged that such a scheme might require £70,000, but that it could be spread over three years. He suggested that subscriptions could be collected nationwide and that he would "go as low as shillings and sixpences from working people and pennies from children". The restoration of the Abbey Church was never carried out, but this would not dampen Anderson's enthusiasm for improving the training of "artworkmen".

This was to find its full expression in later years, and is covered in Chapter Six.
Partnerships in Retrospect

The year 1887 ended tragically with the untimely death of Hew Wardrop at Udny Castle on November 4th.

That same year Washington Browne won the competition for the design of Edinburgh Central Library on George IV Bridge. His design was in the François Premier style, visually very "busy" while well enough planned considering the difficulty of the split level site. This building and its successors in the same vein point to a flamboyant tendency in his architecture denied an outlet in the Anderson office. This inclination seems to be confirmed by his rather fussy sketching style, and perhaps indicates that further experience in his former partner's office would have been restricting.

Anderson's relationship with, and influence on, Wardrop is even more difficult to pinpoint. When the partnership was initiated in 1883, Anderson was at the top of his profession, making it difficult to see what he had to gain from a liaison with a second partner little more than half his age. The partnership may well have been planned on a long term basis, with Anderson moving his office to the old Wardrop and Reid address.

What is certainly true is that the commissions in which Wardrop was involved, Ballochmyle and Tilliefoure, show little sign of the familiar Wardrop and Reid treatment. It could be argued, though, that with these commissions, Wardrop was constrained by the buildings already there when he started.

Certain of the office drawings from the time of the partnerships perhaps shed some light on the problem. From the 1885-6 period, contract drawings for a new farmhouse at Crichton still survive,
as do design drawings for substantial (unexecuted) alterations at Pitmedden House, Aberdeenshire.¹⁴⁴

Both commissions appear to have emanated from the old Wardrop and Reid practice. (One was for a farm, and the other was located just a few miles from Udny Castle.) If Wardrop was responsible for these designs, they are virtually indistinguishable in style from the rest of the office output. Crichton Mains farm is a scaled down version of the Beatson house at Colinton Road, and Pitmedden, as altered, would have been in the same vein as Bruce's house at Currie, evidence suggesting that Anderson had inculcated his essentially functional and restrained style in his younger partner. What Wardrop might have done had he lived longer is beyond speculation.

Wardrop seems to have been a personable and capable man, admired by Lorimer for his insistence on good proportion, and loved sufficiently by him to warrant naming his son after him.¹⁴⁵ Anderson's retention of Wardrop's name in the partnership title suggests a fatherly affection and great sadness at his passing.
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71 Newcastle Journal 19 June 1884.
72 Anderson's preference for red materials, used in a subdued fashion, points directly to Scott's ideas on constructional polychromy and decoration. See Remarks pp.105, 198-9.
73 Murray and Nora Lunan Brief History of the Church in Glencorse (Glencorse: Kirk Session, 1985) pp.7-8.
75 NMRS Photographs of Biel Drawings ELO/191, 102 & 104.
76 SRO Letter Anderson to Miss Constance Hamilton GD 205/17/47.
77 NMRS Photograph of Biel Drawing ELO/191, 103.


79 Ibid, p.50.


82 Ibid.


84 Account, 21 November 1889.

85 Ibid.


87 Account, 21 November 1889.

88 Macfarlane Outline History, p.50.


90 Thomson Guide, p.11.


93 RA Scrapbook, p.87.

94 ECC, p.40, No.48.

95 Savage Lorimer, p.169.

96 MSM Letter Anderson to Bute, 6 April 1885.

97 Oliver and Boyd's Edinburgh Almanac, 1898.

98 ECC, p.40, No.229.

99 NMRS Copy letter.

100 Dumfries House, letter from Bute to G.E. Sneyd, 3 June 1885.

101 MSM Letter Bute to Lady Bute, 1 October 1884.
103 Ibid.
104 MSM Letter Bute to Lady Bute, 18 June 1882.
105 MSM Letter Lady Bute to Bute, 25 September 1884.
106 MSM Ground plans at Mount Stuart.
107 ECC, p.41 Item 260.
109 RA Scrapbook, p.81.
110 Ibid.
111 Ibid.
112 Ibid.
113 ECC, p.39, No.141.
114 Builder, 3 January 1885, p.49.
115 SRO Building Committee Minutes, 18 November 1887. NGI/55/2.
116 ECC, p.40, No.132.
117 Builder, 3 January 1885, p.49.
118 Ibid.
119 Anderson Examples, Plates 15, 18, 23.
121 ECC, p.40, No.132.
122 Smailes Portrait Gallery, p.28.
123 Gordon The Royal Scottish Academy, p.154.
124 SRO Building Committee Minutes, 13 May 1885, NGI/55/2.
125 Smailes Portrait Gallery, p.45-62.
126 Ibid.
127 NMRS Adam's elevations. EDD/220/47.
129 Ibid., 30 April 1887, p.632.
130 Ibid.
131 Ibid., 10 October 1885, p.492.
132 RA Scrapbook, p.106.
133 Ibid., p.87.
134 ECC, p.40, No.167.
135 RA Scrapbook, p.70.
136 Ibid.
137 Ibid.
138 SRO Letter Anderson/C.N. Hamilton, GD 205/17/47.
139 SRO Report from Ross, GD 40/9/494/1.
140 SRO Anderson's Report, GD 40/9/494/3.
141 ibid.
142 ibid.
144 ECC, p.40, Nos. 181 and 126.
145 Savage Lorimer, p.4.
CHAPTER SIX

PREMIER PRACTITIONER AND CHAMPION OF SCOTTISH ARCHITECTURE, 1887-1900
The Imperial Institute Competition

Several months before Wardrop's death, Anderson's position as Scotland's premier architect had been underlined through his involvement in the competition for the Imperial Institute.

1887 was the year of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee. Tennyson, as Poet Laureate, had suggested in some celebratory lines that the nation should

Raise a stately memorial
Some Imperial Institute
Rich in symbol and ornament
Which may speak to the centuries. 1

The injunction had fallen on receptive ears, and a rectangular site in "Albertopolis", midway between the Albert Hall and Waterhouse's new Natural History Museum to the south, was chosen.

The other architects invited to compete were T.N. Deane, Aston Webb, T.E. Collcutt, T.G. Jackson and A.W. Blomfield. The panel of judges included Alfred Waterhouse. 2

The location of the proposed building dictated its symmetrical treatment. It would stand parallel to Waterhouse's Natural History Museum, and a line drawn southwards from the Albert Hall would bisect the site.

The choice of style raised several possibilities. Nearby, both the Albert Hall and the original quadrangle of the Victoria and Albert Museum were in classical styles. There was still a body of opinion that this was the most appropriate style for civic architecture, a view strongly advocated in James Fergusson's writings. In this instance, too, associational arguments were particularly valid.
It would have been obvious to let the architecture of another
great empire evoke the glory of Victoria's realm.

However, the proximity of Waterhouse's building and
Norman Shaw's Albert Hall Mansions both raised the possibility of a
bolder, more eclectic and more fashionable treatment.

In the event Anderson opted for a version of the classical
style which he stated was from "the middle of the last century", but which in fact bore all the hallmarks of "Renaissance", a
style possessing the added advantage of specifically British and
Metropolitan connotations.3

His floor plan was very straightforward. It adhered closely
to the boundaries of the rectangular site and comprised a central
exhibition court in the heart of the building, running north and
south. The great exhibition court was flanked on the west and
east sides by two large museum spaces, again running north and south
and divided up by colonnades. A corridor ran along the entire
south facade, connecting with the front entrance hall there, and
turned at right angles along the west and east facades. Off this
corridor were reading rooms, libraries, laboratories, restaurants,
emigration offices, with committee and conference rooms on two
floors. A lecture theatre was also to be provided on the ground
floor. The basement was to house stores, workshops and cellars.

Anderson's elevations show a long, low facade in red brick
with cream stone balustrades, pilasters and dressings, rising from
a rusticated base. An attic storey rose from the centre of the
facade, pierced with circular windows and adorned with a sculpture
filled pediment which culminated in a statue of Britannia. The
horizontality of the building was counterbalanced by a slim tempietto
crowned with a lantern, rising from the roof of the attic storey. The whole ensemble was detailed in the manner of Wren's Hampton Court Palace, but with great respect for the integrity of the wall plane.

The building's pitched roof was to be lead covered, with external surface ribs. A series of widely spaced pedimented dormers punctuated its length. Four slender ventilation shafts rose from the roofs to the east and west to complement the central tempietto and lantern.\(^4\)

The office, hard pressed as ever, had struggled to produce the drawings on time, in spite of extra drafting labour being hired.\(^5\) A perspective was hurriedly produced by W.F. Bidlake, assisting in the office at that point (Plate 97).

A.H. Mackmurdo, on a trip north, had been shown the designs by an enthusiastic Hew Wardrop, and wrote a letter of fulsome praise to Anderson on 15th May 1887.

> I have never seen so pure and vigorous a piece of architecture as that you have given the world the chance of realising. Its monumental character, strong silence, homogeneity and purity are sublime. The mosaic you will enhance it with by the arts of painting and sculpture will make it appeal to and satisfy every fine sentiment and mood in man.\(^6\)

Mackmurdo was particularly well placed to comment on the "Vigorous" character of the design, having himself come from the office of one of the most notable exponents of that style, James Brooks. His enthusiasm for his fellow Scot's competition entry was also fired by his love of Wren, testified to by his Wren's City Churches, published in 1884.\(^7\)

The assessors were not so favourably impressed. On 15th June 1887 Alfred Waterhouse wrote to Anderson that, while his design
had been "greatly admired, especially by H.R.H.", Collcutt's design had been selected.  

A newspaper review of the competition by J.P. Seddon, preserved in Anderson's scrap book, provides information and criticism on the various entries.  

Seddon described Collcutt's winning entry as  

a congeries of the "Queen Anne" blocks of mansions, cut up by interminable pilasters and string courses into small rectangular panels ... charged with crowded rococo ornaments.  

While admitting that Collcutt's plan was "good", he begged him to reconsider his campanile "which will look but paltry behind the towers of the Natural History Museum".  

Deane's entry was  

a really stately and much purer classic group of architectural buildings; but it is over architecturesque, and of a type of building which is unfortunately obsolete, in which the uses and interior ... are sacrificed to architectural effect.  

Jackson's design was dismissed as  

a jumble of late Gothic and Flemish, with a tower which looks like an attempt to realise the principle of building of the time of the tower of Babel.  

Aston Webb's design, according to Seddon, might have harmonised well with the Natural History Museum, but it  

wants a centre, strangely attempted to be supplied by an advanced tower which would quite hide the facade.  

Blomfield's design, with disconnected wings, had its centre "crushed by its dome". While Seddon felt that a dome "should be the crowning feature", he was unimpressed by either Blomfield's or Deane's.
Seddon then turned to Mr. Anderson's quiet design, which has less to be found fault with than any ... but which is too tame for this purpose.

Surviving photographs of Calcutt's executed design confirm that it possessed a fashionable and picturesque skyline, a feature bound to impress Waterhouse, himself the foremost exponent of that style. It would be some time before the serene lines of revived classical buildings were again in favour.

Dissatisfaction with Bidlake's hastily drawn perspective, in which the delicate detail had been lost, led Anderson to publish the geometric drawings in the Architect of 12th August. This, together with J.M. Brydon's Chelsea Vestry Hall of 1885-7, undoubtedly gave impetus to the movement back to Wren in particular and classical in general.

While Anderson was an admirer of Brydon, an ex Bryce pupil, Wrenaissance was, in many respects, a logical choice for him to make. The Ardgowan Estate office at Greenock had featured a revived Scottish c 1700 style. Neo-Wren was simply its English equivalent.

Thwarted in his attempts to honour Queen Victoria's Jubilee on a grand architectural scale with the Restoration of Holyrood Abbey Church or the building of the Imperial Institute, Anderson found a lesser outlet - a commission to build a small public hall at Charlestown, Fife, not far from Culross, on the north shore of the Forth. The Queen's Hall (Plate 98) was again carried out in the Scots Jacobean style, with crow steps and tall pediments highlighted in dressed stone against harled walls and red slate roof.
Three Churches

Up to and including Govan Parish Church, Anderson had shown a preference for the more austere forms of early Gothic, and an evolving preference for dark red brick linings. Three churches in progress in 1888 exemplify a movement to the more ornate forms of late Gothic. The first of these, St. James Episcopal, Inverleith, Edinburgh, had begun its existence in 1885, after J. Oldrid Scott had approved and selected Anderson's plans. Anderson and Scott had worked together at Spring Gardens in 1858.

Originally intended to seat 600, the church was built to hold only 300, consisting of a nave and a wide south aisle, a chancel 36 feet long and a truncated tower, capped, at the south east corner. The window tracery is in a very crisp Curvilinear style, seen best in the large east window, which opens on to Inverleith Row (Plate 99).

Within, the nave is divided into three bays (five were originally intended) each accommodating a traceried window of three lights. The aisle and nave are separated by an arcade rising from grouped columns and the main roof is of tiebeam and kingpost construction. The church was built of red Corsehill stone at a cost of £3500, James Jerdan being the clerk of works. Lack of funds again prevented the full realisation of Anderson's scheme, which had also provided for an octagonal spire with a parapet.

While it was completing, contract drawings were in progress for St. Anne's Episcopal Church, Dunbar. Although Wardrop had a hand in its design, its general appearance and execution clearly owe much to Anderson. The contract drawings, dated May 1888, are for a simple church with a continuous roof line and Geometric...
Some interest is added to the "Vigorous" exterior by the heavy buttressing of the chancel and the addition of a porch of a crowstepped Scottish character (Plate 100).

The parapet of the (never completed) tower can just be seen in the contract drawings (Plate 101) and would have redeemed a somewhat bland exterior, made especially severe by the use of a relatively smooth faced rubble of local red sandstone.

Inside the church, the roof is of open timber, with triple transverse beams, the top two arch braced and the lower one tapered towards the centre. The chancel, with its mandatory ascending steps, has a lightly ribbed waggon roof. As at St. James, Inverleith, square headed windows appear on the tower and subsidiary parts of the building.

Meanwhile, at Colinton, the Episcopalians of Anderson's own congregation had been worshipping in an "Iron Hall". By 1886 the building fund had started to grow, and on January 5th, 1887, a meeting of interested parties was held in Anderson's office in St. Andrew Square. By this date designs for a small church had been drawn up; an offer of land at a peppercorn rent was put to the meeting and accepted.

The church was designed in fifteenth century Gothic with a continuous roof line, the nave being side lit by square headed windows of two lights with vertical tracery bars. A flat chancel arch divided the church into two cells. On the east wall, a pointed window of three lights was filled with Perpendicular tracery. The open timber roof of the nave was again of tiebeam and kingpost construction, the chancel roof barrel vaulted. The plans allowed for the tower to rise to the wall heads at the north east corner,
with a temporary pyramidal cap. The nave was to accommodate a congregation of 142.18

The plans were approved, the initial estimates came to £820, and on 20th October 1888, Anderson's wife cut the first sod of turf at a little inaugural ceremony.19

The church, sturdily built of local rubble with red Dumfriesshire dressings, took shape in just over five months, under the supervision of two clerks of works, John Gibson and J. Liddle.20 Some £500 of debt was settled later by Anderson and Mr. Oliver Riddell and on 24th March 1893 Riddell offered to reet the cost of extensions, which included the completion of the tower, an organ chamber, and a lavatory.21 The tower was originally intended to have a broach spire, 22 but Anderson subsequently decided in favour of a leaded spire of the 17th Century Tron Church type, stoutly built of heavy timbers (Plate 102).

Anderson's interest in church furnishings and decoration had also turned to late Gothic forms. The pulpit (Plate 103) was there from the earliest, and demonstrates convincingly his command of the style. By 1898, the entire ceiling and upper walls of the church had been decorated, to the architect's designs, with stencilling and sacred symbols. The work was executed by Powell of Lincoln, and was carried out in contrasting shades of green. At the tops of the walls, scripture texts were painted in black on a cream ground. The roof timbers were painted in soft red and diapered in red and green. In the chancel, the walls were grey green, with red and yellow diaper and at different points angelic figures carrying scrolls, painted by Phoebe Traquair, were introduced.23 (Plates 104 and 105) The church thus became one of the most
beautiful and best endowed small churches in the country, making it all the more unfortunate that the wall paintings have been obliterated in recent years. All three churches had a great deal in common, and their inspiration was twofold. Anderson later expressed admiration for Bodley's work, and had spent some time in the Scott office when Thomas Garner, Bodley's eventual partner, was also there. Furthermore, his architectural journeys still led him to English churches, where he took photographs of interiors, including late Gothic examples. It is not impossible either that his experience with the Perpendicular Chapel at Biel House in 1884 had fuelled his interest in this direction.

The McEwan Hall, Edinburgh University

In 1886, William McEwan, M.P., head of the brewing business of that name, and a member of the Edinburgh University Extension Committee, offered £40,000 for the erection of an academic hall to be built next to the new Medical School. Parliament voted £8000, and extra ground was purchased.

For this sum, a moderately sized academic hall could have been built. It later occurred to McEwan that such a building would have been out of scale with the Medical School, and early in 1888 he advised that he would bear the extra cost of a larger scheme. The enlarged hall could then be used by the whole university instead of the Medical faculty alone, permitting the original scheme for the entire complex to be taken a complete stage further.

McEwan's magnanimity was praised in the Senate Minutes in March 1888, when it was recorded that
The magnificence of the gift itself forbids all terms of ordinary acknowledgement. ... there has been no parallel in the whole history of the University of this benefaction of yours, no gifts of equal magnitude and splendour by any one man. 28

The Senate resolved at the same meeting that the "hall for all time coming should bear the name of its generous donor". McEwan had accomplished at a stroke what several years of hectic fund raising had failed to do.

The hall would seat at least 3000, and was to cost not less than £60/£70,000. Early in 1888 drafting was in progress in the Anderson office. He had been regarded from the beginning as the architect to the complex and his designs were approved just prior to this. 29

It had been intended from as far back as 1877 that the massive hall should be placed at the eastern (Teviot Row) end of the Medical School, where "its semicircular outline and soaring campanile will tell to great advantage". This was not to change, nor was the planning of the hall, which had arisen out of Anderson's researches for the Competition.

A press statement subsequently explained the underlying rationale:

In designing the McEwan Hall the architect of course kept in view the special purposes to which it would be put in the life of the University. The requirements therefore were an ample floor space, a large platform, and abundant gallery accommodation for students and spectators. The design of the hall, semicircular in shape, is based on the form of the ancient Greek Theatre, which, it is believed, is best adapted for the largest number of spectators both seeing and hearing well. 30

In effect this meant that the flat end of the hall, abutting on
to the Medical School, should contain the platform, and that seating and galleries should be deployed in semicircular fashion around the building's perimeter. An external corridor at ground floor level was to be built concentric with the outer walls, the two galleries sitting above this. The main entrance was to be situated at the half way point of the semicircle, and there were to be three staircases to the galleries, one on either side of the door, with the main one entered from the southern extremity of the building.

The facade designs which were put in hand in 1888 had evolved in three stages. When the hall was in its first position, its lower storey was designed in harmony with the Medical School's main courtyard, with its upper levels walled in blank masonry. Its semicircular pitched roof was not to have been curved (Plate 48).

By 1883, when illustrations of the hall's altered position were published, the roof of the first design had been retained, but the walls had now acquired heavy full length exterior buttresses. The intention seems to have been to carry the general flavour and cornice lines of the Medical School round on to the new hall (Plate 49).

The elevations of the final scheme reveal subtle changes to the design. The buttresses and cornice lines were retained, but the blind arcades of the upper storey were shallower and softer than the arcading of the Medical School's north facade.

The most striking changes took place at roof level. Beyond the balustrade at the wall heads, the interior walls and gallery arcades were to be carried through the old roof line, and punctuated with buttresses mirroring those of the exterior wall. Above this there was a new roof of a curved character, its structural trusses expressed
on the exterior in the form of ribs. The outer buttresses, inner buttresses and roof trusses formed a structural and aesthetic unity.

The interior of the hall embodied further and no less radical design changes. Thirteen arcades two stories high clasped the two galleries, and above this, a beautiful Renaissance frieze gave way to a coved clerestory of circular windows. The semi dome of the roof culminated in a circular light, echoed in the elaborately curved elliptical ceiling of the platform.

Over the next few years, all of this would be broken down in the office into hundreds of drawings, many of which were drafted and watercoloured to the highest standards by full time and part time staff. The draughtsmen were to find the perspective views of the hall particularly difficult. At "shop floor" level, supervision of building operations would again be entrusted to Allan Clark, whose talents had become apparent at the Medical School.

The materials chosen for the hall mirrored Anderson's usual predilections. The columns of the giant arcades were to be of red Corsehill stone, mounted on grey freestone bases, and would be topped by gilded Corinthian capitals. All the stalls and pews in the hall were to be of oak, while the walls of the ground floor corridor would be of smooth red brick, with its floors in mosaic. On the exterior of the hall, the blind upper storey was to be arcaded in red polished granite.

Most of the contracts for the Hall went to Edinburgh firms. The main building contract was given to W. & J. Kirkwood, the joinerwork was executed by Shillinglaws, the plumbing was carried out by Barton & Son, and the glazing by Coutts and Cameron. In due course, the hall's lighting requirements were attended to by
King & Co. of Leith, but only after "painstaking care and unwearied experiment".\(^{33}\) Anderson's attention to practical matters of this nature was legendary.

Electric light had been decided on as the "one and only light for such a hall", in a city with a public electric lighting department of high reputation.\(^{33}\) In due course, the solution was revealed. A giant electrolier carrying thirty nine lamps of 200 candle power each would hang from the centre of the dome. 264 lamps around the top of the cornice, obscured from view, would radiate light from the sides of the dome. Lighting for the galleries was located in such a fashion that it could not be seen from the platform.

Anderson's use of the latest technology and best available expertise can also be seen in the choice of steel lattice trusses for the roof of the dome, and in the heating and ventilating systems. Wilson Phipson, heating consultant at Mount Stuart and The Medical School, was also employed at the McEwan Hall.

The ventilating system was designed to operate after crowds had assembled in the hall. At this point fresh air would be introduced through tubes in the galleries and main area, with the used air escaping through ventilating shafts in the roof of the upper gallery.\(^{35}\) In 1894 McEwan would sanction a lantern to crown the roof of the hall.\(^{36}\) This was not entirely decorative, as the used air from the shafts in the upper gallery would pass through it and into the atmosphere.

The breadth of Anderson's competence and care may be judged from the fact that, while he was looking after all these practicalities, he was also engaged in the design of an organ case.
in oak for the powerful new organ, built by the Electric Organ Company of Birkenhead to the designs of Robert Hope Jones. This was to be situated behind the platform, and was to be "elaborately carved and richly decorated in gold and colour".37

The McIwan Hall project would form a large component of the Anderson office's interests until its eventual completion late in 1897. A scheme of elaborate mural decoration was in 1894 entrusted to William Palin, of London, recommended to the Building Committee by the Science and Art Department, Kensington. Palin was to execute a huge allegorical scheme: the theme of The Temple of Fame above the proscenium and upper parts of the hall.

In 1888, therefore, Anderson was, to one of his greatest triumphs, a glorious and beautifully proportioned ceremonial space which had no counterpart in Scotland (Plate 106).

The Edinburgh Congress of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry

When the National Association held its Edinburgh Congress late in 1889, Rowand Anderson was deeply involved, as President of the Section of Architecture.

The Association seems to have existed for the arrangement of Congresses and the publication of Transactions in an effort both to popularise art and to promote its application to manufactures.38

Its list of office bearers for 1889, as well as containing a large number of baronets and peers of the realm, reads like a "Who's Who" of late Victorian art and design. Among its Vice Presidents were the President of the Royal Academy, Sir Frederick Leighton,
and Sir J.E. Millais. A.H. Mackmurdo was one of its two Honorary Secretaries, and Walter Crane, Professor Herkomer and E.J. Poynter were members of its Central Council.39

Each Congress necessitated the formation of a local committee, and the Edinburgh Committee was heavily populated with Anderson's social and professional contacts. The Lord Provost of Edinburgh was Chairman. John Hay Athole McDonald, now the Lord Justice Clerk, was a Vice Chairman, as was Sir William Muir, Principal of Edinburgh University. J.R. Findlay, as well as being a Vice Chairman of the Edinburgh Committee, was also a member of the Central Council. Findlay had just been revealed as the donor of the new National Portrait Gallery and Museum of Antiquities, and it was here that the Congress was held.

In his keynote speech the Association's President, the Marquis of Lorne, alluded to two matters of current concern. One was the existence of sixty art industry associations in Germany, which, with about 40,000 members, posed both a threat and a challenge to British design. The second was the architectural disfigurement of cities, exemplified locally by the grim range of barracks at the west end of the Castle Rock, or the factory chimney spoiling the "fine valley" beyond the North Bridge.40

William Morris, President of the Section of Applied Art, was concerned in his paper with matters relating to the first question, while Rowand Anderson's paper was loosely related to the second. Although topics of high import such as these were very prominent on the Congress's agenda, papers on "French Impressionism and its Influence on English Art" or "The Picturesque in Sculpture" relieved the undoubtedly didactic tenor of much of what was said.
Anderson's contribution was twofold. He made a Presidential speech and contributed to discussions, and both are preserved in the Association's Transactions. In these his architectural philosophy is revealed in depth.

The theme of his Presidential speech was The Place of Architecture in the Domain of Art. As far as Anderson was concerned, two great misunderstandings had arisen,

the artificial distinction of fine art as opposed to useful or mechanical art ... the foundation of Academies of art, in which architecture has been relegated to a very secondary position - the use of the word Artist to distinguish those who paint pictures from those who make them - the almost entire exclusion of architecture from literature dealing with art, or where it is admitted, its treatment from the pictorial point of view, and the artificial and modern distinction between architecture and building - all this, I say, has had the effect of warping the public understanding of art

and,

architecture ... has come to be, in the minds of many, the art of applying decoration or ornament to buildings which could serve their purpose equally well without them. In support of this ... I recall to your notice what Mr. Ruskin has said. In his 'Lectures on Architecture' we are told that no person can be an architect who is not a great sculptor or painter, otherwise he is only a builder. In his 'Seven Lamps of Architecture' he says, Architecture is the art which so disposes and adorns the edifices raised by man that the sight of them contributes to the mental health, power and pleasure.

To refute these misunderstandings, Anderson continued that such doctrines as these are contradicted by everything we see in nature, and all we can learn from Grecian and mediaeval art. Art is not applied to any object in nature; the beauty we see there, or what seems by contrast the ugliness in the lower animals and plants,
is inseparable from their environment and the purposes for which they have been created. In the great art epochs of Greece and the Middle Ages there was no division of art into fine and mechanical - there was only one art and that true art, whether seen in a painting, a piece of sculpture, a building, or the commonest object of everyday use, and the degree of beauty we see in, and the satisfaction we derive from them, is their fitness and expression more or less successfully worked out of the idea that called them into existence.

While painting and sculpture could directly imitate nature, architecture on the other hand, in order to express its ideas, has to create its own forms; but in doing so it must follow closely the laws and methods of nature, particularly that all structure must be functional, adapted to its purpose, and modelled to express or emphasise that; but in dealing with the decoration of surfaces, and those points of the structure that seem to call for such, then it may imitate the forms of nature in plant and animal life, but under certain restrictions included under the head of conventionalism. The success with which all this is done is the measure of its fitness and its resultant beauty.

In organising matter, the architect therefore calls into play more of the creative force than either the painter or the sculptor ...

Architecture and the constructive arts ... provide us with the comfortable home and luxurious mansion; with buildings where our youth are educated, and suffering humanity receives all the care that skill and liberality can do to alleviate mental or bodily affliction; with all those edifices for carrying on the functions of local and imperial business arising out of our national life; with the solemn temples where man offers his homage to his Creator ... Therefore I hold that architecture is entitled at least to an equality of position, consideration and respect.

Anderson then proceeded to amplify, exemplify and work out the consequences of his position, beginning with a potted history
of architecture. In this he singled out Greek, Romanesque and Gothic architecture, in which, he believed, aesthetic expression had grown naturally from the realisation of function. He also attributed the transition from Romanesque to Gothic to functional and rational factors, particularly the limitation of the rounded arch and vault in relation to increased building sizes.43

Since Renaissance times, art "has always followed literature", examples of this being the ousting of Palladian architecture in Britain as a result of the publications of the Dilettante Society, together with new discoveries in the field of Greek archaeology. This in turn was superseded when the Romantic writers and antiquarian studies of Carter, Rickman and Pugin made an impact, exemplified in the new Houses of Parliament.44

All this led to architecture from the Renaissance up until Victorian times being more concerned with "reproducing the features, details and proportions of ancient buildings", than with "the production of buildings, adapted to and deriving their expression from the purposes of the building".45 Anderson was stating not only that the public's evaluation of the status of architecture had gone wrong. Its practitioners had missed its point to a large degree.

Anderson next turned to the remedy for the state of affairs thus diagnosed:—

It is impossible that we can ever have a new style of architecture ... as all the possible methods of construction are known to us; but although we cannot have that, we can give to our buildings a new and truer expression than they have had since the decline of mediaeval art. We have all the experience of the past at our service, as well as the ever
increasing and expanding science of the present day, and in addition a command of wealth, material and appliances infinitely beyond what was at the service of those who reared the buildings from which we have been drawing all our architectural knowledge.

It is in this direction, I hold, that we must look for progress in architecture.

This statement was three things in one. It was a remedy for architecture's lowly status in the domain of art. If architecture's practitioners and the public understood the true functional basis of architecture, its status as the mistress art would be restored. Secondly, it was a signpost to the future in an age of speculation and concern about architecture's direction. Thirdly, it was a justification of Anderson's own design practice, working from plan to facade, using the whole palette of historical styles as a source for designs, always subject to the proviso that style should never compromise, mask or falsify function.

Anderson next turned his focus to selected local examples. The Calton Jail was "a toy castle ... devoid of expression and utterly meaningless", made totally ridiculous because a castle is a place to "keep people out" and a jail "to keep people in". Associational relevance had to be borne in mind in the selection of styles.

Carrying on in a critical vein, Anderson in due course applied his analysis to the Baronial style, made popular as a result of Sir Walter Scott's writings and the publications of Billings.

Now if you examine the plans of an old Scottish Mansion you can read them like a book, from the foundations to the chimney tops. You can distinguish the original tower that the family once lived in and held their own against all comers. The walls are from
six to fourteen feet thick, and everything is planned for the purpose of keeping out intruders. You will then notice an addition when the family became richer and times were not so warlike: the walls are much thinner, but there are still sundry provisions for resisting a sudden attack. As time rolled on, and it was no longer necessary to provide for defence, you find a still larger addition; but now everything is done for comfort and a peaceful country life, the whole group becoming a wonderfully picturesque and readable chapter in the history of architecture; but it was never built to look picturesque or interesting — such was never thought of by the builders. 48

In contrast, the modern "imitation" could not be read from outside to inside. The walls were of one thickness, the building evidently modern. The battlements and towers contradicted the large drawing room windows, the gables and roofs were stuck on at random for appearance sake, at the expense of sound construction. Thus the Baronial revival was roundly dismissed.

Anderson's paper was also noteworthy for its throw away observations and subsidiary points, much as his preference in architects. Bodley, Shaw, Pearson, Bentley and Scott were praised for their "splendid" work. 49

At one point his thoughts, in remarkably prophetic vein, turned towards the aesthetic of the machine:—

Who has looked down into the engine room of one of the great ocean going steamers, and not felt the impression of an irresistible power that rests not day nor night. Look at a shearing or punching machine that opens or closes its jaw and cuts or punches just as easily as cutting paper; the steam hammer, planning machine, and pumping machines all have the same clear expression of their purpose. ... The designing of machinery, whether for peace or war, has now reached such
a high standard of excellence in function, form and expression that one is justified in saying that these things are entitled to rank as works of art as much as a painting, a piece of sculpture, or a building.\textsuperscript{50}

Talking also of architectural education, Anderson moved from general condemnation of Academies to particular condemnation of one nearer home: -

Although we have had in our midst for the last half century an Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, enjoying the prestige and privileges of a Royal Incorporation, generous support from the public, and substantial aid from the Government, whatever they may have done for painting and sculpture, it is certain they have done nothing for architecture.\textsuperscript{51}

Having amplified his opening remarks on Academies, Anderson likewise amplified his views on Ruskin, when a paper by G.S. Aitken on The Architectural Education of the Public came up for discussion.

H.H. Statham, editor of the Builder, had indicated earlier in the debate that he regarded Ruskin as

an utterly false teacher of anything related to architecture. He was a mass of contradictions, and knew nothing about plans or construction. He was a perfectly unsafe teacher, and the public should know it.\textsuperscript{52}

Anderson was very much pleased that Mr. Statham had had the courage to speak as he had done regarding Mr. Ruskin. After all Ruskin's eloquence and poetry, and not forgetting the enthusiasm he had created for art in this country, he had been a blind guide in regard to architecture. All his reasoning and all his poetry and sentiment had been based on Italian Gothic architecture, which was one of the most deficient, incomplete, and undeveloped styles of architecture they knew. It was pictorial and full of colour, and that had apparently been the great attraction for him, but it had none of the real essentials of constructive art.\textsuperscript{53}
Anderson's participation in the Congress must have confirmed his stature in the eyes of strangers and friends alike. His opinions were logically worked out and fearlessly expressed, and his criticism was balanced, giving credit where it was due. None could have been in any doubt as to the fact that this statesmanlike figure stood at the head of the Scottish profession.

The Restoration of Dunblane Cathedral, 1890-1893

In the 1550's and 1560's, the interior woodwork of Dunblane Cathedral had been torn down by the Reformers, and its nave roof seems to have collapsed shortly afterwards. The Cathedral stood in ruins since these times. In 1818 and 1860, some alterations were made to the choir, which had been used as a place of Protestant worship since the Reformation. This involved the removal of the original pre-Reformation choir roof, which had become unsafe. Sketches showing the roofless nave of the Cathedral just prior to its restoration can be found in MacGibbon and Ross.

As a ruin, the Cathedral was much loved and admired. It had been drawn by Slezer and Billings, and Ruskin had commented on it in his Edinburgh lectures in the early 1850's. Sir George Gilbert Scott had looked at it in 1872, and in earlier days, Anderson had made a special study of it.

The impetus for its restoration was provided by the Rev. Alexander Ritchie, who was inducted as Parish Minister in July 1886. On 25th November 1886, Ritchie called a meeting of his Kirk Session, whereupon a decision was made to approach the Heritors about the seating accommodation, which was considered inadequate for 810
On November 3rd 1886, Anderson submitted a report at the request of the Heritors stating that

I am of opinion that the walls are strong enough to carry new roofs, and that the decay, though considerable, is only superficial ... as the superficial decay seen all about the walls has been caused chiefly by the water soaking into them from the uncovered wall heads and window cills, the first step to arrest this is to get the building covered in.

The Heritors, well aware that Ritchie had been involved in restoration work at Whithorn, his previous charge, had been moving in the same direction.

One of the leading elders, James Webster Barty, Solicitor, Dunblane had also been having conversations about restoration with Mrs. Wallace of Glassingall just prior to Ritchie's induction, and it was eventually to be Mrs. Wallace's generosity which would make the restoration possible.

In August 1887, while the matter was under consideration, Anderson, much admired in Glasgow, met a party from the Glasgow Institute of Architects and explained the proposed restoration to them. This resulted in a letter from their President, David Thomson, expressing their "great satisfaction" at the "conservative manner" in which the restoration was to be carried out. The Glasgow architects were pleased that

as the existing work is not to be touched except where necessary for its preservation, the historical and architectural interest will not be impaired.

By the summer of 1888, nothing had been done, although fund raising was in progress. At that point the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain met Anderson at Dunblane, and when he outlined his plans, they again met with general approval.
In July 1888, the Annual Report of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings stated that:

the fate of this most important building still hangs in the balance. A very large amount of the Committee's time has been expended upon opposing the scheme for bringing the nave into use, and it has been shown conclusively in letters to the public press and to the different Government offices concerned that the proposed scheme must necessarily be of a destructive character. It is hoped that by next year we may be able to state that the scheme has been abandoned.

On 14th December, 1888, an Executive Committee of the principal heritors and the incumbent, formed to effect the restoration, met for the first time. At this meeting, a letter from the Board of Manufactures was read out. The Board insisted that plans and estimates be submitted to them first for approval. This request arose from the fact that the Cathedral was Crown property, and had recently been conveyed to the Board. There were now three parties with a direct interest in the restoration, Anderson, the Restoration Committee and the Board of Manufactures.

On January 10th, 1889, the Board of Manufactures met with the Restoration Committee, and it was decided that the opinion of practical builders should be sought regarding the suitability of the walls to hold a new roof. The three builders consulted all agreed that a roof of the type proposed by Anderson could be erected with perfect safety, once his recommendations to repair the walls had been implemented.

However, the opposition to the restoration continued. On May 9th, 1889, Thackeray Turner, Secretary of the "Antiscrape" wrote to the Chief Commissioner of Works alleging that
the restoration of the nave as a church will involve the addition of much new work and the destruction of much of the existing original work.66

This the Commissioner annotated with red query marks. Turner's letter continued with allegations that it was not feasible to restore the nave walls because it was "impossible to say what they once were". This too was queried in red. The observations of the S.P.A.B., although ultimately dismissed, were seriously considered.

At around this time Ruskin himself had entered the fray with a letter stating that:

Restorations are either architects jobs or ministers' vanities, and they are the worst sort of swindling and boasting. That of Dunblane Abbey, the loveliest ruins in Scotland (and, in its way the loveliest in the world), would be the most vulgar brutality Scotland has committed since the Reformation.

I had rather hear she had run a railroad through it and thrown the stones of it into the brook.67

But there was another danger - for hundreds of years, the nave floor of the Cathedral had been used as a burial ground. A local property owner had threatened an interdict if the restoration was commenced. The Board of Manufactures took senior legal advice on the matter. The interior of the nave was Crown property, and the legality of interments was extremely doubtful. In addition to this, it was not intended to disturb or desecrate graves, so counsel advised the Board that opposition could be overcome. In spite of this tangle of forces, restoration began on 16th September 1889, and satisfactory progress had been made by the following spring.68

James Slater of Edinburgh was awarded the contract for the mason work and woodwork. James Goodwin of Motherwell the contract
for ironwork, James L. Arnott of Glasgow the contract for plumbing and gasfitting, and A & D McKay the contract for slaterwork. As intended from the outset, Anderson had the whole of the nave and aisles scaffolded, in order to repair the wall heads. Where the old work was sound, although chipped and superficially decayed, it was left alone. Immediately afterwards, a pointed barrel roof of oak was put on. In order to make it fit, some parts of the walls had to be rebuilt because they had been penetrated by vegetation and displaced. Anderson on a later occasion produced a box of roots taken out at the time as an object lesson in their destructive power.

The minor repairs were then set in progress. In Anderson's words,

> these consisted chiefly of cutting out parts that could no longer hold together, and repairing them with sound and new stone, repairing the gable tops and skews, making good the rymbas of the windows where they were so decayed that they could not be glazed, and repairing the walls where there appeared any sign of weakness.

Once the windows were glazed, the nave was again safe from the elements acting on both sides of the walls.

The choir was tackled next. The wall sealing up the chancel arch was removed. The wall heads were repaired and a new roof was put on. The floor was then attended to. The surface soil and vegetation in the nave was removed to a depth of eight inches, after a map of the various graves had been made. A six inch layer of concrete was spread on top, then asphalted, then the finished floor was laid, embodying the existing tombstones as far as possible. Where this could not be done, inscriptions were cut on the surface, which was paved in patterned freestone of red, yellow and black colour.
While building operations were in progress, a series of wrangles on archaeological matters was taking place. Anderson was of the opinion that on certain areas of the walls, ashlar had been removed and substituted with rubble. Illustrations in MacGibbon and Ross show rubble interspersed with ashlar in the spandrels of the nave arcades. After the initial disapproval of the Board of Manufactures, ashlar was substituted for rubble in many areas of the church, including the arch spandrels, the chancel walls, the area beneath the west window, and on the wall of the south east aisle.

The arguments also extended to window tracery. The windows of the choir were in the Perpendicular style (illustrated in MacGibbon and Ross), and Anderson was of the opinion that they should remain, as part of the architectural history of the church. He was overruled by the Board of Manufactures on this point, and new windows with Geometric tracery were introduced. These were in harmony with the windows of the west end. At the north west angle of the nave, two aisle windows had flat, late Gothic arches, and were out of character with the rest of the aisle windows. Anderson maintained that, as they had originally resembled the other windows, they should be altered. This was not done.

Matters became heated on the question of furniture. Anderson's designs for pulpit, choir screen and table were rejected by the Board of Manufactures. These were in a later style than the early Gothic of most of the church. Anderson had originally designed these items in an earlier style, but changed his mind, to the incumbent's regret. Despite his opposition, Anderson
managed to persuade the Restoration Committee as a whole to accept the revisions.

A minute of a joint meeting between the Board and the Restoration Committee was carefully framed so as to "hurt the architect's feelings as little as possible", an objective which it did not achieve, since it bore the tidings that the Board had rejected his revised designs. Anderson wrote a long letter to the Board which stated that their views were "entirely unsupported by the history of art". This was not enough to influence their decision, as strong opinions were held by such members as Sir Noel Paton, John H.A. McDonald the Lord Justice Clerk, and Sir George Reid, who by this time had succeeded Fettes Douglas as President of the Royal Scottish Academy. 74

It is recorded that "Dr. Anderson seems not to have received the decision of the Board with good grace", later informing the Restoration Committee that "he had not prepared new designs and was too much occupied to do so". In due course he relented, eventually supplying revised drawings for the pulpit, screen, font and organ case. 75

The controversies hinged on one basic point. Should a church in the course of restoration be restored to the style of a single period of time? The opinion of the Board of Manufactures on the questions of both tracery and furniture was emphatically that they should harmonise. Sir John Stirling Maxwell was almost certainly right when in later years he attributed the dispute to Anderson's firm belief that

the accumulation of work of various periods added to the richness of any building and that a building in which everything conformed to the same style was apt to be cold and lifeless. 76
The Board's decisions in effect turned a "Conservative" restoration into one that was partly "Destructive" in character.

At an earlier stage, it had been decided that the Marquess of Bute, now a member of the Board of Manufactures, should be consulted about the heraldic decoration of the bosses of the nave roof. In May 1890 Bute suggested that the arms of the seven earls of Strathearn should occupy the seven bosses on the north side of the nave. On the south side, six bosses should be decorated with the arms of the earls of Strathearn from Maurice to Walter, along with those of King James II, the first Royal Superior. The thirteen bosses in the middle of the roof were to be occupied by the arms of the Royal superiors from James II to William IV, with the arms of Queen Victoria between the two windows over the chancel arch. In September 1890, Anderson wrote to Bute advising that his scheme was accepted. Bute was also anxious that a rood loft should be placed beneath these windows in the original holes, but this was not done. Anderson had at one stage suggested the colouring of the nave roof, but this was held over (and abandoned) for financial reasons.

The incumbent, Dr. Ritchie recalled on a later occasion that "Dr. Anderson was of a very determined nature, and it was difficult to get him to alter his views to conform to the wishes of others". He did, however, record on the same occasion that Anderson had modified the roof design in response to his comments. Anderson himself was philosophical about the disagreements. Speaking of the alterations to the choir tracery he later observed that "those who had the final word here decided that it must be removed".

In 1893, Anderson gave a paper on the restoration to the
Edinburgh Architectural Association. Near the end of the paper he made his views clear:

The lesson I want to enforce... is, that Dunblane Cathedral might at any time, but for this restoration, have collapsed into a heap of ruins, and neither the architectural nor the pictorial aspect would have remained to delight us. ... I do not say that the work I have done is above criticism as all the work of human hands is faulty, and were it otherwise, there would be no progress; but I feel confident that all who see it will feel that the old Dunblane Cathedral is still there... and that the promoters of this work did well to resist all the pressure that was brought to bear on them to leave the building to the elements and to false and impossible methods of so-called preservation, with the certainty of its total ruin in the near future. 82

The clerk of works was George Kermack, and Robert Lorimer was chief draughtsman. James Slater's account came to about £10,500, James L. Arnott's to £1675, and A.D. McKay's to £612-16-8. The glazing bill came to £337-3-2, and some £5,000 worth of additional work was carried out under Kermack's supervision. Anderson's fee was £1,500, which implies a total cost in excess of £30,000. Mrs. Wallace of Glassingall, together with friends and relations, contributed £19,000. The heritors gave £3,000, the balance coming from public subscriptions. 83

If the restoration had not run smoothly, its outcome was, by general agreement, the finest Scottish work of its kind to date, setting the highest possible standards for others to emulate (Plates 107 and 108).

Miscellaneous Work, 1888-1890

Meanwhile, development of the Braid Estate had been continuing. By 1888, Hermitage Terrace, set back slightly from Morningside Road,
was complete. This bears all the hallmarks of Anderson's design, with steep roof pitches, bays and flanking end houses with very Andersonian windows high in the gables (Plate 109). It mirrors very closely 41-53 Nile Grove, which must date from about the same time.

By 1888, the south side of Cluny Gardens had been feued, as had Cluny Avenue. By 1890, Braid Road and Braid Avenue to the south had been feued with Cluny Terrace and Place following. Helping with sketches to publicise the new houses in these areas was T. Raffles Davidson, famous for his architectural illustrations in the British Architect. In 1890, Davidson called at Colinton to sketch St. Cuthbert's Episcopal Church for his journal, suggesting that he and Anderson were friends.

While most of the houses designed on Braid Avenue, Braid Road and Cluny Terrace and Place were by the Anderson practice, other architects were also represented, notably John Kinross, at No.1 Cluny Gardens, and later, Sydney Mitchell and James Jerdan, as the development moved south in the 1890's.

Representative works from this phase are the double villas of Braid Avenue, where sensible planning is combined unspectacularly with the usual motifs (Plate 110), or the five houses at the foot of Braid Road (Plate 111) where lofty dignity fails to compensate for a lack of domestic softness.

In December, 1890, drawings were completed for additions and alterations to Luscar House, Carnock, Fife, for Alexander Mitchell. Luscar House was a small Manorial style property designed by David Bryce, with two bay windows facing south and a good entrance hall, staircase and public rooms. Anderson's additions more
than doubled the size of the house, with business and billiards rooms occupying the lower floor of an east wing, additional bedrooms above, and servants quarters at the rear. The additions were given a specifically Scots character. A two storey canted bay recalls "Allermuir", crow steps are added, and the style of the dormer heads is changed, all without discord (Plate 112).

Inside, straight corridors provide access to the new rooms, which were oak panelled, and the bay window on the ground floor was given semicircular panelling again in the manner of "Allermuir".

A considerable amount of church work was passing through the practice at this time. This included, in 1888, the redesigning of the interior woodwork of the 17th Century Tron Kirk on the Royal Mile. The commission involved new swing doors, vestibules, stairs to the gallery, double fluted pilasters for the rear of the pulpit and the gallery, and new seating, all of which had to tone in with the mixed Gothic and Renaissance of the existing fabric.

In 1890, Anderson was asked to undertake church furnishing work at Dunfermline Abbey Church. The result was a beautiful late Gothic pulpit standing over the grave of Robert the Bruce. The four angle posts on which the pulpit rests culminate in a lion, angel, eagle and ox respectively, symbols of the four evangelists. The pulpit is hexagonal, each panel divided into three parts, with the centre panel full of tracery and the flanking panels in linen pattern. The four angles of the pulpit are in the form of a canopy and pedestal, and the carved figure of an evangelist rests on each pedestal (Plate 113). The pulpit was carried out for £300, and was carved in "Scotch oak" by Thomas Beattie, with the moulding
by James Slater. At a later date, Anderson would be asked to
design a communion table, reading desk, screen and font. 89

After the pulpit was consecrated, the Rev. Jacob Primmer
was to prove that the return to archaeological and Ecclesiological
accuracy within Reformed churches was not unopposed. Primmer,
minister of Townhill Church in Dunfermline had been running open
air meetings drawing attention to "lapses" such as this for some
time, and drawing large crowds.

Primmer was not impressed with this latest manifestation of
Popery "at his own door". Meeting in the Cooperative Hall in
Dunfermline, he managed to trace it "at every point of the
structure". Describing the bull, as "ferocious looking" with
"staring eyes, tremendous horns, and a really long tail", he
felt it must be "old horny", a conclusion the audience found
highly amusing. 90

His outburst proved to be of no consequence, as in a few
years time, Anderson was asked back to add steps and gates to
Dunfermline Abbey (Plate 114) and to redecorate the abbey church
with stencil work.

Three churches from this period confirm the trends in Anderson's
church work noticed earlier. Two which must be taken together are
St. Paul's Church, Greenock, and South Morningside Free Church.

St. Paul's, Greenock was designed in 1890, consisting of a
nave and chancel and a north transept, the shallow aisles of the
nave acting as passages only, as at Govan. The nave, six bays
long, was designed with a west gallery, also in the Govan manner.
The north transept was designed for seating. A spacious vestibule
was to be provided beneath the gallery at the west end, and entry
to the nave was through a large Gothic doorway. In true
Ecclesiological fashion, the communion table was to be situated against the east wall, the choir and organ occupying the rest of the chancel. 91

The window tracery at St. Paul's was to be Perpendicular, and the west and east windows were to be particularly elaborate. The contract drawings show the east elevation, including the intended tower and spire, which were never executed. The church was in due course built in red sandstone, lined with Welsh terracotta bricks, with a barrel roof concealing steel trusses. The slates were green, from Buttermere. Completed in 1892, the building has weathered very well and still makes a fine impression (Plates 115 & 115A). It cost some £11,000, and the Clerk of Works was John Winton. 92

Almost concurrently, in Edinburgh, South Morningside Free Church was in hand. Here Anderson kept the accommodation under a continuous roof line, but there were many similarities to Greenock. There was to be an arcaded interior, west gallery, and a wagon roof borne on steel members. The side windows were square headed, as at St. James', Inverleith, Dunbar or Colinton.

On this occasion the window tracery was Geometric, but the tower was almost identical to the one planned for Greenock, with the major differences confined to the belfry lights. When the church was built, it was not only possible to complete the tower. A church hall was added at the same time, at a total cost of about £10,000. 93 The building's frontage is imposing (Plate 116), but its side elevation is less successful than at Greenock.

In Dunfermline, a commission of a different kind materialised in 1890. The Episcopalians of Trinity chapel felt that new
accommodation was needed, and a church seated for 225 was designed. Built on a sloping site at the corner of East Port and Viewfield Terrace, it again incorporated many of Anderson's preoccupations. Ecclesiological correctness was "de rigueur" for an Episcopalian congregation, so the church was given a deep chancel, expressed separately on the exterior.

The design, in Perpendicular, incorporated a church hall at the south side, entered through a long narthex at the west end. An entrance porch and transept completed the composition effectively (Plate 117). Within, the views eastwards are imposing, but the nave windows to the north break up the wall space awkwardly, although they look well enough from outside and admit adequate light. A small and sloping site is otherwise handled well, with the church floor sunk into the bank and the hall set at a lower level. The building is in grey snecked rubble, and again, square headed windows are prominent.

The church, opened and consecrated in 1891, cost in excess of £5,000, and was Anderson's last complete church for an Episcopalian congregation. 94

The Royal Scottish Academy's Supplementary Charter

From the mid 1880's onwards, there had been a movement within the Royal Scottish Academy for a Supplementary Charter, and early in 1889, a draft charter had been submitted to the Privy Council for approval. 95 The draft made provision for "fuller membership participation in Academy affairs". It allowed for the removal of the restriction on the number of Associates, and gave Associates the right to vote on elections to Associateship, to teach, to serve
on the Hanging Committee, and to receive the Annual Accounts.

In addition, the Academy sought in its Charter "additional powers to enable it to institute lectureships, to purchase premises for schools, and in other ways to provide for art education". Shortly after this, the Academy received from an Edinburgh solicitor a request for a copy of the Final Draft Application. A query from the Academy elicited the fact that the request was on behalf of one hundred and fifty seven enquirers headed by Rowand Anderson. The request was refused, but an invitation "welcoming all suggestions" was extended to the architects. There was no response, and a proposal to discuss matters was made by the Academy. This was not taken up.

On July 23rd, 1889, the Privy Council invited objections, to be submitted by August 30th. At the end of October, a petition "by Dr. Rowand Anderson and others, Architects practising their profession in Scotland" was received, claiming that the Academy "slighted and ignored Architecture" and had misappropriated its funds. The petitioners came from all over Scotland, from as far afield as Tain and the Orkneys, as well as from the main cities and towns. It was presented in full to the Privy Council, together with a "memorial" four pages long.

Not content with one controversial and disruptive broadside at the Academy, and while the Draft Charter was still under consideration by the Privy Council, Anderson effected a pioneer movement. Early in 1890, a petition was lodged with the Academy by Edinburgh Town Council. The Council had become increasingly concerned at the controversy raging in the press about the Charter and at the allegations of mismanagement of the Academy's affairs.
and funds. At this stage the Academy ascertained that the City Fathers, considering themselves to have been 'pressed', referred not so much to newspapers as to representations made to the Lord Provost's Committee by a party of four. 99

The four were Dr. Rowand Anderson, David MacGibbon, Hippolyte Jean Blanc, and John McLachlan.

On April 7th, 1890, John McLachlan, writing to the Scotsman, spelt out the allegations made by the architects:

the real charge against the Academy ... is that while the aims in the charter remain unrealised, the ordinary funds of the Academy, which should have been applied to the furtherance of art, were in a large measure, and for a long period, devoted to the payment of pensions, not to the infirm or needy, but to all members of the Academy above a certain age. 100

On April 21st, W.W. Robertson added that, in relation to the new Charter, The mere acquisition of powers does not ensure that they shall be used, and if the causes which have operated in the past continue to operate, may not the new powers remain as unproductive as the old? 101

It was surely absurd, the architects felt, that the Academy should seek a new Charter when it had abused and ignored its old one, especially so since its President, with typical indelicacy, had let it slip in a drunken speech that Charters were of no relevance. 102

The response of the Academicians and their supporters in the press was feeble. J.B. Gillies, a Town Councillor, was at pains to discredit the architects' petition by questioning the likelihood that
there are no fewer than six gentlemen in the town of Airdrie warranted in signing themselves architects in the sense in which that word is commonly understood. 103

In other letters to the press, a number of writers tended to confuse the issues raised by the architects with other matters, notably the general dissatisfaction with the arrangements for art education in Scotland operating since 1858. Also raised in letters to the press was the fact that ill feeling had arisen between the Board of Manufactures and the Royal Scottish Academy over requests for increased accommodation for its Life Class, appalling in a situation where its President also sat on the Board. Although a number of issues had been confused, it was absolutely plain from the strength and volume of feelings expressed that the roles of the various institutions would soon have to change.

In the event, the Town Council in March 1890 reversed its petition for an enquiry into the Academy's affairs, and on 4th November 1891, the supplementary Charter was granted, by which time Fettes Douglas had died. 104

In 1892, under a new President, Sir George Reid, who had on an earlier occasion revealed himself as an admirer of Anderson, four architects were elected Associates of the Royal Scottish Academy. They were George Washington Browne, Hippolyte Blanc, John Honeyman and William Leiper. 105 Credit for this belonged to one man.

The Inception of the School of Applied Art

At the 1889 Art Congress held in the Portrait Gallery, one of the papers had been entitled "On the Failure in the Results of the Government Art Schools and a Possible Remedy Therefor". At the
same Congress, Professor Patrick Geddes had spoken "On National
and Municipal Encouragement of Art upon the Continent".
Enlightened thinkers throughout Britain were disillusioned by
Henry Cole's national system of art education, imposed from
South Kensington.

The effects of the infamous Treasury Minute of 1858 had been
deeply felt in Edinburgh. The Trustees' School of Design was no
longer permitted to educate beyond "the antique" stage, and life
classes were to be kept strictly for intended painters and arranged
by the Royal Scottish Academy. The situation worsened over the
years as the South Kensington system was formalised and extended.

In due course a range of charts for copying was introduced
nationwide, and flair and freedom in drawing were discouraged.
A system of national competitions for medals and diplomas was also
initiated. The Trustees School of Design had become a school for
elementary, utilitarian drawing.

To make matters worse, a system of partial "payments by results"
had been operating in all Government controlled schools of Design
since 1862. This related the salary of drawing masters in the
schools to the performance of their students in the competitions.
Later the system had been extended to full "payments by results",
thus putting tremendous pressure on teachers of drawing to drive
their students to "excellence", as defined by South Kensington's
examiners. Drawing and painting had thus become an end in itself
rather than serving design.

At the time of the controversy surrounding the Academy's
Supplementary Charter, J. Lawton Wingate had summed up the general
feeling about what was then happening in the Edinburgh School of
Design when he remarked that it was nonsense to give that other mechanical thing the name of art. Elementary training it might be, but even as such it was bad. 107

The achievements of the Board of Manufactures over a hundred years had been wiped out, and Alexander Christie's innovations were now only a fond memory. A good education for art workers, designers and architects in Edinburgh had long since been impossible.

This was a situation the School's most distinguished ex student was not prepared to tolerate. His feelings had been expressed earlier to Lord Lothian, and had not simply been precipitated by the recent controversies. They stemmed not only from the injustice of the situation, but from his observations and experience as a practising architect. He had noted a lack of education, and its outcome, a dearth of design knowledge, in many of the craft workers he encountered on a day to day basis.

From c 1890 onwards, Anderson, together with some sympathetic supporters, had been involved in informal discussions with the Board of Manufactures about the possibility of a new Art School specifically intended to provide advanced education for craftsmen, architects and designers. 108

The Board of Manufactures was the logical body to approach, as the new institution would, in effect, begin where the Trustees' School of Design had left off in 1858. The Board, unable to re-instate the pre 1858 curriculum in their own school, were sympathetic to the approach, and agreed to provide free accommodation in the Royal Institution, and help with administration.

Some last minute funding became available from the City Council,
who had been given a £4,000 Exchequer grant towards "technical education". On application, the City granted £1,000 to the new school. 109

Having obtained official support, Anderson together with the other interested parties had raised finance privately, and arrangements were made to start the new school up on October 17th, 1892. An advertisement containing the following was put in the Scotsman:

New School of Applied Art,  
Royal Institution, Edinburgh

Under the Superintendence of a Joint Committee of the Board of Manufactures and Subscribers

Established for the purpose of giving ADVANCE EDUCATION in Art & Design, as applied to Industries, to Architects, Decorators, Sculptors, Wood Carvers, Metal Workers, Silver Smiths, Plasterers, Bookbinders, Printers, Glass Painters &c.

The School was to be open all year, less the usual holidays, and class hours would be from 8 to 10 a.m. on weekdays and 7 to 9 p.m. in the evenings. Bursaries were available, and students had to show drafting proficiency by submitting drawings or appropriate certificates. 111

The advertisement resulted in more applications than the accommodation could allow, and 68 students were enrolled, with 42 intending to stay for four years, the initial period of the full course. When the School opened on October 21st, much of the equipment had not arrived, but it did not dampen Anderson's enthusiasm as he made the opening address in the presence of John A.H. McDonald, the Lord Justice Clerk, representing the Board of Manufactures. 112
Anderson began with an account of the School's raison d'être, in order to distinguish between the function of the new school and the existing Academy Life Class and School of Design. In discussing the Board's School of Design, Anderson was at pains to stress the good intentions of the South Kensington system before it had drifted into its present state, and also to emphasise the value of "their great Museum" as a "treasure house of art, and an inexhaustible source of information for workers". The new school was not a drawing school. In applied art, drawing was a means to an end.114

Continuing that, in the School, "the teaching will be carried on by those engaged in the work they profess to teach", he next introduced the two teachers of Architecture, Frank W. Simon and George Watson, "two of the best draughtsmen in Edinburgh". The Modelling teacher was Robert Innes "well known as the best man we could get". A Colour teacher had yet to be appointed, and Anderson had "undertaken for a time the general superintendence" of the work of the School.114

The basis of the teaching was to be "an education in common in Classic, Renaissance and Mediaeval Arts". Anxious to dispel the notion that this was the province of architects alone, he emphasised that "all who contribute to a building must understand one another. They must all be able to speak the same language."

Anderson's architecture-led philosophy of the arts was fully revealed in his further statement that the object was to "realise the complete conception of the architect", and that "ornament dissociated from the thing it ornaments has no 'Raison d'être'."

All must work "as the men of old".115
The amount of "architectural" study varied with the occupation of each student, who, when he "has acquired enough for his particular art, he will follow his own special work as far as it can be carried on in the School". The course of instruction was to be "thoroughly practical and varied to suit the student's interest".

Guest speakers in the various arts were to be invited to "tell us all they know". Colour classes would teach the students how to "mix up plain tints", to sketch and colour items from the School's collection, and to select and execute background tints. From this they would proceed to arrangement and colouring of complex groups. Metalworkers were to have good examples to work from, and a comprehensive collection was planned. "Put workmen in contact with good work and you will quickly increase their intelligence and power".  

Concluding his lecture, Anderson warned that "Germany is covered with Industrial Art Schools" and that vast sums were spent in art education in Paris. This implied that "if we don't waken up we shall be left behind", but it was to be remembered that the "workmen of Edinburgh are not inferior to the French, German or Italians, in power and possibilities, but they must train for the race; and this School is one of the training grounds."  

In preparation for the opening, Anderson had been busy selecting books and objects for the School. He and Alexander Inglis had visited London and Paris, spending £400 on a collection. This included mediaeval casts from English buildings, although it was also intended to amass examples from Scottish sources. A selection of photographs of French Mediaeval work had also been picked up in Paris.
Some "good casts of classic work" were purchased from the Ecole des Beaux Arts and the British Museum, and the latter had also been asked to supply casts of classic gems, Italian medals, and mediaeval seals, "every one of which is a delight to look on". It was hoped that the Board of Manufactures would allow access to the Tassie gems, "one of the finest collections extant", and a collection of casts and illustrations of Heraldic work had been begun. A selection of casts from inscriptions on buildings and monuments had also been initiated, for the benefit of students of typography.\textsuperscript{118} Shortly afterwards, gifts began to arrive. Mrs. Anderson donated a bundle of coloured materials, a number of Scottish seals, and a case of Indian moths and butterflies. G.S. Carfrae supplied drawings and tracings of "decorative figure subjects" at the same time. In due course Copland and Lye of Glasgow presented coloured remnants, Thomas Bonnar presented a cast of an Italian gate panel, J.R. Findlay donated casts from the Tomb of the Duke of Burgundy at Dijon, and Farmer and Brindley gifted Renaissance casts.\textsuperscript{119}

A whole series of benefactions from Anderson himself followed. These included a gift of \textit{L'Art pour Tous,} two Donatello casts, tapestries for the colour class, four oriental rugs, a copy of Moore's \textit{Paradise and the Peri,} illustrated by Owen Jones, \textit{Interiors of Churches and Chapels in Austria,} and \textit{London Churches of the XVIIth Centuries,} which included work by Inigo Jones, Wren, Hawksmoor and Gibbs.\textsuperscript{120} Such gifts show the wide attention the School was receiving, as well as mirroring Anderson's own eclectic and deeply historicist tastes. The resemblance between the aims and equipment of this School and the pre-1858 Trustees' School of Design could not be missed.
The School's working committee comprised Anderson, its convenor, two City Councillors, and a selection of the best known architects, sculptors and craft firms in Edinburgh, namely, Hippolyte Blanc, W.W. Robertson, David MacGibbon, Thomas Bonnar, W. Scott Morton, Birnie Rhind, Robert K. Inches, George Waterston Jr., and I.L. Gibson. Alexander Inglis was Secretary. At a slightly later date John Kinross and Washington Browne would also be involved.121

Outdoor classes were introduced from the first, mirroring those at the Trustees' School of Design. J.J. Joass was a leader of these sketching classes, which visited such places as Corstorphine Church, Linlithgow Palace and Falkland Palace. The promised lectures were introduced, as were competitions. In due course the school advertised its willingness to submit designs to prospective purchasers for a wide range of work. It was successfully launched, and the students were enjoying the classes. In October 1893 it was decided that three fellowships should be created for two years each, to study and draw old Scottish architecture and design: a development that marked the inception of the National Art Survey of Scotland.

Practice to 1894 - St. Andrews and the Pearce Institute

In 1891, the office moved to 16 Rutland Square, and the house next door (Number 15) was bought by Anderson as a town residence, no doubt reflecting the tremendous demands now made on his time.

He continued to meet Lord Bute regularly in connection with Mount Stuart, although the men now had much more to discuss in view of Bute's membership of the Board of Manufactures. In
addition to this Lord Bute had been a Commissioner under the
Universities (Scotland) Act since 1889, and in 1892 was elected
Rector of the University of St. Andrews.

The first of a series of small but prestigious commissions
for this latter establishment had begun in 1891, when a fund
raising circular announced that, as a result of accommodation
difficulties, a new dining hall for students was required. The
circular continued that the matter had been "brought under the
notice of the Marquess of Bute" who gave £1000, suggesting it
should be "in connection with the Students' Union". Plans had
been prepared by "Dr. Rowand Anderson" and also included a
Debating Hall, a Reading Room, and other rooms. The total cost
was estimated at £2800, and the Students' Union were to provide
the site and £650, leaving a balance of £1,150 to be subscribed.

The commission involved the conversion of 75 North Street,
St. Andrews, and an adjoining house in Butts Wynd. The work was
well in hand in 1892, and included the creation of a large hall
with Jacobean ceilings, a series of small rooms, and a domed
entrance hall (Plate 118). The exterior of the building was
repaired where necessary, harled, and finished in the Scots
Jacobean style. In due course the University had to clear
outstandings of £1063-15-10.

At the same time, another major commission was in its infancy.
Sir William Pearce, the proprietor of Fairfield's shipyard, had
died in 1888, leaving a personal fortune of £1½ million. Pearce,
originally from Kent, had been a flamboyant entrepreneur, but also
had the gift of "sweet reasonableness", which endeared him to his
workforce. As a memorial, the Pearce family and friends
decided to erect an Institute to him in Govan, designed to provide social and recreational facilities for the people of that district. Lady Pearce was later to express the hope that the "clubs in connection with the Institute may be carried on in such a manner as may be conducive to the religious, moral and social welfare of the members". The new Institute was to be administered by Govan Parish Church, and no doubt related to this, Anderson was given the commission.

Fully developed design drawings showing a large asymmetrically planned Geometric Gothic building were produced in 1891. A tall ventilation shaft, resembling those at the Medical School and the Portrait Gallery figured prominently in the composition, which also incorporated a great Gothic hall of two storeys and a saucer dome. Flanking this hall was a range of Gothic facades, elaborated with square headed windows, reinforcing arches, tourelles, flèches and dormers. The design, quite magnificent, was a synthesis of the Portrait Gallery and the McEwan Hall realised in Gothic, ultimately deriving from Cordes and Figeac (Plate 119).

It was nevertheless abandoned, possibly because of a change of intention regarding the use of the great hall. When the Institute was redesigned, the hall occupied a smaller proportion of the total floor area, and was changed to a rectangular shape, adaptable to a greater variety of uses. The building of this revised design did not begin until c. 1900, and did not complete until 1907, costing some £40,000.

The Pearce Institute, as built, was dominated by two considerations, Anderson's pre-occupation with sound planning, and his fondness for Scots Renaissance/Jacobean work. The planning
was fitted to the site, a square one bounded by Govan Road, and at right angles to it on the east side, Mansfield Street. At right angles to it on the west side was the avenue leading to Govan Parish Church.

Anderson decided on an irregular U shape as a basis, the shorter leg of the U being devoted to the great hall, to be placed parallel to the avenue to the church. Next to this, occupying the ground floor of the Govan Road (and main elevation) was a long room, now used as a tearoom. Behind this a large gymnasium was placed. On the longer leg of the U, the Mansfield Street elevation, Anderson placed a series of club and meeting rooms, accessed from a single straight corridor repeated on the two floors above. On the second and third floors, these corridors terminate in large meeting rooms, known as the Fairfield Hall and the Stephen Hall. One of the rooms on the second floor, a demonstration room, has banked seating in the manner of the lecture theatres at Edinburgh University.

On the main elevation, above the tearoom and gymnasium, is a series of offices and clubrooms, accessed from central corridors. The main entrance at the east side of this elevation leads to a large staircase from which all parts of the upper floors can be reached. The great hall is entered from a corridor alongside the gymnasium.

In deciding on a clothing for these arrangements, Anderson selected early Scots Renaissance for most of the frontage and east wing. This is punctuated with asymmetrically placed windows, pedimented dormers and reinforcing arches, together with gable chimneys and crow steps. On the west side, the frontage of the
great hall (named after Dr. Macleod, who died in 1898), is in a later style, with Dutch gable and strapwork, the intention being to allude to stylistic change over time as well as to intensify the building's visual interest. Its appearance is no less successful than the earlier design (Plate 120).

In the interior, a dado of glazed green tiles decorates the corridors, and most rooms are panelled in wood.

In the midst of a wide range of commissions for alterations to country houses in all styles, such as Ethie Castle (1892), or Charleton House, Montrose (1892), Anderson still found time for competition work, such as the refacing of Midlothian County Hall to George IV Bridge, where his asymmetrical classicism was not favoured. 127

A fascinating selection of church and monumental work was also coming in, including the Restoration of the Mackenzie tomb in Greyfriars Churchyard for the Marquess of Bute and Lord Wharcliffe, 128 and extensions to Gillespie Graham's Old Parish Church in Falkirk, where the additions at the front improve on the finish of the original.

Tangier

At some point in the 1880's, Anderson had visited Tangier and fallen in love with it.

Described by contemporaries as "the seat of a rather extensive and gay European colony", Tangier offered almost continuous and healthy sunshine while also providing access to Arab and African culture. Socially, it offered opportunities to rub shoulders with wealthy Americans, such as Ion Pericardis, who together with
his wife ran a villa which was "the show house of Tangiers", or with Europeans such as Dr. Von Rottenberg, formerly agent to Krupps of Essen, but latterly the Sultan of Morocco's chief engineer. 129

One of the great attractions of Tangier was its horse riding. Race meetings took place outside the city at "the Bubana", a racecourse two miles away. These were always notable affairs, producing a display of first class horse flesh and great flamboyance among the visitors, who mingled with the colourfully dressed Moors, Berbers or Riffs. Another more grisly occupation available to the visitor with a sense of adventure was "pig sticking", spearing wild boar in the "Diplomatic Forest" slightly to the south of Tangier.

In the early 1890's, Anderson became involved with James Thompson, a young Scot who had moved there to set up in business as an architect's contractor, asking him to take charge of the erection of his holiday residence. 130 This led to the execution of a deed of partnership, apparently covering the operation of a building business. 131 Clearly, Thompson would operate this in Tangiers with minimal personal involvement from Anderson, who was essentially a holidaymaker there, seldom staying for any more than a few weeks at a time.

The first and only product of the partnership was an office building erected for the Eastern Telegraph Company c. 1892, and now in use as a school (Plate 121). This building has a number of characteristics pointing to Anderson's involvement in its design. Although flat roofed, it was given a deep cornice and a swagged Renaissance frieze, very reminiscent of the Conservative Club, as are its pedimented windows, proportions, and overall sense of
restraint. The building was sensibly and conveniently planned, with a staircase at the left hand side leading to three floors of offices.

The two men "found themselves to be incompatible", and it is not impossible that this arose through careless implementation of Anderson's design. The building's cornice line was not executed straight, and some of the Renaissance ornament is rather clumsy. Comparison with Thompson's other works, such as the Cafe Central in the Socco Chico (Plate 122), or the gate of the former British Embassy, reveal a different design approach.

Anderson's own house, demolished some twenty years ago, remains a mystery. It would appear he originally intended to built it on the Emsallah, meaning "Place of Prayer", slightly southwards of central Tangier. The plans of "Emsallah House" (undated) point to two of Anderson's holiday occupations, incorporating stables and ample balcony space for taking the sun (Plate 123).

The house was eventually constructed on the cliffs of the Marshan, overlooking the Mediterranean and behind the Sultan's palace. The space it occupied is not large, and all that can now be said is that it was built of cement, and possibly not unlike the designs for Emsallah House.

In 1894, Anderson interested an Australian, Ernest Waller, in looking after property he had purchased in Tangier. Waller, who had been a member of the Royal Caledonian Horticultural Association, came out to do this, but eventually set up nurseries on his own account at Souani, in the suburbs.

Anderson enjoyed Tangier for a number of reasons. He was friendly with Pericardis, who shared his conservative political
viewpoint, remarking in a letter to Anderson that he had read of William McEwan giving a "great blow to the Gladstonians" in the Commons. He also discussed his architectural achievements with Pericardis, sending him photographs of his work. Even although, in 1894, he was sixty, he seems to have been fond of riding, describing in a letter to Lady Bute (in 1900) that he had loaned the Earl of Dumfries his "smoked goggles" when seeing him off on a horseback expedition.

After the turn of the century, when ill health kept Anderson away from Tangier, he still kept in touch with its political affairs, clipping out relevant newspaper articles and strongly advocating Moroccan independence. He also kept a translation of the Koran among his books. It is, indeed, clear that, from the late 1880's to the late 1890's, the years of his most prolific activity, Tangiers was a place of stimulus and rest to a man of remarkable forcefulness and energy.

Key Projects, 1894-1897

Another project calling for Anderson's special personal skills had begun in 1893 when he had been asked to design a "canopy that for costliness is likely to be unique for works among its class". This was a great baldacchino which was to cover the holy table in the choir of the Catholic Apostolic Church.

The result was a beautifully proportioned structure on four variously detailed Romanesque columns, in gilded white stone, standing some forty feet high. Rising from the abaci of the four pillars are pinnacles, breaking into sub-pinnacles and decorated with Romanesque gablets. The roof consists of a pyramid of gablets,
topped with statues of angels, by Birnie Rhind, and surmounted by a cross finial (Plate 124). The basic shape of the baldacchino strongly evokes Scott's Albert Memorial.

While the structure was in progress, Phoebe Traquair was at work on the mural decorations of the chancel arch of the church, adding at its top a choir of angels echoing those on the baldacchino in an apocalyptic, Blake-like style. All of this combined to produce a unique, mysterious atmosphere, a "blaze of light and colour" in which liturgical worship and "the tongues" occasionally coincided.

At around this time, an interesting if small commission was completing in Glasgow. Alexander Crum of Thornliebank, M.P., industrialist, and sometime Director of the Caledonian Railway, had died in 1893, and the Crum Memorial Library was erected in his memory. This resulted in a miniature masterpiece in Anderson's Scots Jacobean manner, incorporating a simple entrance porch, a large reading room, and behind, a small committee room next to a bookstore (Plate 125). It was opened with full masonic honours, the Chief Master Mason at the ceremony being the young Sir John Stirling Maxwell, a family friend of the Crums, and a fellow commissioner with the Marquess of Bute under the Universities (Scotland) Act.

On 16th November, 1894, the corner stone of St. Margaret's Memorial Roman Catholic Church was laid in Dunfermline, just across the road from the new Holy Trinity Episcopal Church. The Catholics of Dunfermline had worshipped in temporary accommodation up to this point, and Bute had been involved with a substantial gift and in the selection of Anderson as architect.
scheme envisaged was illustrated in A.H. Millar's *Fife - Pictorial and Historical* shortly afterwards (Plate 126). This was to be Anderson's final (and unsuccessful) attempt to have a church erected with a Brechin tower.

The church was to have been in transitional (12th Century) style, cruciform, with nave, transepts and choir. At the crossing, there was to have been a dome, and beneath this, a baldacchino of rich marble. On the exterior, the crossing was to have been marked by a square tower, with round headed windows on each side, finished with a corbelled parapet and pyramidal slated roof. 143

Funds ran out after £6000/£7000 had been spent, and only the nave, less porch and chancel, was built at this stage (Plate 127).

**Waverley Station Hotel**

The year 1895 started with the competition for the new Hotel and offices at Waverley Station. The North British Railway's Directors had chosen the architects for the competition judiciously. Anderson, William Leiper, John James Burnet, now an A.R.S.A., Dunn and Findlay, and W. Hamilton Beattie had been asked to compete. Just prior to this Hamilton Beattie had designed Jenner's in Princes Street for Charles Jenner, a Director of the North British railway. The competitors had been given final instructions at the end of the previous October. Plans were submitted on 11th February, and on 14th February, it was announced that W. Hamilton Beattie's design had won the competition. 144

A furious Anderson wrote to the Secretary of the North British Railway on February 16th, asking if the Directors "had the plans,
sections, reports and estimates examined by experts before coming to a decision". The Railway in reply merely referred him to the conditions for the competition, emphasising that the decision was their prerogative.

Anderson wrote a further letter on 23rd February, stating that the conditions, as well as making it clear that the decision was theirs, had spelt out minute details such as heights of different sections of the building, arrangements, and communication. In view of the time span between submission of the plans and the making of the decision, it was clear that these matters "had not been carefully considered".

Anderson had devoted my own time and the time of twelve assistants, working extra hours for eight weeks, to the exclusion of other work, and I have no doubt that other competitors must have made equal sacrifices.145

In addition,

it was freely stated to myself and others that we might save ourselves the trouble of competing, as the result was a foregone conclusion.146

Nevertheless, he had believed in their integrity, and the result was an "injustice and an insult to the architectural profession". In spite of having laid himself open to "cheap sneers about the disappointment of unsuccessful competitors" and the possibility of misrepresentation, it was important that the injustice was drawn to the public's attention. This he emphasised by having his letter printed and widely circulated.

The rejected entries were of a high standard. Burnet's eclectic and asymmetrical design, very fine, might have been a little out of place in the classical context of Princes Street,
but Leiper's symmetrical Franco Scottish facades, or either of Anderson's two designs (Plate 128), were refined enough to be suitable. Dunn & Findlay's effort was in a fairly clumsy François Premier style. 147

Anderson's planning was simple. He had located a straight corridor on each of the building's four sides, leaving a square court at its heart. The accommodation lay along these corridors, with public rooms and offices on the ground floor.

**Glencoe and Pollokshaws**

In January, 1895, contract drawings were completed for Glencoe House, a new residence for Sir Donald Alexander Smith, Queen Victoria's "favourite colonial". Smith, in his seventy fifth year, came from Forres, but had emigrated early in his life to Canada where he had risen through the ranks in the Hudson Bay Company, eventually becoming its Governor, which he still was. He was actively involved in politics in Canada, and a Director of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Ten years earlier he had had the privilege of striking in the last spike of the rail link between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Before his new house, near Ballachulish, was completed, Smith would become Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal, and at around the same time would become Canadian High Commissioner in London. 148

Glencoe House became Anderson's most ambitious domestic project in the Scots Jacobean style. Built on rising ground affording breathtaking views on all sides, it presented several floors of public rooms and bedrooms to Loch Leven (Plate 129). These rooms were as usual planned along straight lateral corridors on the two
main floors. The main door, entrance hall and staircase were accessed from the landward side of the house, and next to this, a short and broad wing provided a second axis at right angles to the main one (Plate 130). This contained, on the ground floor, a large dining room, above which sat additional bedrooms and dressing rooms. A two storey bay window, facing landwards, illuminated the dining room and the bedroom above, and gave magnificent views of the Pap of Glencoe. 149

Visual variety was added to the composition in two ways: Scots Jacobean details abounded, and constructional polychromy was achieved by offsetting the house's coursed granite walls with red sandstone dressings. Anderson completed the polychromy with red slates for the roofs, but these were later considered "glaringly foreign" and replaced by local slates from Ballachulish Quarry. Inside, Anderson provided extensive wood panelling and fine seventeenth century ceilings (Plate 131).

A further Scots design based on the same period followed soon afterwards in the form of Pollokshaws Burgh Buildings, gifted to the local authority by Sir John Stirling Maxwell.

A strong relationship had grown up between Anderson and Stirling Maxwell, not surprising since, in spite of the wide age difference between them, they were both men of the arts and members of the same social circle. After securing his agreement to undertake the commission, Stirling Maxwell asked Anderson what his intentions were, the reply being that "I mean to take the opportunity to reproduce as many features as possible of the Old College of Glasgow". 150 The Old College, a group of buildings dating from the 17th Century, had been demolished to make way for a goods yard,
although some fragments of it were transported to Gilmorehill when the University was reconstructed there.

Illustrations in MacGibbon and Ross show that it was a large complex, mostly of three storeys, and thus only loosely translateable into a Burgh Hall. Its most prominent architectural feature was a tall steeple topped with a lead covered structure of the type formerly present on the Tron Kirk on the Royal Mile, and admired by Anderson to the extent that it had appeared in miniature at St. Cuthbert's, Colinton.

The end result pleased Stirling Maxwell both from the point of view of usefulness and beauty. Anderson had a good open site at his disposal, and laid down two halls at right angles to each other, one large and one small, forming an L shape. These were joined and abutted by a series of small subsidiary rooms and access corridors. On the frontage (Plate 132), the large steeple mirrors that of the Old College, and crow steps, pediments and strapwork are again much in evidence. The lower part of the steeple gave entry to the gallery of the main hall, barrel vaulted in plaster. The sturdiness of the construction can be gauged from the forest of timbers in the loft of the great hall.

The Closing Years of the Century

On February 10th, 1897, Anderson received a telegram at "Allermuir". It was from George Hay, Secretary of the Royal Scottish Academy, advising him that he had been elected an Honorary Member, a rare and high honour. A telegram conveying the personal congratulations of Sir George Reid arrived simultaneously.

The rift had been healed, and at the Academy's instigation.
The mistress art was receiving the recognition for which Anderson had fought so hard. The same day, John Honeyman, one of the first architect Associates to be elected after Anderson's campaign, sent him a congratulatory note. Anderson was gratified enough to keep these communications in his scrapbook.

Meanwhile, at Mount Stuart, the great architectural saga was continuing. Lord Bute was proceeding with the chapel and Anderson had been despatched to Saragossa Cathedral to obtain details of the octagonal lantern there, the "media naranja", or "half orange". Contract drawings for the chapel were ready in March 1897. It was to be apsidal, with the east end in lofty French Gothic, while the walls were to be lined with white Carrara Marble by Farmer and Brindley. In due course this glorious sanctuary was erected, the octagon framed in steel and supported on squinch arches, with a clerestory of ruby red glass, admired by Lord Bute in the Byzantine churches of Russia (Plate 133). Bute, as Rector of St. Andrews University and a devout Catholic, chose Saragossa because of its associations with Pope Pedro de Luna, who had authorised the founding of the University. On returning from a research trip for this project some months earlier Anderson had sought out de Luna's remains and had a cast made of his skull. This was presented to the University, much to Lord Bute's delight (Plate 134).

Anderson's pride in Mount Stuart was such that in June 1895, he had brought the Edinburgh Architectural Association there, pointing out the green Cipollino marble of the pillars in the Hall, the arches of pavona-zetta, and the alabaster of its recently clad walls.
In addition to his participation in the Association, Anderson had become a much sought after lecturer. At around this time he delivered a limelight presentation on Stirling Castle, its History and Its Architecture to a "large and most appreciative audience" at the Literary Institute in Edinburgh. His lecture, later published, demonstrated a detailed command of Scottish history and deep patriotism, as well as a desire for the castle's restoration. In urging money for this purpose, he could not resist criticising the values of "fine art" and those who felt it was more sensible to buy "Madonnas at £70,000 apiece." 

Another call for his lecturing talents occurred in mid July of 1897, when he was asked to deliver a paper to the Franco Scottish Society, an organisation much supported by Edinburgh University which invited French guests to Scotland and focused on aspects of the "Auld Alliance". On this occasion Anderson delivered a paper, with the aid of architectural drawings, on "French Influence on Scottish Architecture". With scholarly ease, he traced echoes of flamboyant tracery in ancient Scottish Churches, and attributed many features of Scottish Baronial buildings to French sources.

Early in December, 1897, the happy relations with the University suffered a severe setback, one which caused Anderson deep anguish. The formal opening of the McEwan Hall took place, its mural scheme having at last reached completion. Anderson was present at what should have been a gala occasion, attended by William McEwan and a host of Academic and Civic dignitaries. Amazingly, in all the solemn speeches, "none had thought fit to name the architect", a gigantic gaffe by any standards.

At a dinner a few days later in honour of Allan Clark, Clark
had with great loyalty deplored the omission of any reference to "the architect whose brain had created that beautiful design".\textsuperscript{157} A draft letter to a sympathiser (which may never have been sent) survives to show the torture this had inflicted on Anderson. On a day which was "the commemoration of 20 years work and thought" he had been "humiliated", and was now ill.\textsuperscript{158}

A contrite Senate, having had the matter brought to their attention, were quick to place on record that "the merits of the design of the Hall entitle the architect to the lasting gratitude of the University". This was released to the press, and what appears to have been a genuine inadvertence was rectified.\textsuperscript{159}

In the last year of the century, Anderson's attentions were turned to the West of Scotland. At Bothwell Parish Church, he restored the late 14th Century choir, at the instigation of the Rev. Dr. Pagan. The choir was the only surviving remnant of the old church. The restoration involved removing earth to a depth of two to three feet from around the walls, the lowering of the floor to its original level, and the restoration of the Geometric window mullions and carving round the doorway. The sedilia and piscina, the stone roof, and various monuments were also restored.\textsuperscript{160}

But there was a greater prize. Anderson had been asked to undertake the restoration of Paisley Abbey, much longed for by the Marquess of Bute. The nave had been restored in 1859 by James Salmon, but the choir, transepts and central tower had remained unbuilt since the collapse of the latter in 1540.

The Rev. Thomas Gentles raised £20,880 for the restoration. In March 1898, a Restoration Committee was formed with Sir Michael Shaw Stewart as Convener, and Sir John Stirling Maxwell as Convener
of the Building Committee. This alone would have been sufficient to guarantee Anderson the commission, but his name was long associated with the Abbey in any case, and his reputation second to none. 161

Almost twenty years earlier he had advocated a programme of restoration to preserve the abbey from "further ruin", which he felt could be done "at no very serious cost". The restoration of the long, aisle-less choir could be achieved if the models of Dunblane, Dunkeld, Dundrennan, Inchmaholm, New Abbey and Whithorn were followed. 162

Anderson's estimate for the complete restoration was £28,000, which provided for a new choir, with roof of open timber, and a new nave roof to harmonise with that of the choir. 163 A saddleback roof was to be provided for the crossing, and the floor of the choir was to be of stone and encaustic tiles. Drawings of the completed restoration were made (Plate 135), and show a single opening on each side of the tower, filled with broad louvres, and the choir restored, its sides reinforced with gabled buttresses.

By the end of the century it had become apparent that the hopes of the Committee for a complete restoration were ill founded. Excavations at the base of the tower "showed clearly that it was not the foundations that were at fault" when it fell. These were found to be sound, but the lower portions of the piers of the crossing were "loose and bad, and the base quite inadequate". One pier was particularly faulty, and the evidence suggested this was the one which had led to the collapse, and that the others had been twisted at the time. 164

Notwithstanding the inevitable disappointments following such a
discovery, it was nonetheless imperative that the structure should be properly repaired.

1899 had also seen the commencement of a large church at Inchinnan, for Lord Blythswood, a neighbour and friend of Stirling Maxwell. The time had come to replace the existing church, built in 1828 in Perpendicular Gothic, with something larger and more distinguished. 165

With these important commissions in hand for the opening years of the new century and an illustrious output of restorations and buildings large and small behind him, Anderson must have had just cause for satisfaction.

Moreover, he had raised the status of the profession in Scotland, and was involved in major efforts on behalf of architectural education. The School of Applied Art, in spite of financial insecurity, had produced a crop of graduates who were being snapped up, especially by London offices. The National Art Survey had begun, and its first bursars were producing remarkable records of historic Scottish architecture, furnishings and decoration. Long term problems were nevertheless making themselves apparent in various ways, but these could not have been significant enough to cause a man of Anderson's stature any great concern.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

2 RA Scrapbook, p.109.
4 Uncatalogued drawing in Edinburgh University Library.
6 RA Scrapbook, p.109.
7 A.H. Mackmurdo *Wren's City Churches* (Orpington: G. Allen, 1883).
8 RA Scrapbook, p.109.
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12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
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17 Ibid.
18 ECC, p.40, No.147.
19 Mathams: *History*.
20 Ibid.
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29 Savage Extension Scheme, p.102.

30 RA Scrapbook, p.308.

31 Savage Extension Scheme, Plate IV.

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51 ibid., p.150.
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CHAPTER SEVEN

ELDER STATESMAN, 1900-1921
ELDER STATESMAN, 1900-1921

The New Century

Although in his sixty sixth year, Anderson entered the new century with no intention of retiring. As if to prove the point, he had assumed two new partners in 1899, Frank Worthington Simon and A. Hunter Crawford.¹

Most of the commissions in progress at the turn of the century had been granted on the basis of his personal reputation and contacts, but the realisation of his ideas had, in the past, depended to a large degree on a galaxy of talented assistants, many of whom had now gone. Arthur Forman Balfour Paul had left c.1898, and was now in independent practice. In 1899, George Mackie Watson left, having served as chief assistant for a number of years.² Lorimer and Schultz were also long gone, and were already creating an impression in the architectural world.

The new partners were clearly intended to fill these gaps. Simon had been responsible for the daytime teaching of architectural drawing at the School of Applied Art from its opening until July 1897, when he resigned because of increasing business. His resignation was accepted "with great regret", as was that of George Watson, who resigned at the same time for health reasons. Prior to this appointment, Simon had been in practice on his own account and with Charles E. Tweedie. Before this, he had trained at the Ecole des Beaux Arts.³ A. Hunter Crawford was from the biscuit making family of that name, and was active in the Edinburgh Architectural Association.

Simon's design approach and drafting skills can be seen in his unsuccessful competition drawings for Perth E.U. Church, preserved with the Anderson office drawings and completed c.1899. He
possessed an ability to combine sketchiness and accuracy in his drawing to considerable artistic effect. His church design was offered in both the Classical and Gothic styles without altering the shape or the planning of the building. He clearly worked on the principle that this was sacrosanct, a philosophy close to Anderson's heart.

In due course the design skills of the new partners would be discernible at 32 Inverleith Place, Edinburgh (1900), and at Claremont Congregational Church, Blackpool (1901), the latter quite obviously by Simon.

1900 - Work in the East of Scotland

In 1899, Anderson received several small commissions from St. Andrews University, all high in antiquarian interest although not involving large sums of money.

The refurbishment of the Senate Room was the most important of these. This had been intended since 1889, but was not sanctioned until 1899. The Senate Room, in common with the library next door to it, was walled with bookcases, with a gallery running above, set on fluted columns of wood. In the centre of the ceiling, a rudimentary gasolier, in the form of crudely bent pipes, provided a rather ugly focal point for the tables and chairs below. The room was poorly heated and ventilated, and the lavatory accommodation was considered inadequate.

Refurbishment commenced late in 1899, and involved the removal of the bookcases, galleries and ceiling, the resurfacing of the walls with plaster and lath, and the installation of new windows. The walls were panelled in oak, and a "handsome and suitable mantelpiece
and hearth were installed. A fan was placed in the ceiling for ventilation, radiators heated from a new boiler were set in the window recesses, and, on the floor above, extra lavatory accommodation was provided.

The room became a showpiece for Anderson's personal aesthetic preferences. The fireplace was in purple veined alabaster, a material he had long been fond of, and was given a swagged frieze. Above, an aedicula overmantel in oak was surmounted by a segmental pediment, but the crowning glory of the room was the new ceiling.

Having ascertained that the Senate Room had been erected in 1648/49, Anderson gave the ceiling an appropriate period treatment, its deeply sculptured character recalling the dining room ceiling at Old Saughton House, Edinburgh. Floral sprays adorned its four corners, while a symmetrical moulding, decorated with leaves, stood out from the surface. In the centre of the ceiling, a new gasolier, with central brass ball and decorative scrolls, was installed (Plate 136). The work was completed by T. Harris and Son of St. Andrews for £735-5-6, the plasterwork by Alex McRitchie of St. Andrews for £86-7-9, some ten per cent in total above the original estimate of £750.7

Anderson must have been deeply satisfied that he had made his mark at the very heart of the University. Immediately next door, in the library, the glass case containing the plaster cast of de Luna's skull sat proudly on the Gothic plinth he had designed for it.

1900 also saw Anderson producing designs for a Drill Hall and offices for the 5th Volunteer Brigade, Royal Scots, to be built at Dalmeny Street, off Leith Walk. The offices were to run along the
front of a good square site, with the drill hall occupying the rest of the square. It was to be approached through a pend close at the centre of the block of offices.

Anderson designed the offices in a late 17th century classical style, but stopped short of absolute symmetry. Officers' rooms were located on the right hand side of the ground floor, with subsidiary rooms on the left calling for slightly different lighting arrangements, expressed on the exterior by the windows. The facade was completed in 1901 in creamy ashlar with sculptured reliefs in the central pediment and on the walls at either side (Plate 137).

The heavily rusticated pend arch led into a large shed supported on steel trusses, and glazed. Along the back of the second floor of the offices, a wooden balcony allowed for supervision of the activities taking place at ground level.

The second floor was accessed from the right hand side of the building, by way of a good staircase finished with a rounded wooden handrail. On this floor the rooms were intended for non commissioned officers, but in its centre, Anderson provided a board room with a deeply incised plaster ceiling and modillion cornice.

1900 - Pollok and Keir

In the closing years of the old century, Anderson had been in discussion with Sir John Stirling Maxwell about the renovation and extension of the house he had chosen for himself after coming of age in 1888, namely Pollok House.

Pollok House was a severe classical box built in the middle of
the eighteenth century, and attributed to William Adam. Its most pressing requirements were new kitchen and bathroom facilities, up to date lighting, and more space to house the library and art collection which Stirling Maxwell had inherited from his father. 9

In 1890 Anderson had added an entrance hall to the house, complete with elegant gently rising staircase and period plasterwork, transferring the pedimented door surround to the front of the new entrance hall.

The first plan produced involved extensions to the house at both sides, retaining the same number of storeys, an arrangement which would scarcely have relieved the severity of the original facades. 10 A further scheme, possibly drawn by Frank Simon, demonstrated much greater sensitivity. Here Anderson added curving neo Palladian quadrantal arms, decorated with ogival cupolas, and terminating in square blocks. The front garden was enclosed by symmetrical arcades and flanked by corner pavilions, also topped by cupolas (Plate 138).

This fine design would have provided too much living space, judging from what was eventually built, but it contained the seeds of the final plans. These were being implemented as early as 1901, but would not reach completion until 1908. In this final solution, a pair of short corridors led from the existing house into two single storey wings. The wing on the right hand side of the garden front was intended to house a library, that on the left a Billiard room. On this facade, each wing was given a Venetian window, echoing that of the central entrance. Swags were placed above the flanks of the Venetian windows, again
reflecting the decoration of the main block. Enough visual interest was thereby concentrated in the wings to compensate for the blandness of the main block.

In revising the plans for the garden, Anderson retained two ideas from the previous scheme, the introduction of quadrantal curves, finally incorporated in the terrace walls, and the cupola topped pavilions. A harmonious combination of house, wings and garden was thus created (Plate 139).

Within the house, Anderson touched very little of the original central block, except at basement level, where the kitchens were transformed into an airy and generous work space, with cast iron ranges by Cormack of Glasgow deployed around the walls. In the new wings, Ionic columns and plasterwork were crisply executed in the same manner as the main block. Throughout, the highest standards of craftsmanship applied, particularly evident in the external masonwork, which is superior in finish to that of the original block.

Anderson's standing with the Stirling and Stirling Maxwell families can be judged from the fact that, while he was engaged at Pollok, he was also carrying out work for Archibald Stirling of Keir at Keir House.

Keir House had originally been designed at some point in the 18th century, but had subsequently undergone numerous extensions and alterations. A drawing room wing had been added by David Hamilton, who was also responsible for adding Doric lodges and gates in 1820. Between 1845 and 1851, Alfred Jenoure, of whom little is known, was responsible for replacing the pedimented front of the house with a four storey bow window, the attic level of
which had rounded window heads, and at one time had a glass roof.
At some point during these years, Keir had acquired walled
gardens, bridges, tunnels, a Water Garden, a Topiary Yew House,
cascades, an ice house, water house, garden house and stud house,
_inter alia_.

Stirling Maxwell's rejection of this eclectic melange was
perfectly understandable, but his brother Archibald appears to
have been content to carry on in the same architectural vein as
their father.

Rowand Anderson's first commission seems to have involved the
installation of new stairs and a lift, and then, in the heart of
the complex, a new dining room. This work took place in 1899/1900,
to be followed in 1902/3 with commissions for garden terrace walls
and other exterior work, including a gardener's bothy. In due
course a tempietto for the garden was requested, and was designed
with a steel frame and eight Corinthian columns.

Finally, in 1910, sketch plans for a chapel, at the north east
corner of the house, were produced. It was carried out in a
plain classical style, and richly decorated in mosaics and marble.
While the work at Keir lacked the challenge of entirely new
commissions, and while its stylistic dissonance must have been
distasteful to Anderson, the assignments were at least varied, and
not subject to financial constraints.

1901 - Honours and Duties
The year 1900 ended with the death of Lord Bute, who had
suffered several strokes.

In January 1901, Anderson was writing to Lady Bute about the
Bute had not lived to see it completed. The previous year Anderson had visited Carrara to personally supervise the selection of marble for its interior. Anderson's retention at Mount Stuart was never in doubt, and his first task was to see the completion of the chapel through and to attend to the erection of the statues for the Central Hall. He had earlier struck up a friendship with the Fourth Marquess, and in due course would be commissioned to provide alterations at the house and a nursery wing.

The year 1901 saw the death of Queen Victoria and the installation of Edward VII. Five architects, Anderson, T.G. Jackson, Aston Webb, Ernest George and Sir Thomas Drew, were approached by a small committee chaired by Lord Esher to produce competitive designs for a Queen Victoria Memorial. This was to comprise a central feature in front of Buckingham Palace, together with a memorial arch at the east end of the Mall. The architects were to collaborate with Thomas Brock, the chosen sculptor, in the preparation of their schemes. The designs were prepared against a background of public controversy about the appropriateness of the memorial and the limited nature of the competition.

Outside Buckingham Palace (not as yet remodelled by Webb) Anderson intended to place a rond point, accessed by eight perimeter steps, and fenced with balustrades. From a cruciform plinth in its centre, the Queen Victoria Monument would rise up in four sections, each diminishing in size and more or less cylindrical. A statue of the Queen was to surmount the pile, which was to be surrounded at the lower levels by historical figures (Plate 140). Panels on the sides of the cylindrical sections would have given scope for inscriptions and heraldic decoration.
Anderson's design also provided for a semicircular parterre opposite Buckingham Gate, in the Mall, which was to be enclosed with a curving balustrade, and filled with statuary. The centre-piece was to be an equestrian statue of Queen Elizabeth, set on a richly carved rectangular plinth, and surrounded by figures of "the leading men of her day", which included Drake, Raleigh, Shakespeare and Howard of Effingham.

The third element in the design was a monumental archway into the Mall from Trafalgar Square. Here Anderson introduced a Roman triumphal arch, heavily buttressed, and above, an aedicule containing an equestrian statue. 19

Aston Webb's magniloquent and rather impractical scheme was preferred on this occasion, although it was generally recognised that Anderson's designs were "handsome and scholarly", if a little understated. In 1908-9, after several reductions in the scale of his scheme, Webb was forced to incorporate a large amount of office space for the Admiralty in his triumphal arch. As late as 1943, Stirling Maxwell was hopeful that Anderson's arch, which he felt was "immeasurably finer" than Webb's, might still be carried out. 20

Late in 1901, an honour of a different type came to Anderson. He was asked to write a preface to a new edition of Billings' The Baronial & Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland, for Oliver and Boyd. His preface, entitled "An Appreciation", proved to be most revealing. Setting Billings' production in an historical context, he went on to clarify the numerous points at which it surpassed Slezer's Theatrum Scotiae, Pennant's Tour of Scotland, and Grose's The Antiquities of Scotland; it was better drawn, contained
a better selection of examples, and had "disclosed a wealth of native Art hitherto practically unknown".

Having paid Billings appropriate tribute, Anderson nevertheless regretted that those architects who had consulted his works in the latter half of the nineteenth century had not studied the buildings illustrated "from a sounder standpoint". They had assumed that the original designs of Baronial architecture had grouped their buildings to meet their natural situations.

This had produced "the many sham castles we see everywhere".

Anderson had no doubt that

the builders of our Scottish houses and castles worked on no such principles. They never troubled themselves about picturesqueness or the composition of designs to suit sites. They did what suited their purposes and wants ... and the result was ... buildings that show an adaptation of means to an end, functional truth, with resulting intelligence, expression and picturesqueness.

The irony of these remarks was that Billings himself had propounded the very principles Anderson was at pains to discredit.

He was, however, pleased to note that better principles were prevailing, and that

buildings are no longer made to look like what they are not, but their character is impressed on them by the various purposes that call them into existence.

Next, Anderson exhorted architects to follow in the footsteps of the ancient architects whose works Billings had illustrated, to study how they had overcome the practical problems which had faced them. Only by so doing, he felt, could modern architects produce buildings as thoroughly national in character, and representative of the social and political state of the time, as any building illustrated in this valuable work.
Thus, Anderson crystallised the essential difference between mid 19th century Baronial and his own approach to a national architecture. In so doing he had let one point slip. He had stated that Billings' work, when first published, had immediately gone into "the front rank of architectural publications, and from this position it has not yet been displaced". His use of the word "yet" seems with hindsight to express his hope that the National Art Survey, then in its seventh year, would one day eclipse even this source.

**Balmoral and Knighthood**

Since the death of Prince Albert in 1861, Queen Victoria had spent most of her widowhood at Osborne or Balmoral, where she had kept the Prince Consort's rooms as he had left them, as shrines to his memory.

The new king, prior to his coronation in 1902, had decided to undertake changes. Together with the Comptroller of the Lord Chamberlain's Department, Sir Arthur Ellis, the Master of the Household, Lord Farquhar, the Secretary of the Office of Works, Lord Esher, and Lionel Cust, the Surveyor of the King's Pictures, the King explored each palace from end to end in order to decide what alterations and improvements might be necessary to make the Palace into a suitable residence for the Sovereign and his Court at the beginning of the twentieth century. When changes were made, these were invariably carried out under the personal supervision of the King, and to his plans.

As part of this programme, it was decided to tackle Balmoral, which, in common with other royal residences, was badly heated and lacking in amenities. Anderson was selected as executant architect.
A contemporary report, preserved in Anderson's scrap book, records that

Mr. Anderson exactly grasped the King's own idea, which was to give greater comfort, roominess, and convenience without destroying the air of simplicity, almost of homeliness, which has always been the distinctive feature of Royalty's Highland dwelling place. Balmoral is scarcely a "Castle", much less a "Palace". But it is now, thanks to his Majesty's own plans and to Mr. Anderson's skill in carrying them out, a very handsome and commodious house, where a guest - be an emperor or just a neighbour from Desside - can find himself 'at home and in clover'.

The additions and alterations at Balmoral included extensions to the kitchen wing, the installation of a new central heating system, the installation of a luggage lift, and alterations to the Balmoral Lodge Cottage, Bhaile-na-Coile.

King Edward was "greatly pleased" with Anderson's work, and at some time in the Autumn of 1902, summoned him to Balmoral to inform him that he was to be knighted at the Coronation on November 9th, 1902.

The year 1902 also witnessed the termination of the new partnership, Simon and Crawford leaving to form a separate partnership at a time when Anderson's personal prestige was never higher, and their own relatively lowly status never more apparent. For some unknown reason a lawsuit was instigated. Simon, who seems to have lacked the ability to settle, in due course went to Canada.

The School of Applied Art in Crisis

In 1896/7, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh had commented on the
School of Applied Art's great success. It was "beginning to send young men into the world fitted to take a good place in the development of industrial art", but even at that early date, the precarious state of its finances was publicly discussed. A year previously, Edinburgh City Council had been forced to cut back its contribution from £1000 to £500 as a result of reduced grants from central government, causing the School to rely heavily on private subscriptions. 27

In the middle of 1898, the Scotch Education Department had written to the Board of Manufactures, inviting their co-operation in arranging "a comprehensive scheme of Art Education in Edinburgh to embrace the School of Art and other Art Classes and Institutions". 28 Anderson and his Associates, torn between the need to put the School's finances on a permanent footing and a desire to preserve its special characteristics, had suggested that the School of Applied Art should be merged with the Board of Manufactures' Art School, partly meeting the Education Department's aims. This would have guaranteed financial stability, and would have placed the School in sympathetic hands. 29

While this was still under discussion at the start of 1899, the School's students had made the most of their first opportunity to compete nationwide, with John Stewart winning the R.I.B.A.'s Owen Jones Prize, and J. Hervey Rutherford and Ramsay Traquair jointly winning the Pugin Studentship Prize. 30

By July 1899, the merger suggestion had temporarily lapsed, increasing Anderson's anxiety about the School and its by now large National Art Survey collection. As a precaution it was decided that the drawings should be catalogued, stamped and insured for the (then) vast sum of £1000. 31
In February, 1901, the merger proposal was finally dropped when the Board of Manufactures advised the Joint Committee of the School of Applied Art that its own funding was under review. It could not therefore take over responsibility for a joint school, but suggested a combination of the School with the rapidly expanding Heriot Watt College, who, financially speaking, were in a good position, having large trust funds at their disposal. It was agreed that Robert Inches should approach the Governors of Heriot Watt. That same year, the School was forced to cash its reserves, a deposit receipt provided from the Earl of Moray's estate, and one from A. Oliver Riddell's estate.

By the end of 1901, the Joint Committee had resigned themselves to the idea that the School should be incorporated into Heriot Watt College, subject to the one condition that "the system of education which has produced such good results should be continued and developed". A letter was written to that effect, in the interests of "having one Central School for Art in Edinburgh", and thus avoiding the "dissipation of energy and resources".

Early in 1902 the Governors of Heriot Watt College wrote to the Scotch Education Department asking for financial support because they were likely to be involved in increased responsibilities. They had also been approached by the Board of Manufactures to take over their ailing School of Design, in view of the impending curtailment of their finances.

While the Scotch Education Department prevaricated over the Heriot Watt approach, the School of Applied Art found itself in dire financial straits. The Joint Committee wrote an urgent letter of appeal to the City Council explaining this, citing 31 examples of Municipal support for Art Schools throughout the country.
In mid 1902, R. Anning Bell conducted an apparently routine inspection of the School on behalf of the Scotch Education Department, reporting on it in glowing terms. The drawings produced by its students were "really wonderful", and their designs were "remarkable for their reticence and dignity of treatment". Taste was taught from ancient examples, the students thus acquiring a "sense of beauty and proportion". Bell was also impressed with the vast collection. 37

Eventually, in September 1902, the Secretary of State appointed a "Departmental Committee" to enquire into "the constitution, powers and duties of the Board of Manufactures, with special reference to the administration of the grants ... made for the purposes of art in Edinburgh". The Committee in due course reached the conclusion that the Board had been guilty of "dereliction of duty" since 1858, without apparently considering the constraints of the Henry Cole regime. 38

This Committee had wide powers, and proceeded to take evidence on the state of art education in Edinburgh, interviewing Sir George Reid, Sir Rowand Anderson, William Hole, and various others. Reid felt that a reorganisation of art provision was overdue, but saw obstacles in the shape of the Heriot Watt College, which since the late 1880's, had benefited numerically from the decline of the Trustees' School of Design. Heriot Watt were putting many hundreds of students through design courses which concentrated on the technical and practical sides of the subject, but with limited coverage of aesthetic matters. Reid felt, however, that Heriot Watt would not accept being dictated to by such bodies as the Academy or the School of Applied Art in view of their numerical supremacy.
Glasgow School of Art was successful because they had "no Heriot Watt people to deal with".39

Anderson, with customary frankness and forcefulness, and having outlined the raison d'être of the School of Applied Art, emphasised its record in keeping most of its students right to the end of its five year course. Its other achievements were well known, and formed a well planned prelude to a condemnation of the Heriot Watt record.

... they have at the start one hundred pupils, but they melt away and they never see them again ... For example ... there are one hundred and ninety seven pupils in what is called Building 'Construction' and Architecture. The course of the class is for three years; they start with one hundred and ninety seven and finish with twenty six; then for Ornament and Design, the course lasts two years; they start with fifty five and finish with one.40

Anderson recommended a completely new and integrated Art School for Edinburgh. When asked what rôle Heriot Watt might play in such an Institution, he doubted they could do anything as they were "not organised on such a footing".41

On hearing these statements, the Governors of Heriot Watt were justifiably incensed. They had not been consulted, and thus had not had the opportunity to make a case for themselves. They disputed the implications of Anderson's statistics, and noted that they had been condemned by the Director of a School which only a few years earlier, had requested a merger with Heriot Watt.42

As a result of its investigations, however flawed, the Departmental Committee recommended a new School of Art for Edinburgh, and that the School of Applied Art should be carried on until such a school was established. Whenever it was, the Applied Art School
should be transferred there, remaining under the control of Sir Rowand Anderson "for as long a time as he will continue to exercise it". It would take a few more years for the merger to come to pass, but Anderson was now able to relax knowing that his labours had not been fruitless. During 1903, the School of Applied Art and the Trustees' School of Design were merged as a short term expedient.

Ecclesiastical Work 1904-1906. Inchinnan, Paisley, Culross

In 1904, Anderson assumed a new partner, Arthur Forman Balfour Paul, son of Sir James Balfour Paul, Lord Lyon King of Arms, who was an active member of the Edinburgh Architectural Association.

Paul had trained in the Anderson office, entering practice on his own in the closing years of the old century. His most significant work prior to re-joining his old employer was the Sir William Fraser Memorial Homes at Colinton. This complex of buildings shows Paul's ready acceptance of the Anderson architectural formula. Designed in 1899, the homes are laid out in a U shape, enclosing a lawn which opens to the street. Around this stretches a symmetrical arrangement of two storey Scots Jacobean houses, harled, with red sandstone dressings, gable chimneys, crow steps, sash windows and stair turrets. The main doorway of the central block is surmounted by a pedimented aedicular relief, and two pavilions with ogival roofs mark the junction of the two wings with the street. The complex could easily be mistaken for Anderson's own work.

At this time, All Hallows Church, Inchinnan, for Lord Blytheswood, was coming to completion. Drawings dated in 1899 and 1901 show a large and very ambitious church with continuous nave and chancel,
two transepts, a crown steeple rising from a square tower over
the crossing, and a smaller battlemented tower at the west end.
The church was to be (broadly) Curvilinear in style, with a
transition to Perpendicular in the western tower (Plate 141).

By the time of its dedication on June 6th, 1904, it was
becoming apparent that the full scheme would not be realised.
Nave, chancel and transepts were built, and the crossing tower
was taken to roof level, but the proposals for a western tower
had already been abandoned. Lord Blythswood appears to have been
infuriated by the mounting expense of the church, referring to
Anderson as "Ruin" Anderson from this point onwards, spreading
the message that he was an expensive architect. 47

Anderson, perhaps miscalculating the extent of Lord Blythswood’s
generosity, had selected expensive materials for the interior,
including red brick from as far afield as Hampshire, black and
white marble squares for the chancel floor, and stone from Blackpasture
in Northumberland. All of this had combined to produce a very
handsome (if unfinished) church with the familiar brick lined and
stone banded interior walls, and splendid views westwards to a
wheel window framed in the arches of a sturdy hammerbeam roof. (Plate 141a).

If the donor had reservations about the cost, the incumbent,
the Rev. Robert McLelland, was at least pleased with the result,
sending Anderson a copy of his book The Church and Parish of Inchinnan
when it was printed in 1905. 48

Stirling Maxwell, referring to Blythswood’s reaction in later
years, defended Anderson on the grounds that he simply wanted the
best for his clients. Most of the stone for the church came from
Grange Quarry in Fife, the nave floors and dado were in oak, and
the reliable Allan Clark was in charge of building operations.\textsuperscript{49}

Several miles to the south, at Paisley Abbey, similar sentiments to those expressed by Lord Blythswood had already begun to form in the mind of the Rev. Dr. Gentles. For five years he had watched the rebuilding of the crossing piers, stone by stone, and noted how this was consuming the restoration funds.

However, by March 1904, an agreement was reached that Anderson should "act if required" on the next stage of the restoration, as and when more funds became available.\textsuperscript{50} At this point the funds had allowed for the rebuilding of the crossing, the re-joining of St. Mirin's Chapel and the transepts to the nave, and the completion of the tower above roof level. The heart of the church had been restored.

Relations between several members of the Restoration Committee and Anderson had, however, gone sour in the process. Gentles, failing to understand the unforeseeable nature of the crossing repairs, blamed Anderson alone for the non completion of the restoration at the original estimated cost,\textsuperscript{51} and a W.S. McKechnie, who had written to Anderson about the placing of a memorial plaque on the Abbey walls, had been forcibly rebuffed when the architect replied that "I consider a brass on the wall an absurdity from every point of view". In spite of assurances from McKechnie that his expertise and authority on architectural matters was not being called into question, Anderson had despatched several fiery communications on the subject.\textsuperscript{52} A tense atmosphere continued until 1907, by which time all outstanding work on this phase of the restoration was completed.

On a happier note, operations were about to begin on the
restoration of the Abbey Church at Culross. At the end of May, 1902, Lord Elgin had asked Anderson to prepare a report on what was necessary to put the church "into a sufficient state of repair, but only insofar as the same is incumbent on the Heritors." Earlier, Peter MacGregor Chalmers had produced a report on the condition of the building.

At the close of 1902, Anderson submitted his report, together with a first estimate of £2,100. This covered the renewal of the roof, which was in a poor condition, and the removal of the galleries and other areas of decayed woodwork from the fabric of the building.

Tenders were requested at the start of 1903, but work did not begin that year. On 12th February, 1904, Anderson produced a revised estimate of £2,310, together with a more detailed plan, which revealed that it was also intended to restore the north chancel aisle and the aisle on the east side of the south transept. The ground was also to be restored to its original level at the entrance to the church, and original windows were to be opened up wherever possible.

As early as 1903, Anderson had been asked to quote for a second option, the complete restoration of the church. This involved additional work which included the provision of a wheel window in the south transept, together with the opening of the north window in the chancel, new tracery for the east window, and a new window in the south wall of the nave.

The go ahead for the larger scheme was not given until April 1905, and the work began in earnest with the removal of two giant sycamore trees at the entrance, much loved by the locals. Anderson had learned to distrust roots at Dunblane.
By the middle of 1906, an ancient side chapel had been discovered and, together with a Norman window, had been restored. The remaining work was well in hand, with Anderson taking a close personal interest in the proceedings.57

The restoration was more or less complete by the end of 1906, and exemplifies Anderson's conservative restoration principles at their best, together with his taste and judgement in the more speculative areas, notably the new nave roof. Here Anderson opted for the simple grandeur of a wagon roof with surface ribs, relieved by a single exposed tie beam and kingpost near the chancel. This, together with careful differentiation of old and new masonry at every turn, transformed what was formerly a pastiche of a church into one with a coherent character (Plates 142 and 143).

Anderson's tendency to re-use motifs is again in evidence at Culross; the nave roof theme had already been employed at North Shields, and in the north transept, a small scale trefoil barrel roof was installed above the new seating, in the Govan manner.

The heritors' pleasure was evident when in July 1908 they were finalising the finances of the restoration. The architects had "expressed their willingness to restrict their account to a percentage of 5%". Lord Elgin voiced his gratitude to the architects "who had spared no pains and gone far beyond their ordinary professional duty".58

University Work 1905-1911

In 1905 a commission came in for the conversion of Alexander Laing's late 17th Century Old High School into a new Engineering Department for Edinburgh University. Much of this comprised work
of a practical nature, involving the subdivision of the interior space into laboratories and workshops linked by sliding doors, and the addition of a lecture theatre at the rear. One imaginative touch was, however, possible. A tower at the rear was heightened and given an ogival cupola.

At the same time, the partners were asked to convert Bryce's adjacent Old Surgical Hospital into Physics Laboratories. Once again, the challenge was a functional one, and there was even less scope for aesthetic display. However, a greater opportunity was to emerge at Dundee. On December 10th, 1906, a letter was sent to Anderson inviting him across to a meeting to discuss the erection of new Physics and Engineering Laboratories for University College, then controlled by the University of St. Andrews. It was intended that a local architect should be asked to design the new buildings with Anderson as consultant. Anderson's reputation can be gauged from the fact that, prior to this development, a much more grandiose scheme to transform the College's facade was to have been entrusted to him. This had fallen through as a result of funding difficulties. (Plate 143a).

After the meeting the plan was changed. Anderson managed to persuade the College Council that, even at the age of seventy two, he should be entrusted with the complete designing and execution of the buildings.

The designs for the Physics Laboratories were prepared in 1907. The conditions under which Anderson worked were favourable. £12,500 was supplied by the Carnegie Fund, the site, while at the back of the University, was a good one, and he had Professor Keunen the Dutch Physics Professor at his side to ensure that the new
buildings functioned well. In addition to this, Professor Patrick Geddes, an Edinburgh acquaintance, was working at Dundee at the time.

It was decided that the buildings should be placed at right angles to each other, enclosing what is now the Geddes quadrangle. The Physics Laboratories were to face west, and in due course the Engineering Laboratories would face north.

The interior arrangements, while they are reputed to owe much to Keunen, are stamped with Andersonian simplicity. On the ground floor, a central entrance hall and stairway gives access to spinal corridors on the ground, first and basement floors. Off these corridors, a series of variously sized laboratories, test rooms and research rooms are located. Additional laboratories were fitted into the attic floor and basement. A large square lecture theatre, rising through all floors, was placed at the southern end of the block.

The style adopted was "a domestic form of Classical design", which allowed for the elevations "to be expressive of the work carried on" inside. At the same time Anderson was anxious that both blocks when built would sit together as "one harmonious whole", producing a "play of line and light and shade."

The Physics Building was in construction during 1908/9, and cost £10,847. Again, it was built very solidly, its attic a forest of heavy timbers and steel girders, which featured throughout the structure. Its joinerwork (still in place) is a lesson in carpentry. All cupboards, doors and trimmings were made to order in dark stained wood. The arrangements included sliding panels in door faces to allow optic experiments, all worked out to the last detail.

The planning of the Engineering Laboratories followed in 1909/10.
with the assistance of Professor Gibson. The interior arrangements worked on similar principles to those of the sister building, only the size and deployment of laboratories, classrooms and drawing offices made for a shorter central corridor on both floors. At the rear, a 10,000 gallon water storage tank for Hydraulic work was located in a tall tower capped with an ogival cupola. The Laboratories finally cost £15,232 and were completed in 1911.

All the Dundee buildings were constructed of red Dumfriesshire stone on the upper storeys, with cream stone from Fife and Pasturehill (Northumberland) on the lower levels. Designed in a functionally treated classical style of c.1700 they had the Dalmeny St. Drill Hall, Leith and Ardgowan Estate office, Greenock as precedents. Today the combination of site and buildings is still impressive (Plate 144).

The School of Applied Art and the National Art Survey

In spite of the fact that a number of interesting projects were in the office in 1906, Anderson continued to be deeply troubled by the temporary nature of the arrangements for art education in Edinburgh.

A year earlier he had heard that Edinburgh Corporation supported the erection of a new National Gallery on Calton Hill. At the request of the Marquess of Linlithgow, Anderson had sent his views on the subject to the Scottish office in Whitehall. He was emphatic that the first consideration in connection with art in Edinburgh is the provision of a new and fully equipped Art School. ... The education
of the rising generation is of more importance than providing new and costly buildings for the exhibition of pictures. Edinburgh is behind every town in the Kingdom in making proper provision for Art teaching. 69

His recommendation was that a new Art School should be set up in temporary accommodation in the High School yards at the bottom of Infirmary Street. This would have the effect of immediately easing pressure on the buildings on the Mound, which contained the National Gallery, the School of Art, the Royal Academy, the Royal Society, and the Board of Manufactures offices. For good measure, Sir John Stirling Maxwell was sent a copy of this submission in 1906.

At last, in June 1906, Edinburgh City Council responded to a long overdue initiative from the Scotch Education Department, indicating that they would be prepared to meet the balance of costs of a new Art School, in which all art teaching in the City could be combined. 70

A provisional committee was set up to run the new school, made up of representatives of the Board of Manufactures, the Royal Scottish Academy, the Governors of Heriot Watt College, and the City Council. Shortly afterwards, a new building was commissioned to the designs of J.M. Dick Peddie, and on April 1st, 1907, the newly formed School was handed over to the provisional committee. The same day the Board of Manufactures ceased to exist.

This was followed by a Memorial from the Edinburgh Architectural Association to petition that the School of Applied Art's successful system of architectural teaching should be maintained in the Architectural Section of the new school. A similar letter arrived a little later from Rowand Anderson. 71
On the basis of the recommendations made in 1903, and in view of the undoubted success of the School of Applied Art, Anderson was given a position on the Board of the new Art College, thus enabling him to transplant his teaching methodology into the new institution.

To his dismay, the sub-committee responsible for disposing of the Board of Manufactures' assets deprived the new Art College of the National Art Survey drawings. No such problems existed with the Board of Manufactures cast and book collections, much of which had been handed down by the Trustees' Academy and School of Design as far back as 1858. These were transferred without demur, but the committee members, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh and J.R. Findlay junior, felt that the National Art Survey was a national asset of such value that it should be deposited with the Portrait Gallery, a decision that was intended as a tribute to Anderson and as a means to acquiring greater resources for the Survey's completion. 72

Such an outcome was nevertheless abhorrent to Anderson. As early as 1894, in a report to Edinburgh City Council he had explained the School of Applied Art's aims. These involved giving the school

a National Character, because there is in Scotland an art of the past with a distinctively local colouring capable of being developed and applied to the wants and necessities of the present day. 73

The National Art Survey was crucial to this aim. It was for "anatomical dissection", so that the lessons in problem solving it yielded could produce a new National Architecture, one featuring the stylistic characteristics of the past, which
Anderson believed were for the most part functionally based.

Anderson's belief in measured drawings as a basis for design ideas appears to have originated from his days in the Trustees' School of Design in the 1880's. One of the earliest pieces of evidence of his involvement of others in the process is a drawing of Elcho Castle, near Perth, which seems to have been sketched and measured by Anderson in September 1869, and inked up later by Thomas Kitesell. This, together with drawings of Arbroath Abbey by John Watson, from 1877, points to Anderson involving his pupils in the enterprise. These illustrations fulfilled the same function as Anderson's own sketch books and continental tour drawings, providing a source of reference for new designs.

In October 1908 the Secretary of the New College of Art wrote to the Portrait Gallery asking for permission for students to consult the Survey drawings, a request which was reluctantly granted. In the meantime, the appointment of two bursars annually to extend the Survey was continuing, although only for a six monthly period. Anderson next requested that Sun prints of the drawings should be made. It would take Findlay and his colleagues at the Portrait Gallery three years to answer this request.

**Domestic and Social Activities**

It is clear from the accumulated evidence that, in the new century, Anderson was standing back from office activities in a way that he had never done before, in order to enjoy the fruits of his success in old age.
The partnership with Balfour Paul worked very well. Anderson, predictably, was involved in the key design decisions while Paul ran the office and dealt with day to day matters. Anderson's confidence in Paul was great, and Paul for his part seems to have happily concurred in the arrangement.

Surviving photographs of the interior and exterior of "Allermuir" from this period reveal that Anderson had accumulated a large collection of Blue China, to which he was adding throughout the Edwardian period, going as far afield as Paris to attend sales. The photographs show an unremarkable but comfortable home, obviously the residence of a well-to-do man of eclectic historicist tastes (Plates 145 and 146). Reproduction 17th century chairs shared the living room with a comfortable sofa covered in a Morris-like fabric, while several mirrors and cupboards have a definite rococo flavour. On the wall, an illustration of his beloved Brechin Cathedral can be seen. The books, cushions and family photographs liberally scattered suggest a contented domestic atmosphere.

A photograph of the rear garden of "Allermuir" provides more insights into Anderson's relaxations, lifestyle and preferences. While the garden contains formal elements, it is far from symmetrical. In a letter to Patrick Geddes in 1903, he had warned against "cold and stiff formalities" caused by excessive laying out of gardens. The picture also shows Anderson practising golf, an activity he had seldom found time for in earlier years. The coach house, too, now housed a motor car, driven by a chauffeur (Plate 65).

From the latter part of the old century onwards Anderson had been adding to his book collection. This now included both old and new architectural and historical works on Edinburgh, a number of
volumes on ceramics and modern gardens, and more prosaically; some books on investment and a series of primers covering the Spanish, French, Italian, German and Arabic languages. His selection of novels included works by Poe, Daudet, Diderot and Lafontaine. Among his older books were Billings' Antiquities, W.H. Ward's The Architecture of the Renaissance in France (London: Batsford, no date), and a series of periodicals on Italian Architecture, L'Italie Illustré, also undated. Significantly, he owned a copy of Sir George Harvey's Notes of the Early History of the Royal Scottish Academy (Edinburgh, Edmiston and Douglas, 1873).

Also occupying a large amount of shelf space at Allermuir were Anderson's copies of the Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society, which had originally started its existence as the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society in 1886, under the influence of Professor James Cooper. The Aberdeen Society had in 1887 elected Anderson an Honorary Vice President, recognising both his pioneering role in the design of high quality, Ecclesiologically correct churches, and his pure and conservative restorations. On March 17th, 1909, Anderson had gone with the Society to Govan Parish Church, where his designs for an extended chancel had just been executed at Stirling Maxwell's expense. He had acted as guide to a group who regarded Govan Church as a paradigm.

Anderson seemed to enjoy looking back on his successes. His scrap book continued to grow, and by this point he was adding press cuttings on Moroccan affairs and Higher Biblical criticism to the many reports of his buildings he had collected over the years.

These took their place alongside obituaries of his former friends, Lord Bute and J.R. Findlay, whose letters acknowledging
gifts of photographs he also kept. Lady Anderson appears to have helped with the upkeep of the scrapbook, where many of the entries were made in a hand that was not Anderson's.

"Allermuir" was a hospitable place. In June 1910, Anderson conducted the combined Glasgow and Edinburgh Architectural Associations round St. Cuthbert's Church and the Parish Church, and then "Allermuir" itself. The company was entertained to tea in the back garden by Lady Anderson. It is apparent that this northern Scottish lady had faithfully supported her husband throughout his career in all he did, and not altogether surprising that she is still remembered in Colinton for her exceptionally strong will. She seems to have been the perfect foil for Anderson.

After he received his knighthood, Anderson became a member of the Royal Company of Archers, the King's Bodyguard for Scotland. While the Archers still performed public ceremonials duties, membership was tantamount to admission into an elite social club where the nation's peers, baronets and knights rubbed shoulders.

Anderson loved the Archers, and was later described as "one of the Royal Company's most devoted sons". In particular he was fond of the shooting activities, in which he may well have taken some part. These events involved good food and good company. Sir John McDonald was there when he joined, and Lord Elgin was an office bearer at around this time. He also seems to have struck up a friendship with Sir Henry Cook, an eminent solicitor.

At approximately the time of his knighthood, Anderson had extended Archer's Hall, in Buccleuch Street. It had been a symmetrical three storey classical box, designed in the late 18th century by Alexander Laing. In extending it, Anderson disrupted
its symmetry. The extension, confined to one end, also involved the removal of all but the ground floor windows of the original building. A Venetian window expressed interior function in the new wing.

On one occasion, Anderson sent Charles Henshaw, a metal worker, to inspect a Louis Quatorze Chandelier hanging in a castle in the neighbourhood of Compiègne. It was reproduced for Archer's Hall at a cost of £700. 83

In 1912, at the age of 78, Anderson presented a paper at the Antiquaries. He had visited the King's Library at the British Museum in a quest for material on Edinburgh Castle. His search unearthed a plan by Slezer, from 1675, and a bird's eye view of the Castle which he cleverly dated between 1689 and 1707. A third drawing, made by William Adam in 1746, was found. With the help of these and other drawings of the castle, Anderson was able to comment on the provenance of various phases of the castle's building, point out unexecuted works, and to prove that the postern gate at the east side of the castle was not the historic one that it was then believed to be. 84

Paisley - The Final Phase

At the beginning of 1912, Anderson wrote to Stirling Maxwell on the subject of Paisley Abbey:

I see the Abbey Church is again before the public, and money is now available for building the choir, and I hope there will be no doubt this time about employing me to do the work.

You will remember that I made plans to the instructions of the then restoration committee for rebuilding the choir, and these were approved of, and were only laid aside for want of funds. These
drawings are now in my possession, and have been partly paid for. I shall be very pleased to show them to you, and could bring them through to Pollok.85

This communication prompted a letter from Stirling Maxwell to the Paisley authorities, and on 16th January a reply from the Rev. McLean was received. In it he stated that

there are sound reasons, which will I think commend themselves to you, for passing over Sir Rowand Anderson. There is a strong determination here to have no further dealings with him. Even Mr. Craig who worked with him to the last ... has no wish to repeat the experience. ... I myself have secured a threatening letter from him which is quite sufficient to show we have made a fortunate escape. Besides, Sir Rowand is now an old man.86

The letter continued that the next phase would take 6 to 8 years, it was doubtful in any case that Anderson would live that long, and that his partner, Paul was not a distinguished restorer. The Paisley Committee had selected Peter Macgregor Chalmers after "much careful consideration". Although a young man, they felt he was "taking the place which Sir Rowand Anderson occupied thirty years ago".

With tenacity and loyalty, Stirling Maxwell wrote back to McLean declining convenorship of the Building Committee, and stating that Anderson's designs:

appear immeasurably better than those you showed me. Between the two there lies all the difference which separates excellence from adequacy.87

McLean, no respecter of persons, wrote back rather intemperately that in his opinion, the reverse was the case.

On April 23rd, A.H. Speirs of Thornliebank, another heritor, wrote a letter in support of Anderson to Stirling Maxwell. In his
reply, Stirling Maxwell mentioned that Dr. Gentles had never forgiven Anderson for the expense of the first phase. At the same time he privately conceded that McLean might be right in thinking that Anderson was "impossible".

Speirs replied that he felt McLean was "a shade dictatorial & that he does not know quite so much about architecture as he now thinks he does".

In June, Stirling Maxwell was able to show McLean and his associates a letter from Schomberg McDonnell of the Office of Works stating that they much preferred Lorimer, if not Anderson, for the restoration. Unknown to the Restoration Committee at Paisley, McDonnell was a friend of Stirling Maxwell, and an earlier exchange of correspondence had passed between them. In a curiously phrased assessment McDonnell expressed the opinion that Anderson's work was that of a "gentleman", while Macgregor Chalmers' was not.

In spite of six months of lobbying and remonstration, the combined forces of the Heritors and the Office of Works failed to reverse the decision made by the Paisley Committee. Thus in 1912, the final phase of the restoration began, with Sir Charles Bine Renshaw in Stirling Maxwell's place as Convenor of the Building Committee.

Some £30,000 had been raised on this occasion, and early on, Macgregor Chalmers in turn encountered unforeseeable problems, when part of the surviving north wall of the choir was "found to be unaccountably and curiously defective". In due course, all parts of the remaining walls had to be taken down and rebuilt.

Proceedings stopped during the war years, but in 1918, Bine Renshaw died, and was succeeded by Stirling Maxwell, who bore
no grudges. Macgregor Chalmers died in 1922, before his restoration scheme was completed. His replacement was Robert Lorimer, who eventually completed the work in 1928. 90

The main differences between Anderson's restoration scheme of 1897 and Macgregor Chalmers' later proposals related to the treatment of the central tower and the detailing of the east wall of the choir. Anderson had opted for a large single louvred opening on each wall of the belfry, with rich tracery above. (Plate 135). To finish off the tower, he had decided on a crowstepped and gabled saddleback roof, avoiding a spire in view of the previous collapse. An opening in the gable walls of the saddleback roof would have corresponded with a similar opening above the parapet of the main east window.

Macgregor Chalmers' design involved two traceried windows to each of the belfry walls, corresponding in size with those eventually built on the choir walls. Above, a stone spire was planned (Plate 147). Stirling Maxwell's opinion on the two designs seems justified. Although Chalmers' design is by no means weak, Anderson's central tower possessed greater visual interest, expressed its purpose better, and communicated an air of grandeur absent in the other.

In June, 1922, Lorimer in turn prepared a saddleback design for the top of the tower, a proposal subsequently abandoned in favour of a simple pierced parapet. What now survives is essentially Macgregor Chalmers' design, less the spire. Within the Abbey, Lorimer's labours involved installing the stone vaulted roof planned by Chalmers, in contravention of Anderson's opinion that it should be of timber. 91
The Battle for the National Art Survey Drawings

If Paisley produced its frustrations in 1913, these merely added to Anderson's long term anxieties over the National Art Survey Drawings.

The Survey itself was still continuing from its new base, where the finished drawings were added to the Portrait Gallery collection. Attempts were made to involve the main Scottish Art Schools in 1910 and 1911, but in spite of funding being made available by the Education Department, nothing was done except at Glasgow, where the erection of scaffolding in the Cathedral in 1912 enabled two Glasgow students to draw parts of its upper reaches. After this, no other College participated.

On 11th March, 1913, Anderson resigned from the Board of the College of Art "to make way for younger men", perhaps influenced by the comments about his age coming from Paisley. In the meantime, the existing drawings were being traced under the supervision of Henry F. Kerr, this being the National Gallery Board's response to Edinburgh College of Art's request that the drawings should be "Sun printed" to allow easy access by students.92

With the outbreak of the Great War the Survey was discontinued, and the drawings and tracings at the Portrait Gallery were put into storage. Anderson might, however, have taken some small comfort from the fact that a great many antiquities had been surveyed. Although the protectionist attitude of the National Gallery Board had prevented students from using the drawings as freely as he had intended, there was nevertheless a strong appreciation of its worth as a collection, and there had been some talk of publication.
The Great War

In 1914 Anderson, aged 80, was not in good health. Until as late as the last decade of the previous century he had remained fit and slim, but in the intervening years he had put on weight and had suffered intermittent illness, possibly related to the reversals experienced with his pet projects.

Early in 1911 he had gifted some of his best Blue China to Holyrood Palace, and this had been followed by gifts of cisterns in the early part of 1914. On 8th September that year he offered to give his entire collection to the Palace, as he did not wish it to be disposed of in salerooms after his death.93 The gift was also intended as a gesture of loyalty to the King and at the same time fulfilled what he felt was a genuine need to brighten up some corners of the Palace. Unknown to Anderson, much of his China was not highly rated by Royal standards and was only accepted to avoid giving offence as it was felt that "his whole life and interests are wrapped up in Holyrood Palace".94

In the course of meetings about the China with W.T. Oldrieve of the Office of Works, he also made arrangements for the freshening up of the tablets he had designed in memory of Mary of Lorraine and Kirkcaldy of Grange at Edinburgh Castle. The lettering was recut and the stones washed.

On the positive side, he had a lifetime of achievements to look back on, a wide circle of friends, and was still actively adding to his library. In 1914 he had acquired Sir John H.A. McDonald's Life Jottings of an Old Edinburgh Citizen (Edinburgh: T.S. Foulie, 1914). McDonald, an old friend whose attainments in some ways paralleled his own, was also in his twilight years and reflecting on his past life.
While nominally still associated with the practice, which had naturally shrunk because of the War, his participation appears to have been slight. However, he would most certainly have been involved in the restoration at Sweetheart Abbey, in progress since 1910. Ivy and other vegetation had been removed and much of the masonry completely rebedded. The joints were cleaned out and filled with liquid cement, using clay as a puddling material.95

The R.I.B.A. Gold Medal, 1916

As early as 1912, the Glasgow Institute of Architects had given Anderson unanimous support "on his nomination as the most fitting recipient of the Royal Gold Medal awarded annually by the Royal Institute of British Architects".96 When his name came up again in 1916, The Royal Institute's Council decided unanimously in his favour. Anderson had suffered a bout of serious illness just before this, and was unable to attend the presentation ceremony. His address was therefore read by Alexander Lorne Campbell, and the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Sir Robert Inches, a friend from the early days of the School of Applied Art, accepted the Medal on his behalf.

Anderson's address reveals that the award had lifted his spirits, although he was still physically weak. He was honoured to be the first home based Scotsman to be given the Medal, and doubly honoured in that, unlike other awards, it was reputedly based on merit.

Beginning with comments on the interaction of Scots and English architecture since the time of the Union, Anderson next outlined his reasons for starting the School of Applied Art and the National Art Survey, taking cognizance of the fact that the Gold Medal had been
awarded in part because of his educational efforts.

In doing so he explained his architectural philosophy, repeating the sentiments contained in his address to the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry some thirty years earlier, and using its exact words in places. This was what was taught in the School of Applied Art—the primacy of function, visible to the careful analyst of old Scottish architecture, and one of the main lessons students were expected to learn from the National Art Survey. But the message was not just for Scottish consumption. There was, he argued, evidence of a growing adherence to these principles throughout Britain, to the extent that

we can now look forward to our buildings becoming more and more characteristic of the age and purposes to which they are devoted.

The honour, he concluded, was well worth a "lifetime of earnest labour and thought".

Sir John Burnet, by then Vice President of the Royal Institute, proposed a vote of thanks to the Provost of Edinburgh, taking the opportunity in doing so to laud Anderson's achievements as an educator and as an architect. Finally, Sir Robert Inches responded in an affectionate way with more praise for his old friend. 97

The Institute of Scottish Architects

The award of the Gold Medal seems to have aided Anderson's recovery and injected him with his old fire. On 6th October, 1916, Lorne Campbell, acting on Anderson's behalf, approached John Watson and William Whitie of the Institute of Glasgow Architects about the formation of a national Institute. 98 The demise of the
The Architectural Institute of Scotland had occurred in the early 1870's. It had simply petered out. In the middle 1850's, accusations of dominance by Edinburgh architects had appeared in the letters columns of the Building Chronicle, and John Honeyman had indicated that this was a source of difficulty in a speech in 1882. What was more, the Institute had not encouraged the younger men, and in Edinburgh, this had actually led to the formation of the Edinburgh Architectural Association, which soon eclipsed the senior body in numbers and activity.

However, the lack of a national association was keenly felt, in spite of the growing influence of the Royal Institute, which had attracted young architects throughout the remaining two decades of the century. It offered an examination system, plus membership of an increasingly powerful professional body. Its one drawback was that it lacked a specifically Scottish perspective.

On October 19th, John Watson, William Whitie and A.N. Paterson, representing the Glasgow Institute, met Lorne Campbell and T.F. McLennan, representing the Edinburgh Architectural Association, at a meeting in Edinburgh chaired by Anderson. Thereafter, Whitie drafted a constitution, and on 30th November, a resolution creating the Institute was passed. Dundee and Aberdeen had been approached in the interim, and all parties gave the proposal "a most cordial and enthusiastic reception". Inverness joined the Institute a year later.

The basis of the new Institute was calculated to overcome some of the problems of its predecessor. It was to have five chapters, each having its own independent existence and localised activities. The New Institute would, in contrast, represent the "voice of Scotland".
and at the same time organise its own periodic events and
specialist committees. Essentially, this meant the addition of
an extra national tier above the local associations.

The relationship of the new body with the R.I.B.A. was
clarified at an early stage. A.N. Paterson voiced the view of
many when he insisted that the new body should not in any way
impair the R.I.B.A.'s "natural predominance" as the central
authority for the United Kingdom. This was agreed. 101

Anderson had gradually acquiesced in the emergence of the
Royal Institute over the years, although, in the 1880's, he
had expressed doubts about its relevance to Scottish architecture.
As a signatory to the petition sent to the R.I.B.A. in 1892 during
the "profession or art" controversy, he, together with various
eminent architects, had questioned the appropriateness of the
Institute's technically based qualifying examinations to a
profession involved in the aesthetic realm. 102

Having been assured, together with the others, that there
was no attempt to create a "closed profession", his attitudes
gradually relaxed, and in 1903 he had been elected a Fellow. 103
His application was supported by John Belcher, T.E. Collcutt and
Aston Webb, President at the time. In 1907, the R.I.B.A. with
Collcutt as President, had visited Edinburgh, when Anderson
attended its Annual Dinner. Acceptance of the R.I.B.A.'s Gold
Medal itself denoted his recognition of its dominant position.

It soon became clear that Anderson's initiative and generosity,
while genuine enough, was not entirely free of ulterior motives.
In November 1916, prior to the formal creation of the Institute,
Anderson had managed to persuade the Secretaries of the participating architectural associations to sign a letter to the Secretary of State. This alleged that the National Art Survey drawings had virtually been stolen from the College of Art, to whom legal title belonged, and that they were a closed book to architects and public alike. A reminder, advising the Secretary of State that the signatory bodies had now become the Institute of Scottish Architects, was sent when no reply had been received by May 1917. This contained a request that the drawings be given to the Institute. A minute of advice to the Secretary of State informed him that Anderson's gift of £5000 to the Institute was conditional on the Institute fighting for the National Art Survey drawings, an exaggeration, but not entirely groundless.

The Secretary of State's reply denied that there was any defect in the National Gallery Board's title to the drawings, and that he would pursue the question of publication when the War was ended. Anderson was not satisfied, but the activities of the new Institute called for his immediate attention.

In spite of his protestations that "someone younger and more active" should be chosen, he was unanimously elected President of the new body when its first Annual Conference took place at 117 George Street, Edinburgh, on 8th June, 1917. In his Presidential speech he mentioned the "remarkable unanimity of feeling" among Scottish architects which had brought the Institute about, and their particular concern for the "improvement of working class housing", which had too many high stairs and basements. He also stressed the necessity to provide proper architectural
education for the young. A telegram of congratulation arrived from the R.I.B.A.

Late in 1917, a National Art Survey Committee was set up in the new Institute. It met the National Gallery Board in December 1917, by which time agreement had been reached that the Survey should be published. It must have been clear to Anderson by this point that this was the best solution he was likely to achieve, in view of the failure of all previous attempts to effect the release of the drawings. A thousand pounds, provided by Anderson, was contributed as a subsidy for the publication by the Institute, and this was matched by the provision of a further thousand pounds over five years, by the National Gallery Board.  

The Final Years

Anderson's last years were taken up with the business of the new Institute and the impending publication of the first batch of National Art Survey drawings. He had been active at the Institute's meetings and at sub committee meetings throughout 1917, but illness restrained his activities in 1918, although developments were regularly reported to him.

By 1918, the new Institute had 390 members, and was growing fast. From the start it had been supported by the finest of Scotland's architects. Sir J.J. Burnet succeeded Anderson as President. He had been interested in the Institute since its earliest days and had sent up suggestions on its constitution from London.

Anderson's absence in 1918 did not inhibit its healthy growth. Committees were formed to look after such matters as the welfare of demobilised architects after the War and to monitor developments on
the provision of working class housing in the post-war period. Mainstream business included the establishment of standard scales of fees and the acquisition of a Royal Charter.

By 1919, Anderson was back in harness, at a point where the Royal Institute of British Architects was opposed to the idea of a Royal Charter for the new Institute. It felt this would conflict with its own position as the leading professional body in the United Kingdom. At the request of the Committee, Burnet negotiated informally with the President of the Royal Institute, and after several meetings and exchanges of correspondence in 1920, it expressed itself partly satisfied with the proposed substitution of the new Institute as a chapter of the Royal Institute in place of the local associations.

Anderson attended his final meeting at the Institute on 20th April 1920. By May 7th, 1920, he had prepared his last will and testament. At a meeting of the Institute on 16th June that year it was reported that Anderson was again ill, whereupon the Institute sent a telegram to Colinton with the Committee's hopes for a speedy recovery. On 30th July A.N. Paterson proposed that a bronze bust of Anderson should be commissioned by the Institute from Pittendreigh McGillivray. This was unanimously agreed to, and McGillivray began the work.

McGillivray found that his sitter was intermittently ill and had occasionally to cancel or abandon sittings. Anderson had a nurse in attendance on a full time basis and was receiving frequent visits from his friend and medical adviser, Dr. Scotland of Colinton.

On October 4th, 1920, at the request of Sir David Hunter Blair,
Anderson wrote an Appendix to his biography of the Marquess of Bute. It was, as usual, a model of lucidity as well as an insight into a unique relationship of thirty years duration. In writing it, Anderson took the opportunity to recall Bute's great patience over architectural decisions, denying persistent rumours of financial extravagance.

Anderson also revealed that Bute "by no means always bowed the knee to authority", a salient example being his rejection of pure Gothic railings for the Gallery at Mount Stuart. He had sent Anderson off to copy the bronze rails surrounding Charlemagne's tomb at Aix la Chapelle instead. Undoubtedly the two men had had their disagreements, but these made no lasting difference to the relationship. Anderson had visited Lord Bute with great regularity during the final decade of his life. The Appendix was addressed from 16 Rutland Square. In a sense Anderson had never retired.\[108\]

On January 21st, 1921, Lady Anderson died. At their meeting that month the Institute of Scottish Architects sent a memorial to Anderson assuring him of "their continued esteem and devotion" on his bereavement. At the same meeting it was announced that the Royal Institute's objections to the Royal Charter could be overcome if the Scottish Institute was prepared to refer to it in its draft Royal Charter as "the parent body". This was acceptable.

On 1st June 1921, shortly after he had strongly approved of McGillivray's fine bust in clay and had seen the first offprints from the National Art Survey drawings, Anderson died at "Allermuir", aged 87.

On 6th June his funeral service took place at St. James' Episcopal Church, Inverleith. The large and distinguished attendance
of mourners included Sir John Burnet, Sir Robert Lorimer, and Sir John R. Findlay. Sir Henry Cook represented the Royal Company of Archers. His pall bearers were Sir Alfred Ewing, Principal of Edinburgh University, Sir J. Lawton Wingate, President of the Royal Scottish Academy, W.T. Oldrieve, representing the R.I.B.A., and Alexander N. Paterson, President of the Institute of Scottish Architects.

His ashes were interred in a casket of oak, his favourite wood, at Warriston Cemetery, beside the mortal remains of his beloved wife and daughter. The grave is marked by a small but beautiful stone erected for Annie Ross Anderson nearly fifty years earlier (Plate 148).

Postscript

Few can have framed their last will and testament as carefully as Rowand Anderson. 109

His personal fortune amounted to just under £70,000, which at today's prices, would have made him a millionaire a number of times over. In view of the sad fact that all that remained of his family circle were some cousins living at a distance, he took the opportunity to further the causes in which he passionately believed.

His remaining relations and a few friends were the first beneficiaries under the will. His generosity also extended to a former secretary from the latter part of his career, his chauffeur, a godson in Canada, and his doctor, nurse and household staff at "Allermuir". Next, a number of local hospitals benefited, as did various other charities for the relief of the poor and the prevention of cruelty to children and animals.
A sum of money was left to St. Cuthbert's Church, and to the Established Church for providing coal and food to the poor of Colinton Parish.

£500 was left to the Society of Antiquaries, and the same amount was left for the pension fund of the Royal Scottish Academy. £3000 was left for the purchase of a plot of ground and the erection of a cottage to house a district nurse for Colinton. The building was to be known as "The Lady Rowand Anderson Memorial Cottage". A sum of money was left to the Company of Archers to provide for the cost of "match dinners".

Among the special bequests designed to dispose of the contents of "Allermuir", his French silver and Archer's uniforms and "shooting graith" were given to the Archers, the latter to form part of a historical collection. Some antique guns, a Moorish dagger and some China were given to the Marquess of Bute. His highland clothing and kilts were to be given to some friends in Dumfries for distribution among their sons, including a godson.

Above all, Anderson was generous to the Institute of Scottish Architects. He bequeathed them his whole library, medals, diplomas and illuminated addresses, and items of furniture and tablewear. These were to be placed in his town house at 15 Rutland Square, which was given to the Institute as its new headquarters.

In the Sixth Clause of his will, Anderson effected a master-stroke, sufficient in its own right to ensure that his name will never be forgotten by the Scottish architectural profession. He left the residue of his estate to the new Institute subject to the proviso that they secured a Royal Charter within two years of his death, an act which he knew was dear to their hearts and well within their grasp.
The Royal Incorporation of Architects, as it is now known, is perhaps as active and successful today as it has ever been, and most conscious that one of the main objects of its Royal Charter is "To foster the study of the National Architecture of Scotland and to encourage its development", a cause that, perhaps more than any other, had been dear to Robert Rowand Anderson's heart.
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74 NMRS Drawing PTD/21/12.

75 Ibid., AND/7/1-5.
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77 At Dundee University, Paul corresponded and visited on all practical matters, while Anderson alone was involved in the design decisions.

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105 Cow, *National Art Survey*.

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APPENDIX ONE

Obituaries

The Builder began its tribute as follows:—

On the death of Sir Rowand Anderson on June 1, at the advanced age of 87 years, there passed the greatest power in the architecture of Scotland of the past half century. His greatness is to be measured not only by his personal achievements but also by the stimulus he imparted to and the influence he exerted upon the generation younger than himself. Not only did he re-assert the high standard of design which former Scottish masters of the art both practised and proclaimed, but he insisted upon the principles of simple and direct construction and the maintenance of high craftsmanship which are always associated with purity of design.

While enumerating Anderson’s works, the writer spoke of the “dignity and stateliness” of his Edinburgh Schools. These schools, together with his earlier church work, were “full of knowledge and understanding of the Gothic style” and “marked a new era” in the “practice of Gothic architecture in Scotland”. His work at Edinburgh University Medical School was a demonstration of his “immense capacity” and displayed “an equally scholarly knowledge” of the Italian Renaissance style. His restorations were carried out with “loving care and reverence”. He was also “extremely felicitous in his decorative monuments”.

After commenting on the success of other major works, his obituarist noted a lapse in Anderson’s “clear foresight and reasoned judgement” in the case of the National Portrait Gallery, where, it was felt, he had used “the wrong style for the purpose to be fulfilled by the building”. It was considered that the pointed and traceried windows excluded part of the light, a factor not wholly
compensated for by the "stately and impressive exterior".

The writer also remarked on the series of partnerships made necessary by the influx of work resulting from his success at the Medical School, concluding that "he was not an easy man with whom to run in double harness". For this reason, his young partners one after another had left him.

An insight into Anderson's use of assistants was also provided:

With no gift of draughtsmanship himself, he had the marvellous power of compelling others to express his ideas. He knew precisely what he wanted and never failed to get it, sometimes without putting his own pencil to paper. Nevertheless, his work was as entirely his own and as completely the expression of his power and personality as though he had drawn every line with his own hand.2

The account finally dealt with his educational achievements and his involvement in the creation of the Institute of Scottish Architects, concluding that the Royal Institute of British Architects had "all too tardily recognised his commanding position and outstanding ability as an architect", with the award of the Royal Gold Medal in 1916.

Anderson's obituary in the R.I.B.A. Journal began with a rather inaccurate account of his early career.3 It wrongly stated that his birthplace was Forres, and that his only training in construction and design was obtained "in the ranks of the Royal Engineers when quartered at Edinburgh Castle". The account did, however, in some measure redeem itself, when, after citing a number of his successful buildings it referred to

the personal note which characterises all his works ... is that of largeness and nobility of treatment, studied proportion in mass, combined with refinement and elegance in detail. His planning in like manner,
is direct, simple, balanced, throughout the work is that of the head rather than the heart.4

The report, having already drawn much of its information from the Times, next incorporated Ernest Newton's comments from Anderson's R.I.B.A. Gold Medal presentation in 1916, finishing with mention of Anderson's committee and educational work.

If the R.I.B.A. obituary betrays a lack of first hand knowledge of the late architect's attainments, Alexander N. Paterson's Appreciation was based on his close personal acquaintance with Anderson. Addressing the Annual Convention of the Institute of Scottish Architects on 21st June, 1921, he began that

it has commonly been remarked of Sir Rowand Anderson that his force of character, breadth of view, and determination of spirit, together with his powerful constitution would have made him great in whatever sphere his work had lain.

Paterson saw Anderson as "first of all a great Scot", who preferred to return from Scott's office to his native country, and throughout his long life remained a stout protagonist of things Scottish, of the interest and beauty of its national architecture, and the importance to the student of a thorough knowledge of its early examples in relation to the work, however divergent in requirements, of the present day.5

Continuing his tribute to Anderson's educational achievements, he noted that when organising and directing the School of Applied Art, "he was still in the full flood of his career, as, by general admission, the premier architect of Scotland". Mention of these factors alone was inadequate, however.

As a great Scot we honour him, as a great educationist also, but most of all as a great architect. It is needless for me, in a gathering of Scottish architects, to enumerate the many buildings erected to
his design and restored under his direction ... They are known to, and admired by us all ...
It seems to me that were any of his notable buildings transferred either to the countries of their stylistic origin or to an English environment they would have a somewhat alien appearance, while in their situation among us they in the main, as all good architecture should, proclaim themselves to be at home.6

Having been involved from the very beginning in the Institute of Scottish Architects, Paterson next outlined its genesis, making Anderson's vital role in it clear:—

To others the idea [of a Scottish Institute] has been present, but a leader and capital were wanted; a leader under whom mutual distrust and difficulties would be forgotten, capital essential to the working of a central institute without crippling the resources and energies of the local societies.7

In concluding his Appreciation, Paterson was able to announce Anderson's generous bequests to the Institute, which he felt "is itself his Memorial". It was nevertheless his hope that a monument might be set up in recognition of his many achievements.

Some twenty years after Anderson's death, his patron and friend Sir John Stirling Maxwell penned a Memorandum entitled Sir Rowand Anderson for the Journal of the Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral.8 It was, in effect, a tribute to the architect, and provided important insights into his personality and work.

Stirling Maxwell felt that Dunblane Cathedral was "extremely fortunate" in having Anderson plan and carry out its restoration. He approached his "great task" with "knowledge and enthusiasm, a great reverence, and complete confidence. He was, in every sense, a great builder and took deep interest in every detail of the work".

He went on to recall that "ill natured critics used to accuse him of owing everything to the brilliant young men in his office",.
a criticism he felt was "futile", as it was "the distinguishing mask of a great artist that he gathers students round him and inspires them". He further believed that Anderson's work was characterised by "ingenuity and the nice tastes of a clever architect", as well as "the stamp of sincerity and conviction which marks the work of a great artist".

In discussing Anderson's special fondness for Scots Jacobean/Renaissance design, Stirling Maxwell felt that his work in this idiom, for example, the monuments at St. Giles or to the Stirlings of Keir in Dunblane Cathedral, was "as good as anything produced by XVIIth century architects". When in London on one occasion, Anderson asked him to arrange a visit for him to Chesterfield House. This he did, recollecting that

Sir Rowand stood in the corner of the big drawing room with his arms crossed, gazing up at the elaborate cornice and ceiling and heaving the portentous sighs which his friends will remember as a sign, not of sorrow, but of satisfaction. 9

Anderson had also been "eminently practical". When questioned by Stirling Maxwell as to what he would do if he had an extra £1000 to spend on a room, he replied that "I should make the walls thicker", a course of action also intended to add dignity through the provision of deep ingoings for the windows. These and other "pet ideas" he had carried out at "Allermuir", which Stirling Maxwell greatly admired.

Other examples of Anderson's practical inclinations recalled by his friend included the ingenious placing of hot water pipes in the trifodium at Dunblane to warm the air cooled at clerestory level, or the creation of a building material from cinders mixed with cement, an idea he considered "quite bad". The subsequent
development of breeze block has in this case vindicated Anderson.

Stirling Maxwell continued to show objectivity in his appraisal when he criticised Anderson's practice of lining his stone churches with brick, as he had done at Govan or Inchinnan. The result he felt was "by no means happy". In a slightly earlier publication, he had also expressed disapproval of his use of red pillars at the McEwan Hall, and his use of red slate tiles at Glencoe. On the other hand, he felt that many of his ideas "were extremely happy".

In conclusion, Stirling Maxwell was of the view that "Sir Rowand will be chiefly remembered by his work at Dunblane Cathedral and at Paisley Abbey".
1 Builder 10 June 1921, p.739.
2 ibid.
4 ibid.
5 RIBAJ 30 July 1921 pp.511-12.
6 ibid.
7 ibid.
8 JSFDC VolIV Part II 1943, pp.20-21.
9 ibid.
APPENDIX TWO

The National Art Survey

The publication of the first volume of National Art Survey Drawings in 1921 was followed by a second volume in 1923, a third in 1925, and the fourth and last in 1933.

The original Survey drawings, after a number of bureaucratic reorganisations, now rest in the plan chests of the National Monuments Record of Scotland, merged together with other collections. They are available to the public, to historians, architects and restorers, and form an irreplaceable (and accurate) record of Scotland's national architecture.

APPENDIX THREE

Theoretical Sources

The main sources of inspiration for Anderson's essentially functionalist architectural philosophy were perhaps obvious to his contemporaries, and can be identified with some precision.

Firstly, it is clear that he was influenced by Alexander Christie. He paid Christie the greatest possible compliment when he re-introduced, almost wholesale, his educational methods in the School of Applied Art in 1892.

Rationalism, functionalism and eclecticism underpinned both men's design philosophies, and it can be speculated reasonably safely that the field trips in the Trustees' School of Design served the same purpose as their later counterparts at the School of Applied Art, namely the anatomical dissection of old Scottish work, to uncover its functional and rational secrets.

The origins of Christie's views seem fairly clear. His rationalism was expressed too early to be traceable to Viollet le Duc, and in his paper to the Architectural Institute, he referred to the "plausible ingenuity" of "a late Roman Catholic architect", whose "opinions have been echoed ... by so many men". It was, indeed, Pugin's opinions which had caused him to select the subject for his paper, the problem of "how far previous styles are adapted to our present wants". Furthermore, Christie had in 1850 collaborated with a personal friend of Pugin, none other than James Gillespie Graham, with whom he had created a decorative scheme for the interior of the chapel at Murthly Castle.

Not only was Christie familiar with Pugin; in his paper he referred in passing to the writings of Francesco Milizia, the late
18th century classicist and functionalist whose publications may well have influenced Pugin himself.\(^3\) It is therefore beyond dispute that Christie was familiar with functionalist and rationalist arguments advanced from both the Gothic and Classical points of view.

It is not in the circumstances surprising that Christie, while upholding the general validity of the functionalist position, chose to reject Pugin's claims that Gothic was the only truly functional style. That said, there can be little doubt that Christie's paper was part of a greater debate on functionalism, rationalism and morality engendered by Pugin's propagandist statements. Indeed, Christie's 1854 visit to Dundee to lecture on ancient locks has all the flavour of a Puginian outburst on the superiority of Gothic ironmongery.

Moreover, functionalism in design and architecture, stripped of any stylistic exclusiveness, had been gaining strength through the *Journal of Design* and the Digby Wyatt/Cole/Jones circle since the 1840's. Pevsner has demonstrated that its origins were also in Pugin's writings, a fact acknowledged by Digby Wyatt himself, although by few others.\(^4\)

If Pugin was responsible for much of Christie's functionalist beliefs, it is even more apparent that his doctrines underpinned what Patrick Allan Fraser was arguing in his public lectures and writings. In Fraser's case, it is actually possible to take his examples of bad design and to trace their probable origin to *Irre Principles*. Useless parapets at Dundee Infirmary echo those decried (and illustrated) in Pugin's book (p.68).\(^5\)

Fraser's "black iron pipe peeping up at the back of the battlemented
parapet" of modern castellated buildings is actually illustrated on the same page.

*True Principles* was silent as far as "the Baronial" was concerned, but its broad arguments still applied to it. In describing a visit to a "modern imitation of an ancient baronial castle" to the Architectural Institute in 1856, Fraser was forced to be less derivative in his critical language. He had asked if he could examine the interior of one of its corner turrets, only to be informed that it had "nae inside".6

These were the sentiments which Anderson had imbibed before joining Scott's office. It can hardly be a coincidence that his 1870's criticism of Dick Paddie's "Egyptian obelisk" chimney at Craiglockhart Hydropathic was foreshadowed by Fraser's criticism of smoke "ascending from the top of an Egyptian obelisk" in his 1856 lecture to the Architectural Institute.7

Anderson's gravitation to the Scott office in 1858 of course transported him into mainstream Puginian territory. At this time, Scott was writing about the "monstrous practice of castle-building"8 which must have reinforced what Anderson had already heard. In his later references to the Calton Jail as a "toy castle", he was following both Scott and Pugin, the latter having similarly described a mansion built in the abbey style as "a mere toy".9 More importantly, Scott himself had lamented "the divorce which has taken place in later times between painting and architecture"10 the very crux of many of Anderson's later arguments.

It might be thought that Anderson's entry into the Scott office would take him away from an eclectic brand of functionalism, and subject him to a narrow Puginian and Gothic variety. The matter
does not appear to have been so straightforward. Scott, in Remarks stated that it has constantly been, in all ages, the aim of good architecture not only to add beauty to utility, but, so far as possible, to make it grow out of, and result from, the uses and construction of the various parts of the building.

Scott was more eclectic in his attitudes (if not his practice) than is generally believed. Proof of this may be found in Personal and Professional Recollections, where he had much to say in favour of the Queen Anne style.

Pevsner's words seem particularly appropriate at this juncture:

It is indeed true that Pugin, who after a hectic life of only forty years, died insane in 1852, was the fountain head of all the reform movements in design and architecture during the nineteenth century.

The Pugin influence, direct and indirect, confirmed by his own experience and thought processes, led Anderson to a functionalist approach based on historical precedents. It was the functionalism of Scott, Street, Butterfield, Waterhouse and their disciples, but the architectural situation it was to help reform had its localised characteristics and problems.
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6. Trans AIS Session 1855-56, p.94.
7. Ibid., p.93.
10. Scott, Remarks, p.80.
11. Ibid., p.20.
APPENDIX FOUR

The Anderson Inheritance

(a) Anderson and National Architecture

While Anderson was very well aware that Scottish architecture formed part of the wider European heritage, he believed that it had a "distinctively local colouring".

His view of a Scottish national architecture was sufficiently wide ranging to encompass both mediaeval Gothic and the work of architects such as Mylne and Adam. This is confirmed by the activities of the students at the School of Applied Art and the National Art Survey bursars. Their studies included Holyrood Abbey, Craigmillar Castle, Argyll's Lodging and Cowane's Hospital at Stirling, and the Cathedrals of Dunblane, Iona and Brechin. Later work at Dumfries House, Caroline Park and Pollok House was also drawn and measured. Interiors as well as exteriors were sketched and examined.

While Anderson's sense of Scottishness involved stylistic catholicity, there can be little doubt about his views on domestic and civic architecture. For reasons already discussed he did not favour the extravagant approach of the Baronial revivalists, directing students and pupils to a period and style he felt was much more relevant, that of the seventeenth century.

His own contribution in this style exemplifies what he hoped they would achieve. It is visible at "Allermuir", at Bruce's House in Currie, in Glencoe House, the Pearce Institute, at Pollokshaws Burgh Buildings, and in the extensions of Luscar House at Carnock or at "Swallowgait" in St. Andrews.
Two publications appearing after Anderson's death make his intentions plain. T.P. Manick, reviewing the first folio of the National Art Survey Drawings in the Winter, 1922 Edition of the RIAS Quarterly, quoted Blofeld in clarifying the Survey's aims:

All serious architecture is a revival. The terms and idioms, the vocabulary of expression, are those already used, and yet a fresh synthesis can be created out of them again and again for the expression of new ideas. It is not the armour that makes the architect, but the way he wears it.1

That same year, the Edinburgh Architectural Association published Details of Scottish Domestic Architecture, with a text by James Gillespie, ex National Art Survey bursar and Anderson pupil.2 This was dedicated to Anderson "as a mark of our great esteem", its preface containing perhaps the most detailed account now available of Anderson's hopes for the development of National Architecture.

The selection of gateways, doors, porches, oriels, dormers, balconies, corbelling, turrets, chimneys, stairs, fireplaces and furniture was considered to be "rich in suggestions for present day architects". It was hoped that

a careful study of these details will not only lead to a fuller appreciation and knowledge of our native art, but help to foster the Scottish tradition in modern work.3

The preface made the point that Billings lacked measurements, plans or details, and that McGibbon and Ross contained comparatively few measured drawings.

Gillespie, recognising that the use of the plates by modern architects was "not so simple" hoped that "the spirit of the old work may be caught, and only such features used as may be adapted to modern conditions".
The preface went on to reveal that Anderson had conceived the volume and aided its publication with advice and finance.

(b) Anderson's Influence - A Preliminary Quantification

In the ecclesiastical field, Anderson's restorations set conservative standards to be followed at Iona and Jedburgh, and later at Stirling and elsewhere. While there had been a widespread reaction to the vandalism of Burn at St. Giles and Dunfermline, a lack of sensitivity at Dunblane, Paisley or Culross would have strengthened the hand of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings and its adherents. Anderson's taste prevented that. At the same time, with typical perception he exposed the logical unsoundness of the S.P.A.B. position, demonstrating that its preference for under-restoration arose from a preoccupation with picturesque ruins, another product of the dominance of the visual in the realm of the arts.4

Anderson's association with the Scottish Ecclesiological movement undoubtedly affected the subsequent course of Scottish Church architecture. While the architects to Episcopalian congregations had isolated examples of good work by Scott, Bodley and Street to work from, Anderson was the first indigenous architect to bring Ecclesiological ideas to fruition with any distinction. Honeyman and Leiper had achieved a high level of archaeological accuracy in their designs during the same period, but subject to Reformed internal arrangements in most cases. In introducing Ecclesiological ideas into Reformed congregations Anderson was aided and abetted by convinced clerics such as Doctor Macleod at Govan, William Baillie Strong at Glencorse, or
indirectly, by Professor Cooper. Govan church alone was immensely influential, its Ecclesiological accuracy and its Gerona style chancel arch doubtless affecting Campbell and Burnet’s later Barony Church.

Burnet himself was full of admiration for Anderson. In making a speech at Anderson’s R.I.B.A. Gold Medal presentation he stated that

we are all indebted ... to the present, and to those men who, like Sir Rowand Anderson, have made the needs of each building a subject of earnest research, and keeping clearly before them the fitness of the structure for its purpose, have been content to express it with that breadth and simplicity, free from all conscious effort to produce effect, which characterises the masterpieces of all time.

It can scarcely be doubted that Anderson’s functionalism, or the streams of thought of which it was part, influenced Burnet, whose freely and logically planned buildings are the antithesis of the rigid axial symmetry still being taught in the Ecole des Beaux Arts long after he left it.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth, a revival of Scotch architecture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was undoubtedly in progress. A series of buildings, stripped of the excesses of the Baronial Revival started to appear in the wake of Anderson’s productions at “Allermuir”, Pollokshaws, Govan and Glencoe. This was brought about by a number of factors. The Bryce students were advanced in years and declining in influence. MacGibbon and Rose published the *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* between 1887 and 1892, to deal “systematically with the history of Scottish castellated and domestic architecture”.5 The Edinburgh Architectural
Association's sketchbooks, pushed on by Anderson, were in the process of publication, and from the middle 1890's, the National Art Survey was being made and regularly exhibited.

In 1891 Charles Rennie Mackintosh noted in a highly poetic paper on "Scotch Baronial Architecture" that

from some recent buildings which have been erected it is clearly evident that this style is coming to life again and I only hope that it will not be strangled in its infancy by indiscriminate unsympathetic people who will copy its ancient examples without beginning to make them conform to modern requirements.

It was not, and Rowand Anderson could claim major responsibility for this.

As Anderson's influence was so widespread and general in character, it is impossible to tie it down precisely. Nevertheless, there are three broad groups of architects in whose work it can be seen quite plainly, firstly, those who were either pupils or assistants in his office, secondly, those who were students at the School of Applied Art, and thirdly, other architects who imbibed it.

Notes on representatives of all three groups are provided below.

Sir Robert S. Lorimer (1864-1929)

Lorimer has largely been placed within an Arts and Crafts context, a view emphasized in Dr. Peter Savage's recent monograph.

Originally starting out as a pupil to Wardrop and Reid, he was absorbed by the Wardrop and Anderson practice until Hew Wardrop's death in 1887. After this, he became chief assistant to Anderson, leaving for an eighteen month spell in Bodley's office before returning (via McLaren) to Edinburgh to set up in practice in 1893.

Lorimer and Anderson do not initially appear to have got on very
well but they must have overcome their differences, as in 1902 Lorimer was nominated with Anderson's blessing to take over from the late David MacGibbon as a member of the Joint Committee of the School of Applied Art. He was also joint editor of the second folio of the National Art Survey in 1923, and active in the Institute of Scottish Architects.

Leslie Graham Thomson, writing Lorimer's obituary in 1929, commented that "he paid homage to the 'fitness for purpose' ideal", and that his greatest service to Scottish architecture was "the rescuing of a noble and national style from the oblivion into which the exaggerations of a Bryce and Burn had cast it". The origin of these inclinations cannot be in any doubt.

Thomson acknowledged that "while a pupil in Sir R. Rowand Anderson's office he must have found time for an intensive study of old Scots buildings". Stirling Maxwell, who knew Lorimer personally from their contact at Paisley Abbey, believed that Lorimer had been influenced by Anderson.

Lorimer used red tiles in his Colinton cottages, and designed a Brechin tower for St. Andrew's Church, Aldershot. More importantly, his large country houses (Ardkinglas, Formakin, Briglands) are in the refined and dignified Scots Jacobean/Renaissance tradition initiated by Anderson.

His buildings are softer, and take more liberties with rounded forms. Lorimer's "blocky" designs for wood and stone carving seldom wander far enough from historical precedents to look out of place in ancient buildings, yet seem just inventive enough to be describable as Arts and Crafts work.
Archibald Macpherson (1851-1927)

Macpherson appears to have joined Anderson in 1873 after serving an apprenticeship with John Paterson, remaining as an assistant until 1876.14

His oeuvre was predominantly Roman Catholic Church work, and its high quality is now receiving just recognition. St. Joseph's Convent of Mercy, Dundee, a three storey former school completed in 1892, is a fine combination of wide expanses of unpunctuated coursed rubble, asymmetrically placed windows on three storeys, with tall gable chimneys and a few Gothic window heads.15

In its austere blend of Scottish and Puginian features, it possesses a definite Andersonian feel.16

Several works of note from Macpherson's old age reveal an originality and a responsiveness to a freer architectural climate. These are Our Lady and St. Ninian's Church, Bannockburn, and St. Matthew's, Rosewell,17 near Edinburgh. Both churches are brick built, with distinctive west gables featuring highly original central bays. In these works Macpherson has transcended the bounds of historicism.

Macpherson's obituarist commented on his fine draughtsmanship, recalling that in spite of this, he only saw his plans as a means to an end, a message no doubt reinforced in the Anderson office.18

Arthur George Sydney Mitchell (1856-1930)

Mitchell joined the Anderson office as a pupil c.1878, commencing practice in 1883.13

Well connected, he soon received University, Bank, asylum and domestic work which might in other circumstances have gone to Anderson himself.20
At Well Court, Edinburgh (1883-86) Mitchell's debt to Anderson is obvious. The seventeenth century styling, red roof tiles and Corsahill stone are straight lifts from his previous office (Plate 149). At Dr. Guthrie's Boys' School, Lasswade Road, Edinburgh (1885) Mitchell employed the Vigorous Gothic of Anderson's Edinburgh and Fife Schools, on which he would probably work while training (Plate 150).

While faithful to Anderson's functional planning at Dr. Guthrie's Boys' School, he is somewhat less rational and austere at Well Court than Anderson would have been. The proliferation of dormers with tiny catslide roofs is one obvious clue to the fact that Mitchell's approach is more visual and more sculpturesque. While beautiful to behold, Well Court is less masculine and "ethical" than his master's work.

Mitchell's reluctance to wholly embrace the spirit of the Anderson office may be judged from the fact that his own house, the Pleasance, Gullane, was in an English style. Built in 1902, it showed the influence of the Arts and Crafts movement, not surprising in a younger architect.

Mitchell's more Romantic spirit and softer bedside manner differentiate his work from Anderson's. Nevertheless, stylistically, he owes him an immense debt.

Arthur Forman Balfour Paul (1875-1938)

Paul's acceptance of the Anderson aesthetic was already referred to in Chapter Seven.

In designing the Lady Anderson Memorial Cottage at Thorburn Road, Colinton, Paul is clearly paying a tribute to his former
partner and master (Plate 151). All his favourite Scots Jacobean
devices, gable chimneys, reinforcing arch, asymmetrical crow
stepped gable and tiny slit window are combined to advantage,
showing how well Anderson's approach was understood.

Later works reveal more compatibility of spirit. At
Edinburgh University's Chemistry Block (King's Buildings), built
from 1922-24, Paul produced a quietly dignified Renaissance
building in red brick with red sandstone dressings. While
reserved, this building could not be mistaken for Anderson's.
Its homely, if slightly lugubrious aspect shows Paul to have been
a competent, but not great, architect (Plate 152).

At Fettes College, Paul designed Kimmerghame House in a
late Gothic style. Combining asymmetrical planning, plainness
and restraint, this building lacks the incisive quality of Anderson's
best work, but is still quietly competent.

Robert Weir Schultz (1861-1951)

Schultz completed his training in the Anderson office in 1884,
moving to London for a spell with Shaw and then Ernest George
and Peto. He was not interested in the hurly burly of a large practice,
and early on his two consuming interests came to the surface -
Byzantine archaeology and a preoccupation with the Arts and Crafts
movement. From 1891 onwards many of his commissions combined both,
notably St. Andrew's chapel in Westminster Cathedral, one of many
smallish commissions for the Marquesses of Bute, and the
Archepiscopal Chapel at Morningside, Edinburgh.

The Gothic Revival has been identified as the main source of
the Arts and Crafts Movement, and Anderson's office was a springboard for several architects who took this route, including Frank Troup and F.W. Bidlake.

Here the assistants and students were encouraged to sketch and analyse old work, although what they took from it was slightly different to what was intended.

**George Mackie Watson (1859-1948)**

George Mackie Watson joined the Anderson office as a pupil in 1876, and, by virtue of his drafting talents, had become "head man" in 1884, commencing practice in 1899, after which he continued for a number of years as Architectural teacher in the School of Applied Art.

Watson had the misfortune to win a number of architectural competitions where his designs were not carried out. His design for St. Serf's, Goldenacre, Edinburgh was selected, and it appeared in Academy Architecture in 1901, eventually coming to fruition less its tower (Plate 153).

His ecclesiastical style owes much to Anderson's late Gothic work, and the unexecuted tower closely follows what Anderson had intended at Greenock and achieved at Morningside. His church is executed in red sandstone.

**John Watson (1853-1924) and Charles McArthy (?)**

John Watson was the older brother of George Watson, and had been involved in sketching "old work" with Anderson in the 1870's. Commencing practice in 1882, Watson formed a partnership with Charles McArthy, about whom little is known. At 26-28 Polwarth
Terrace, Edinburgh (1896) they produced a distinguished double villa having much in common with Anderson's villa at 13 Braid Road (1890) (Plate 154).

At Blackhall Primary School, Edinburgh (1907), (Plate 155), Anderson's motifs and planning fail to produce an impressive result.

Similarly, at Falkirk Public Library, like Blackhall a competition win, good planning, red sandstone and Gothic motifs produce a building no more than adequate (Plate 156).

Watson was Head of Architecture at Edinburgh College of Art from 1908-1914, keeping Anderson's teaching methodology alive during that time. He was also President of the Edinburgh Architectural Association in 1908-9.25

Ramsay Traquair

Son of Phoebe Traquair the painter, student at the School of Applied Art and prizewinning National Art Survey Bursar, Traquair designed several interesting buildings in Edinburgh before emigrating to Canada.

Most relevant from the point of view of the Anderson influence is Mackenzie House at Fettes College (1910). It appears to draw directly from Traquair's studies as a N.A.S. bursar/School of Applied Art student (Plate 157).

The side of the building facing the Fettes playing fields has two elegant canted bays of two storeys each, and more dormers. This fine building seems to embody all that Anderson hoped for in the revival of national architecture, without being slavishly copyist.
Others

Glimpses of the Anderson influence appear in the work of John Kinross, an architect whose reputation was disproportionate to his output.

At No. 1 Cluny Gardens, where Anderson was feuing architect, he erected a graceful red sandstone house in 1886. This could easily be mistaken for Anderson’s work on account of its tall elegant facades, Renaissance motifs and high gable window with balcony.

At 31-35 Mortonhall Road and 24 Oswald Road, Edinburgh, Kinross designed (c.1888) four asymmetrically planned, crowstepped and dormered detached houses, one of which was for himself. These appear to derive from Anderson’s “Allemuir”.

The only evidence linking Anderson and Kinross (apart from his presence at Morningside) is the fact that in 1893, Kinross was elected a member of the Subscribers’ Committee at the School of Applied Art.

Alexander N. Paterson’s admiration for Anderson may well have contributed to his thinking on Jeffrey House and Scott House at Fettes College (Plate 158). These twin buildings are less artful than Ramsay Traquair’s Mackenzie House next door, but they originate from the same sources. Paterson’s domestic work in Helensburgh is of similar inspiration. 26 He was a J.J. Burnet pupil and trained at the Beaux Arts.

T. Andrew Millar, a Glasgow architect (1880-1922), produced a number of notable Scots Renaissance houses, such as Bankell, Milngavie or Boghall, Baldernock. The frontage of the latter is strongly reminiscent of the northern facades of Glencoe House,
and the general restraint and dignified plainness of this architect's buildings points unmistakably to Anderson. 27

(c) Scottish Domestic Architecture and the Arts and Crafts

In 1908, a work entitled Domestic Architecture in Scotland, edited by James Nicoll, was published by the Aberdeen Daily Journal. The book contained sixty six captioned illustrations of "Scottish Domestic Work of Recent Years", and demonstrated just how extensively the Scots Jacobean/Renaissance style had been revived by that time.

The volume contains examples by Lorimer, Ramsay Traquair, Alexander N. Paterson, John James Burnet, Sydney Mitchell and Wilson, A. Lorne Campbell, and James Jerdan, all Anderson associates or pupils. Their illustrated designs again point directly to his influence, not only in their restrained seventeenth century Scottish styling, but in their use of coloured stones and slates. The work of provincial architects such as Alex Cullen or Thomas and Wilkie was also illustrated, and once more indicates the same inspiration.

The preference for Scots forms evidenced by the book was so widespread that one contributor, Messrs. Freeman and Ogilvie, went so far as to express "their regret that circumstances compelled a departure from the traditional Scottish style" in the building they were having illustrated. Their client had, on this occasion, called for a design which showed a strong Voysey influence.

If the revived Scottish domestic style had competition from English Arts and Crafts styles, it is interesting to note that the revival of "old Work" underpinned both, and that in furnishing work,
the two styles were often virtually indistinguishable. In this sense, at least, Anderson may be regarded as a major contributor to Scottish Arts and Crafts architecture.

(d) Pupils and Assistants

As the Anderson office records have not survived, the list which follows is necessarily incomplete.

**NAME AND DETAILS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and Details</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JOHN WATSON</td>
<td>RIBA Fellowship Nomination Papers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pupil 1870-75</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant 1875-82</td>
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<td>ARCHIBALD MACPHERSON</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assistant 1873-76</td>
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<td>GEORGE MACKIE WATSON</td>
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<td>Pupil 1876-80</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assistant 1880-84</td>
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<tr>
<td>Principal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assistant 1884-99</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupil c 1878-83</td>
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<tr>
<td>THOMAS ROGERS KITSELL</td>
<td>RIBA Associateship Nomination Papers</td>
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<td>VICTOR HORSBURGH</td>
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<td>ROBERT STODART LORIMER</td>
<td>RIBA Fellowship Nomination Papers</td>
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<td>Pupil 1885-89</td>
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<tr>
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<td>WILLIAM HENRY BIDLAKE</td>
<td>RIBAJ 23 May 1938, p.720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant 1887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAMES JERDAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant c1885-90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALFRED LIGHTLY MacGIBBON</td>
<td>ex inf. D. Walker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupil c1890-95</td>
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</table>
FRANCIS WILLIAM TROUP
Assistant 1887

JOHN JAMES JOASS
Assistant 1890-93

FRANCIS WILLIAM DEAS
Pupil 1890-96

DAVID McARTHY
Pupil c 1900-05(?)

ARTHUR FORMAN BALFOUR PAUL
Pupil c 1892-97
Assistant c 1897-99

JAMES McLACHLAN
Pupil 1892 -c1897

HENRY THOMAS WRIGHT
Pupil c1892-97
Assistant c1897-1900

J. HERVEY RUTHERFORD
Pupil 1893-98

JAMES FORBES SMITH
Assistant 1900-03

JAMES DAVIDSON CAIRNS
Assistant c1901-05

JAMES GILLESPIE
Assistant 1903-11

RIBA 23 May 1938, p.720

RIBA Fellowship Nomination Papers

RIBA Licentiateship Nomination Papers

RIBA Licentiateship Nomination Papers

RIBAJ 1937-38 p.993

RIBA Licentiateship Nomination Papers

Who’s Who in Architecture 1914

RIBA Fellowship Nomination Papers

RIBA Licentiateship Nomination Papers

RIBA Licentiateship Nomination Papers

RIBA Licentiateship Nomination Papers
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. RIAS Quarterly, No.4 Winter 1922, pp.19-20.
3. Ibid. Preface.
4. Trans EAA, 22 February 1893, p.95.
7. Glasgow University Library Scotch Baronial Architecture by Charles Rennie Mackintosh. Mackintosh Collection [F(c)].
8. Savage Lorimer, p.4.
11. RIAS Quarterly, No.31, 1929 pp.63-76.
12. Ibid.
16. His Garnethill (Glasgow) Convent resembles Edinburgh University Medical School.
17. McWilliam Lothian, p.408.
18. RIAS Quarterly Spring 1928, pp.15-19.
20. Ibid.
23. Watson's RIBA Nomination Papers

25 *RIAS Quarterly* Spring 1924, pp.13-16.


27 *RIAS Quarterly* Autumn 1922, pp.8-11.
APPENDIX FIVE

An Assessment of Anderson's Architecture

Anderson's obituarist in the Builder made an assessment, which, in the light of his surviving work, still seems sound and supportable today. He felt that Anderson's gift was "the big mind, civic and monumental in character", and he believed that the Medical School at the University was his "chef d'oeuvre" with the McEwan Hall ranking "among the noblest in the kingdom".¹

No architect has an even output, especially if his practice is large, and Anderson is perhaps rightly faulted for lacking "that touch of kindliness so essential to the maker of homes".² This criticism is particularly apt in relation to his smaller houses, especially those on the Braid Estate, where fine proportion, elegant detail and lofty effects do not always come off. In larger buildings these features elevate, while in smaller buildings they intimidate.

It would, however, be criminal to assess Anderson's architecture on an aesthetic basis alone, in view of his avowed functionalism. In his buildings, in the sound judgement of the same obituarist, he showed a "masterly ability" in meeting modern requirements.

Recent historians have tended to be wary about Victorian functionalism, and its concomitant, rationalism. Paul Thompson has stated of Butterfield, that his system was not so much the rational expression of structure, as the utmost manipulation of structure for aesthetic ends.³

Pugin himself was criticised by Eastlake :-
It has frequently been affirmed, and with some show of reason, that Pugin enriched his churches at a sacrifice of their strength — that he starved his roof tree to gild his altar.4

It is much more difficult to level these criticisms at Anderson.

Recent research on Waterhouse, renowned as the great planner among Victorian architects, reveals that the "idea of the picturesque ... was a vital factor in his buildings".5 To Anderson, contrived picturesqueness was anathema, although to deny that he exercised aesthetic options is fatuous. At the same time his massing of the skyline at "Allermuir" is astringent and Webbian, an example of how blunt he could be.

In this respect Anderson might attract criticism over the range of towers he partly succeeded in having built. To a man steeped in Gothic, however, it was easy to see a church tower as having a function, symbolic and sometimes practical, and the towers were thus justified.6

The contemplation of a building by Anderson leaves the spectator conscious of beauty, reason and control, that it is the product of "the head rather than the heart", to quote another obituarist. This derives in part from Anderson's honest attempts to express function in preference to aesthetic display. It was also a reflection of his character, restrained, sober and practical, and as such, quintessentially Scottish.

It might have gratified Anderson to know that in later years, functionalism would re-emerge after a gestation on the continent, but it is doubtful that he would have approved of its aesthetic dress. This might seem a paradox, given that, in a number of his buildings, his own approach to ornamentation can only be described
as minimalist. Nevertheless, his adherence to the spirit of history was such that he never progressed towards a distinctly Arts and Crafts style, far less what one eminent historian has called a free style. This was to be left to the generation he influenced.

Judged on its own terms, however, Anderson's architecture is invariably impressive, and at times scales the heights.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 Builder 10 June 1921, p.739.

2 Ibid.


6 SRA Anderson's report to the Building Committee of Govan Parish Church CH2/1277/63.
APPENDIX SIX

List of Works

The list is divided into three sections, Executed Works, Executed Works (Undated), and Unexecuted Projects. Primary source references are given for each item, where possible. The abbreviations follow those used elsewhere.

EXECUTED WORKS

1 1860-61 Broughty Castle - rebuilding

RIBAJ 24 June 1916, p.272
Sir Francis Mudie, David Walker, Iain McIvor Broughty Castle and the Defence of the Tay (Dundee, Abertay Historical Society, 1979)

2 1861-64 St. James Episcopal Church, Leith - Clerk of Works

Correspondence, Vestry Minutes (with incumbent)

3 1861 Monument to 78th Highlanders, Edinburgh Castle

ECC p.36, No.249

4 1863-64 Christ Church Episcopal Church, Falkirk

Vestry Minutes (with incumbent)
ECC p.35, No.160

5 1864-66 St. Michael and All Saints Episcopal Church, Edinburgh (with later additions to 1897)

Building Committee Minutes (at Church)
Design drawings (with incumbent)
ECC pp.35-36, No.23
Builder, 3 June 1876, p.532
Building News 22nd June 1877, p.633

6 1866 - House for Mr. Waddell, Portobello

ECC p.36, No.35
7 1866-68 St. Andrews Episcopal Church, St. Andrews

- ECC p.36 No.261
- Vestry Minutes (at church)
- Correspondence (at church)
- *Scottish Guardian* March 1867, p.143

8 1866-68 St. James Episcopal Church, Cupar

- Vestry Minutes (at church)

9 1866-69 St. John's Episcopal Church, Alloa

- Vestry Minutes (at church)
- ECC p.36 No.99
- RA Scrapbook, pp.22-3
- *Ecclesiologist* XXVIII, 1867, pp.247-8

10 1866-68 St. Michael and All Angels Episcopal Church, Helensburgh

- Vestry Minutes (at church)
- Specification (at church)
- *Scottish Guardian* March 1867, p.142

11 1866 Monument to Sixth Duke of Atholl, Logierait

- Memorial Committee Minutes, Blair Castle
- RIBAJ 24 June 1916, p.273
- ECC p.36 No.249

12 1867-69 St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Kelso

- ECC p.36 No.200
- RA Scrapbook, p.124

13 1868 Tenements, Balfour St., Edinburgh (demolished)

- ECC p.36 No.72

14 1869 St. Mungo's Episcopal Church, Balerno

- ECYB p.147

15 1869 St. Patrick's R.C. School, Cowgate, Edinburgh (demolished)

- ECC p.36 No.42
- *Builder* 30 July 1870 pp.612-3.

16 1870 Houses at Inverleith Terrace, Edinburgh

- RA Scrapbook, loose cutting
- ECC p.36 Nos.52-3
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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| 17   | 1871-73 St. Luke's (now St. Augustine's) Episcopal Church, Dumbarton  
Vestry Minutes (at church)  
Short History (at church)  
ECC p.36 No.49 |
| 18   | 1871-72 St. Vigean's Parish Church, Arbroath (Restoration)  
Correspondence (with Session Clerk)  
Proc. Soc. Antiq. 1872, pp.481-496 |
| 19   | 1871-83 Catholic Apostolic Church, Edinburgh  
NMRS Copy Drawings EDD/257/7-22  
Builder 5 October 1872, p.776  
Scotsman 22 November 1873  
Builder 22 April 1876, p.394  
British Architect 1 August 1884, p.58  
Builder 6 January 1883, p.23 |
| 20   | 1872-76 St. Serf's Episcopal Church, Dunimarle, Culross  
RA Scrapbook, p.42  
ECYB p.272 |
| 21   | 1873 Kellie Monument, St. John's Episcopal, Alloa  
Vestry Minutes |
| 22   | 1873 Robertson Memorial, St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Kelso  
RSA list, 1873 |
| 23   | 1873-77 St. James Episcopal Church, Stonehaven  
ECC p.37 No.199  
Dundee University. Brechin Diocesan Archives MS/1/4/852 |
| 24   | 1874-76 Iona, restoration of Abbey, Nunnery, Burial Grounds  
Edinburgh University Library Letter Anderson/WF Skene  
SRO Letter Anderson/Skene GD 1/126/8/2 |
| 25   | 1874 Lodge for Fettikill House, Leslie, Fife  
ECC p.37 No.227 |
| 26   | 1874-75 Holy Trinity Episcopal Church, Stirling  
Correspondence, Vestry Minutes (at church)  
ECC p.38 No.190 |
27 1874-76 West Fountainbridge, Causewayside and Stockbridge Schools (West Fountainbridge and Causewayside demolished)

Edinburgh City Library, Copy Letter Books of Edinburgh School Board (Q. YL 353/G 39598-60)
Builder 30 December 1876 pp.1259-60
ECC p.37, Nos. 66, 67 and 74

28 1874-76 Kirkcaldy West Primary School

Fife Regional Archives, Glenrothes. School Board Minutes and Reports
RA Scrapbook, p.112

29 1874-86 Edinburgh University Medical School

Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Vol.XXIV, Part 2 pp.95-104
Builder 23 January 1875, p.82
Notebook, property of Sir William Kininmonth
ECC pp.4-5, 1.2, 1.4, 1.5
Edinburgh University Library, Building Committee Letter Book, E 490120 Da 3
RA Scrapbook, pp.2, 321

30 1875 Iona, Pennycross, Balevulin Schools, alterations

ECC p.37 No.205

31 1875 Jedburgh Abbey, restoration

SRO Letter Anderson/Lord Lothian GD 40/9/480

32 1876-80 Leslie West Public School, Fife (demolished)

Fife Regional Archives, Glenrothes. School Board Minutes
ECC p.38 Nos. 85, 204

33 1876-84 St. Augustine's Church, North Shields

ECC p.38 No.199
Newcastle Journal 11 June 1884

34 1877 Double Villa At Colinton (11-13 Woodhall Rd.)

Building News 24 August 1877, p.187

35 1877-84 Central Station Hotel, Glasgow (originally built as Caledonian Railway Offices)

ECC p.38 No.118
SRO Newspaper Cutting BR/GSW 4/5 - 529
SRO Caledonian Railway Board Minutes 1 May 1877 BR/CAL/1-23
SRO Advertisement BR CAL 4/12/38
SRO Note on Costs BR CAL 4-30
SRO Newspaper Cutting BR/GSW 4-20
36 1878 Yester House, East Lothian, alterations
ECC p.38 No.88

37 1878-79 Double Villa, Milton Rd., Kirkcaldy
ECC p.38 No.219

38 1878 Newbattle Abbey, restoration of old tombstone
SRO GD 40/8/515 Account

39 1878 Dean Ramsay Monument, Princes St., Edinburgh
RIBAJ 24 June 1916 p.273

40 1878-86 Mount Stuart House, Rothesay (with further work to 1906)
NMRS BUD/7/1 Illustration of old house
ECC p.38 No.110
Anderson's Diary 1879
ECC p.42 No.197
MSM Letter F. Pitman/H. Stuart 11 March 1878
Letter Bute/Lady Bute 2 October 1879
Letter Anderson/Windsor Stuart 27 February 1882
Letter Anderson/Lady Bute 29 January 1901

41 1879-84 "Allermuir", Colinton
Title deeds (property of R. McWhirter, owner)
RSA list, 1880
JSFDC Vol IV Part II 1943, p.20

42 1879 Baberton Court, Juniper Green
Anderson's Diary, 1879

43 1879-80 North Berwick Parish Church
ECC p.38 No.111
McWilliam Lothian, p.361

44 1879-84 Conservative Club, Princes St., Edinburgh
RA Scrapbook, p.40
Builder 20 March 1880, p.362
Anderson's Diary, 1879

45 1879-81 St. John's Episcopal Church, Forfar
ECC p.38 No.240
Building News 15 April 1881, p.420
Building Committee - Report of visit to Stonehaven
Episcopal (in hands of Church Secretary)
46 1879 Villas at Nile Grove, Morningside (2)
Anderson's Diary, 1879

47 1879-80 Fettes College Sanatorium and North Lodge
Anderson's Diary, 1879

48 1879 Greenside Church, Edinburgh, alterations
Anderson's Diary, 1879

49 1879 Tulliallan, repairs to Mortuary Chapel
Anderson's Diary, 1879

50 1879-80 Montrose Asylum, additions
ECC p.38 No.103

51 1879 St. Brides Church, Douglas, restoration
Anderson's Diary, 1879

52 1879 Lady Flora Hastings Homes, Colinton
Anderson's Diary, 1879

53 1879 Kelton Church, Kircudbright, alterations
ECC p.38 No.108

54 1880-82 St. John's Church, Canongate, Edinburgh
ECC p.38 No.109
Builder 23 April 1881, p.504
Builder 7 January 1882, p.24

55 1881 "Torduff" (now Thirlestane) House, Colinton
Title Deeds (property of R. McWhirter, "Allermuir")

56 1881 4, 6, 8 Nile Grove, Edinburgh

57 1881-82 Tower, St. George's West Free Church, Edinburgh
ECC p.39 No.246
Builder 23 April 1881 p.503
Builder 7 January 1882 p.24
RA Scrapbook, p.220

58 1881 Alterations to National Gallery steps, Edinburgh
ECC p.39 No.182
59 1882-84 Normand Memorial Hall, Dysart
Kirkcaldy Public Library, Cutting from Fife Free Press, 9 May 1885

60 1882-88 Coven Old Parish Church, Glasgow
ECC p.39 No.120
RA Scrapbook, p.87
Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society, 1908-9, p.409
SRA Architect's Account, Building Fund Letter Book

61 1882-87 S. Sophia's R.C. Church and Presbytery, Galston
ECC p.41 No.260
Ground planes at Mount Stuart
NMMS Letter Bute/Lady Bute 20 March 1882
Letter Bute/Lady Bute 18 June 1882
Letter Bute/Lady Bute 25 September 1884
Letter Lady Bute/Bute 10 October 1884

62 1882 House for Mr. Beatson, Colinton Rd., Edinburgh
ECC p.39 No.123

63 1883 Lady Flora Hastings Homes, 1-11 Barnshot Rd., Colinton
RSA list, 1883

64 1883 St. Mary's Parish Church, Hawick, rebuilding after fire
RIBAJ 24 June 1916 p.272

65 1883-5 Alterations and Additions to Carrington House, Fettes College

66 1883-87 Alterations to Beaufort Castle, Beauly (HM Wardrop, completed by Anderson)
NMRS IN/3796 Photographs
Sir John Stirling Maxwell Shrines and Homes of Scotland
(London & Edinburgh: W & R Chambers, 1937) p.204

67 1883 New East Window, St. Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen
RA Scrapbook, p.171
ECC p.39 No.124

68 1883 Moredun Crescent, Edinburgh (demolished)

69 1884 Moray Aisle Pulpit, St. Giles

70 1884 Glencorse Parish Church (tower added 1890)
M & N Lunan Brief History of the Church in Glencorse
(Glencorse: Kirk Session, 1985), pp.7-8
1884 Kirkliston Parish Church, addition to nave
RIBAJ 24 June 1916 p.272

1884-87 Biel House, E. Lothian, alterations, extensions and Cottage (all but Cottage demolished)
NMRS Biel Drawings ELO 102, 103, 104
SRO Letter Anderson/C.N. Hamilton GD 205/17/47

1884 Stornoway Parish Church, alterations
ECC p.40 No.125

1884-7 1-10 Hermitage Terrace, Edinburgh

1884-89 National Portrait Gallery and Museum of Antiquities
RA Scrapbook, p.81
ECC p.39 No.141, p.40 No.132
Builder 3 January, 1885 p.49
SRO Building Committee Minutes NGI/SS/2
H Smail A Portrait Gallery for Scotland (Edinburgh: Trustees of the National Galleries, 1985)

1885-88 St. James' Episcopal Church, Inverleith, Edinburgh
Gifford, McWilliam, Walker, Edinburgh
Cuttings book kept at church

1885 Buccleuch Monument, Parliament Square, Edinburgh
Builder 10 October 1885 p.492

1885-87 Ardgowan Estate Office, Greenock
RA Scrapbook, p.87

1886 Crichton Mains Farmhouse, Midlothian
ECC p.40 No.181

1886 Braeburn House, Currie (for Bruce)
ECC p.40 No.167

1886 All Saints Episcopal, Inverary
RA Scrapbook, p.106

1886-87 Dome to complete Adam's Old College, University of Edinburgh
NMRS EDD 220/47 Adam's design
Builder 14 August 1886 p.225-6
Builder 30 April 1887 p.632
83 1886-88 Ballochmyle House, Ayrshire
   (H.M. Wardrop, completed by Anderson)
   ECC p.40 No.229

84 1887 Queen's Hall, Charlestown, Fife
   RIBAJ 24 June 1916 p.272

85 1887 Montrose Memorial, St. Giles, Edinburgh
   RIBAJ 24 June 1916, p.273

86 1887-88 Hoddam Castle, additions and alterations,
   (H.M. Wardrop, completed by Anderson)
   RIBAJ 24 June 1916, p.272

87 1887-89 St. Cuthbert's Episcopal Church, Colinton (with further work to 189)
   ECC p.40 No.147
   RA Scrapbook, loose cutting

88 1887-88 St. Anne's Episcopal Church, Dunbar
   ECC p.41 No.134

89 1888 Old College, Edinburgh University, redressing basement as rusticated masonry

90 1888 Fencing at Comely Bank for Fettes College

91 1888 Iron Kirk, Royal Mile, Edinburgh, interior refurbishment (destroyed)
   British Architect 3 August 1888, p.90

92 1888 Pitfirrane Castle, Dunfermline, alterations
   National Library of Scotland MS 6509/17-18 Plans

93 1888-1908 Braid Estate, Edinburgh

94 1888 Heatherlie Manse, Selkirk
   RIBAJ 24 June 1916 p.273
1888-97 McEwan Hall, Edinburgh University
RA Scrapbook, pp.308-310
Savage Extension Scheme p.102 and Plate IV
Letter (?) Ferguson to F.W. Troup 3 August 1888
(property of F. Levson)

1889 Duddingston Parish Church, interior refurbishment (destroyed)
RIBAJ 24 June 1916, p.272

1889-97 St. Andrew's Home, Joppa, alterations and Chapel (demolished)
ECC p.41 No.114

1889 Hall, South Morningside Free Church, Edinburgh
ECC p.41 No.191

1890-91 King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, refurbishment, restoration
(destroyed)
RA Scrapbook, loose cutting

1890-93 Dunblane Cathedral Restoration
JSFDC 1931, pp.13-24
Trans EAA, 8 March 1893, pp.104-110
SRO NGI/62 File on restoration

1890 Alterations to front hall, Broomhall, Dunfermline
Country Life 29 January 1970, p.245

1890-91 Luscar House, Carnock, addition and alterations
ECC p.41 No.140

1890 South Morningside Free Church, Edinburgh
ECC p.41 No.191
RA Scrapbook, p.326

1890 Dunfermline Abbey Church, new pulpit
Dunfermline Journal, 13 September 1890, p.3
RA Scrapbook, p.46

1890 St. Paul's Church, Greenock
ECC p.41 No.248
RA Scrapbook, p.88
106 1890-91 Holy Trinity Episcopal Church, Dunfermline
L.R. Weatherley History of Holy Trinity Episcopal Church, Dunfermline (Typescript, 1981) p.6

107 1891-05 Freeland House, Forgandenny, additions and alterations
ECC p.34 Nos. 142, 145, 169

108 1891 Inglis Memorial, St. Giles, Edinburgh
RIBAJ 24 June 1916 p.273

109 1891-93 University of St. Andrews, conversion of buildings in North Street and Butt's Wynd into Students' Union
University Library University Court Minutes, Circular

110 1891 Alterations at Royal Institution, Edinburgh
ECC p.39 No.141

111 1892 Charleton House, Montrose, extensions and alterations
RIBAJ 24 June 1916, p.273

112 1892-1907 Pearce Institute, Govan, Glasgow
ECC p.42, No.231

113 1892 Dunfermline Abbey, steps and gates, redecoration of Parish Church (latter removed)
Plans, Shearer and Annand

114 1892 Glencorse House, Midlothian, alterations
ECC p.42 No.144

115 1892 Ethie Castle, Forfar, alterations
RIBAJ 24 June 1916, p.272

116 1893-95 Baldochino, Catholic Apostolic Church, Edinburgh, supervision of Mural Decoration
NMRS Brochure 2205(p) D5/E(p)

117 1893 House for R.R. Anderson, Marhan, Tangier (demolished)
ECC p.41 No.231
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Source(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Mackenzie Tomb, Greyfriars, Edinburgh (restoration)</td>
<td>Photographs, Library of Edinburgh Architectural Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Inglis Memorial, St. Giles Cathedral</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Crum Memorial Library, Thornliebank, Glasgow</td>
<td>ECC p.42 No.148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Falkirk Old Parish Church (extensions)</td>
<td>Lewis Lawson The Church at Falkirk (Falkirk: Kirk Session, 1973)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>St. Margaret's R.C. Church, Dunfermline (nave &amp; aisles)</td>
<td>ECC p.42 No.146 RA Scrapbook, pp.45-46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Bush House, Roslin, additions and alterations</td>
<td>ECC p.42 No.151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>1895-6</td>
<td>Glencoe House and Lodge, Invercoe, Argyll</td>
<td>ECC p.42 No.159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>&quot;The Swallowgait&quot;, St. Andrews</td>
<td>RIBAJ 24 June 1916, p.273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Hopetoun House, Linlithgow, additions and alterations</td>
<td>RIBAJ 24 June 1916, p.273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Brankston Grange, near Culross, additions</td>
<td>RIBAJ 24 June 1916, p.273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>1896-88</td>
<td>Houses at Comely Bank Terrace</td>
<td>ECC p.42 No.154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>1897-02</td>
<td>Chapel, Mount Stuart, Rothesay</td>
<td>ECC p.38 No.110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Pollokshaws Burgh Buildings, Glasgow</td>
<td>JSFDC 1943, pp.20-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>1897-99</td>
<td>Rosslynlee Asylum, additions and alterations</td>
<td>ECC p.42 No.156</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
132 1897 Eastwood Parish Church, redecoration and alterations
RIBAJ 24 June 1916, p.272

133 1897-99 9-21 Inverleith Gardens, Edinburgh

134 1898-1911 Keir House, Dunblane, additions
ECC p.42 No.163

135 1898-1907 Paisley Abbey Restoration
A.R. Howell Paisley Abbey, Its History, Architecture and Art
(Paisley, A. Gardner Ltd., N/D)
ECC p.42 No.193
SRA TPM/1/22/27 Stirling Maxwell Papers
SRO MR 778 15/1 Heritors' Records

136 1898 Double Villa at Gullane
ECC p.42 No.157

137 1899 Bothwell Parish Church, restoration
RA Scrapbook, p.99

138 1899-1904 Inchinnan Parish Church, Inchinnan (demolished)
R. McLellan The Church and Parish of Inchinnan (Paisley: A. Gardner Ltd., 1905) pp.84-5
ECC p.41 No.247
JSFDC 1943, pp.20-21

139 1899 Colinton Bank House, Alterations
ECC p.43 No.153

140 1899-1900 Senate Room, University of St. Andrews, refurbishment
Library, University of St. Andrews, University Court Minutes

141 1900 Pulpit and interior rearrangements, St. Salvator's Church, St. Andrews
Library, University of St. Andrews, University Court Minutes, correspondence

142 1900 Drill Hall for 5th Volunteer Brigade, Royal Scots, Dalmeny Street, Leith
ECC p.43 No.162

143 1901 Alterations to Merchiston Castle School, Edinburgh (demolished)
Builder 4 January 1902, p.22
144 1901-08 Pollok House, Glasgow. Wings, alterations, garden works
ECC p.43 No.165
J. Kinchin Pollok House - A History of the House and Gardens
(Glasgow Museums & Art Galleries, 1983)

145 1902 Balmoral, additions and alterations
RA Scrapbook, loose cutting
RIBAJ 24 June 1916, p.273

146 1902 Archers Hall, Edinburgh, reconstruction and additions
RIBAJ 24 June 1916, p.272

147 1902-08 Culross Abbey Church, restoration
Dunfermline Journal 19 May 1906, p.5
SRQ Heritor's Records 158/2

148 1903 Dunblane Cathedral Hall
RIBAJ 24 June 1916, p.272

149 1905 Edinburgh University, alterations to provide for new Engineering and Physics Laboratories
ECC p.43 No.168

150 1905 Kincairn House, Dunblane, alterations
ECC p.43 No.168

151 1906 Assembly Rooms and Music Hall, George St., Edinburgh, additions and alterations
RIBAJ 24 June 1916, p.272

152 1906-10 Dundee University, new Physics and Engineering Laboratories
Dundee University Library, College Council Minutes
ECC p.43 No.166
D. Southgate University Education in Dundee - a Centenary History (Dundee: Edinburgh University Press, 1982), p.139
Dundee University Library Recs A/331/2, A/327/2, (correspondence)

153 1908 Royal Infirmary Edinburgh, minor alterations
ECC p.37 No.174

154 1909 Monument to Stirlings of Keir, Dunblane Cathedral
RIBAJ 24 June 1916, p.273
155  1911  Dollar Academy Science Laboratory

RIBAJ  24 June 1916, p.272

156  1911-14  Sweetheart Abbey, restoration

W. Huyse  Dervogilla, Lady of Galloway, and her Abbey of the
Sweet Heart  (London: Chiswick Press, 1913) pp.71-72

EXECUTED WORKS (UNDATED)

c1890  Keavil House, Dunfermline, additions

c1880  Hatton House, Midcalder, additions and alterations

c1900  Sumburgh House, Shetland, additions and alterations

Kelso Abbey, restoration

Memorial to Mary of Lorraine, Edinburgh Castle

Memorial to Kirkcaldy of Grange, Edinburgh Castle

Memorial to Earl of Moray, Edinburgh Castle

Monument to Oliphant of Aberdalgie, Stirling Castle

Monument to Earl of Wharnecliffe, Newtyle Parish Church

Memorial to JR Findlay, National Portrait Gallery

State Halberds for Municipality of Edinburgh

1880's (?) Houses at Barnshot Road, Colinton (3)
UNEXECUTED PROJECTS

1 1873 Paisley Abbey, Restoration of Cloisters
RA Scrapbook, p.176
MSM Letter Richmond/Bute 19 June 1873

2 1874 Sillyholm School, Lanark
ECC p.37 No.68

3 1876 Brechin Diocese Official Residence
ECC p.38 No.245

4 1876 Kirkcaldy Free Church Competition
ECC p.38 No.239

5 1877 Leven Episcopal Church
ECC p.38 No.96

6 1870's Duncan Institute, Cupar, Competition
ECC p.45 No.245

7 1877 St. Pauls Episcopal Church, Greenock, Competition
ECC p.44 No.243

8 1878 Old St. Pauls Episcopal Church, Edinburgh
Building Committee Minutes
Anderson's Diary, 1879

9 1885 Pitmedden House, Aberdeen, alterations
ECC p.40 No.126

10 1886 Industrial Exhibition, Edinburgh, Competition
ECC p.40 No.128

11 1887 Imperial Institute, London, Competition design
RA Scrapbook p.109
Builder 23 July 1887, pp.132-3
ECC Uncatalogued drawing
ECC p.38 No.186
Architect 10 August 1887, pp.86,89,93
12 1887 Holy Trinity Episcopal Church, Pitlochry, Alterations
ECC p.41 No.130

13 1889 Arbroath High School, Competition design
NMRS Drawings

14 1892 Midlothian County Buildings, Competition design
ECC p.42 No.143
Builder 12 March 1892, p.201

15 1892 Bishop's House, Elgin, Restoration Proposals
NMRS Copies of Plans

16 1895 North British Hotel, Competition designs
ECC p.42 No.150
RA Scrapbook, p.149

17 1897 House for Mr. Craig, North Berwick
ECC p.42 No.228

18 1901 Queen Victoria Memorial, Competition designs
Academy Architecture, 1903, Plates 63-65
Builder 13 April 1901, pp.359-361
Builder 3 August 1901, pp.95-6
All plates captioned 'SM' have been photographed by the author.
The abbreviations used in the captions follow those used elsewhere.

1 Chancel Arch, Duddingston Church. Prizewinning drawing by
R. Anderson, c.1855. ECC p.35, No.235

2 St. Margaret's Well, Restalrig. Measured drawing by R. Anderson,

3 Maison du Grand Veneur, Cordes, c.1859. From R. Anderson
The Domestic and Street Architecture of France and Italy
(c.1868), Plate 15
4 Placa Champollion, Figeac, c.1859. From R. Anderson
The Domestic and Street Architecture of France and Italy
(c.1868), Plate 23.

5 Broughty Castle, Broughty Ferry, 1894. Photograph NMRS

6 All Saint's Episcopal Church, Woodhead, Fyvie, by
John Henderson. SM, 1984

7 St. Mary's Episcopal Church, Dunblane, by John Henderson.
SM, 1984

8 St. Cuthbert's Episcopal Church, Hawick, by George Gilbert Scott.
SM, 1986

9 Christ Church Episcopal Church, Falkirk. SM, 1985

10 All Saints' Episcopal Church, Edinburgh. SM, 1985

11 Waddell's House, Portobello. Contract Drawings. ECC Page 36,
No.35

12 Atholl Monument, Logierait. SM, 1986

13 Monument to 78th Highlanders, Edinburgh Castle. From J. Grant,
Old and New Edinburgh, (N/D) Vol.I, p.84

14 St. Michael and All Angels Episcopal Church, Helensburgh.
(Tower added 20th century). SM, 1985

15 Interior, St. Michael and All Angels Episcopal Church,
Helensburgh. SM, 1985

16 St. John's Episcopal Church, Alloa. SM, 1985

17 St. James' Episcopal Church, Cupar. SM, 1985

18 St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, St. Andrews, N.D. J.H. Scott

19 Unexecuted design for Falkirk Parsonage. ECC p.36, No.200

20 Unexecuted design for St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Kelso.
ECC p.37, No.203

21 St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Kelso. SM, 1986

22 Interior, St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Kelso. SM, 1986

23 St. Mungo's Episcopal Church, Balerno. SM, 1985

24 Tenemented housing, Inverleith Row, Edinburgh. SM, 1984

24a View towards Chancel, St. Augustine's Church, Dumbarton. NMRS

25 St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Dumbarton. (Now St. Augustine's) SM, 1985

26 Former Parsonage to St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Dumbarton.
SM, 1985
27 St. Vigean’s Parish Church, St. Vigeans, Arbroath, prior to restoration. From Forfarshire Illustrated (1848), p.103

28 St. Vigean’s Parish Church, St. Vigeans, Arbroath, restored interior. From Academy Architecture 1893, p.77

29 West end, St. Vigean’s Parish Church, St. Vigeans, Arbroath. SM, 1984

30 East End, St. Vigean’s Parish Church, St. Vigeans, Arbroath. SM, 1984

31 St. Leonard’s (formerly Arthursley) Dalkeith Rd., Edinburgh SM, 1985


33 Sketch of Brechin Cathedral from R. Anderson’s sketchbook, property of Sir William Kininmonth.

34 Sketch of details from Ely Cathedral, from R. Anderson’s sketch book, property of Sir William Kininmonth.

35 Elevation of Catholic Apostolic Church, Edinburgh, from copy contract drawings in the NMRS

36 Exterior, Catholic Apostolic Church, Edinburgh. SM, 1984

37 Interior view, Catholic Apostolic Church, Edinburgh. NMRS

38 Design for St. James’ Episcopal Church, Stonehaven. ECC p.37, No.199

39 St. James’ Episcopal Church, Stonehaven. SM, 1984

40 Interior, St. James' Episcopal Church, Stonehaven. SM, 1984

41 Stockbridge School, Edinburgh. SM, 1984

42 Kirkcaldy West Primary School. SM, 1985

43 Kirkcaldy West Schoolmaster’s house. SM, 1985

44 Holy Trinity Episcopal Church, Stirling. SM, 1985

45 Design for Edinburgh University Medical School, by Wardrop and Reid. ECC p.4 No.1.2, 14.

46 Plans for Edinburgh University Medical School, by Wardrop and Reid. ECC p.4 No.1.2, 10.

47 Block plan, Anderson’s first scheme for the Edinburgh University Medical School. Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, Vol.XXXIV (1979) Plate II
Elevations, Anderson's first scheme for the Edinburgh University Medical School. ECC p.4, 1.1(7)

Anderson's accepted scheme for the Medical School, Edinburgh University, with projected academic hall and campanile. From J. Grant Old and New Edinburgh (N/D) VolII, p.357

Edinburgh University Medical School, Teviot Row elevation. SM, 1985

Edinburgh University Medical School, elevations in courtyard (South wall). SM, 1985

Jedburgh Abbey, replacement door in south wall of nave. SM, 1985

St. Serf's Episcopal Church, Dunimarle SM, 1985

St. Augustine's Church, North Shields. Design drawing. ECC p.38 No.199

Brechin Diocesan residence, design drawing. ECC p.38, No.245

St. Bryce's Church, Kirkcaldy. SM, 1985

Central Hotel, Glasgow, Tower. SM, 1985

Central Hotel, Glasgow. SM, 1985

Designs for new Episcopal Church at Leven. ECC p.38, No.96

Design for new Episcopal Church at Greenock. ECC p.44, No.243

Double villa, Milton Rd., Kirkcaldy. SM, 1985

Great Hall, Mount Stuart, Bute. SM, 1985

Garden front, Mount Stuart, Bute. SM, 1985

Entrance front, Mount Stuart, Bute. SM, 1985

"Allermuir", Colinton. NMRS

St. John's Episcopal Church, Forfar. SM, 1984

Design for North Berwick Parish Church. ECC p.38 No.111

North Berwick Parish Church. SM, 1984
69 St. John's Church, Canongate, Edinburgh (now Moray House College of Education). SM, 1984
70 Baberton Court, Juniper Green. SM, 1985
71 4 & 6 Nile Grove, Edinburgh. SM, 1985
72 Fettes College Sanatorium (now Malcolm House). SM, 1985
73 Fettes College, North lodge cottage. SM, 1985
74 Main staircase, Central Hotel, Glasgow. SM, 1985
75 St. George's West Church and tower, Edinburgh. SM, 1985
76 Conservative Club, Edinburgh. (Now Debenham's) SM, 1986
77 Old Machar Cathedral, Aberdeen. Drawings of new East Window. ECC p.39, No.124
78 St. Mary's Parish Church, Hawick. SM, 1985
79 Normand Memorial Hall, Dysart. SM, 1984
80 9-23 Nile Grove, Edinburgh. SM, 1985
82 St. Augustine's Church, North Shields. SM, 1985
83 St. Augustine's Church, North Shields, Interior. Photograph at church
84 Glencorse Parish Church. SM, 1984
85 Govan Parish Church. SM, 1985
87 Interior, Govan Parish Church. Photograph, Guide, p.4
88 Alternative design for tower, Govan Old Parish Church. ECC p.39, No.120
89 Ballochmyle House. NMRS
90 S. Sophia R.C. Church, Galston.  
SM, 1985

NMRS

92 Dome, Old College, Edinburgh University.  
SM, 1985

93 Buccleuch Monument, Edinburgh.  
SM, 1985

94 Ardgowan Estate Office, Greenock.  
SM, 1984

95 Bamburgh House (for Bruce) Currie.  Drawings.  
ECC p.40 No.167

96 Bamburgh House (now Glenburn Hotel) Currie.  
SM, 1985

97 F.W. Bidlake's perspective for the Imperial Institute design.  
ECC p.38 No.186

98 Queen's Hall, Charlestown, Fife.  
SM, 1984

99 St. James' Episcopal Church, Inverleith.  
SM, 1985

100 Porch, St. Anne's Episcopal Church, Dunbar.  
SM, 1984

101 Drawings for St. Anne's Episcopal Church, Dunbar.  
ECC p.41 No.134

102 St. Cuthbert's Episcopal Church, Colinton (subsequently extended)  
NMRS

103 Pulpit. St. Cuthbert's Episcopal Church, Colinton.  SM, 1984

104 Interior, St. Cuthbert's Episcopal Church, Colinton.  SM, 1984

105 Interior, St. Cuthbert's Episcopal Church, Colinton.  SM, 1984

106 McEwan Hall, Edinburgh University.  SM, 1986

107 Dunblane Cathedral, interior as restored.  NMRS

108 Dunblane Cathedral, exterior as restored.  NMRS

109 Hermitage Terrace, Edinburgh.  SM, 1985

110 Braid Avenue, Edinburgh.  SM, 1985
111 Houses at Braid Rd., Edinburgh. SM, 1985
112 Luscar House, Carnock. SM, 1984
113 Dunfermline Abbey Church, pulpit. RA Scrapbook, p.46.
114 Steps and gates to Dunfermline Abbey. SM, 1984
115 St. Paul's Church, Greenock. SM, 1984
115a West End, St. Paul's, Greenock. SM 1984
116 Braid Rd. Free Church (now Cluny Church Centre) Edinburgh. SM, 1985
117 Holy Trinity Episcopal Church, Dunfermline. SM, 1984
118 Entrance Hall, Students' Union, University of St. Andrews. SM, 1985
119 Pearce Institute, Glasgow, unexecuted design. ECC p.42 No.231
120 Pearce Institute, Glasgow. SM, 1985
121 Eastern Telegraph Office, Tangier. SM, 1985
122 Cafe Central, Socco Chico, Tangier. SM, 1985
123 Esmaili House, Tangier. Drawings. ECC p.41 No.231
124 Baldacchino, Catholic Apostolic Church. NMRS
125 Crum Memorial Library, Thornliebank. SM, 1984
126 St. Margaret's R.C. Church design, Dunfermline. From A.H. Miller *Fife Pictorial and Historical*, Vol II, (1895) p.222
127 St. Margaret's R.C. Church, Dunfermline. SM, 1984
128 North British Hotel, Edinburgh, Design No.2 ECC p.42 No.150
129 Glencoe House, Invercoe (with wing formerly at R.H.S. removed). SM, 1986
130 Glencoe House, Invercoe, entrance (Doorway in altered position). SM, 1986
131  Ceiling, entrance hall (formerly dining room)
    Glencoe House, Invercoe.  SM, 1986

132  Pollokshaws Burgh Buildings, Glasgow.
    SM, 1985

133  Mount Stuart Chapel, interior.
    SM, 1985

134  Cast of skull of Pedro de Luna, University of St. Andrews
    Library.  P. Adamson, 1986

135  Anderson's design for the restoration of Paisley Abbey.
    From A.R. Howell Paisley Abbey, Its History, Architecture
    and Art (N/D) Plate facing p.50

136  Senate Room, University of St. Andrews.
    P. Adamson, 1985

137  Dalmeny St. Drill Hall, Leith.  SM, 1985

138  Pollok House, unexecuted design drawings.
    Uncatalogued drawing in University of Edinburgh Library

139  Pollok House, Glasgow.  SM, 1985

140  Queen Victoria Memorial, the Mall, London.
    From Academy Architecture, 1903 - Edinburgh, p.64

141  Inchinnan Parish Church, design drawings.

141a  Interior, Inchinnan.  From R. McLelland Church and Parish (1905)

142  Culross Abbey Church.  SM, 1985

143  Interior, Culross Abbey Church.  SM, 1985

143a  Design for University College.  From British Association Handbook
    (Dundee Mtg.), 1912

144  Dundee University, Physics and Engineering Laboratories.
    SM, 1985

145  "Allermuir", interior view.  NMRS

146  "Allermuir", interior view.  NMRS

147  P. McGregor Chalmers' design for the restoration of
    Paisley Abbey.  From A.R. Howell Paisley Abbey, Its History
    Architecture and Art (N/D) Plate facing p.48

148  Rowand Anderson's gravestone.
    SM, 1984

149  Well Court, Edinburgh.  SM, 1985
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of Building/Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>Dr. Guthrie's Boys' School, Edinburgh.</td>
<td>SM, 1985</td>
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<td>151</td>
<td>Lady Rowand Anderson Memorial Cottage, Colinton.</td>
<td>SM, 1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>University of Edinburgh, Chemistry Block, Kings Buildings.</td>
<td>SM, 1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>St. Serf's Church, Goldenacre, Edinburgh, Design drawings.</td>
<td>From <em>Academy Architecture, 1901-Edinburgh</em>, p.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>Blackhall Primary School, Edinburgh.</td>
<td>SM, 1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>Falkirk Public Library.</td>
<td>SM, 1985</td>
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<td>157</td>
<td>Mackenzie House, Fettes College, Edinburgh.</td>
<td>SM, 1985</td>
</tr>
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<td>158</td>
<td>Jeffrey House, Fettes College, Edinburgh.</td>
<td>SM, 1985</td>
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</table>

Comparative Illustrations

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of Church/Location</th>
<th>Source, Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>Templebrady Church (from Pullan, <em>Drawings of William Burges</em>, p.65)</td>
<td>See Plates 59, 88, 126 above.</td>
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"Allermuir", interior view.
"Allermuir", interior view.

ADRIE ROSS ANDERSON
BORN 5 JUNE 1864
DIED 14 FEBRUARY 1872
HER TROSS
WIFE OF
SIR R. ROSS ANDERSON
L.R.C.P.D.S.A.
BORN 29 AUGUST 1858
DIED 21 JANUARY 1921
ADDED ABOVE
SIR R. ROSS ANDERSON
BORN 5 APRIL 1837
DIED 1 MARCH 1892

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SM, 1984
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See Plates 59, 88, 126 above.
Muswellbrook (from Cole, Sir Gilbert Scott, Plate 93)
See Plates 22, 63, 68 above.
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See Plates 38, 66 above.