

HEAVEN ON EARTH: SIR ROBERT LORIMER AND STOWE SCHOOL CHAPEL 1926–29

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Stowe School Chapel is one of the last works of Sir Robert Lorimer. This article examines the Chapel and the surviving archival evidence; it traces the genesis and evolution of the design; it identifies the craftsmen and contractors responsible for the decorated work, fittings, and furniture; it considers the planning and construction of the Chapel; and it uses contemporary manuals of symbolism and other evidence to explain the symbolism in the Chapel. Finally, it considers the Chapel's wider significance.

INTRODUCTION

Queen Mary laid the Foundation Stone of Stowe School Chapel (Fig. 1) on 13 June 1927 and the Chapel was opened by Prince George, the future Duke of Kent, on 11 July 1929. The Chapel's architect, Sir Robert Lorimer, died on 13 September 1929, leaving his business partner, John F Matthew, to complete the final details.

Extensive archival material survives recording the Chapel's design and construction. Stowe

School Archives (SSA) retain related papers; the papers of the Lorimer and Matthew partnership are split between Edinburgh University's Centre for Research Collections (CRC), Historic Environment Scotland (HES), and the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA). The papers of the sculptor C d'O Pilkington Jackson survive in the National Library of Scotland (NLS); the papers of the furniture makers, Scott Morton and Co, survive at HES; the papers of the Empire Stone Co survive in the Record Office for Leicestershire,



FIGURE 1 View from the south-east in July 2017

Leicester, and Rutland (ROLLR) and the papers of Parnell's, the builder, survive in Warwick University's Modern Records Centre. Materials left by the painter Morris Meredith Williams survive in a private collection.

THE GENESIS AND EVOLUTION OF THE DESIGN

The Selection of the Architect

Stowe School had been founded in 1923 in the old ducal mansion of Stowe. The school lacked a chapel large enough to accommodate its growing numbers, and in November 1925 a Committee was formed to raise funds and to select a design. The school asked Sir Reginald Blomfield to act as Consulting Architect, and rather than have a formal competition, invited Clough Williams-Ellis, H Chalcot Bradshaw, William Taggart, and Lorimer, who had a son at the school, to submit plans.¹

The *Information for Architects* said that the new Chapel should be sited at the west end of the Orangery Garden (OS grid reference SP 672 373), that it should not extend further south than the Mansion, that the preferred material was rendered brick with stone quoins, that it should seat 600, with scope for later expansion, that it should incorporate the panelling from the existing Cedar Chapel, and that stonework from elsewhere in the grounds could be re-used if appropriate.²

The Orangery Garden was being developed into a quadrangle bounded to the east by the Mansion itself and to the north by the laboratories, by existing classrooms, and by future classrooms (Fig. 2). The site was chosen 'to round off the development of the main school buildings at their western end and to form, together with the existing laboratories and a projected block of classrooms, a large three-sided garden court open to the south.'³ The Chapel is consequently oriented to face north.

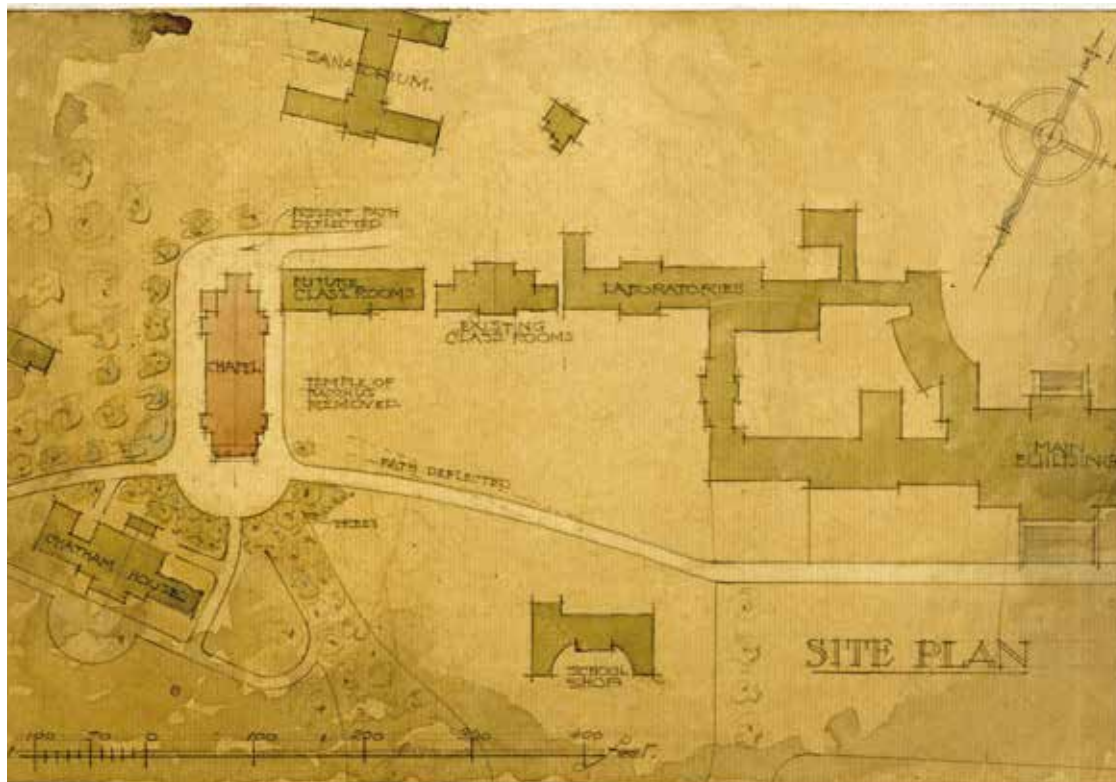


FIGURE 2 Block Plan of 1926 showing Relation of Chapel to Existing Buildings © Courtesy of HES (Lorimer and Matthew Collection LOR XSD/40/35/1)

The chosen site required the demolition of the Temple of Bacchus. The Headmaster, J F Roxburgh, responded, ‘Thank goodness!’⁴—pupils were perhaps frequenting it for reasons not strictly architectural. Others had urged the site of the Temple of Concord and Victory, to the north-east of the Mansion.⁵ The Committee’s decision failed to end that discussion, and eventually the Chairman of Governors asked Lorimer to pronounce on the issue. Lorimer, who considered the Temple of Concord and Victory an ‘interesting relic’ which made ‘a fine termination to the vista formed by the beautiful glade that leads up to it,’ repeated his support for the chosen site, thus ensuring the Temple’s survival.⁶

Lorimer’s Initial Design

Lorimer’s initial design (Figs 3-5)⁷ comprised a six-bay nave, 99’ x 51’ x 48’ high (30.16 x 15.54 x 14.63m), with a shallow eastern transept 33’ x 12’ x 44’ high (10.06 x 3.66 x 13.41m) for the organ, and a deeper area 38’ x 29’ x 45’ high (11.58 x 8.93 x 13.72m) set aside on the west for ‘Future Extension.’ A turret stair, 7’ x 7’ x 58’ high (2.13 x 2.13 x 17.68m), nestled in the corner between the nave and the eastern transept. The chancel measured 32’ x 16’ 6” x 48’ high (9.75 x 5.03 x 14.36m), and the apse 24’ x 14’ 6” x 48’ high (7.32 x 4.42 x 14.36m).

If we allow 1’ 6” (0.46m) for the thickness of the walling, the nave interior was a double cube measuring 96’ x 48’ x 48’ (29.26 x 14.63 x 14.63m). The dimensions of the chancel and apse were influenced by the panelling from the Cedar Chapel: thus, the internal width of the apse, 21’, matches that of the Cedar Chapel.

Above the south door would be a figure of St Christopher ‘guardian of travellers – of those who embark on journeys – and all schoolboys are starting on the journey of life,’ and above that a large oculus. There was seating for the choir in front of the chancel, with the seats facing inward, and extra seating for musicians in the organ gallery. There was raised seating for the teaching staff at the back, and behind them a wooden screen marking off the southernmost bay as an antechapel. The building would seat 600, or 800 if the western transept were built.

Lorimer, who had once observed, ‘You can’t have dignity without height,’⁸ noted that in view of the monumental scale of the adjoining buildings, it was essential ‘to keep the Chapel lofty in proportion and large in scale,’ and to that end he

planned to re-use columns from the semi-derelict Temple of Concord and Victory in the school grounds. The arcade would be inspired by Santa Sabina and Sant’Anselmo all’Avventino, giving ‘an interior of the Basilica type.’ He suggested a deeply coffered wagon-vaulted roof with a concealed metal frame since ‘a flat roof is always dull and always appears to sag in the centre.’ He hoped to enrich the coffers of the chancel roof ‘with carving and colour.’ He wanted the interior to be ‘dignified and impressive and at the same time thoroughly practical for the purpose for which it is intended.’ An arch ‘of very tall proportion’ would open onto ‘a recess in which the communion table will stand.’⁹ The re-used panelling in the recess would be ‘given greater dignity’ than it had at present by raising up its central elements on a pedestal.

If more money were available, he continued, ‘the design could be very much improved, for instance – (1) external walls could be made thicker so as to get deeper ingoos at the windows. (2) much more stonework could be introduced into the interior, (3) the design of the roof could be elaborated and colour introduced in the manner of some of the Italian churches.’

An earlier version, dated March 1926 (Fig. 6) differs slightly from that submitted:¹⁰ the chancel is 34’ x 16’ deep (10.36 x 4.88m), the chancel arch is 16’ (4.88m) wide rather than 13’ (3.96m), the apse or sanctuary is 24’ x 18’ deep (7.32 x 5.49m), and the main south door has a large sculpted keystone.

The basilican format followed that employed by Lorimer at St Peter’s Catholic Church, Edinburgh (1905–7). The format there had been chosen by the client, Father John Gray (1866–1934), a former associate of Oscar Wilde and Aubrey Beardsley, who had trained for the priesthood in Rome, had convalesced there in 1904–5, and now wanted to recreate something of the atmosphere he had known in Rome. A parishioner recalled him confiding that the design was based on the church that he ‘had admired from the window of his sick-room in Rome.’¹¹

Lorimer himself mentioned Stowe’s debt to Santa Sabina and Sant’Anselmo; and the latter, designed in 1890–91 by Dom Hildebrand de Hemptinne (1849–1913), abbot of Maredsous in Belgium and later Abbot Primate of the Benedictine Order, is of all Rome’s churches the closest in

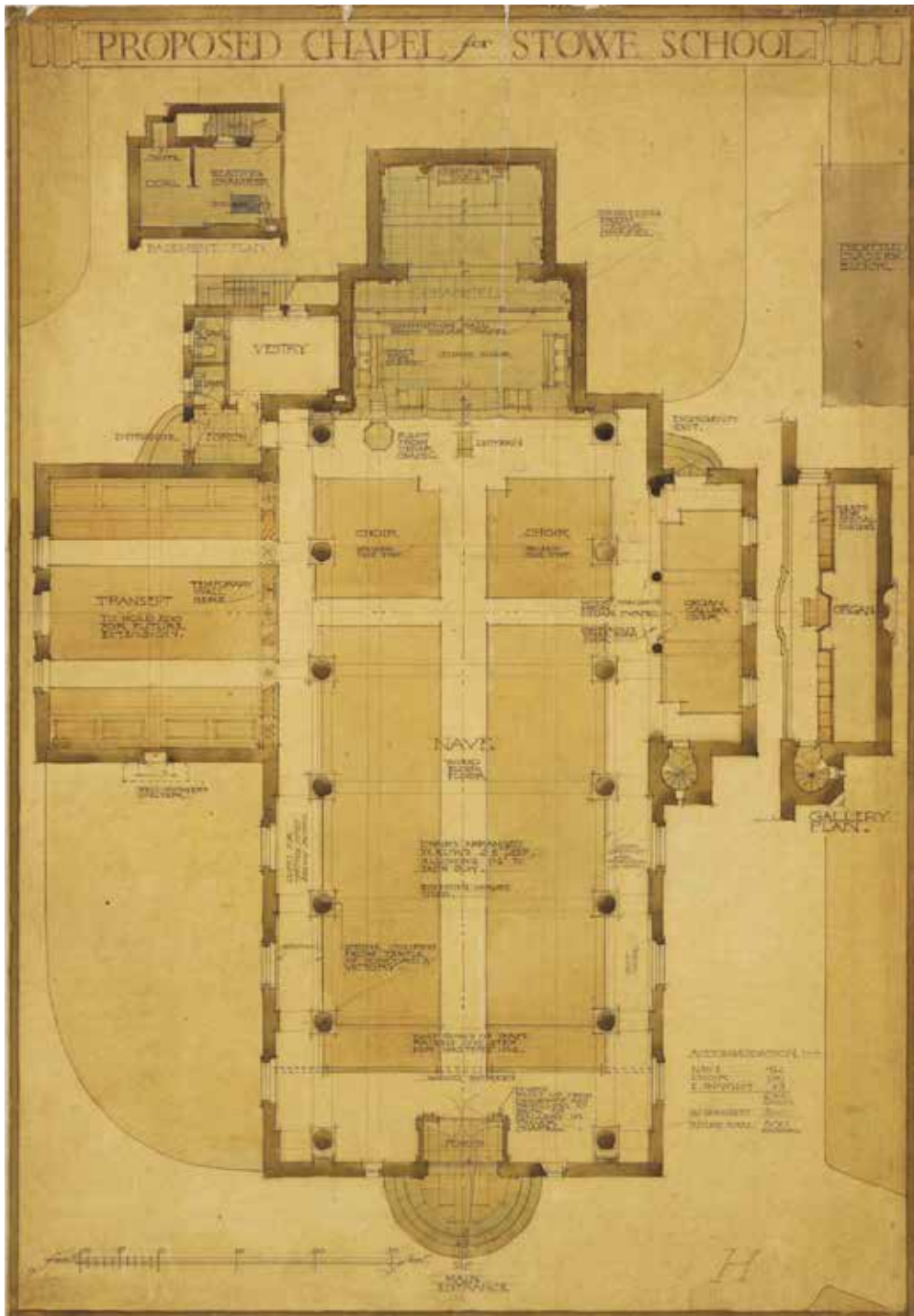


FIGURE 3 Initial Design – Plan, reproduction courtesy of RIBA Collections (PA883/6(2))

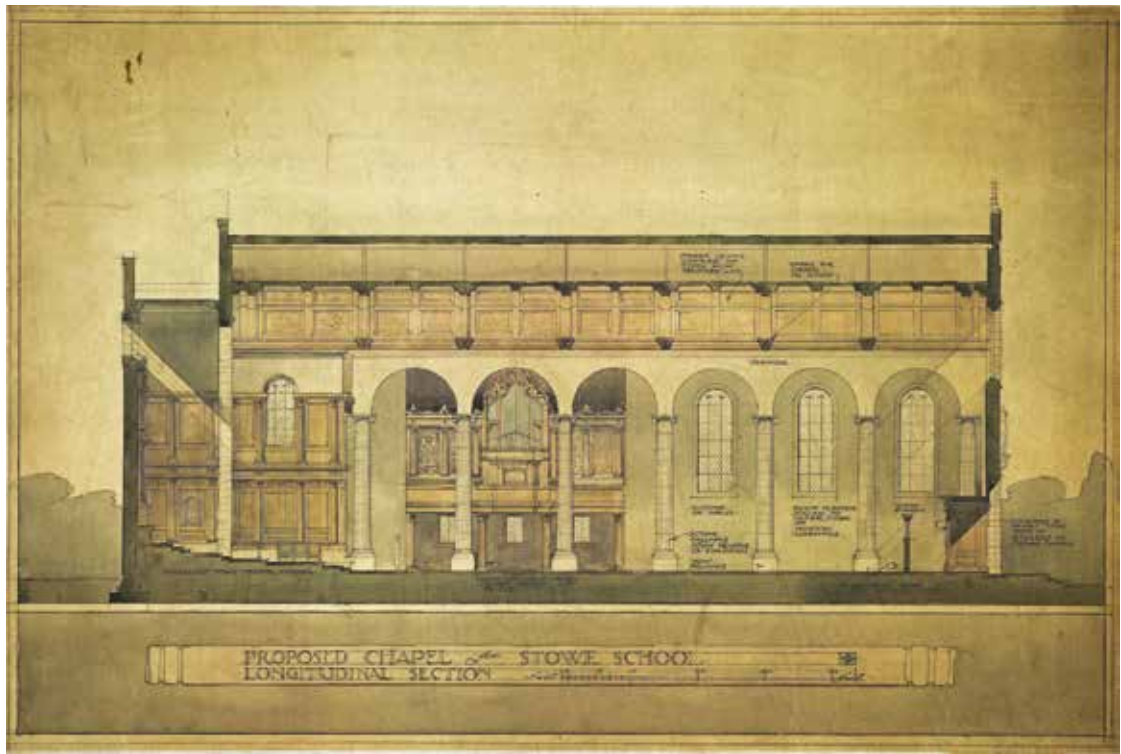


FIGURE 4 Initial Design – Section looking east, reproduction courtesy of RIBA Collections (PA883/6(3))

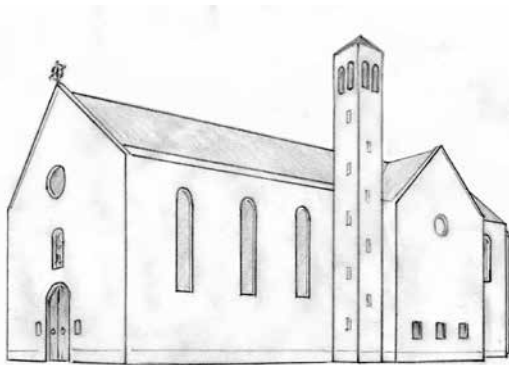


FIGURE 5 Initial Design – reconstructed perspective view from the south east (drawing: the author)

feel to Lorimer's work.¹² If it was Sant'Anselmo that Gray admired from the Scots College on the *Via delle Quattro Fontane*, then Stowe Chapel ultimately owes its basilican interior to the aesthetic sense of de Hemptinne.

The Chapel Committee's Review of the Submissions

Blomfield recommended Bradshaw's design, but the Committee concluded that none of the designs was satisfactory, that the original budget had been set too low, and that it would be better first to secure a really adequate design and then to raise the necessary funds. Accordingly the Committee increased the budget available and asked Bradshaw and Lorimer to revise their designs. Apparently, the committee now wanted 'a portico with large pillars at the entrance; the organ in a gallery at the west [*i.e.* south] end; no transepts or projections; the exterior to be entirely faced with stone.'¹³

On 24 July the committee viewed the revised designs, and, as Roxburgh had hoped, selected Lorimer's.

Lorimer's Second Design

The revised or second design (Figs 7-9) comprised a seven-bay nave measuring 121' 1" by 54' 9" (16.69 x 36.91m) externally. The chancel measures 32' 3"

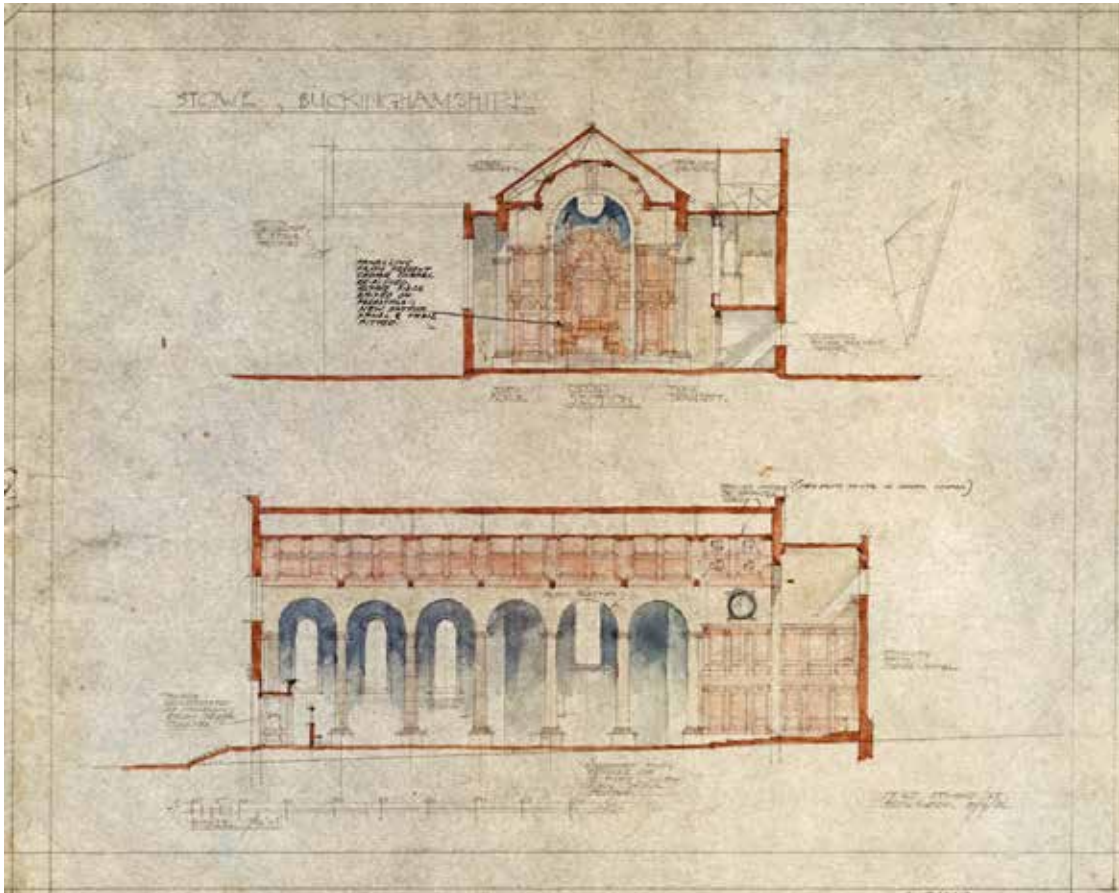


FIGURE 6 Initial Design, earlier version with deeper Apse and wider Chancel Arch – sections looking north and west © Courtesy of HES (Lorimer and Matthew Collection LOR XSD/40/12/3)

by 16' 3" (9.83 x 4.95m) externally, and the apse 21' 3" by 14' 6" (6.48 x 4.42m). The narthex measures 40' 8" by 8' 6" (12.40 x 2.59m), the portico 42' by 9' 6½" (12.80 x 2.92m), and the flight of steps adds an extra 11' 3" (3.45m).

Lorimer had now brought the entrance front as far south as possible, given the proximity of Chatham House; he had provided a south portico; he had repositioned the organ above the porch 'which if finely treated would be an effective decorative feature across the end of the Chapel;¹⁴ and he had provided seating for 800. The sanctuary was slightly reduced in width and better lit, while the open and uncluttered chancel space contributed to the feeling of spacious dignity conveyed by early photographs (Fig. 10). Lorimer suggested

'moulded arches in stone in place of the plain plaster arches in the former design, also stone finishing round the interior of the windows, and, if possible, stone lining on the walls as high as the window cill level.' An early drawing suggests that he envisaged a painted inscription running immediately below the roof timbers of the centre aisle.¹⁵

For the exterior, he had arrived at a 'simple and dignified treatment ... corresponding in all essentials to the present buildings' but had omitted 'all mechanical and repeating ornament.' The pediment of the portico contained the school coat of arms 'upheld by angels.' The exterior was so designed that 'it could be executed entirely in stone if money is available, but if not all important portions could be in stone and certain portions as

between the windows could be finished in cement to correspond to the existing buildings.⁷

Despite the Governors having said that they did not want any transepts, the northernmost and southernmost bays projected by 8" (0.2m). The southernmost bay, described by Lorimer at one point as an 'antechapel,' would be paved in stone, rather than wood block.¹⁶ The height of the building was reduced to 45' (13.72m). Lorimer now had in mind a St George or a St Michael, probably in bronze, for the niche above the south door.¹⁷

Roxburgh's priority was congregational singing, and following his advice that there should be 'No marked distinction between choir and congregation,' Lorimer removed the special choir seating.¹⁸

Between February and April 1927 Lorimer added a series of full-height stalls between the arcade pillars to provide seating for the masters, perhaps because Roxburgh was worried that the original plan, which seated the masters at the back, would not allow sufficiently close supervision of the pupils.

These stalls however would affect the flow of light from the windows. Lorimer solved this by raising the height of the walls by some 18" (0.46m). On the outer walls he added the extra height at plinth level, thereby lifting the windows clear of the tops of the stalls and taking the overall height of the walls to 34' 6" (10.52m); on the arcade walls he added the extra height above the arches of the arcade (Fig. 11).

The nave now lost some of its airy spaciousness and felt more enclosed. Roxburgh and the Governors may have welcomed the transformation to something approaching a traditional Oxford or Cambridge college chapel; Lorimer may have relished the challenge of providing stalls in a Renaissance idiom.

The change also affected the Chapel's capacity. Following a discussion of how many stalls to have on each side, Lorimer wrote to Roxburgh, 'You are right, it will be better to have five stalls on each side as shewn on key plan and I think we should stop the woodblock flooring where shewn by dotted line and treat the whole of the first bay as a sort of anti-chapel bay.'¹⁹ Lorimer must originally have suggested six or even seven sets of stalls on each side, but stalls in the two end bays would obstruct circulation. Once it had been accepted that those bays should be left open it became logical to remove the seating from those bays. Clearly, in exceptional

circumstances temporary seating could be brought in, and the programme for the laying of the Foundation Stone did indeed say that the Chapel would be 'large enough to hold (in case of need) eight hundred people,'²⁰ but the normal capacity of the Chapel was now 640 rather than 800.

Lorimer had already reminded *Country Life* of the builder of Santa Maria in Trastevere, who had raided Roman ruins for columns,²¹ and the Cedar Chapel panelling might suggest that such a basilica had been classicised in the early eighteenth century. The stalls would add another layer to the building, as if it had been refurbished in the seventeenth century, exemplifying what Christina Anderson described as Lorimer's ability to layer 'one style on top of the other.'²²

Lorimer also suggested a semi-circular walled forecourt at the south end, although a hedge was substituted for the wall for reasons of economy.²³

Lorimer used the school's builders, Parnell's of Rugby, but appointed his own quantity surveyor, Edwin S Pinks, and clerk of works, George Pennington of Messrs Fortnum & Mason.

THE DECORATED WORK, FITTINGS, AND FURNITURE

Carved Stonework and Cement Work

Lorimer asked C d'O Pilkington Jackson (1887–1973), a graduate of Edinburgh College of Art who had been responsible for much of the stone sculpture at the Scottish National War Memorial, to provide the carved stonework.²⁴ Phyllis Bone (1894–1972), who had graduated at the College of Art in 1918, and had modelled the animal sculptures for the War Memorial, contributed, as did John Robert Sutherland (1871–1933), silver medallist in the 1925 Paris show of Decorative and Industrial Art and Instructor in Die Cutting at the College of Art.²⁵ The scheme is indicated in coloured pencil on Jackson's copy of the ground plan (Fig. 7).

The Foundation Stone

Jackson supplied the engraved Foundation Stone.

The Portico

Sutherland designed the heraldic group on the portico pediment (Fig. 12), charging £3.²⁶ Jackson executed the design in stone.

Hugh McNaughten suggested the inscription on



top page 204 FIGURE 8 Second Design – section looking east, reproduction courtesy of RIBA Collections (PA883/6(6))

bottom page 204 FIGURE 9 Second Design – perspective view from the south-east © Courtesy of HES (Lorimer and Matthew Collection LOR XSD/40/35/2)



FIGURE 10 Interior looking north circa 1940 (Stowe School Archives)

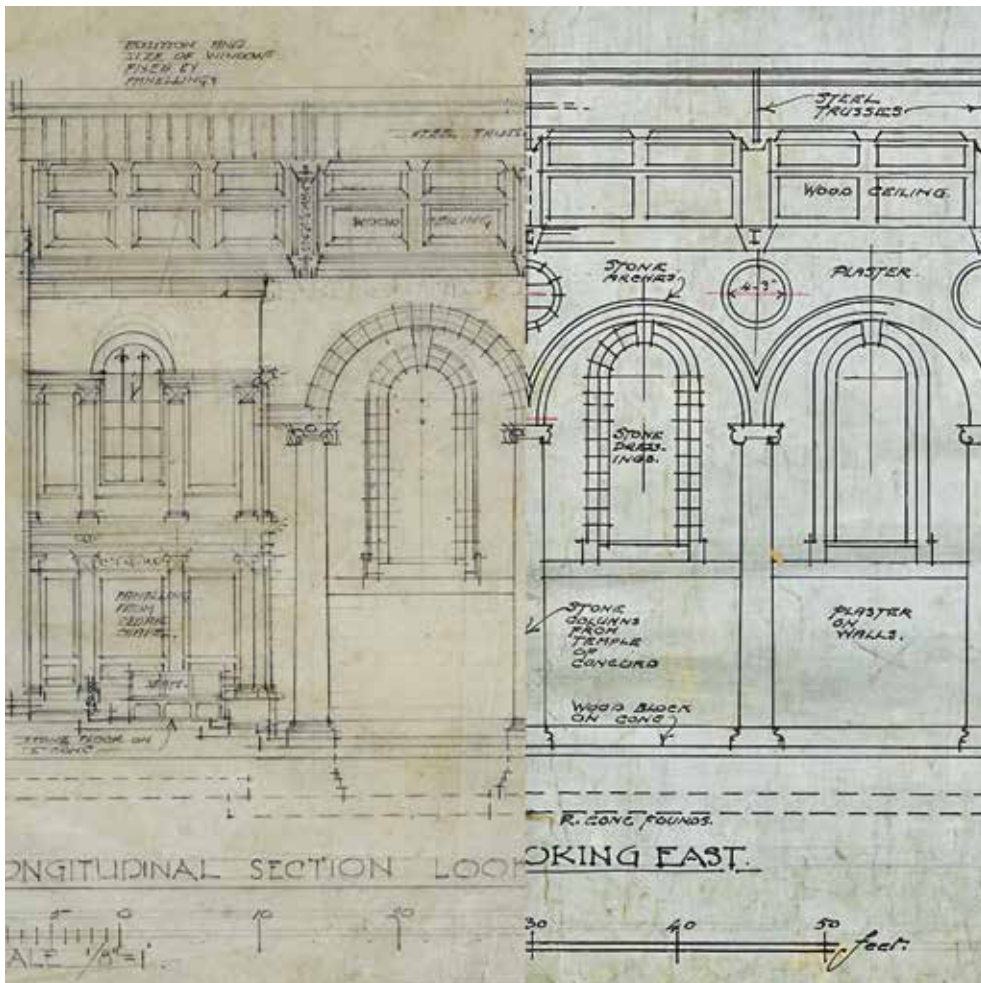


FIGURE 11 Composite of sections looking east, dated November 1926 (L) and May 1927 (R), illustrating changes made to accommodate the stalls © Courtesy of HES (Lorimer and Matthew Collection LOR XSD/40/15/01-2)

the architrave, *Ingredientes Exeuntesque Custodi Domine Deus*, a loose quotation of the vulgate of Psalm 120 (121). Jackson designed the lettering.

The Column and Pilaster Capitals

The four portico column capitals display one of six different symbols of the Holy Trinity on each face.

A series of pilasters starts to the east of the south door and works anti-clockwise around the Chapel. Each pilaster capital displays a symbol of Christ or an Apostle.

At Paisley Abbey (1922–28), Jackson had

already carved a set of symbols of the apostles, borne by angels supporting the twelve vaulting shafts of the choir. In both cases, he took the sequence of the apostles from Ernest Geldart's *A Manual of Church Decoration and Symbolism* (1899), and copied Geldart's symbols with minor changes, replacing spindly spears and knives with bold three-dimensional shapes more suitable to reproduction in stone.²⁷

The Angels with Musical Instruments

For each of the four projecting bays, Jackson

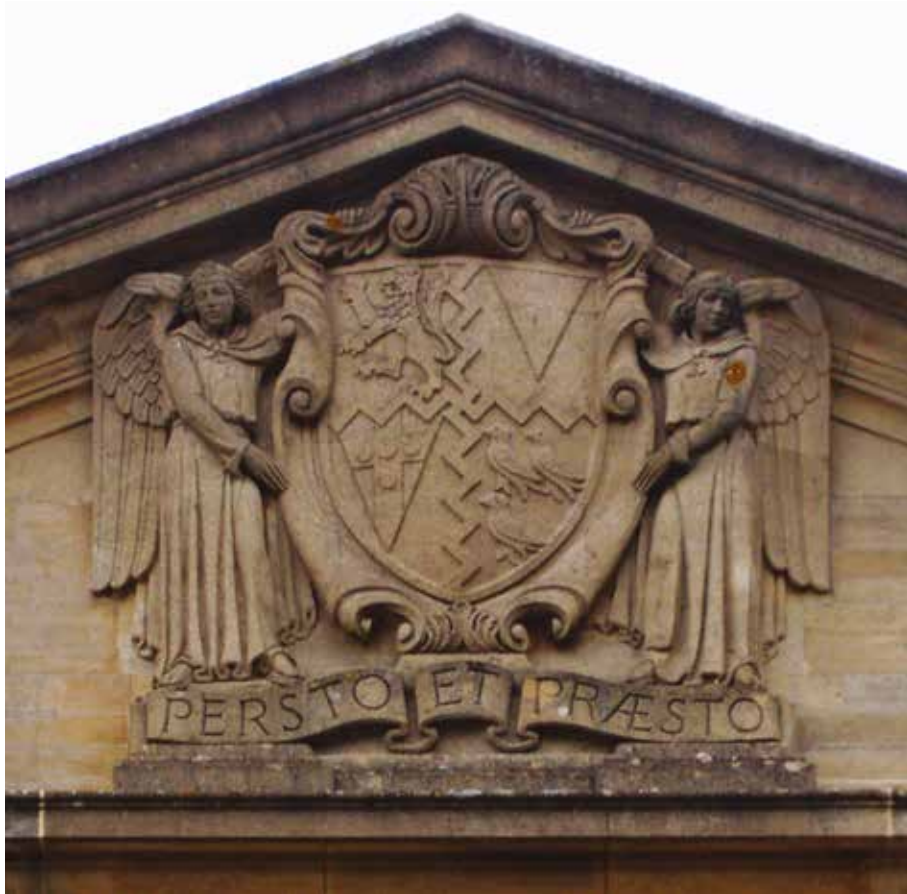


FIGURE 12 Coat of Arms on the south portico

provided a foliated window arch and a pair of what *The Times* was to call ‘choiring angels’²⁸ (Fig. 13). For the sake of economy, he used each pair of angels twice, once on each side of the Chapel.

When Roxburgh first saw a photograph of one of the angels,²⁹ he commented nervously, ‘the original plans as accepted by the Governors showed the projecting bays as without any sculpture at all,’ and worried that an additional authorisation might be needed, although ‘personally I think the angel simply splendid. Besides being an obviously genuine and active singer, he is architecturally a strong support to the cornice above him.’ He and Lorimer agreed to proceed without reference to the Governors: ‘I cannot believe,’ wrote Roxburgh, ‘that there can be anything Popish about a singing angel.’³⁰

The Symbols of the Evangelists

At parapet level, each projecting bay has a symbol of an evangelist (Fig. 14). Sutherland appears to have been involved, since Jackson’s final account includes here a sum of £9 15s due to Sutherland.³¹ The St Matthew is very similar to Jackson’s *Benedicite* angels, whereas the other three symbols are closer in style to Sutherland’s heraldic work and may have been designed by him.

When Roxburgh first saw the symbols he wrote to Lorimer, ‘I seem to remember that you once mentioned ‘Evangelists’ or ‘Evangelical Symbols,’ but I fear I did not take in what was intended, and I had never seen a picture of these carvings. If I had known about them I would have discussed them with you ...’³² Five days later he added, ‘My only fear is that a representation of an Apostle may be



FIGURE 13 Angels – north-west bay

taken as the equivalent to the representative of a Saint. I am so ignorant of these things that I am anxious not to give offence inadvertently.³³ In the event, because the carvings had already been done and would have to be paid for, Roxburgh approved their installation.³⁴

The Wreaths and Shields

Between the windows of the five central bays on each side are four shields encircled by wreaths. Jackson intended these shields to contain symbols of the Virtues designed by Sutherland,³⁵ but Roxburgh, who was perhaps nervous about the Governors' reaction, asked for the devices to be changed to the armorial bearings of the boarding houses.³⁶

The Tiger and Lion Head Gargoyles

Bone provided two models, at a cost of £22,³⁷ for the six gargoyles in the form of tigers' or lions' heads

which provide egress for the lead rainwater pipes (Fig. 15). Jackson reproduced the models in stone.

The Chancel Arch Keystone

It is not clear whether Lorimer designed the full-length angel displaying a flaming heart (Fig. 16) himself, or delegated the task to Jackson. The design is based on the keystone of the entrance arch at the Scottish National War Memorial,³⁸ but also recalls a corbel in Rosslyn Chapel depicting an angel holding a shield or cushion bearing a heart.³⁹

Roxburgh, after discussing the design with the Rev Percy Warrington, the Governor most closely associated with the school's development, wrote, 'I personally like the design very much, although I feel that the heart itself looks a bit large and flat and plain. Mr Warrington seems also to like it, though he makes a remark about the hands. He says that he sees nothing wrong about the heart design from the Ecclesiastical point of view.'⁴⁰ At Roxburgh's



FIGURE 14 Symbols of the four Evangelists (photos: Alan Longworth)

request, the adjacent roof truss was redesigned so make it easier to view the angel.⁴¹

The Benedicite Angels

These roundels are the most prominent decorative feature of the interior, and at a cost of £720 they were also the most expensive (Fig. 17). The sequence of sixteen, depicting Sun, Moon and Stars, Winds, Rain and Clouds, Fire, Ice, Lightning, Mountains, Trees, Fountains, Sea, Fish, Birds, Beasts, Men, and Priests, moves around the

chapel clockwise from the south-west,⁴² following the order of verses in the *Benedicite*, which in its turn follows the order of creation in Genesis, although at Stowe Rain and Clouds and Winds were transposed at an early stage.

Jackson designed the roundels and oversaw their execution. William Miles Johnston (1893–1974), who taught Art at John Watson's School and had overseen the use of colour at the War Memorial,⁴³ and A C Wood and Son coloured the roundels and gilded them.⁴⁴ Roxburgh's response, when he saw a



FIGURE 15 Tiger- and Lion-Head gargoyles



FIGURE 16 Chancel Arch keystone
(photo: Alan Longworth)

photograph for approval, was, ‘I think that the first angel holding the sun is quite delightful, and I look forward to seeing his (or her) colleagues.’⁴⁵

Lorimer doubtless chose the *Benedicite* as the subject matter: if he had originally envisaged a painted frieze displaying verses from the *Benedicite*, roundels illustrating the verses would have been a natural development. The *Benedicite*

had also been the theme of Phoebe Traquair’s mural decoration in the Song School of St Mary’s Episcopal Cathedral, Edinburgh (1888–90); of Ann MacBeth’s embroidered altar frontal for Glasgow’s Trinity Church of St Mary (1909–10); and of Louis Davis’ windows at Dunblane Cathedral (1915). As a theme, the *Benedicite* offered artists many possibilities, without being associated with any particular denomination. The angels recall Jackson’s angels at Paisley Abbey, although at Stowe they more properly face the Communion Table.

Marble

Lorimer designed the chancel and apse floor in Swedish Green marble and Greek Cipollino, supplied by Allan and Sons of Edinburgh at a cost of £373 10s.⁴⁶ Quarter-sawn slabs of Cipollino, some with linear markings and some with eye-catching eddying markings, sit within a rectangular framework of Swedish Green.

Greek Cipollino, or Carystian, had been used in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and in St Mark’s, Venice. The ancient quarries had been reopened in 1897, and the marble was used by J F Bentley in Westminster Cathedral (1900), by Lorimer in St Peter’s, Edinburgh, and by Adolf Loos in his Goldman and Salatsch Building on Vienna’s Michaelerplatz (1909–11).⁴⁷

Metalwork

Thomas Hadden (1871–1940) made the wrought iron chancel screen to a design by Lorimer. Hadden had collaborated extensively with Lorimer and created the metal casket for the shrine in the Scottish National War Memorial,⁴⁸ Bone modelled the finials, which are 6⁵/₈” (168mm) high and represent symbols of the evangelists (Fig. 18): they exemplify the ‘dense design’⁴⁹ of Bone’s work of the 1920s and were cast in bronze by Charles Henshaw. Hadden charged £138, Bone £12 and Henshaw £21.⁵⁰

Hadden made the two iron door rings on the South Door and its two thistle-headed bolts at a cost of £15 10s.⁵¹

The Bromsgrove Guild of Applied Arts is likely to have made the bronze door handles, including the handle to the main door in the form of a dolphin, although archival confirmation is lacking.⁵²

The original nave lighting, fixed directly to the underside of the roof, no longer survives. The two



FIGURE 17 *Benedicite* Angels (photos: Alan Longworth)

surviving glass and brass pendant fittings in the narthex appear to be by Henshaw.

Jackson designed the rosettes on the lead rain-water hoppers, charging £3 for ‘patera, rainwater-heads.’

Lorimer designed the ceremonial trowel used for laying the Foundation Stone. It was made by The Artificers’ Guild and the handle is 16th-century Italian work.⁵³

Lorimer appears to have designed the embossed

copper and silver-plate Alms Basin, decorated with a central figure of an angel, and measuring 19¾” (502 mm) across: it may also be work of The Artificers’ Guild.⁵⁴

Papier Mâché

Jackson modelled the nave roof bosses (Fig. 19): Scott Morton cast them in papier-mâché, painted them to imitate the Columbian pine of the roof, and gilded them.⁵⁵



FIGURE 18 Chancel Screen: bronze symbols of the Evangelists

Woodwork

Contractors and Craftsmen

For the woodwork, Lorimer employed leading Edinburgh carvers and furniture makers: the brothers William and Alexander Clow (1851–1935 and 1861–1946), Messrs Nathaniel Grieve, Whytock and Reid, and Scott Morton and Co, owned and managed by William Stewart Morton.

Some of the Scott Morton craftsmen who worked

on Stowe material can be identified. David Ramsay (1880–1948) enrolled in Edinburgh's School of Applied Art as an apprentice draughtsman, taking Architectural classes in 1896/7 and 1897/8. Ramsay's sketchbook dated July 1898 survives. He became Scott Morton's chief designer in 1905 and was appointed part-time instructor in architecture at Edinburgh College of Art in 1908, with war service 1915–17. Matthew later described Ramsay as 'the assistant who had always attended to the



FIGURE 19 Nave (top row) and Apse (centre and bottom two rows): roof rosettes and devices (photos: Alan Longworth)

work at Stowe.’ Robert (Bob) Young (1875–1953) joined Scott Morton in the 1880s, and enrolled in the School of Applied Art as a wood carver in 1896/7 and 1897/8 taking Architectural, Figure, and Modelling classes, and winning first prizes in Figure and Modelling. He was probably already Foreman Carver in the 1920s, although he is first recorded in this role in 1932. Ernest Weir (1905–65) was an apprentice draughtsman with Scott Morton 1922–31. He later became an architect and moved to Canada.⁵⁶

Edinburgh’s School of Applied Art had been founded in 1892 and its provision included part-time courses suitable for those who were pursuing, or had recently completed, apprenticeships. In 1908 it was absorbed into the new College of Art, whose part-time courses came to play a major role in apprenticeships.⁵⁷

The South Door

Morris Meredith Williams (1881–1973), who taught Art at Fettes School, and was heavily involved in the sculpture at the Scottish National War Memorial, designed the wooden panel illustrating *David and the Lion* over the south door, at a cost of £50.⁵⁸ The Clows carved it at a cost of a further £50; while Scott Morton gave it Lorimer’s customary grey finish.⁵⁹

Lorimer originally envisaged a carving of *The Good Shepherd*, and in July 1928 sent Roxburgh a sample photograph, perhaps a photograph of the carving at St Baldred’s, North Berwick.⁶⁰ By December 1928 Meredith Williams had worked up cartoons of *The Good Shepherd* and of *David and the Lion* (Figs 20–21): Roxburgh chose the *David and the Lion*.⁶¹

The grey finish was characteristic of Lorimer: the treatment involved successive applications of paint stripper, oxalic acid and chloride of lime, followed by dry polishing with ball beeswax.⁶² At Paisley Abbey, following this treatment, the wooden furniture was described as having ‘a soft, mellow effect ... which has succeeded in blending the tone with that of the walls,’ which suggests that Lorimer’s purpose was to assimilate the tone of the woodwork to that of the stonework.⁶³

Material from the Cedar Chapel

Lorimer re-used the panelling, pulpit, and communion rail from the Cedar Chapel. These furnishings had originally been made by Michael Chuke for Stow House in Cornwall, and when that house was demolished in 1739, had been purchased for Stowe. Much of the panelling was apparently ‘worm eaten and quite worthless, and not fit to re-erect;’ some of it was veneer on deal; and its re-use turned out to be a false economy: reconstruction and refurbishing cost £2,243 10s 5d.⁶⁴

Apse Roof Ornaments

The Clows carved, and doubtless designed, the apse roof devices; Scott Morton painted them to imitate Columbian pine and gilded them (Fig. 19).⁶⁵

Organ Cases

Messrs Rushworth and Dreaper made the two organs: Parnell’s were paid £473 10s for building the main organ case and £48 for the choir organ case, with the Clows being paid £569 and Nathaniel Grieve £70 for carved work, probably on the main



FIGURE 20 Good Shepherd cartoon (private collection, reproduced with permission)



FIGURE 21 David and Lion cartoon, squared off by the Clow brothers for transfer to the wood panel (private collection, reproduced with permission)

(Fig. 22) and choir organs respectively.⁶⁶

Lorimer designed the cases,⁶⁷ but delegated the openwork panels to Nathaniel Grieve and the Clows. Thus, he wrote from his sick bed,

‘What is happening about the carved shades for the organ at Stowe? If the Clows have got them all drawn out either Mr Hubbard or Mr Clow Junr. might bring them along to the nursing home and I can quite well have a look at them.’⁶⁸

Jackson modelled the archangel (Fig. 23), charging £35: the Clows carved it in pine and Parnell’s gilded it.⁶⁹



FIGURE 22 Panel from main organ case (photo: Alan Longworth)

Lorimer habitually allowed his craftsmen considerable initiative, but checked drawings or models before authorising production: he once wrote to Roxburgh, ‘an immense amount of stuff was passed by me today – and can now be sent on.’⁷⁰ Occasionally Lorimer might take issue with a model, as he did with a photograph of Jackson’s model for the archangel, leading Jackson to reply,

‘Sorry you think costume ridiculous as it is quite conventional Roman rigout for the angels of the period and when touched up with gold and silver would be alright I think. Of course we can alter the cast with plasticine etc but I should like you to see it first. He is wearing a cuirass modelled to the torso in the manner beloved of Michael Angelo, Donatello and others, has the plated leather kilt and the long sandals, a cloak and helmet to match. Details were not eliminated or exaggerated to be read at the Height.’

Lorimer replied,



FIGURE 23 Archangel Michael
(photo: Alan Longworth)

‘I do think it is much too antiquarian to adopt the style of costume shown although it may be in character more or less with the two old angels above the reredos. I think you will require to alter it as shewn on enclosed scribble which no doubt could be done by paring off some of the stuff off your model and putting on some drapery in plasticine.’⁷¹

Lorimer seems to have backed down: apart from being gilt all over, rather than merely ‘touched up with gold and silver,’ the figure today is as Jackson described it.

A gauze screen of inferior workmanship was installed in 1930/31 to conceal the organ’s exposed pipes: apparently it also had acoustic advantages.⁷²

Congregational Seating

Goodearl Brothers of High Wycombe provided 600 chairs at £1 each. Messrs Waring and Gillow provided 600 hassocks at a cost of 6s 10d per hassock.⁷³

Lorimer provided two stall fronts ‘to stand in

front of the front row of chairs so that the boys there will have something to kneel against and keep their books in.’ Roxburgh found Lorimer’s design ‘plain and dignified enough and more or less in keeping with the Stalls.’⁷⁴ Scott Morton made them out of ‘British oak, finished grey treatment’ at a cost of £71 4s and carved the stall ends in their usual style.⁷⁵ These stall fronts enhanced the appearance of the north end of the nave, but are currently in store.

Roxburgh suggested a coat and umbrella stand:⁷⁶ Lorimer asked Scott Morton for a sketch, and Parnell’s offered to construct it ‘as per your drawing.’ It has since disappeared.⁷⁷

The Stalls

The forty stalls (Fig. 24) are grouped in five sets of four on each side of the nave. Each set comprises five arched bays, with the central bay providing access from the aisle behind.

The low screen at the front of each set contains five openwork panels measuring 6¼” (159 mm) x 3⅜” (86mm). On the seat backs are carved the names of the donors and the date, and within cartouches above are the donor’s arms. The heads of the arches in the side wings are filled with openwork. Along the top of each set of stalls runs an openwork frieze divided into seven panels: one on each side wing, and one over each of the five bays. Each wing panel comprises a centre roundel flanked by two half ovals; in the other panels the centre roundel is flanked by two full ovals. The four panels above the seats contain painted heraldic devices: the others contain unpainted animals, angels, and other designs.

The stalls were supplied in ‘British oak, finished bleached grey treatment,’⁷⁸ and appear to have been darkened subsequently, upsetting Lorimer’s planned colour balance.

Scott Morton provided the stalls: Ernest Weir drew the perspective and there can be little doubt that David Ramsay was responsible for the design. A C Wood and Son and Miles Johnston were responsible for decoration and colouring. Whytock and Reid supplied curtains of ‘Green and Gold Velvet’ for the Queen’s stall, and of ‘Green and Fawn Chevron’ for the other stalls and for the screens,⁷⁹ although the curtains have since been replaced with a different fabric. Each set of four stalls cost £406 8s.

Jackson modelled the Queen’s coat of arms (Fig.

North			
NW Screen	Mornington	Cobham	NE Screen
	Pemberton	Chatham	
	McNaughten	Grafton	
	Vickers	Walpole	
5	Gisborough	Queen's	1
6	Burnham	Queen's	2
7	Hayter	Esher	3
8	Macclesfield	Lincolnshire	4
13	Warrington	Roxburgh	9
14	de Neufville	Dillon	10
15	Old Stoics	Simpson	11
16	Heath Harrison (W)	Heath Harrison (E)	12
21	Cathcart	Hall	17
22	Im Thurn	Aikman	18
23	Close Smith	Firth	19
24	Balfour	Barbour	20
29	Glentinar	Anderson	25
30	Sanderson	Llewellyn- Palmer	26
31	Phillips	Shirley Reid	27
32	Bramley	Reid	28
37	Lawson	Bruce	33
38	Miall	Temple	34
39	Sconce	Grenville	35
40	Paravicini	Chandos	36
War Memorial Screen (1949)		Hartland-Swann (SE) Screen	
South			

FIGURE 24 The stalls and screens – donors and Lorimer's numbering scheme

25).⁸⁰ He sent Lorimer a photograph of an early version, on which Lorimer commented,

'I think this is pretty near the mark but would like centre of shield brought out to nearly the same plane as the supporters. The ones on the Castle seem to me to be more of a surface. Think the anatomy of the supporters should be brought out a bit more – also you say, you've improved the lion's face – & the stag's horns, which is needed! – subject to these suggestions, I think you can tell Ramsay to drive ahead ...'⁸¹

The design of the stalls went through stages. In a measured drawing, dated 4 May 1927, by which date the extra height has already been added to the walls, the height of the stalls, to the top of the frieze, is some 10' 4" (3.15m).⁸² The design is illustrated by Weir's perspective (Fig. 26).

Lorimer clearly asked Ramsay to increase the overall height of the stalls to some 11' 9" (3.58m) before construction started, doubtless to give them a more dignified appearance. Ramsay duly



FIGURE 25 Stalls 1-2: Royal Arms

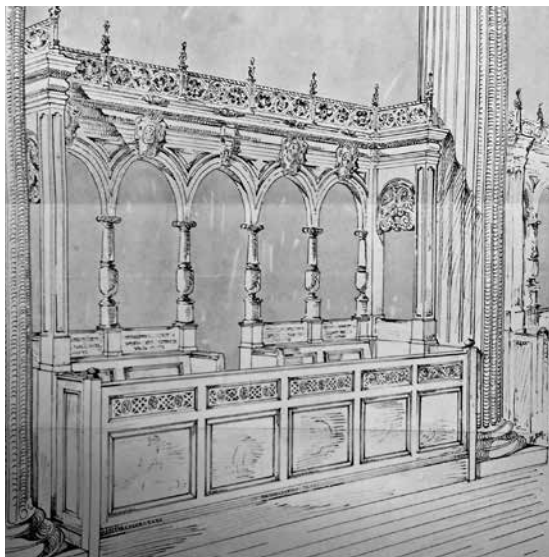


FIGURE 26 Perspective by Ernest Weir showing original design of stalls, reproduction courtesy of *The Stoic* (supplement to *The Stoic*, iii No 5 (April 1929))

extended the columns supporting the arches: a photograph taken in 1929 illustrates the effect both of the extended columns and of Lorimer's grey oak finish (Fig. 27).

Lorimer however, perhaps having seen photographs of the first stalls in the chapel, then instructed that bases should be inserted below the stalls to raise them up a further 9" (0.23m) and take the total height to some 12' 6" (3.81m), at a total cost of £181 5s. Ramsay explained to Roxburgh,

'Sir Robert was so decided that the raising of the stalls was going to be such an improvement that he told the writer to go ahead with the five stalls we have in the workshop, and get the material ready for the five in the chapel to be altered at christmas vacation.'⁸³

Lorimer may have felt that he had not allowed for the height of the chairs, and that the openwork panels in the stall fronts needed to be lifted clear of the chair backs. A modern photograph (Fig. 28) illustrates the difference, and also shows how a darker tone has replaced Lorimer's grey finish.

Lorimer wrote to Ramsay on 31 May 1929, 'I'd better run out to your place on Saturday morning [8 June] to see all that you have ready for despatch – I wd like to see one complete set put together.'⁸⁴



FIGURE 27 Stalls 1-4 in 1929 © Courtesy of HES (Scott Morton Collection SMO S/20/17)



FIGURE 28 Stalls 1-4 in 2018

A Scott Morton sketch book includes a sketch of the seventeenth-century balusters and cornice of the stalls of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, which may have inspired the stalls' round arches and turned pillars.⁸⁵ Another page in this book (Fig. 29) may represent notes and sketches made by Ramsay at a meeting with Lorimer:⁸⁶ individual carvings can be recognised on this page, while its references to 'Eagle and Lamb' and 'Fox and Cat' clearly refer to the friezes above the side wings of stalls 1 and 8,⁸⁷ and may indicate that Lorimer suggested the subject matter for the carved scenes.

The openwork panels in the stall fronts (Fig. 30) share a common pattern. Typically, the outer two contain a related pair of animals facing inwards; the second and fourth mirror each other

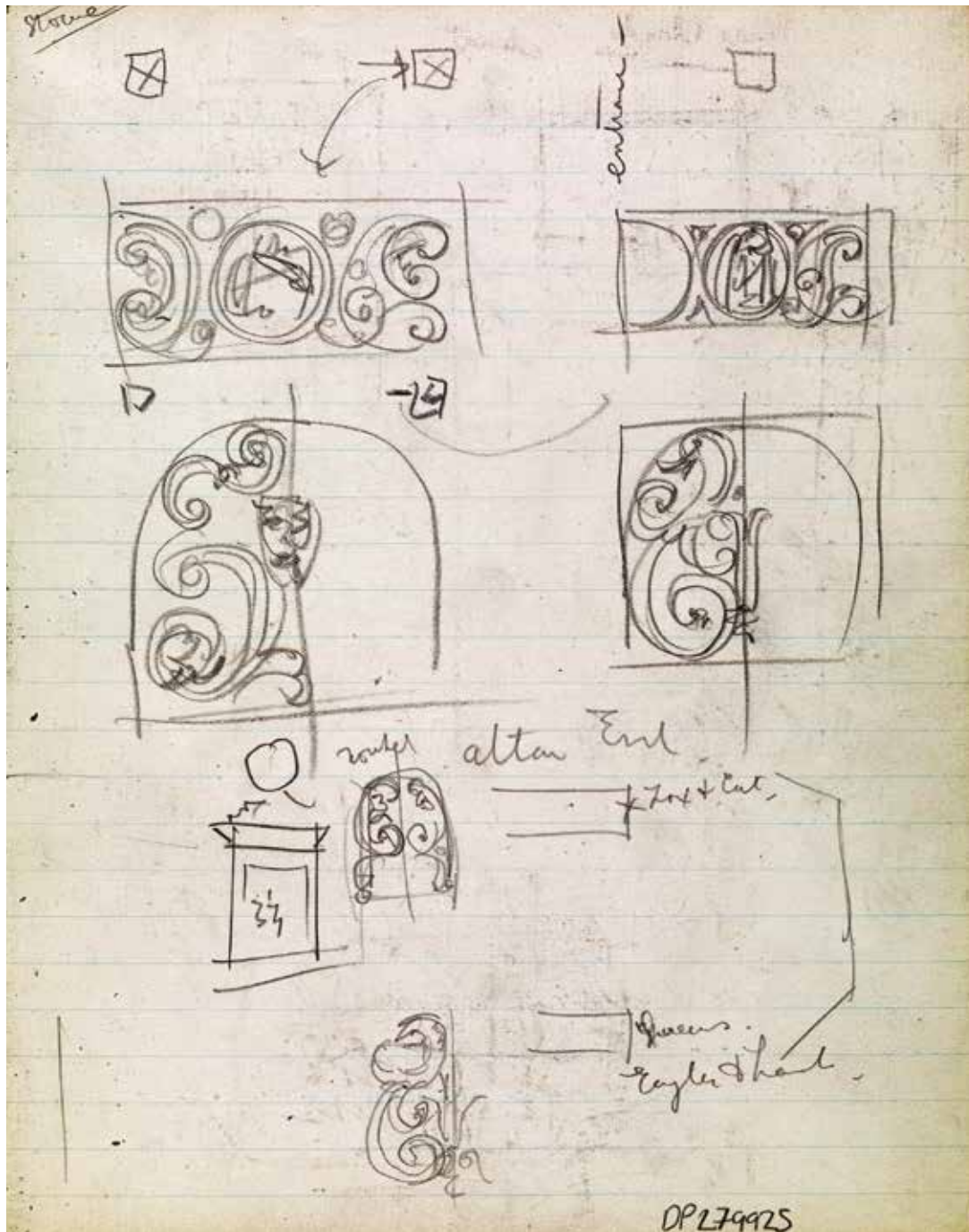


FIGURE 29 Page from a sketch book © Courtesy of HES (Scott Morton Collection SMO S/20/16). From top to bottom: wing friezes for stalls 33 and 40; arch infillings for stalls 40 and 33; finial, arch infilling for stall 5, plan of stalls 1-4; arch infilling for stall 1



FIGURE 30 Openwork panels from the stall fronts (photos: Alan Longworth)

and contain stylised foliage; and the centre panel contains an animal scene contrasting with the outermost panels. Lorimer probably approved cartoons as they became available, and will have seen at least the first twenty-five on his June visit, so we can be confident that the overall effect is as he would have wished. After Lorimer's death

it will have fallen to Matthew to approve any remaining cartoons.

The openwork infilling in the side arches of the stalls (Fig. 31) shares a common style, while the carvings in the side arches of stalls 16, 21, and 37 repeat those of stalls 4, 12, and 8.

The non-heraldic sections of the friezes (Fig. 32)



FIGURE 31 Openwork Infillings of the stall side arches



FIGURE 32 Stall friezes: central elements and wings (following Lorimer's number sequence)

share a common style, but there is much variety in their content. On Stalls 1-4, 5-8, 9-12, and 13-16 the frieze incorporates animals, usually hunting or fighting each other, or, in the case of one pair of monkeys, riding dolphins. Stalls 21-24 have a pelican in its piety at the centre, with plants and dolphins elsewhere. Stalls 17-20 have an angel playing a lute in the centre and musical still-lives on each wing. Stalls 25-28 have an eagle struggling with a snake at the centre, and monkeys playing the fool on each wing, while the frieze above Stalls 29-32 is entirely composed of arabesques and dolphins. Stalls 33-36 have another eagle grappling with a snake at the centre, and demi-angels playing musical instruments on each wing; while Stalls 37-40 have arabesques at the centre and full-height angels playing musical instruments on each wing.

The Screens

The screens giving access at either end of the Chapel to the aisles (Fig. 33) follow the same pattern as the stalls but were a later conception, first mentioned in June 1929.⁸⁸ All forty stalls had by then been funded, and screens provided an opportunity for new donors.

The same craftsmen were responsible,⁸⁹ and each screen cost £346 18s 10½d. The grey finish was again adopted: Roxburgh initially feared that



FIGURE 33 South-East Screen

one screen was too dark, and had to be assured that it would become lighter in time.⁹⁰ No donor was found for a screen in the south-west corner, although Scott Morton prepared the turned pillars and moulded members, which were still in their workshops in 1945.⁹¹

The infilling of the side arches (Fig. 34) is similar to that in the stalls, although the north-east screen has monkeys set in a circle and eating berries. The openwork friezes (Fig. 43) are exclusively floral. Lorimer can hardly have had time to give instructions before his death, and Matthew probably oversaw their decoration.

The two pendant angels on each screen (Fig. 36), in the manner of Louis Deuchars, are likely to have been carved by Young, known for his carved angels and for his admiration for Deuchars.⁹²



FIGURE 34 Openwork infillings of the screen side arches (north screens at top, south-east screen at bottom)



FIGURE 35 Screen friezes: central elements and wings (north screens at top, south-east screen at bottom)



FIGURE 36 Pendant Angels from screens (north screens at top, south-east screen at bottom)

The two northern screens were converted to stalls in the early 1960s and moved back against the outer walls, for practical reasons but with unfortunate visual results.

Apse and Chancel Furniture

Scott Morton made the Founder's Stall (Fig. 37), using yew from a tree cut down when the Chapel site was being cleared, at a cost of £110 10s.⁹³ The stall was designed, doubtless by Ramsay, to be 'in Renaissance style,' to harmonise with the other stalls.⁹⁴

Lorimer provided a credence table (Fig. 37) and a kneeler. Parnell's made them for £9 15s 'as per your drawings,' but the drawing of the kneeler may have come from Scott Morton.⁹⁵ The kneeler is currently in store.

Lorimer designed the two ministers' stalls, notable for their clean lines (Fig. 37). Whytock & Reid made them, using Stowe yew, but with panels of burr elm wood, chosen to reflect Stowe's avenues of elms. The stalls were furnished with kneeling pads and with falls of green damask, finished with galon.⁹⁶ The cost was £133 6s.

Lorimer originally planned a Communion Table 'in Hoptonwood and 'toffee' onyx: the centre panel with the Agnus Dei which I wish done in the Romanesque manner with the lamb's wool worked into a pattern ... the circle to be about 1' 10" wide,' and he proposed to ask Bone to do the carving.⁹⁷ Roxburgh liked the look of the two materials in combination, but Warrington insisted on a moveable wooden Table. Lorimer prepared three suitable designs,⁹⁸ two of which survive, including the



FIGURE 37 Clockwise from top left: Minister's Stall, Founder's Stall, Credence Table



FIGURE 38 Design for a wooden Communion Table © Courtesy of HES (Lorimer and Matthew Collection LOR/XSD/40/20/14)

design eventually chosen (Figs 38-9).⁹⁹ The Table itself, made by Whytock and Reid from Stowe yew, is possibly the finest piece of furniture at Stowe (Fig. 38). It was supplied with 'Green Velvet Cover ... on Non Slip Felt, with frontal of Gothic Velvet, fringe at foot.'¹⁰⁰ The cost was £85 10s. The wooden platform supporting the Table is of more recent date.

Lorimer's keenness to use Stowe yew should cause no surprise: he was well known for his interest in timbers and for sharing 'the common craftsman's understanding' of their capabilities,

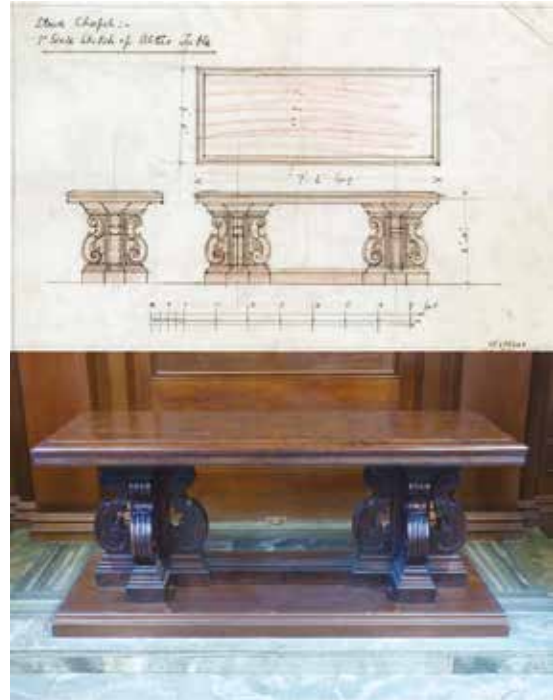


FIGURE 39 Top: Design for a wooden Communion Table © Courtesy of HES (Lorimer and Matthew Collection LOR XSD/40/19/4) Bottom: Communion Table as executed

an interest which he shared with William Stewart Morton.¹⁰¹

Stained Glass

Herbert Hendrie (1887–1946), Head of Design at the College of Art, made the apse window at a cost of £40.¹⁰² Lorimer offered the school a choice between an Agnus Dei and the Holy Ghost as a dove (Figs 40-42).¹⁰³ Roxburgh and Warrington viewed the cartoons and chose the Holy Ghost. The cartoon has six stars and three concentric circles: the final version includes twelve stars and seven circles, and has the sun at the centre of the circles.

Lorimer also sent Roxburgh a sketch by Hendrie for the nave windows, commenting,

'It is rather on the lines of the beautiful windows in the Chantries at King's, Cambridge ... The treatment is I think equally appropriate to a Renaissance building. ... I thought the donor's coat of arms could be worked into the tympanum.'¹⁰⁴

The cost would have been £250 per window.



FIGURE 40 Agnus Dei cartoon © Courtesy of HES (Lorimer and Matthew Collection LOR/XSD/40/35/4)

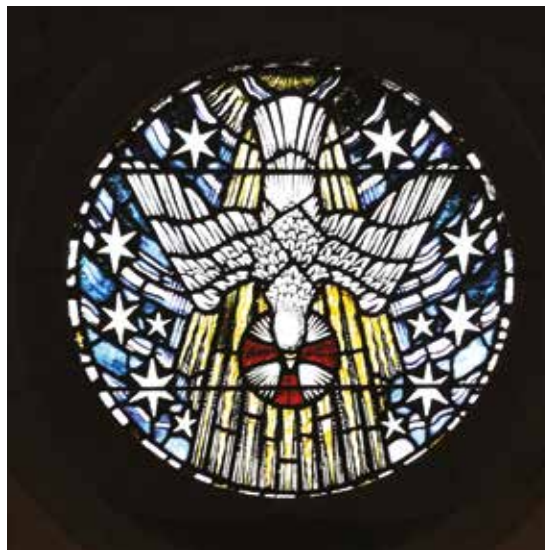


FIGURE 42 Apse window (photo: Alan Longworth)



FIGURE 41 Holy Ghost cartoon © Courtesy of HES (Lorimer and Matthew Collection LOR/XSD/40/34/6)

The Painting

Lorimer seems initially to have suggested mounting an enamelled cross, measuring 24" by 16" (610 x 405mm), on the panelling above the

Table.¹⁰⁵ A drawing entitled 'Proposed Cross in Chancel' shows that the cross (Fig. 43)¹⁰⁶ was based on Lorimer's rood cross at St Mary's Episcopal Cathedral, Edinburgh; but the proposal found no support.

Warrington hoped for an effect similar to that at Emmanuel College, Cambridge,¹⁰⁷ and he and Roxburgh agreed that a painting was needed behind the Table. Warrington mentioned *The Last Supper*, but that would have required a differently-shaped panel.¹⁰⁸ Roxburgh suggested finding the copy of Rubens' *The Holy Family and the Lamb* that had occupied the panel until 1848,¹⁰⁹ or commissioning a painting of *The Holy Family* or *The Crucifixion*.

The Governors considered the issue on 9 February 1929. Lorimer was in attendance and may have shown them Meredith Williams' cartoon for a panel depicting *The Supper at Emmaus* in St John's Kirk, Perth (Fig. 44). The meeting was acrimonious and came to no conclusion. Roxburgh, casting around for a solution after the meeting, suggested a copy of Watts' *Sir Galahad*, of Mantegna's *St George*, or of Perugino's *St Michael*.¹¹⁰

On 26 March the Governors met again and agreed to place a depiction of *The Supper at Emmaus* above the Table; they chose the design for the Table; and they agreed to have the Command-

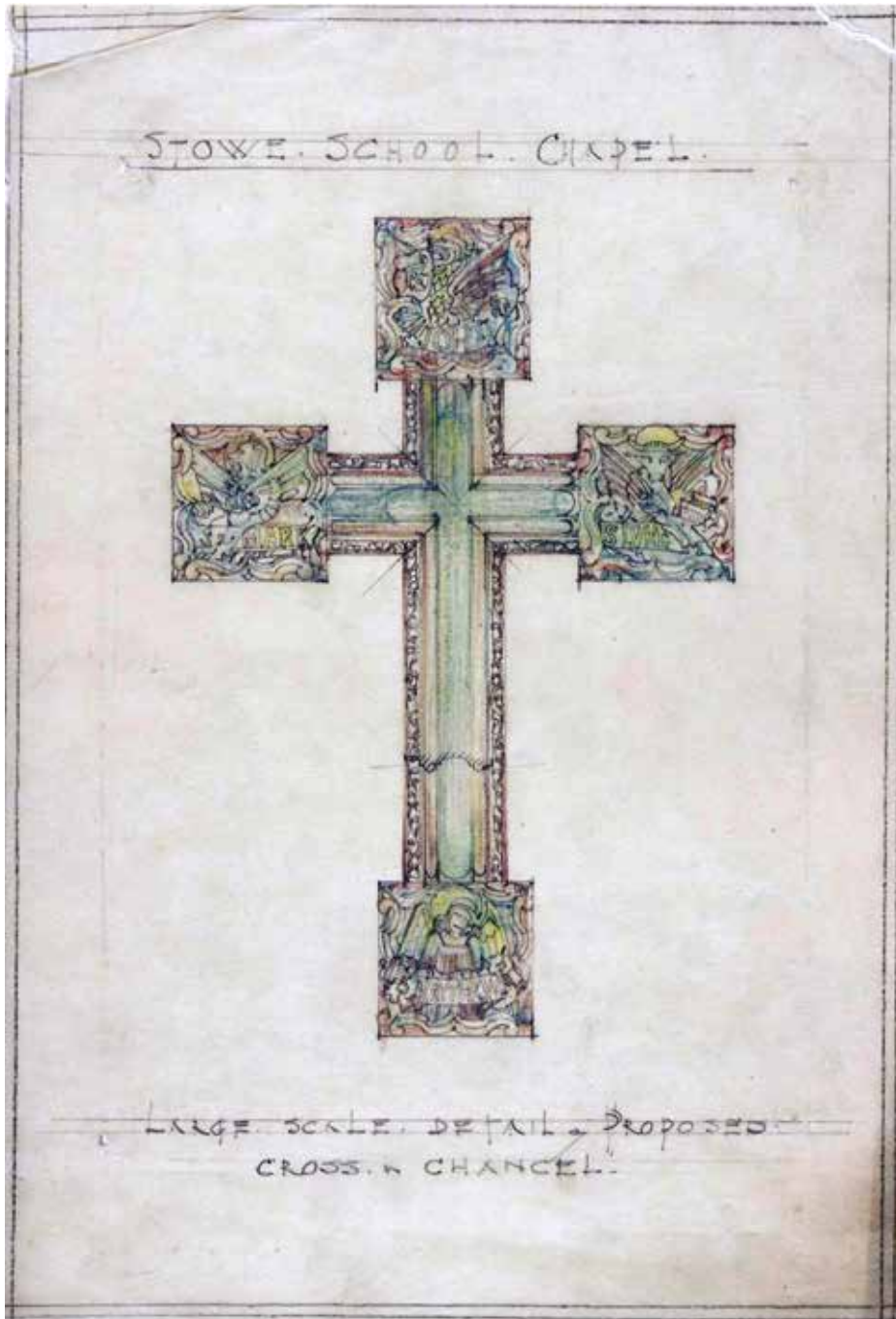


FIGURE 43 Proposed Cross in Chancel, reproduction courtesy of RIBA Collections (PA883/6(8))



FIGURE 44 Carved panel on Communion Table, St John's Kirk, Perth

ments painted on the panelling either side; although this last was never carried out.¹¹¹ Meredith Williams completed the painting at a cost of £250 (Fig. 45).¹¹²

The subject of *The Supper at Emmaus* had become popular during the second half of the nineteenth century, with many artists focusing on the expression on the disciples' faces, and some depicting the participants in contemporary dress: Carl Bloch had adopted the subject in 1878 for an altarpiece in the church of Löderup, Sweden.¹¹³ Meredith Williams' treatment is echoed in Douglas Strachan's Harrower window of King's College Chapel, Aberdeen (1934),¹¹⁴ and in Christopher Webb's *Life of Christ* in St Albans Cathedral (1939).¹¹⁵ Alice Meredith Williams re-used several motifs, including that of a Christ silhouetted against an open arch, for her *Last Supper* panel for St Modan's, Rosneath (1931).¹¹⁶

PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION

Planning and Proportion

Lorimer's plans specify that a centre aisle bay should measure 15' 10" x 38' 10" (4.83 x 11.84m), measured column centre to column centre. The link between the two measurements is that $\sqrt{2}$ (15' 10") and $38' 10"/\sqrt{3}$ both correspond to 22' 5". The



FIGURE 45 *The Supper at Emmaus* (photo: Alan Longworth)

significance of 22' 5" becomes clear when one realises that Lorimer measured the height of the columns of the Temple of Concord and Victory, when they were still in situ, at 22' 5½" (6.85m).

When Lorimer told the Governors that, by re-using the columns of the Temple of Concord and Victory, he would be 'setting the tune for the whole building',¹¹⁷ he meant exactly that. He had once recalled that as a young man he had learnt that there were three things of vital importance in architecture, 'the 1st is proportion the 2nd is – proportion & the 3rd – is – proportion',¹¹⁸ and ever the musician, he was putting this into practice by using the height of the column, rounded down for practical purposes to 22' 5", as the basis for the dimensions of the nave.

Doubtless Lorimer proceeded geometrically: a square with sides measuring 22' 5" gives to the

nearest inch a diagonal of 31' 8", which can be halved to give 15' 10", while an equilateral triangle with sides measuring 22' 5" gives an altitude of 19' 5", which can be doubled to give 38' 10".

The increase in the height of the walls following the introduction of the stalls meant that Lorimer's original vertical dimensions no longer held good. So far as they can be recovered, those dimensions seem also to have been based on the column height. Thus at 31' 8" (9.66m) the height of the arcade wall appears to have been twice the depth of a nave bay, while the distance from floor level to the crown of the vault, and to the top of the external parapet, at 38' 10" (11.84m), appears to have been the same as the width of the nave.

Most of the other wall lengths are in multiples of 3" (76mm), to facilitate bricklaying, although the dimensions of the exterior could not be completely divorced from the height of a column, since the spacing of the windows had to match the spacing of the arcade.

Effectively therefore the Chapel was designed from the inside outwards around the columns and the Cedar Chapel panelling, and is composed of an inner building, for which the columns 'set the tune,' and an outer building, whose dimensions are largely governed by the dimensions of the panelling and the necessities of bricklaying.

Reinforced Concrete

Stuart's Granolithic Company Ltd designed and oversaw the laying of reinforced concrete foundations. Lorimer also used reinforced concrete for the portico roof panels, the rafts and sleeper walls carrying the portico steps, the organ gallery, the covers to the heating ducts, the ceilings to the heating and blowing chambers, and the arches linking the arcade walls to the outer walls. The novelty of this caused difficulty: it appears to have been the first time that W E Grant, Parnell's foreman, had encountered reinforced concrete.¹¹⁹

Lorimer was an enthusiast for fireproofing and had engaged Stuart's for reinforced concrete work at Formakin (1908), Marchmont (1914), and the Morton Sundour factory in Carlisle (1915).¹²⁰ A drawing by Williams-Ellis for Stowe dated November 1924 specifies reinforced concrete pilasters,¹²¹ and there may be more early examples in his work at Stowe; but Lorimer's Chapel appears to be the first major building in Buckinghamshire to use reinforced concrete extensively.¹²²

Stonework

Lorimer originally planned to use natural stone throughout, but Pennington urged him to use reconstructed stone where possible, writing, 'to work stone by hand either plain face or moulded in particular is so ancient these times.'¹²³ Lorimer soon adopted his advice, but a special meeting of the Governors was required to overcome Warrington's doubts about the new material.¹²⁴

A later brochure issued by Empire Stone provides a description of this material:

'Normally the stone has a facing about $\frac{3}{4}$ " [19mm] thick, composed of finely crushed natural stone, specially selected according to the colour and texture of the stone it is desired to match, and cement. For example, in the case of Empire reconstructed Portland Stone, the facing consists of crushed Portland stone and White Cement. This facing is put into the mould simultaneously with the backing material which is of Leicestershire Granite Chippings and Cement, the whole being mechanically consolidated into one homogeneous mass by pneumatic ramming. Reinforcement is used for lintels or in other special cases such as large projecting cornices, balconies, etc. ... Empire Stone can be carved in exactly the same way as natural stone, but where carving is required, the thickness of the facing is increased to permit of the required incutting.'¹²⁵

In line with this, steel reinforcing rods have been observed in the reconstructed stone lintels in the portico.¹²⁶

A skin of natural stone ashlar, $4\frac{1}{2}$ " (114 mm) thick, forms the Chapel's outer walls. Behind it the wall is formed of 18" (457 mm) of brick.

Jackson's initial estimate for the carved stonework was £4,972.¹²⁷ Allowing for the effect of using reconstructed stone, he had priced the carving element 'at roughly one-third of that done at the castle,'¹²⁸ implying that at War Memorial rates, the total would have been some £9,600. Lorimer asked him to reduce the cost further and he wrote back, 'I hope in the modelling to make the models so that the Empire Stone can be cast very closely to them.'¹²⁹ His final charge was £3,022 9s, a considerable saving on the cost of the same work in natural stone.¹³⁰

Jackson's Craftsmen

Jackson's principal assistant was William McNaught (1899–1943), who was paid an hourly

rate of 1s 7d to 1s 8½d. He had studied at the College of Art as apprentice draughtsman and then apprentice sculptor from 1916/17 to 1922/23, with war service in 1918/19.

Jackson also employed a team of carvers, who were based at the Empire Stone works in Narborough in Leicestershire, and later returned to Edinburgh to work on the *Benedicite* angels: at one point Lorimer wrote, ‘There are seven first rate Scotch carvers working ten hours a day at Narboro.’¹³¹ Jackson’s timesheets provide more details, and the varying rates of pay doubtless reflect their experience.¹³²

Peter Hardie (1865–1939), listed as an apprentice mason in the 1881 census, was *de facto* foreman and was paid 2s 7d per hour.¹³³ David Flemington (1865–1938), listed as a sculptor in 1881 and 1891, who had enrolled at the School of Applied Art in 1892, was paid 2s 7d. Robert Seggie (1870–1930), listed as a stone cutter in 1891, was paid 2s 2d. John Marshall (1888–1952) who had worked on The Scotsman Building and the Thistle Chapel, and would exhibit a number of pieces at the Royal Scottish Academy from 1929 to 1948, was paid 2s 7d.¹³⁴ Walter Field (1900–1955), who as an apprentice was awarded a travel grant by the College of Art in 1921, and seems eventually to have transferred to teaching, was paid 2s.¹³⁵ Tom Bowie (1905–1996), who had enrolled at the College of Art from 1920/21 to 1924/25 studying sculpture, had produced the models for the castings on Toronto’s Cenotaph during a visit to Canada in 1925/26, had re-enrolled with the College of Art for 1927/28 and 1928/29 studying clay modelling, and would later become Director of Sculpture at Ontario College of Art, was paid 1s 9d.¹³⁶ Alec Russell was a senior apprentice, paid 1s to 1s 3d. Hugh Campbell was a first-year apprentice, paid 4d to 5d.

The other carvers have yet to be fully identified: Clark and Bill Smith were paid 2s 7d; Simpson 2s 5d; McKenzie 2s 1d, and John Smith 1s 7d. Occasional help was provided by Murray at 2s, Ballantyne at 1s 6d, and T Bannister at 2½d to 3d.

The Foundation Stone

The Foundation Stone was carved in natural stone, probably because there was no advantage in casting a simple rectangular block. Starting on 13 May 1927, Flemington and Murray spent 114 man-hours on masonry, and Flemington 53 hours on the inscription, finishing by 8 June.

The Column and Pilaster Capitals

Starting on 10 February 1927, Jackson spent 54½ hours supervising, 14½ hours modelling, and 8 hours designing, and McNaught 27½ hours drawing.

Modelling and casting lasted from 6 May to 19 October 1927. The time-sheet reveals that time was spent successively on A, A1, B, A3, A2, A4, A5, and C. Work began with the armature for A, which required 176½ man-hours; modelling required 258½ hours; and casting 110 hours. A1, which also required an armature, took 78½ man-hours to model and 11½ to cast; B took 115 man-hours to model and 82 to cast; A2 6½ and 6; A3 21 and 4; A4 7 and 4½; A5 9 and 4½; and C 31 and 22. The time sheet suggests that A was a half-round capital, A1 possibly and B certainly a pilaster capital, A2–5 ‘symbols variation of centres,’ and C is uncategoryed. A appears to be one half of a column capital. A1 may be the other half. A2 to A5 would appear to be the remaining four of the six symbols: perhaps the symbols on A and A1 could be detached so that different symbols could be inserted for subsequent castings. B appears to be the main face of a pilaster capital; C the ornamented side face of a capital from the projecting bays.

Work ceased over the winter, perhaps to allow the castings to cure, and carving took place from 17 February to 24 May 1928. 413 man-hours were required for the symbols on the pilaster capitals, 160 man-hours for their side-ornaments, and 227½ man-hours for the symbols on the column capitals. In modelling the pilaster capitals the apostle’s symbol was left to be customised during carving: this might explain why the pilaster symbols took longer to carve than the column symbols. Completed casts were photographed at the Empire Stone works (Fig. 46).

The Projecting End Bays

The projecting end bays required four angel models, with two castings taken from each to give eight in total. The exercise was particularly difficult, since each angel comprised three separate blocks of stone. Starting on 26 August 1927, Jackson and McNaught spent 17½ man-hours designing, 60 man-hours modelling, and 6½ man-hours drawing. Bill Smith and Field spent 75 man-hours on the architectural framework.

Modelling and casting also began on 26 August 1927. The angel playing the guitar was completed



FIGURE 46 South-west column capital and pilaster capital (St Bartholomew), reproduction courtesy of ROLLR (DE4570/2)

that year: the sketch model required 188 man-hours, the full size model 330½ man-hours, and castings A and E 68 man-hours. The angel playing the cymbals required 34 man-hours on the armature, and 104 man-hours on modelling. Work continued in 1928 with an additional 18 hours' modelling, and 67 hours on castings B and F. The angel playing the harp required 83½ man-hours on the armature, 84 man-hours modelling, and 96½ man-hours on castings C and G; the angel playing the violin, 33 man-hours on the armature, 96½ man-hours modelling, and 69½ man-hours on castings D and H. The casts were left to cure for three or more weeks before carving, and needed an average of 133½ hours carving each, with the last being finished by 14 June 1928. The carving was done by Flemington, Hardie and Marshall.

The Pediment Sculptures

This task was more ambitious, and difficulty was experienced in fitting the completed sculpture to the pediment.

Under the heading 'running mouldings' to which 'armature' has later been added, and which may refer to the moulded cornices and architrave, we find 78¾ man-hours starting on 21 October 1927, followed by 64½ man-hours 'modelling.' Jackson spent 12½ hours on design and 39½ hours on modelling, and McNaught 87 hours on drawing. The armature required 196½ man-hours, and modelling 543¾ man-hours.

Casting required 265¼ man-hours over the period 2 June to 21 June 1928. Hardie and Flemington spent 804 man-hours on carving, beginning on 15 June, when the first casts were still fairly fresh, and finishing by 16 August 1928.¹³⁷ The inscription, incised in April 1928 by Seggie and Simpson, required 73 man-hours.

The Chancel Arch Keystone

Work on the chancel arch keystone started on 25 November 1927, with 12½ man-hours spent on a sketch model. The full size model took 178 man-hours, followed by 143 man-hours on casting. The cast was then allowed to cure for two months, after which 168 hours were spent on carving, finishing by 10 May 1928. The modelling and casting were largely carried out by Bowie, Field, and the two Smiths, and the carving by Bill Smith. The keystone is some 5' (1.52m) high and 2' 6" (0.76m) wide, and may be 3' (0.91m) deep: it was cast in one piece.

The Wreaths and Shields

Work began on 16 December 1927 with 7 man-hours' work on an armature. Modelling the first of the two forms of the wreath, with the belt buckle on one side, required 38 man-hours. Modelling the second, with the buckle on the other side, required 18½ hours probably spent modifying the first model. Casting required 36 man-hours in total, with the casts being left three or four weeks before the carving, which took 720 man-hours, finishing by 12 April. The extensive carving time was needed because the foliage and the symbols of the Virtues had to be carved individually. Removal of the symbols, following the change in plan, required another 110 man-hours. The carving was done by Hardie, Flemington,

Seggie, and Simpson, working up to 54 hours per week.

The Benedicite Roundels

The roundels were modelled, cast, 'coloured in oils, and finished with water colour waxed over,'¹³⁸ and then gilded, in Edinburgh and shipped to Stowe by rail. They measure 4' 3" (1.3m) in diameter, and weigh 'between two and three cwt [102-152kg] apiece.'

Lorimer initially thought plaster the most suitable material,¹³⁹ but he asked Jackson to 'study what is the hardest and most lasting type of material that these could be cast in,' and they finally selected Parian cement.¹⁴⁰ Lorimer later wrote to Jackson,

'Our arrangement was, I think, that you should prepare four models which could be used twice on each side. If slight variations in detail could be made to give the feeling that all the eight figures on one side were different it would be a great advantage. Probably the arrangement of the raiment at the neck and one or two other points that we can discuss, could be worked out.'¹⁴¹

In the event, Jackson prepared eight full-size plaster models, with each being used twice, but with variations in the pattern of the hair, the fastening of the neck, and the devices on the disc, which were all modelled in plasticine. The quality of the Parian cement removed any need for subsequent carving. Generally the first model served for the first and fifth angels, the second for the second and sixth angels, and so on.¹⁴²

Jackson and McNaught spent 76 hours designing and modelling starting from 3 December 1927.

Modelling the first roundel required 116½ man-hours starting from 17 February 1928, with Clark the main modeller. Casting of *The Sun* required 71½ man-hours. An additional 12 hours modelling followed, doubtless involving the removal of the plasticine Sun and its replacement with Fire. Casting of *Fire* required 119 man-hours, finishing by 4 July.

Modelling the second required 105 man-hours, with Bowie the main modeller. Casting followed immediately, with *Moon and Stars* requiring 63 man-hours, and *Ice* requiring 49½ man-hours, and complete by 26 July. For some reason 8 hours were needed later for cleaning, 18 man-hours for 'reproducing' and 13 man-hours on 'repeat cast:' one roundel was broken in transit and had to be

replaced, and this may have been the roundel concerned.

Modelling the sixth required 140 man-hours starting from 23 June, with Bowie the main modeller. Casting of *Fountains* required 159½ man-hours; casting of *Beasts*, including a change from a lion and a bull to two lions, required 61¼ man-hours, and was finished by 19 October.

Modelling the eighth then began, and required 105½ man-hours, with Bowie the main modeller. Casting of *Fish* required 117½ man-hours. *Men* required 37½ man-hours modelling and apparently only 1 hour casting¹⁴³ and was completed by 29 November.

Modelling the seventh took 146½ man-hours starting from 13 July, with Field the main modeller. An additional 21½ man-hours by Bowie were allocated to the modelling of *Priests*. Casting of *Sea* took 103½ man-hours; casting of *Priests* 114 man-hours, finishing by 14 November.

Modelling the third took 147 man-hours starting from 13th July, with Field the main modeller. Casting of *Lightning* required 149 hours; casting of *Winds* 68 man-hours, finishing by 19 September.

Modelling the fifth took 75 man-hours starting from 10 August, with Field the main modeller. Casting of *Trees* and *Birds* took a total of 274 hours, finishing by 10 October.

Modelling the fourth took 69½ man-hours starting from 17 August, with all the modelling done by Field. Casting of *Mountains* took 75½ man-hours, casting of *Rain Clouds* 69½ man-hours, finishing by 10 October.

The Symbols of the Evangelists

Starting on 24 February 1928, Jackson spent 16½ hours on designing, and Bowie and Seggie 4 hours on a sketch model of St Matthew. Lorimer gave his approval on 27 April, after which Jackson spent 22 hours on modelling.

Work on the full-size model of St Matthew started on 27 April and took 59¼ hours; casting took 8 hours, and carving 98. The bull took 20 hours modelling, 24½ casting, and 102 hours carving; the lion, 23½ hours modelling, 19½ casting, and 113 hours carving; and the eagle, 35 hours modelling, 26½ casting, and 107 hours carving. The time gap between casting and carving was generally minimal, and all four roundels were completed by 20 June. The modelling and casting were done by Bowie, Field, Hardie, Seggie, and John Smith. The

roundels are some 3' 6" (1.07m) in diameter and each forms a single block of stone.

Comparison of a model and a finished roundel suggests that the contribution of the carvers, Hardie and Flemington, included sharpening edges and giving a smooth finish to the surfaces.¹⁴⁴

The Rainwater Heads

Bone produced two plaster models for the six rainwater heads.¹⁴⁵ Carving took 234 man-hours between 6 April and 15 May 1928: this probably includes casting, and was carried out by Simpson, Bill Smith, Hardie and Russell.

The Wider Context

Sculptors had recently started experimenting with casting sculpture in concrete. Gilbert Bayes (1872–1953) exhibited some concrete reliefs at the British Empire Exhibition in 1924, including some portraying the process of creating concrete sculptures; in 1925 *The Aberdeen Press and Journal* reported that Francis Jones (1873–1938) had cast a concrete *Britannia*;¹⁴⁶ while in 1926 Henry Moore (1898–1986) made his first concrete sculpture¹⁴⁷ and *The Scotsman* described the technique of Carlo Sarrabezolles (1888–1971) of carving concrete while it was setting.¹⁴⁸ At Stowe, John Bickerdyke had cast two concrete lions for the South Front (1927) to replace lead lions dispersed at the sale: they were transferred to extended plinths either side of the Chapel steps in 2013. Sculptors found that it was difficult to control the colour and texture of concrete, and that once the concrete had set it was too hard to be worked any further.

In Jackson's case, the partnership with Empire Stone gave him access to the company's experience of casting architectural mouldings and ornament. The texture and colour of reconstructed stone could be controlled by careful choice of aggregate, and the result could be carved after casting. Other sculptors were to follow Jackson's lead and work with Empire Stone: Percy A Wise, Headmaster of Poole Art School, for his illustrative panels on the New Municipal Offices, Poole (1930–32), and Gilbert Bayes, starting with his frieze for the former Saville Theatre (1930).¹⁴⁹

Parian cement offered a different solution: although the cement could not be worked once it had set, the high quality of the surface removed the need for subsequent carving.

It may be possible to see the influence of Stowe

in Edinburgh's Merchiston Castle School buildings, opened in September 1930. The architect, W J Walker Todd (1884–1944), designed a south entrance portico, fronted by two tall circular columns flanked by two pilasters, with a sculptural group comprising a central cartouche flanked by horns of plenty in the pediment above, recalling Stowe Chapel's portico. Alexander Carrick (1882–1966), Edinburgh College of Art's new Head of Sculpture, was asked to model the capitals and the sculptural group. Carrick's contribution included modelling, presumably in clay, casting in plaster, making the piece moulds, and final carving once the casting process was complete. The carved work, columns, and cornices, were executed in reconstructed stone by the newly formed Craighall Cast Stone Co Ltd.¹⁵⁰ Carrick knew Jackson well, his invoice for the Merchiston Castle work is dated 17 December 1928; and he and Jackson saw each other on 18 December 1928.¹⁵¹ It would be very remarkable indeed if they did not then, or on another occasion, discuss the use of reconstructed stone. Following this, in October 1929, *The Scotsman* ran two articles on the use of reconstructed stone for sculpture, provoking a lively correspondence.¹⁵²

Others in Edinburgh knew of developments at Stowe: when controversy arose over a proposal to use reconstructed stone at the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary, *The Scotsman* drew attention to the successful use of reconstructed stone at Stowe.¹⁵³

Flooring

A M Macdougall and Son of Glasgow, at a cost of £292 15s, supplied Slavonian oak blocks for the nave floor,¹⁵⁴ apart from the antechapel bay, which is paved in grey granite with black lozenges.

Plastering

Pennington inspected the Horticultural Hall, where the new 'acoustic plaster' had been used, and after meeting a representative of The May Construction Company, reported that the key was 'to finish the walls with a porous material so that the sound is absorbed in it ... A lime, sand and hair backing is used, gauged in cement, this is to help the setting ... what is required is porosity, such as a sandstone interior would give you ...'¹⁵⁵

Parnell's seem to have responded by developing their own acoustic plaster: according to *The Builder*, the aisle walls were plastered in 'ordinary

plaster with an unusual amount of hair introduced into the plaster to keep it open, and the plaster was roughly finished off the float.¹⁵⁶ An apparent join between different plasters was noted in 2015, which may be a boundary between normal plaster and acoustic plaster.¹⁵⁷

Lighting and Heating

Electric lighting was supplied by Messrs Grierson, who were paid £123 18s; Charles Henshaw, who was paid £21 for three light fittings; and Hadden & Pearce Ltd.¹⁵⁸ Messrs MacKenzie & Moncur supplied the heating apparatus at a cost of £459 8s.¹⁵⁹

The Windows

William Morris & Co (Westminster) Ltd, later The Morris Singer Co, supplied the window casements at a cost of £539 2s 3d.¹⁶⁰

The Roof

The copper outer roof is supported by a steel framework supplied by Messrs Redpath Brown of London. The inner roof is wagon-vaulted and made of Columbian pine. Early photographs reveal that the pine darkened rapidly (compare figs 10 & 11); and the colouring of the nave rosettes (Fig. 28), which was designed to match the pine, may give us a better idea of the colour for which Lorimer had hoped.

John Smith and Campbell spent 129½ hours modelling and 58½ hours casting the rosettes for the nave roof between 19 October and 6 December 1928. They appear to have made two different models, each with an alternative centre. Four casts were then made of each combination, giving sixteen rosettes.¹⁶¹

Cost

The total cost of the Chapel was £66,733 16s 4d. As a comparison, St Margaret's, Knightswood, designed to seat over 700, cost £13,825;¹⁶² the first phase of work at St Peter's, Edinburgh, cost £9,194 in 1907, or in 1929 prices £17,400;¹⁶³ the Thistle Chapel cost £25,735 in 1911, or in 1929 prices £47,700;¹⁶⁴ the restoration of St John's Kirk, Perth, cost over £50,000 in 1926, or in 1929 prices over £48,100;¹⁶⁵ and the Scottish National War Memorial cost £144,000. Stowe Chapel appears therefore to have been Lorimer's second largest commission.

SYMBOLISM AND ICONOGRAPHY

Evidential Base

The symbolism incorporated in Lorimer's public buildings was usually well explained by publications such as the guides to the Scottish National War Memorial, written by Lorimer's close associate Sir Lawrence Weaver (1927) and his close friend F W Deas (1928); and by books such as *St Peter's Edinburgh: A Brief Description of the Church and its Contents* (1926) by Father John Gray; *Paisley Abbey: Its History, Architecture, & Art*, by the Rev A R Howell (1929); *St John's Kirk, Perth: A History*, by Thomas Hunter (1932); and *St Margaret's, Knightswood: 1925–1950* (1951), by the Rev George Heatley.¹⁶⁶

Unusually, there is no such account of the Chapel. To understand its symbolism, therefore, we are dependent on explicit statements in the surviving archival material, and inferences from symbolism used by Lorimer in comparable buildings. We may also be able to use printed sources known to have been used by Lorimer and his circle.

Jackson's notebook *Signs and Wonders*¹⁶⁷ (Fig. 47) lists Geldart's *A Manual of Church Decoration and Symbolism* (1899) along with Mattheus Nieuwbarn's *Church Symbolism, a Treatise on the General Symbolism and Iconography of the Roman Catholic Church Edifice* (Edinburgh, 1910). The two entries have been inked in, but what look like recommendations are visible in the underlying pencil text: Geldart is 'well worth getting' and Nieuwbarn is 'worth buying.' Later pages in the notebook contain extracts from William and George Audsley's *Handbook of Christian Symbolism* (1865), and a reference to Henry Adams' *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (1905). Howell, in a letter to Jackson, referred to *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments: A Translation of the First Book of the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum Written by William Durandus; with an introductory essay, notes, and illustrations* by John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb (1843).¹⁶⁸

Lorimer had used Didron's *Christian Iconography* (English translation, 1851),¹⁶⁹ and Lorimer's family still has his copy of Émile Mâle's *Religious Art in France in the 13th century: A Study in Mediaeval Iconography* (English translation, 1913). It is likely that Lorimer had also read Nieuwbarn: *The Scotsman* had noted the appearance of Nieu-

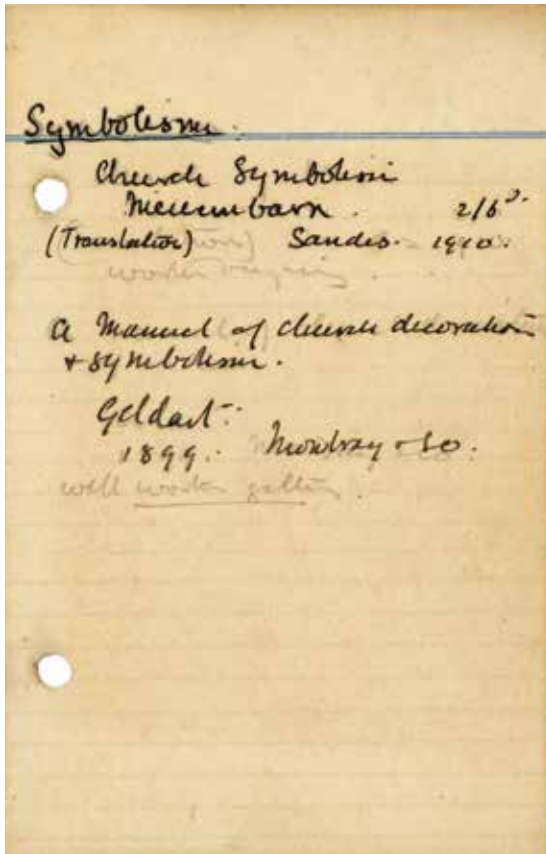


FIGURE 47 Jackson's Signs and Wonders, p 1
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(Acc 7445/37/8)

wbarn's work in English,¹⁷⁰ Nieuwbarn is the most likely source for Lorimer's suggestions of *The Good Shepherd* for the panel over the south door, and of the *Benedicite* for the upper regions of the nave,¹⁷¹ and Lorimer is the most likely person to have recommended Nieuwbarn to Jackson.

The Foundation Stone

The symbolism of the Foundation Stone was brought out when it was laid: the prayers on that occasion included, 'O Lord Jesu Christ ... the one Foundation and the Chief Corner-stone; bless what we now do in laying this Stone,¹⁷² echoing St Paul's description of Christ as the foundation of the church.¹⁷³

The stone bears a cross incised in a circle.

Heatley commented, 'The circle has always been used to denote eternity, and the Cross within the circle reminds us of the life eternal in Christ.'¹⁷⁴

The Exterior

The exterior of a church is exposed to the gaze of passers-by, and the opportunity offered for iconography is therefore different from that provided by the interior. In planning the symbolism of the portico capitals and the shields, Lorimer appears to have had this in mind.

The Symbols of the Trinity

The column capitals display a symbol of the Holy Trinity on each face (Fig. 48): Jackson describes these symbols as 'Signs of Trinity.'¹⁷⁵ According to the manuals, the orb surmounted by a cross is a mark of God the Father, and represents creation and redemption, or the orb represents sovereignty and the cross forms a link with Christ.¹⁷⁶ The three intersecting circles are 'an appropriate emblem of the Trinity – the Three Eternal Beings in Unity.'¹⁷⁷ The dove is the symbol of the Holy Ghost.¹⁷⁸ Three fish swallowing each other's tails symbolise 'Baptism under the immediate sanction and blessing of the Divine Trinity.'¹⁷⁹ Two interlocking triangles express 'the infinity of the Trinity.'¹⁸⁰ Within a radiate triangle or circle the Hebrew Divine Name or tetragram, or in this case the triangle replacing it, symbolises the Trinity, with the rays themselves symbolising glory and brightness.¹⁸¹

Nieuwbarn observed that traditionally in a church's entrance hall or porch, 'the whole of theology was, so to say, visibly expressed, even in such a degree, that this very locality was treated as a centre of the purest mediaeval symbolism and iconography,¹⁸² and Lorimer's decision to highlight the doctrine of the Trinity here is in line with Nieuwbarn's thought.

Jackson took his six symbols from Geldart,¹⁸³ though in the radiate triangle Jackson replaced the tetragram with concentric triangles, doubtless for ease of carving in stone.

The Coat of Arms and its Angel Supporters

The angel supporters indicate that the school has been entrusted to the care of heaven,¹⁸⁴ and wear sandals to indicate that they have come down to earth.



FIGURE 48 Symbols of the Holy Trinity

The Angels on the Projecting Bays

These angels are singing and playing musical instruments. They are bare-footed, and rest on the firmament, indicating that they are in heaven.¹⁸⁵ The window arches are decorated with laurel and rowan: laurel may symbolise the victory of those *washed in the blood of the Lamb*, while rowan had symbolised freedom at Paisley Abbey and had been chosen for the Royal Air Force at the War Memorial because ‘it needs plenty of light and air and grows in the open and high places.’¹⁸⁶ It seems ideal for association with angels.

The Symbols of the Evangelists

These symbols reflect the vision of St John, who saw four beasts *in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne*, of which *the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had a face as a man, and the fourth beast was like a flying eagle.*¹⁸⁷ The four

beasts are most commonly depicted surrounding Christ, something standing for Christ, or his heavenly throne.

Nieuwbarn links the four Evangelists, the four ‘master-builders of the church,’ with the four walls of a church, while W R Lethaby associates them with the four quarters of the world and the four cardinal points.¹⁸⁸

The Symbols of the Apostles

Jackson refers to the symbols on the pilaster capitals (Fig. 49) as ‘Signs of Apostles.’¹⁸⁹ The sequence starts to the east of the south door and works anti-clockwise around the Chapel. Each pilaster has a carved capital: the capitals at the south-west and south-east angles display two symbols; and the other ten capitals display a single symbol.¹⁹⁰ St Peter is represented by crossed keys, St Andrew by his cross and two fish, St James the Great by three scallop shells, St John by a chalice and serpent, St Philip by a cross flanked by two barley loaves, St James the Lesser by a club and an open book, St Thomas by an architect’s square and a fish, St Bartholomew by a flaying knife and an open book, St Matthew by three money bags, St Simon by a saw and two fish, St Jude by a halbert and an open book, and St Matthias by an axe and an open book.¹⁹¹

In Revelation, the wall of the heavenly Jerusalem *had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.*¹⁹² Nieuwbarn commented, ‘it is quite obvious that this should be directly applied to the columns of the church, especially if they were twelve in number, and that they should be considered as symbols of the chosen Twelve, ever sustaining and upholding the Holy Church of God ...’¹⁹³

The Wreaths and Shields

On the east wall a radiate cross would have represented Faith; an anchor, Hope; a heart, Charity; and a lamp, Truth; on the west wall a sword or a flaming heart (later replaced by a rampant lion), Courage; a torch and book or scroll, Wisdom; a pair of scales, Justice; and a lily, Purity. Thus the east wall would have displayed the three Theological Virtues and Truth, and the west wall, the four Cardinal Virtues, with Purity standing in for Temperance. The only design to have survived is the anchor.

Care was taken care to match the plant in the wreath to the virtue: oak for Courage and Truth,



FIGURE 49 Symbols of the Apostles

roses for Faith and Wisdom, laurel for Hope and Justice and lilies for Purity and Charity.

At the Scottish National War Memorial, the figures of Virtues and Values on the exterior represented the 'Motions of the Spirit of Man' and 'the survival of these values through the trials of war.'¹⁹⁴ Doubtless, Stowe's series of Virtues was intended similarly to represent the moral ideals of the Christian faith.

The Rainwater Heads

At the Thistle Chapel, according to James Grieve, Master of the Works, the gargoyles represented 'evil spirits attempting to get into the Chapel by the window tops.'¹⁹⁵ The lion- and tiger-head gargoyles at Stowe doubtless have a similar function.

The Door

Lorimer envisaged that the whole school would enter and leave by this door, with the smaller doors

at the north end as emergency exits only, and the south door therefore assumed a particular significance. The pilaster capitals to either side display a Chi-Rho, accompanied in one case by Alpha and Omega, all symbols of Christ.¹⁹⁶ For the panel above the door Lorimer offered Roxburgh either *The Good Shepherd* or *David fighting the Lion*. Christ himself said that he was the Good Shepherd,¹⁹⁷ while David is a prototype of Christ.

Nieuwbarn explains that the door is 'a symbol of the Blessed Saviour, who said of himself, *I am the door*.'¹⁹⁸

The Nave

The nave has seven bays, and on each side eight columns and eight *Benedicite* angels. Lorimer may have had in mind the symbolism of these numbers, since the Lorimer and Matthew archive includes an undated typescript explaining the number seven's symbolic meanings, while Christ's resurrection on

the eighth day of the week has led to the number eight, as Heatley noted, signifying ‘regeneration,’ or as Nieuwbarn puts it, ‘the new Creation through Christ.’¹⁹⁹

The Organ Cases

The main organ case is decorated with pomegranates, acorns, ears of wheat, and roses, and lilies. There are four monster heads, two with their tongues out. Such is the profusion of foliage, however, that these grotesques seem an integral part of the whole composition, which may illustrate the power of the organ to reflect the whole range of human emotion.

There are several pairs of birds on the main organ case, in one case looking at a basket of flowers. At the centre of the casing, two birds gaze raptly at a boy playing a lute, who may represent the power of music to charm. On the choir organ, pairs of birds feast on pomegranates and ears of wheat. Birds are variously described as ‘the image of mind, or the spirit, which is breath set in motion, rapidity vivified,’ as ‘a symbol of the human soul,’ or as ‘the spirits of the blessed.’ When birds are depicted feeding on wheat, we have ‘an allusion to the spiritual nourishment which the Sacrament conveys, and in the broader sense to our dependence on the bounty of God.’²⁰⁰

The beams supporting the choir organ terminate in lion masks, perhaps suggesting wildness tamed by the power of music.

The Archangel Michael

The Archangel is identified by his armour and flaming sword, wears high-sided sandals, and stands on a globe, indicating that he has come down to earth. His trumpet is ‘the straight Jewish one used in the Temple services,’²⁰¹ and reminds us that Christ, the New Temple, has replaced the Old. Douglas Strachan, who designed the stained glass windows for the War Memorial, had described Michael as ‘a Symbol of Righteousness overcoming Wrong in the perpetual antagonism between the Spirit of Good and the Spirit of Evil.’²⁰²

The Congregational Stall Fronts

These depict oak, thistle, rose, and hawthorn. Thistles are rare in the Chapel, other than in the heraldic carvings, but a document, perhaps in Matthew’s hand, explaining the Findlay Memo-

rial in Edinburgh High Kirk, notes that thistles symbolise Sin and the Fall of Man. The rose symbolises love, beauty, joy, silence or martyrdom; the oak, strength, eternity, virtue, forgiveness; the hawthorn, hope.²⁰³

The Heraldic Carvings on the Stalls and Screens

The heraldic decoration on the stalls, designed by Sutherland, many of whose full-size coloured cartoons survive, is almost a self-contained project. Apart from the two royal stalls, which he treated as a single stall, each stall displays the donors’ arms in a cartouche and further heraldic devices in the openwork frieze above. The cartouches are individually designed, frequently enlivened with faces, birds, or plants. In choosing devices for the frieze, Sutherland often borrowed details from elsewhere in the donor’s family history or life story: much of this is not recorded on paper and awaits study by a heraldic expert.

In the Thistle Chapel, each coat of arms brought out the knight’s membership of the Order: even when the knight was not himself present, his emblem was. The Stowe heraldry similarly makes present the school’s wider community of supporters.

The Openwork Panels on the Stall Fronts

These panels show animals tending their young, relaxing, hunting, and fighting. There are no men, apart from a huntsman and his dog: on the other hand monkeys gorge themselves on acorns or berries, or play tricks on each other. Gryphons and basilisks bite through fruiting creepers. Some of the panels seem deliberately whimsical: a monkey talks to a frog, fish laugh at a pelican caught in a net, and a tortoise distracts a squirrel. Two passion flowers, which symbolise the suffering of Christ and so are particularly appropriate for memorials, mark the stalls commemorating Stuart Reid.²⁰⁴

Heatley, writing about St Margaret’s, Knightswood, said of ‘the many different flowers and fruits, fir-cones, berries, and other types of seed-vessels, symbols of beauty, fruitfulness and fertility’ that they ‘remind us of the bounty of God, in the work of nature and in the work of grace.’²⁰⁵ ‘In all periods of Christian art,’ write Audsley and Audsley, ‘the Dragon has been adopted as the symbol of the Evil Spirit.’²⁰⁶ The lowest register of stall carvings, the stall fronts, may therefore be intended to portray the bounty of God; the basilisks and gryphons

may symbolise the demonic; and in the absence of men the monkeys may symbolise Man in a state of innocence.

The Openwork Panels in the Side Arches and the Openwork Friezes above the Stalls

The infilling of the side arches contains angels and evangelists, but is also full of grotesques, leering and grimacing faces, and monkeys. In the friezes, we still encounter angels, but we also meet animals in combat: an eagle attacks a sheep, a dog attacks a cat, and a snake attacks a monkey and its young.

Nieuwbarn comments 'As a rule we see carnivorous animals being used as emblems or symbols of the powers hostile to the Christians; whilst inoffensive animals represent the Christian multitude, that suffers the attack.'²⁰⁷ The monkeys may recall a capital on the Scottish National War Memorial representing the Vice of Self-Indulgence, showing an antelope eating leaves while being stalked by two leopards, on which Jackson commented, 'The antelope is so taken with the pleasures of this world and self-enjoyment that he omits to observe the enemies ready to devour him.'²⁰⁸

In these carvings, Lorimer and Ramsay may have intended us to look through the natural outer surface of life and observe Man's inner spiritual combat: the carnivorous animals and the leering faces are his enemy, the angels and their music his allies and his heavenly goal.

Linked Symbolism in the Stalls

Some carvings seem linked by a common theme. On stalls 1-4, the lion and stag in the openwork carving in front of the two Queen's stalls match the supporters of the royal arms. At a deeper level, the lion may symbolise Christ, the stag 'the soul's ardent desire for Holy Communion,' and the swan and cygnets parental love.²⁰⁹

Stalls 17-20 are strongly musical. The openwork panel in the front of stall 20 depicts one monkey playing a pipe and another singing from a song book; the infilling in the side arches depicts angels playing instruments; while the frieze above contains an angel playing an instrument and two still-life assemblages of musical instruments.

Stalls 21-24 have a pelican in its piety at the centre of the frieze. Immediately below, in the stall front, two fish laugh at a pelican trapped in a net. At either end of the stall front a basilisk tries to

bite through a fruiting creeper, while the infilling of each side arch contains three monstrous faces. It may be that these carvings are intended to be read on two levels, and that at a deeper level the pelicans symbolise Christ, in one case being mocked by the soldiers, and that the basilisks and the monstrous faces symbolise the Devil.

Stalls 25-28 and 29-32 feature the symbols of the evangelists in the infillings of their side arches. The review of the Chapel in *Country Life* refers to 'the thirty two stalls' (i.e. eight sets of four)²¹⁰ and it is possible that when these carvings were planned it was thought that these would be the final sets of stalls. If this was the case, the insertion of symbols of the evangelists, effectively forming the boundary to the stalled section of the nave, would be a typical Lorimer touch.

The Pendant Angels of the Screens

The angels are represented only by wings, heads, and upper body. According to Clara Clement, 'Wings are the distinctive angelic symbol, and are emblematic of spirit, power, and swiftness ... the head is an emblem of the soul, the love, the knowledge ...' Child faces were adopted for angels, according to Anna Jameson, 'to express innocence in addition to love and intelligence,'²¹¹ something sensed by *The Glasgow Herald*, which described Lorimer's child-angels at Dunblane Cathedral as 'innocent beings perhaps kneeling close-winged in prayer or adoration,'²¹² and the angels' mouths are open in song.

The Benedicite Angels

Lorimer's *Benedicite* angels all rest on the firmament and so represent heaven as extending across our heads. Lorimer has therefore given an interesting development to the *Benedicite*, the verses of which describe creation as praising God here on earth. By putting Creation on discs held by angels in heaven, he has merged the *Benedicite* with the passage in Revelation where Creation, as part of the heavenly host, sings, *Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb ...*²¹³

The mouths of the priests, the men, the beasts, even the fishes, are all open in song. Lorimer even chose to represent wells, which are silent by nature, by fountains which tinkle or patter. He may here be giving us as much an auditory as a visual experience, an echo of the great heavenly symphony.

There is an upward dynamic to the symbolism in the nave: starting with the natural world in the lower register of the stall carvings, we move upwards through spiritual combat, and our ascent finally takes us through the firmament to a ‘visible manifestation’²¹⁴ of the heavenly liturgy.

The Chancel and Apse

Lorimer, in line with normal ecclesiological practice, separated the chancel and apse from the nave by details such as a screen, steps, a change to marble flooring, and more elaborate coffering in the roof. Nieuwbarn had noted that the sanctuary, *i.e.* at Stowe, the chancel and the apse, recalls the ‘Triumphant Heaven, where Christ is seated on His throne ... and is surrounded and adored by His heavenly court ...’²¹⁵

As elsewhere in the Chapel, the book which throws most light on these details is Revelation, which describes the worship to be found in heaven. At St Margaret’s, Knightswood, the link with Revelation was made explicit by a carving of the Lamb and the Book with the Seven Seals.

The Chancel Screen

The four beasts mounted on the screen warn us that we are drawing nearer to the heavenly Throne, represented by the Communion Table. In Lorimer’s original design, the screen had sixteen bunches of grapes: this was changed to twelve, doubtless to link the twelve bunches to the twelve apostles. Nieuwbarn noted that a vine with twelve grapes was a symbol of Christ and the twelve apostles.²¹⁶

The Flooring and Steps

The patterning of Cipollino suggests water: at St Peter’s, Lorimer had inlaid marble fishes into the Cipollino,²¹⁷ while Lethaby had suggested that the ‘ultimate conception’ behind floors of Cipollino was the *sea of glass like unto crystal* before the heavenly Throne.²¹⁸ The floor therefore encourages us to identify the Communion Table with the Throne described in Revelation.²¹⁹

The floor rises in a series of steps: these steps, according to Nieuwbarn, represent ‘the mountain of suffering, where Christ, the High Priest of the New Law, offered Himself in Bloody Sacrifice,’ while the final three steps leading up to the Communion Table underline the connection with the Blessed Trinity.²²⁰

The Chancel Arch Keystone

The angel on the chancel arch keystone is bare-footed and bears a flaming heart. The flaming heart, according to Lorimer, represents ‘Enthusiasm,’²²¹ though other examples are explained as ‘Courage,’ as ‘great zeal, constancy,’ as ‘typical of Love, Courage, and Sacrifice,’ or as ‘a powerful symbol of the love of Jesus which burns for every human being.’²²² The angel encourages us to think of Christian courage and enthusiasm, if not that of Christ himself.

The Communion Table

Lorimer’s proposed stone Communion Table with an Agnus Dei would doubtless have symbolised the sacrifice of Christ with greater clarity. Lorimer had recently installed a similar, though more elaborate, stone Table at Paisley Abbey, on which the Agnus Dei symbolised ‘the crucified but now risen and triumphant Lord;’ the pelican, self-sacrifice; the peacock, immortality; and the sheaf of wheat and the vine, ‘the sacred body and blood of Christ.’²²³ The connection with the Agnus Dei was taken further by Nieuwbarn, who said that the Table represents, ‘in the language of the Apocalypse, *the throne of the Lamb*.’²²⁴

Warrington, in insisting on a moveable and wooden Communion Table, may have been more concerned with the issue as a marker, separating off catholic practice and belief, than as a symbol of the table used at the Last Supper: Lorimer’s design has a monumental air, could as easily have been executed in stone as in wood, and is far removed from a simple domestic table.

The Apse Window

The Agnus Dei design, which may have been Lorimer’s first proposal, would also have brought out clearly the symbolism in his mind. The design of a descending dove was, however, unexceptionable. A similar design at St John’s Kirk, Perth, symbolised ‘returning peace’ and ‘the Holy Spirit as it descended on Christ at His Baptism.’²²⁵ The Stowe window is more complicated: its twelve stars recall the crown of the *woman clothed with the sun*,²²⁶ and the seven circles the orbits of the seven traditional planets. A circular window moreover ‘symbolises the infinite perfection of the Almighty, or the intimate communion of the soul with God and with the company of the saints in heaven.’²²⁷

The Painting

The Supper at Emmaus adds a new layer to the symbolism of the chancel and apse. The positioning of the disciples opposite Christ, rather than either side of him; the use of a brass chalice, placed almost centrally, for a cup; and the way in which the carefully ironed and folded table cloth recalls an altar frontal; all hint that the supper at Emmaus was the first post-Resurrection celebration of Holy Communion.

The Symbolic Landscape of Stowe

In the 1920s attention had yet to focus on the symbolism of the temples and other features of the Stowe estate.²²⁸ Nevertheless, the Chapel has added a new layer to that symbolism, a layer sometimes coinciding with it, and sometimes correcting it.

Lord Cobham and his successors drew their inspiration from ancient Greece and Rome, from Palmyra, from ancient Egypt, from a dimly-understood Saxon England, and from Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster. The Chapel's basilican format recalls early Christian Rome; the Cipollino floor recalls St Mark's, Venice, and Hagia Sophia; the symbols of the evangelists are part of a tradition exemplified by the tympanum of the west door of Chartres Cathedral; the pilasters dedicated to the apostles are part of a tradition exemplified by Louis IX's *Sainte Chapelle*; and the stalls recall seventeenth-century Cambridge.

The national pride of Lord Cobham and his successors is reflected in the statues of King George I and Queen Caroline, in the monuments to General Wolfe and Captain Thomas Temple and in the Temple of Concord and Victory. The Chapel, with its respect for the Queen's stall, and the proliferation of roses, thistles, oak leaves, and acorns, evinces its own pride in the two kingdoms that were united in 1706–7; but at the same time honours a higher loyalty by commemorating the eleven apostles who suffered martyrdom.

Lord Cobham's temples of Ancient and British Worthies praise manliness, prudence, moderation, and an honest seeking after glory. Had Jackson's symbols of the virtues survived, the two different visions of virtue would have made an interesting comparison. Jackson's Wisdom is Prudence, and Jackson's Truth would have sat well with Cobham's admiration for Newton and Bacon. However, Jackson's choice of purity to stand for temperance is at variance with Cobham's Temple of Venus, with its

risqué paintings by Sleter. Jackson's Faith, Hope and Charity find fewer echoes: love and faith only appear in the epitaph of Cobham's greyhound. The chiselling-off of Jackson's symbols has muted the contrasts, but the Chapel's teaching on character is still there to be read in the symbolic language of plants and animals.

Cobham's religious symbolism suggests a mix of deism and paganism: he arranged that the parish church, arguably the first symbolic building on the estate, should be 'planted round with trees and shrubbery to conceal it from view.' In quoting Vergil, he excised his reference to the priests and prophets in Elysium.²²⁹ His description of Socrates as 'worshipper of the one god' sounds like thinly-veiled criticism of the doctrine of the Trinity. Jupiter entrusts command to Lord Cobham inside the Mansion; Mercury guides the dead to the Elysian Fields; and temples are dedicated to Venus and Bacchus, though there is no evidence that the women of Stowe ever participated in true Bacchic frenzies. The Chapel, by contrast, highlights the doctrine of the Trinity; the risen Christ is seen above the communion table, and the hosts of heaven are seen above our heads. Lorimer too honoured poetry, in the form of the *Benedicite*, but did not exclude the priests. Michael replaces Mercury, and a temple dedicated to *sobria ebrietas* or sober inebriation, decorated with vine leaves and grapes, has replaced the temple of Bacchus.²³⁰

CONCLUSION

Among Lorimer's churches, Stowe Chapel vies with St Peter's and with St Andrew's, Aldershot, in dignity and grandeur; its re-used columns and panelling give it a greater magnificence and a more classical ambience; and it has so far retained virtually all its original furnishings. St Peter's holds a more varied collection of individual artistic creations: Stowe stands out for the extent of its iconographical programme, and as Lorimer's largest commission outside Scotland. Stowe is the most technologically innovative of the three.

Robert Weir Schultz's Chapel of St Andrew and the Scottish Saints in Westminster Cathedral has rightly been described as 'a product of the Scottish Arts and Crafts Movement.'²³¹ Stowe Chapel is a much more substantial building than that Chapel, it gives ample evidence of Lorimer's Scottish sensibility, and its furnishings and ornamentation are

almost entirely the product of leading Edinburgh craftsmen. Designed to fit a particular English setting, it is a unique marriage of the Scottish Arts and Crafts Movement and an English context.

Lorimer, however, had no time for labels and had written,

‘Like all people who take their art seriously I dislike these labels ‘Gothic’, ‘Scotch Renaissance’ – they smack too much of the tradesman with his stock pattern ‘period’ decoration, and people think that ‘style’ is a veneer – a thing that is pulled over a building like a shirt ... you have got to ask yourself what the purpose of the building is and how that purpose can best be expressed ... the interior and the exterior must be expressive of that idea, and the qualities that ought to govern the design are dignity, rhythm, light and shade, mystery, an appropriate use of materials, in fact all the qualities of great building.’²³²

The Chapel certainly lives up to that ideal, and even with the stalls it remains airy and spacious, a building that causes those who enter it to catch their breath, and that almost looks larger from the inside than from the outside; but it is also is a representation in stone and wood of heaven above and the earth beneath, and of the Christian life, from its natural basis among everyday plants and animals to its culmination in the great heavenly concert before the throne of the Lamb. Despite all the compromises, it surely meets Lorimer’s definition of ‘great building.’

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Where no source is specified, photographs are by the author. Where necessary, photographs have been digitally adjusted to minimise the effects of perspective.

Visiting: The Chapel is open to the public on a number of days throughout the year. Please check the Stowe House website www.stowehouse.org or email shptinfo@stowe.co.uk

NOTES

1. Chapel Committee Report, 6 August 1926 (CRC Gen 1963/3/164).
2. *Information for Architects*, March 1926 (CRC Gen 1963/3/112).
3. *The Times*, 10 June 1927.
4. Roxburgh to Lorimer, 6 March 1926 (CRC Gen 1963/3/111).
5. CRC Gen 1963/4/222; CRC Gen 1963/3/164.
6. CRC Gen 1963/4/222; CRC Gen 1963/3/164; Warrington to Roxburgh, 28 July 1926 (SSA/PEW).
7. HES LOR XSD 40/12/1-4; RIBA PA883/6. The quotations in this and the following paragraphs are from Lorimer’s explanatory memorandum (CRC Gen 1963/4/222).

8. Quoted in Duncan MacMillan, *Scotland's Shrine: The Scottish National War Memorial* (Farnham, 2014), p. 23.
9. The school has always used the phrase 'communion table' rather than 'altar table.'
10. Represented by LOR XSD/40/12/1-4.
11. Jerusha Hull McCormack, *John Gray: Poet, Dandy & Priest* (Hanover NH, 1991), pp. 203 & 290 (note 42).
12. Hadelin de Moreau, *Dom Hildebrand de Hemptinne: Abbé de Maredsous, Premier Primat de l'Ordre Bénédictin (1849–1913)* (Paris, 1930), pp. 135–6. The Vatican architect, Francesco Verpignani, was called in to supervise the execution.
13. CRC Gen 1963/3/164; Lorimer to Roxburgh, 29 May 1928 (SSA/HMA009). Lorimer is perhaps quoting from a letter from Roxburgh.
14. The quotations in this paragraph are from CRC Gen 1963/3/114. For the design see RIBA PA883/6, HES LOR XSD/40/35/1-2, and *The Stoic*, ii No. 5 (April 1927).
15. HES LOR XSD/40/15/02, 26 November 1926.
16. Lorimer to Roxburgh, 5 March 1928 (SSA/HMA009).
17. Lorimer to Roxburgh, 20 July 1928 (SSA/HMA009); HES LOR XSD/40/1/4, 27 April 1927.
18. CRC Gen 1963/3/167; *The Stoic*, iii No. 3 (July 1928), p. 134; and Noel Annan, *Roxburgh of Stowe: The Life of J F Roxburgh and his Influence in the Public Schools* (1965), p. 137.
19. Lorimer to Roxburgh, 5 March 1928 (SSA/HMA009).
20. CRC Gen 1963/3/109.
21. 20 July 1929, p. 76 (reprinted in *The Stoic*, iii No. 6 (July 1929), p. 245).
22. Christina M Anderson, 'Robert Lorimer and Scott Morton and Company,' in *Regional Furniture*, XIX 2005, pp. 43–68.
23. Lorimer to Roxburgh, 19 September 1928, Roxburgh to Lorimer 21 September 1928, Lorimer to Roxburgh, 30 October 1928 (SSA/HMA009); HES LOR XSD/40/2/10; Roxburgh to Warrington, 9 February 1929 (SSA/PEW).
24. For Jackson, see Duncan MacMillan, pp. 67–71.
25. For Bone and Sutherland, see Duncan MacMillan, pp. 74–5; Elizabeth Cumming, *Phyllis M Bone: Animal Sculptor* (Edinburgh, 2018); and for Sutherland, Shetland Archives, D1/500/17.
26. Sutherland to Lorimer, 22 June 1928 (CRC Gen 1963/4/232). I am grateful to Max Markus of the Lyon Office for his help.
27. Ernest Geldart, *A Manual of Church Decoration and Symbolism* (1899), pll. XXXVIII–XLI, pp. 179–81.
28. *The Times*, 11 July 1927.
29. Lorimer to Roxburgh, 1 December 1927 (SSA/HMA009).
30. Roxburgh to Lorimer, 5 & 8 December 1927 (SSA/HMA009).
31. CRC Gen 1963/4/225, 31 August 1928.
32. Roxburgh to Lorimer, 10 June 1928 (SSA/HMA009).
33. Roxburgh to Lorimer, 15 June 1928 (SSA/HMA009).
34. Roxburgh to Warrington, 6 July 1928 (SSA/PEW).
35. Lorimer to Jackson, 13 April 1928 (NLS 7445/8).
36. Roxburgh to Lorimer, 2 April 1928, Lorimer to Roxburgh, 12 April (SSA/HMA009).
37. Bone to Lorimer, 28 March 1928 (CRC Gen 1963/4/226).
38. Roxburgh to Warrington, 28 February 1928 (SSA/PEW).
39. *The Rosslyn Hoax? Viewing Rosslyn Chapel from a New Perspective*, by Robert L D Cooper (Hersham, 2006), pp. 146–7, 186.
40. Warrington to Roxburgh, 29 February 1928 (SSA/PEW); Roxburgh to Lorimer, 1 March 1928 (SSA/HMA009).
41. Redpath Brown to Lorimer, 11 & 27 June 1928 (CRC Gen 1963/4/174 & 155).
42. *The Builder*, 2 August 1929, p. 178; *The Stoic*, iii No 6 (July 1929), p. 246.
43. Duncan MacMillan, p. 76.
44. *The Builder*, 2 August 1929, p. 178; Paper headed 'Own time 22 hrs' (NLS Acc. 7445/10/246).
45. Roxburgh to Lorimer, 16 April 1928 (SSA/HMA009).
46. Apse is the term used by Lorimer and his contractors for the sanctuary. For Lorimer's floor design, see HES LOR XSD/40/14/3.
47. Patrick Rogers, *The Beauty of Stone: The Westminster Cathedral Marbles* (Westminster, 2008), pp. 38–40 & 110 (Cipollino), 90, 92, 94–6 (Swedish Green); Finbar Barry Flood, 'God's Wonder': Marble as Medium and the

- Natural Image in Mosques and Modernism,' in *West 86th*, 23 No 2 (2016), pp. 168–219.
48. Duncan MacMillan, p. 77–8. See also Elizabeth F Wright 'Thomas Hadden: Architectural Metalworker', in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 121 (1991), pp. 427–35.
 49. Elizabeth Cumming, p. 32.
 50. HES LOR XSD/40/35/3; CRC Gen 1963/4/227; CRC Gen 1963/4/229.
 51. CRC Gen 1963/4/229.
 52. See Lindsay MacBeth, 'Diana and the Door Handle: Metalwork by the Bromsgrove Guild', in *Antique Collecting*, 28 4, September 1993, Fig. 9, p. 29. I am grateful to Louise Boreham for drawing my attention to this article.
 53. *The Scotsman*, 11 June 1927.
 54. Antonia Laurence-Allen draws my attention to a similar dish at Kellie Castle in brass.
 55. Tynecastle to Lorimer, 10 January 1929, Scott Morton to Lorimer, 11 April 1930 (CRC Gen 1963/4/107, 219).
 56. In this and subsequent entries dates are taken from www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk; details of enrolment at Edinburgh College of Art and its predecessor have been generously provided by Aline Brodin of the Centre for Research Collections. For Scott Morton, see Malcolm Cant, *Edinburgh: Gorgie and Dalry* (Edinburgh, 1995), pp. 124–9; for William Stewart Morton, see W Scott Morton, *William Stewart Morton 1868–1933* (Edinburgh 1943), and for his distinctive management style *The Scotsman*, 18 April 1930. For Ramsay, see HES SMO S/20/1 (sketchbook); Matthew to Roxburgh, 18 November 1948 (SSA/War Memorial); Peter Savage, *Lorimer and the Edinburgh Craft Designers* (1980), p. 82. For Young, see W Scott Morton, pp. 59–61; Malcolm Cant, p. 127; *The People's Journal*, 20 July 1946. For Weir, see http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=206950 (viewed 18 December 2018).
 57. For the School of Applied Arts and the College of Art, see Scott J. Lawrie, *The Edinburgh College of Art (1904–1969): A Study in Institutional History*, MPhil thesis submitted to Edinburgh College of Art (Heriot Watt University) 1996, pp. 17–29; for attendance at College of Art courses by Scott Morton apprentices in the 1930s, see Malcolm Cant, p. 127.
 58. Duncan MacMillan, pp. 72–3. See also Phyllida Shaw, *An Artist's War: The Art and Letters of Morris and Alice Meredith Williams* (Stroud, 2017).
 59. Lorimer to Meredith Williams, 18 December 1929 (private collection); Messrs Clow to Lorimer, 10 December 1928 (CRC Gen 1963/4/230); Invoice from Scott Morton, item 5143 (CRC Gen 1963/4/219).
 60. HES LOR XSD/40/1/4, 27 April 1927; Lorimer to Roxburgh, 20 July 1928 (SSA/HMA009). For North Berwick, see Phyllida Shaw, p. 255.
 61. Roxburgh to Lorimer, 8 December 1928 (SSA/HMA009).
 62. Robin Blair and others, *The Thistle Chapel Within St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 2009), p. 51; 'Treatment of oak for the Thistle Chapel' (CRC Gen 1963/3/53).
 63. A R Howell, *Paisley Abbey: its History, Architecture, and Art* (Paisley, 1929), p. 94.
 64. Lorimer to Roxburgh, 30 October 1928 (SSA/HMA009); Roxburgh to Warrington, 5 December 1928 (SSA/PEW).
 65. Scott Morton to Lorimer, 11 April 1930 (CRC Gen 1963/4/219).
 66. Scott Morton invoice, item 4007 (CRC Gen 1963/4/219).
 67. HES LOR XSD/40/2/11, 3 May 1929; HES LOR XSD/40/17/1.
 68. Memo by Lorimer, 6 May 1929 (CRC Gen 1963/4/293).
 69. CRC Gen 1963/4/269; Jackson to Lorimer, 8 October 1929 (NLS 7445/11/288); CRC Gen 1963/4/220.
 70. Lorimer to Roxburgh, 12 April 1928 (SSA/HMA009).
 71. Jackson to Lorimer, 5 June 1929 (NLS Acc 7445/34/E); Lorimer to Jackson, 10 June 1929 (NLS Acc. 7445/11/288).
 72. Roxburgh to Warrington, 4 November 1930 (SSA/PEW); Governing Body Minutes, 20 February 1931 (SSA/HMA0084).
 73. Roxburgh to Warrington, 28 June 1929 (SSA/PEW).
 74. Roxburgh to Warrington, 2 August 1929 (SSA/PEW).
 75. Scott Morton to Matthew, 14 March 1930 (CRC Gen 1963/4/279).
 76. Roxburgh to Warrington, 14 August 1929 (SSA/PEW).
 77. Scott Morton to Lorimer, 10 August 1929 (CRC Gen 1963/4/275); Roxburgh to Warrington, 14

- August 1929 (SSA/PEW); Parnell's to Lorimer, 21 August 1929 (CRC Gen 1693/4/215).
78. Statement of Account from Scott Morton, 14 March 1930 (CRC Gen 1963/4/279).
 79. Invoice, July 1931 (CRC Gen 1963/4/308). Lorimer used the former fabric for his projected War Memorial at Eton College (Country Life Archive, Image No 731214); and the latter for a sofa made in 1907 (Lindsay Macbeth Shen, *A Comment on Tradition: Robert S Lorimer's Furniture Design* (Red Peroba Publishing, 1992), pl. 9).
 80. CRC Gen 1963/3/233.
 81. NLS Acc 7445/8/229.
 82. HES LOR XSD/40/15/5.
 83. Scott Morton to Roxburgh, 23 September 1929 (CRC Gen 1963/4/302).
 84. Lorimer to Ramsay, 31 May 1929 (HES SMO XSD 41/1/29).
 85. HES SMO S/20/16.
 86. HES SMO S/20/16.
 87. See Fig. 34. Lorimer's numbering of the stalls reflects the order in which they were commissioned.
 88. Roxburgh to Warrington, 2 August 1929 (SSA/PEW).
 89. CRC Gen 1963/4/285, 22 December 1930.
 90. Memo by Matthew, 21 August 1934 (CRC Gen 1963/3/152).
 91. Matthew to Roxburgh, 22 October 1945 (SSA/War Memorial).
 92. I am grateful to Louise Boreham for sharing her memories of Bob Young. For an account of him carving an angel, see W Scott Morton, p. 59.
 93. Scott Morton to Matthew, 11 August 1930 (CRC Gen 1963/4/283).
 94. Roxburgh to Warrington, 4 July 1929 (SSA/PEW).
 95. Scott Morton to Lorimer, 10 August 1929 (CRC Gen 1963/4/274); Parnell to Lorimer, 21 August 1929 (CRC Gen 1963/4/215); item 33 in an undated statement of account by Parnell's (CRC Gen 1963/4/220).
 96. For the design, see HES LOR XSD/40/32/5; Invoice, March 1930 (CRC Gen 1963/4/213); Roxburgh to Lorimer, 19 May 1927 (SSA/HMA009); *The Builder*, 2 August 1929, p. 178.
 97. Lorimer to Jackson, 22 June 1927 (NLS Acc. 7445/8/229).
 98. HES LOR XSD/40/1/5, 29 April 1927; Roxburgh to Lorimer, 22 July 1927 (SSA/HMA009).
 99. HES LOR XSD/40/19/4-9, 40/20/8, 40/20/14 & 40/25/11-12.
 100. CRC Gen 1963/4/213.
 101. David Jones 'Robert Lorimer's Use of Timber', in *Regional Furniture*, XIX 2005 p.77; W Scott Morton, pp. 46-7.
 102. Lorimer to Roxburgh, 19 June 1928 (SSA/HMA009). For Hendrie, see Rona H Moody '200 Scottish Stained Glass Artists', in *Journal of the Society of Master Glass Painters*, XXX 2006, p.176.
 103. HES LOR XSD/40/35/4 & XSD/40/34/6.
 104. Lorimer to Roxburgh, 19 June 1928 (SSA/HMA009); undated estimate (CRC Gen 1963/3/218).
 105. HES LOR XSD/40/19/4 & 6.
 106. See HES LOR XSD/40/19/6.
 107. Warrington to Roxburgh, 1 November 1928; Roxburgh to Warrington, 5 December 1928 (SSA/PEW).
 108. Roxburgh to Warrington, 3 November 1928 (SSA/PEW).
 109. I am grateful to Michael Bevington for identifying this painting.
 110. Roxburgh to Warrington, 16 March 1929 (SSA/PEW).
 111. Governing Body Minutes, 26 March 1929 (SSA/HMA0063).
 112. Meredith Williams to Lorimer, 16 September 1929 (CRC Gen 1963/3/107)
 113. Panoramic photograph at <http://www.360-foto.dk/carlbloch/> (visited 30 July 2018).
 114. Jane Geddes (ed.), *King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, 1500-2000* (Leeds, 2000), col. pl. XVI.
 115. Francis W Skeat, *Stained Glass Windows of St Albans Cathedral* (Chesham, 1977), pp.25-6 & Pl.6.
 116. See HES DP 030346. I am grateful to Phyllida Shaw for drawing my attention to this panel.
 117. CRC Gen 1963/4/222.
 118. Lorimer to Dods, 21 September 1900 (CRC MS 2484.5), quoted by Annette Carruthers, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland: A History* (New Haven & London, 2013), p. 178.
 119. Pennington to Lorimer, 23 April 1927 (CRC

- Gen 1963/4/247).
120. CRC Gen 1963/9/140 (Formakin); CRC Gen 1963/36/73-5 (Marchmont); CRC Gen 1963/16/132 (Morton Sundour).
 121. RIBA PA883/6.
 122. For later examples of reinforced concrete in Buckinghamshire, see Sir Nikolaus Pevsner and Elizabeth Williamson with Geoffrey K Brandwood, *The Buildings of England: Buckinghamshire*, 2nd ed. (1994), pp. 141, 332, 343, 647.
 123. Pennington to Lorimer, 23 April 1927 (CRC Gen 1963/3/247).
 124. Pennington to Lorimer, 20 August 1927 (CRC Gen 1963/4/31); Finance Committee Minutes 13 September 1927 (SSA/HMA0063).
 125. ROLLR DE4570/19.
 126. Report by *The Morton Partnership* of Drysdale Street, London N1 6ND, December 2015.
 127. CRC Gen 1963/4/224.
 128. Jackson to Lorimer, 18 June 1927 (NLS Acc. 7445/8/229).
 129. CRC Gen 1963/4/92. See also Empire Stone to Lorimer, 15 November 1927 (CRC Gen 1963/4/18).
 130. CRC Gen 1963/4/225.
 131. Lorimer to Roxburgh, 12 March 1928 (SSA/HMA009).
 132. NLS Acc. 7445/8/229 (Foundation Stone); 7445/8/230 (Pilasters & Capitals); 7445/10/238 (Exterior Angels); 7445/10/244 (Pediment); 7445/10/246 (Chancel Keystone & Angel Roundels); 7445/8/249 (Symbols of the Evangelists); 7445/10/250 (Wreaths & Shields; Symbols of the Evangelists; Rain Water Heads). The timesheets record work week by week, and to avoid constant repetition of the phrase ‘the week beginning ...’ it is assumed that work on any project began on the Monday of the week concerned and finished on the Saturday. Additional identifying information comes from Jackson’s Wages Ledger (NLS Acc 7445/41/1), and I am again grateful to Aline Brodin for checking the enrolment registers of the School of Applied Art and the College of Art.
 133. Duncan MacMillan, p. 107 n. 8.
 134. http://www.glasgowsculpture.com/pg_biography.php?sub=marshall_j and https://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib1_1265470053&search=marshall (viewed 18 December 2018).
 135. ‘Walter F Field’, *Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851–1951*, University of Glasgow History of Art and HATII, online database 2011 [http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib6_1216127573] (viewed 18 December 2018).
 136. Colin S MacDonald, *A Dictionary of Canadian Artists*, ed. 5 (Ottawa 1997); Margaret E and Marilyn McKelvey, *Toronto Carved in Stone* (Toronto, 1984), p. 139; and National Gallery of Canada, artist file for Tom Bowie.
 137. For photographs of the model, see NLS Acc. 8542/32/24, 26–8, 53–4; 8542/33/12.
 138. Jackson to Grant, 14 July 1928 (NLS Acc. 7445/8/229).
 139. Lorimer to Jackson, 13 April 1928 (NLS Acc. 7445/8/229); Empire Stone to Lorimer, 16 April 1928 (CRC Gen 1963/4/38).
 140. For Parian cement, otherwise known as Keating’s Patent Cement, see Joseph Gwilt, *An Encyclopedia of Architecture, Historical, Theoretical & Practical*, new ed. by Wyatt Papworth (1888), pp. 543, 711; Stewart Stirling, *Early Concrete Buildings in Scotland*, DPhil thesis for Heriot-Watt University (2001), p. 46.
 141. Lorimer to Jackson, 13 April 1928 (NLS Acc. 7445/8/229).
 142. For photographs of the models, see NLS Acc. 8542/32/37-52, 8542/33/7-11.
 143. A supplementary time sheet may be missing.
 144. HES LOR/XSD/40/36/1-5; NLS Acc. 8542/32/32-5, 8542/33/2-5.
 145. Bone to Lorimer, 28 March 1928 (CRC Gen 1963/4/226).
 146. 5 May 1925.
 147. See Louise Irvine and Paul Atterbury, *Gilbert Bayes: Sculptor 1872–1953* (Shepton Beauchamp, 1998), pp. 136–7; and Judith Collins, ‘Henry Moore and Concrete: Cast, Carved, Coloured and Reinforced’, in *Henry Moore: Sculptural Process and Public Identity*, Tate Research Publication, 2015, <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/henry-moore/judith-collins-henry-moore-and-concrete-cast-carved-coloured-and-reinforced-r1172059> (viewed 25 October 2018).

148. *The Scotsman*, 28 October 1929; <http://sarrabezolles.org/tailed.htm> (viewed 29 October 2018).
149. ROLLR DE4570/22; Louise Irvine and Paul Atterbury, pp. 54, 67, 161, 185.
150. For Craighall Cast Stone, see *The Scotsman*, 15 October 1929; National Records of Scotland BT2/15117. The company was wound up in December 1932.
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155. Pennington to Lorimer, 10 September 1928 (CRC Gen 1963/4/50).
156. *The Builder*, 2 August 1929, p. 178; see also CRC Gen 1963/4/220 item 17.
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185. For the symbolism of unshod feet, see M Nieuwbarn, p. 80; Adolphe Didron, vol. I, p. 279.
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195. Robin Blair and others, p. 37. For lion gargoyles, see M Nieuwbarn, pp. 100, 146, 159–61.
196. For Alpha and Omega, see Revelation 1: 8, 21: 6, 22: 13.
197. John 10: 11.
198. M Nieuwbarn, p. 39; John 10: 9.
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