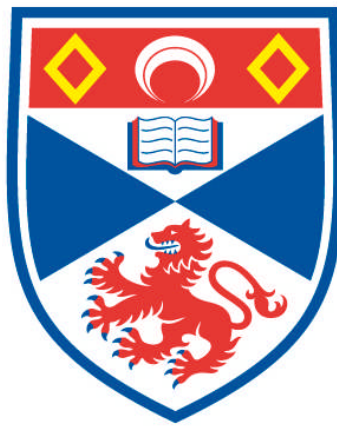


**ASPECTS OF IDENTITY IN THE WORK OF DOUGLAS
STRACHAN (1875-1950)**

Juliette MacDonald

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
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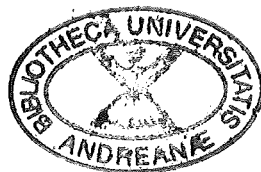
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**ASPECTS OF IDENTITY IN THE WORK
OF DOUGLAS STRACHAN (1875-1950)**

JULIETTE MacDONALD

Degree of: PhD




**Submission date:
September MMIII**

I, Juliette MacDonald, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 80,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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I was admitted as a research student in September, 1998 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in July 1999; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 1999 and 2003.

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Abstract

This thesis explores facets of Scottish identity via the decorative work of Douglas Strachan. Nations and nationalism remain extraordinarily potent phenomena in the contemporary world and this work seeks to examine aspects of Scottish nationhood and cultural identity through Strachan's evocation of history, folklore, religion and myth. It has been argued that these are the chief catalysts for enabling people to define and shape their understanding of themselves and their place within society.

Cultural identity is often understood as a passive form of nationalism which is remote from its political counterpart. Yet there are strong arguments to counter this belief. This thesis addresses some of the issues raised by such arguments and adopts an ethno-symbolic approach in order to re-evaluate Strachan's work, and that of his contemporaries.

The thesis also develops the theoretical and contextual debates concerning the decorative arts in general and stained glass in particular in order to raise awareness of its merits and its role within our society.

Chapter One

Introduction

The aim of this research is to consider the ways in which works produced by Douglas Strachan¹ reflect certain aspects of Scottish cultural identity at the end of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries. The starting point for this thesis was an argument put forward by the sociologist Anthony D Smith. He contends that nationalism is always part of the 'spirit of the age' and as such it acts at many levels. Smith argues that nationalism should be 'regarded as a form of culture as much as a species of political ideology and social movement. [because] It is impossible to grasp its impact on the formation of a national identity without exploring its social and cultural matrix ...'.²

Strachan has been chosen as the key exemplar for this thesis because his work offers clear evidence of particular paradigms of Scottish identity. He is best known today for his stained-glass windows. He also, however, produced illustrations and political cartoons for newspapers and books, paintings in oil and watercolour, and murals. The aesthetic quality of his stained-glass designs has been both praised and criticised. However, their most intriguing aspect is that, along with much of his work in other media, they frequently carry strong ideological messages. A contemporary of Harry Clarke (1889 -1931) in Ireland, Strachan complements the Celtic idiosyncrasies and sense of independence found in the Irishman's work, and in conjunction with Christopher Whall the three might be seen to form a trio of influential makers working in Britain and Ireland at the end of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth

centuries. The designs of all three craftsmen demonstrate particular facets of identity, and whilst Clarke and Whall's nationalism and/or vernacular expressions within their work have been discussed, most notably by Nicola Gordon Bowe and Peter Cormack respectively³, Strachan's has not. His oeuvre, therefore, deserves a similar treatment.

In addition to Smith's work, the late eighteenth century philosopher Johannes Gottfried Herder and the contemporary sociologist John Hutchinson have also informed my research and confirmed many of my ideas regarding the relationship of Strachan's work to aspects of cultural identity. Herder's theories of cultural nationalism influenced a number of significant nineteenth and twentieth century artists, poets and playwrights in Ireland and Scotland, many of whom were responsible for contributing to the Celtic revival. Herder believed that 'the glory of a country comes not from its political power but from the culture of its people and the contribution of its thinkers and educators to humanity.'⁴ His ideas provided a stimulus for many Irish and Scottish artists' endeavours to revive aspects of their traditional and cultural inheritance. Without doubt these artists' reinterpretation of past cultural achievements played a crucial role in emphasising the legacy of Celtic achievements and consolidating a strong sense of cultural identity amongst their compatriots.

For Herder, Smith and Hutchinson, cultural nationalism was just as vital to the formation of a nation's identity as political nationalism. Hutchinson is particularly clear on this point, arguing that whilst cultural nationalism is independent of political nationalism this does not render it devoid of a political

dynamic.⁵ The approaches of these writers to nationalism is particularly pertinent because their contention that 'nationalism is a *form of culture* - an ideology, a language, mythology, symbolism and consciousness [...]'⁶ allows us to consider forms of decorative art, such as murals and stained glass, as a major force for the establishment of identity. This way of thinking creates a space where their role can be considered in relation to the formation of national identity and nationalism. The language and symbolism of nationalism enables artists and makers to:

seek outlets in motifs, genres and forms different from the traditional and classical. [These forms] are characterized by a heightened expressive subjectivity that is well suited to the conceptual language and style of ethnic nationalism.⁷

My thesis, therefore, argues that the decorative arts can play a crucial role in the construction of cultural histories. Their forms reflect important aspects of collective memory, national symbols, ceremonies and myths and through a careful questioning of the iconography presented it is possible to analyse aspects of a given country's civic, cultural and religious identity. If the arguments of Smith, Herder and Hutchinson are taken to their logical conclusions, these constituents can ultimately be viewed as key elements in the formation of a national identity. As Smith notes:

By means of the ceremonies, customs and symbols every member of a community participates in the life, emotions and virtues of that community and, through them, re-dedicates him- or herself to its destiny. By articulating and making tangible the ideology of nationalism and the concepts of the nation ceremonial [sic] and symbolism help to assure the continuity of an abstract community of history and destiny.⁸

Although Strachan died in 1950 his work continues to be popular and images of his windows and murals are often used to promote a strong sense of Scottish

identity. The *Orpheus Crossing the Styx* mural panel from the Music Hall in Aberdeen was used to advertise the City's Youth Music Festival in 1999. The *St Margaret* stained-glass window from St Margaret's Chapel, Edinburgh appeared on the cover of one of Historic Scotland's tourist brochures, and Strachan's *William Wallace* window (also from St Margaret's Chapel), featured in its in 2001 television advertisements. The *Wallace* window is currently being used for promotional purposes by *Simply the Best in Scotland* which advertises Scotland's cultural attributes to overseas tourists, the brochure appearing in German, French, Italian, Spanish and Japanese (and English). The inclusion of Strachan's work in such publications is an eloquent demonstration of the continuing relevance of cultural heritage in general but they also emphasise the power of his images in particular to inspire a sense of Scottishness, not just to an early twentieth century audience but to a contemporary one as well.

As noted earlier, Strachan's work has not been discussed and analysed in a critical context. He left little documentation regarding his work and destroyed many of his cartoons (perhaps in order to save space within his studio). A small amount of material relating to Strachan's work has been collated by his son-in-law, the Reverend Arthur Colin Russell, and I have been most fortunate in securing the loan of these artefacts to the Special Collection Department in the Library of the University of St Andrews. Russell's collection included Strachan's Estimate Book, a scrapbook containing newspaper cuttings and a list of his work, compiled by his wife Elsie Isobel. It also held a small number of guidebooks relating to windows erected by Strachan. Unfortunately, many of the documents in this collection, particularly in the scrapbook, have no dates, headings, page

numbers or titles. So for ease of reference it has been necessary to group them under the heading 'Russell Collection'. A few letters from Strachan and descriptions of his windows have been located in archives and personal memorabilia.⁹ Wherever possible I have used direct quotes from Strachan as evidence of his attitude towards both the philosophical and aesthetic content of his work and included in the Appendix are three key works by Strachan which relate to art, design and stained glass.

Strachan was always at pains to disassociate himself from other artists and art movements and the lack of material relating directly to his artistic development has been problematic, particularly with regard to establishing a relationship with his forbears such as James Ballantine or Christopher Whall. To date no evidence has been found which clearly relates his progress to other designers and until more research is carried out on Aberdonian-based glazing companies such as Garvie and Son it is similarly difficult to chart Strachan's own early workshop practice. It is possible to discern visual references to a broad spectrum of key artists such as Michaelangelo, Raphael, George Frederick Watts, Edward Burne Jones, and Puvis de Chevannes in Strachan's work but the lacuna of explicit information prevents a clear charting of the formative influences in the evolution of Strachan's stained-glass imagery.

In 1972 Strachan's son-in-law, Colin Russell published a catalogue of Strachan's work and this has proved to be an invaluable text, although incomplete.¹⁰ The catalogue was collated from material found in the Estimate Book as well as from notes made in the scrapbook by Elsie Strachan. In order to provide a useful research tool and to offer a more complete picture of Strachan's *oeuvre*,

Russell's catalogue and my own supplementary details have been included at the end of this thesis. The lack of published material and, sadly, the destruction of some of his major works, has necessitated relatively lengthy passages of description in the thesis in order to provide as complete a picture as possible of the artefact before moving on to analyse the work. It should be noted that in order to achieve consistency Ecclesiastical, rather than geographical, directions have been used throughout the thesis to describe the situation of windows and murals.

My research has led to the emergence of previously undocumented work by Strachan. His large *Adoration of the Magi* mural scheme of 1903 for the Chapel of the Epiphany in Peplow, Shropshire, is a particularly exciting discovery. Some of his murals have been destroyed, or drastically altered so this complete scheme provides an insight into the overall effect of his larger murals. The aesthetic and conceptual implications of this work are discussed in Chapter 3. Whilst researching material for this thesis I have also been able to highlight aspects of the close working relationship between Strachan and his fellow Aberdonian, James Cromar Watt,¹¹ as well as discovering the whereabouts of cartoons, drawings, watercolours and oil paintings. Furthermore, this research has assisted in the recovery of five of the upper panels of the *Cruikshank Memorial window : the Faculties of Science* which are currently being restored and conserved at Marischal College in Aberdeen, and the 1912 *Garden of Gethsemane* window which was formerly in St Luke's and St John's Parish Kirk, Montrose.¹² The four main panels from this window are to be inserted in a cloister which is to be constructed at Lawson Memorial Kirk in Forfar.

The lack of published material and photographic evidence has, however, also necessitated the provision of personal photographic documentation of the murals and windows. Where possible I have attempted to provide images to accompany the description in the text. Since the majority of work analysed in this thesis is in the medium of stained glass, the images have been produced in digital format in addition to the traditional production of illustrations at the end of the text. This is because representations of stained glass are best seen in a transparent state rather than printed on a page. The digitised version thus offers the reader a viewing experience closer to that of the original medium. In addition, the digitised format affords the opportunity to view the works in greater detail.

The main body of this thesis has been divided into four sections which deal with personal, civic, cultural and religious identity. The chapters are also intended to contribute to the accumulative argument that through consideration of Strachan's mural and stained-glass designs it is possible to gain an insight into the early twentieth century Scottish *zeitgeist* in terms of the ongoing development and role of cultural identity. The chapters are structured so that each argument stands alone but there are, of course, cross-references between the texts.

Chapter 2 provides a context through which to begin to understand the social, economic and artistic environment in which Strachan trained and worked. It begins by considering the reception and development of the Gothic Revival in Scotland and it argues that Scotland did not adopt the English form of the Revival but rather adapted it to suit her own nationalist agenda. Having

established the context, it then moves on to offer a fresh interpretation of Strachan's training and his attitudes towards art and craft practice.

The third chapter argues that the public decorative work carried out by Strachan for his Aberdonian patrons functioned as symbols of the city's sense of self-worth and civic pride. It further argues that such civic pride is indeed a form of nationalism because, as Smith notes, 'at the broadest level nationalism must be seen as a form of historicist culture and civic education ...'.¹³

Chapter 4 presents a review of alternative approaches to nationalism before moving on to discuss Smith's promotion of ethnosymbolism as an appropriate tool with which to assess issues of cultural identity and its relationship to nationalism. Modernist theories of nationalism dismiss the evocation of myths, historical memory, symbols of ethnic heritage and traditions as romantic and without a political dynamic.¹⁴ Ethnosymbolism enables a re-visioning to take place because it sees the expression of such elements as playing a crucial role in the formation of a nationalist identity. The chapter critiques this ethnosymbolist approach by applying it to three forms of collective identity; universal, national and local.

The final chapter further develops the themes of the previous chapter. Whereas Chapter 4 deals with the overarching principles of cultural identity, this chapter focuses on the role of the Presbyterian Kirk in fostering a specific Scottish national identity. Strachan's work has been described as exhibiting a 'strongly marked Presbyterian significance'¹⁵ and the reasons for describing Strachan in

this manner are discussed. The chapter culminates with the contention that Strachan's designs clearly reflected the Kirk's own nationalistic aspirations and its doctrinal beliefs.

This thesis establishes a clear relationship between Strachan's decorative work and the way in which it reflects contemporary notions of identity. It does not endeavour to offer a conclusive answer to the discussions concerning nationalism and identity nor does it detail Strachan's personal ideological beliefs. Rather, by an analysis of his work, it aims to affirm the role of decorative arts as a signifier of cultural identity and nationalism.

¹ Strachan's full name was Robert Douglas but he was known as Douglas, and his family pronounce their surname as Str-awn.

² Smith, A. D. *National Identity*, (London, 1991), p71

³ See Bowe, N. G. *The Life and Work of Harry Clarke* (Dublin, 1989) and Cormack, P. 'Recreating a Tradition: Christopher Whall and the Arts and Crafts Renaissance of English Stained Glass' in Gordon Bowe N. (ed.), *Art and the National Dream*, (Dublin, 1993), pp. 15-42

⁴ Herder, J. G. quoted in Hutchinson, J. *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*, (London, 1987), p124

⁵ Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*, p122

⁶ Smith, *National Identity*, p91-92

⁷ Smith, *National Identity*, p92-93

⁸ Smith, *National Identity*, p78

⁹ The Irvine Papers in the Special Collection at the University of St Andrews and correspondence with W O Hutchison, Director of Glasgow School of Art held in the Special Collection at the University of Glasgow were particularly fruitful.

¹⁰ Russell, A. C. *Stained Glass Windows of Douglas Strachan*, (Balgavies, 1972) new edition Balgavies, 2002

¹¹ See Rew, C. 'James Cromar Watt: Aberdeen Architect and Designer', *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, vol 5, (2000), p33

¹² I have used the term 'Kirk' when referring to Church of Scotland churches in order to easily distinguish them from other denominations

¹³ Smith, *National Identity*, p91

¹⁴ Gellner, E. *Thought and Change*, (London, 1964) and Nairn, T. *The Break-Up of Britain* (London, 1977)

¹⁵ Wilson, W. 'Dr Douglas Strachan, Artist in Stained Glass', *Life and Work* (March, 1951), p56

Chapter Two

Douglas Strachan: context, continuity and development

For the best part of his career Douglas Strachan worked largely in what might be termed 'the democratic crafts' of mural production and stained glass. Aimed at a wide range of public audiences, such work has a long history of didactic intentions, instructing a community on certain ways to think and how to view itself. Furthermore, as the American art historians Harriet F. Senie and Sally Webster note:

Art in the public domain is part of a complex matrix where personal ambitions as well as larger political and economic agendas often merge. On many levels and in many ways, these non-art factors influence and even determine the appearance, siting, and interpretation of public art.¹

It is important, therefore, to understand the context within which Strachan's murals and windows were made: his working practices, relevant personal circumstances and the artistic environment in which he studied and subsequently operated.

This chapter begins by focusing on the Scottish artistic climate of stained-glass production in the nineteenth century and the country's reception and development of the Gothic Revival. Crawford Priory in Fife provides a prime example of the Scottish aristocracy's use of Gothic in general, and stained glass in particular, as a fashionable decorative element. More importantly, the Priory also highlights the need for further research on the role of Catholic patrons in the stained-glass revival in England and Scotland. The chapter then moves on to consider the socio-economic climate of the country and this is

followed by an examination of Strachan's early career and personal background in his home town of Aberdeen. The relationship between his opinions and religious and political beliefs, including his family's connections with the Trades Union Movement, will be discussed in detail. The issues covering his training, the questions of where and how Strachan learnt the craft of stained-glass production will also be covered, as will his working relationship with his brother Alexander. Finally, Strachan's place within the development of what Willie Wilson termed a 'Modern Tradition'² of the medium will be evaluated. Together, this information will provide a backdrop for an interpretation of his work.

The importance of the Gothic Revival to the re-emergence of stained-glass within the British Isles in the nineteenth century is well-established.³ However, the profundity of its effects upon the medium in Scotland has not been considered so extensively. Sally Rush-Bambrough's recently completed PhD, *Glass Painting in Scotland 1830-1870* offers the most detailed consideration of the breadth of its influence upon Scottish stained glass.⁴ The stained-glass historian Martin Harrison suggests that the Scottish stained-glass revival took place a few years after it had taken root in England.⁵ However, once it had begun, Scotland witnessed a significant growth in terms of the establishment of stained-glass studios and the number of windows these studios produced.

It is worth focusing on the notion of Gothic within Scotland because it would seem reasonable to view it as an homogeneous ideal for both Scottish and English artists and intelligentsia. Yet that was patently not the case. Both countries had specific interests in promoting the concept of Gothic. In England,

it had a primary relationship with pious morality whereas in Scotland, the high church association with this sacred aspect was less acceptable. Scotland's approach to the concept was bound to notions of identity via Sir Walter Scott's promotion of a Caledonian Gothic. This form of nationalism has largely been interpreted as highly romantic, but recent reconsiderations have suggested that this notion should be reviewed and his work considered in terms of a promotion of cultural identity.⁶

The appeal of Gothic as a form of nationalism was not clear-cut in Scotland. This was largely because attitudes towards it had been purposely coloured throughout the centuries by members of the Scottish elite who were keen to establish an hierarchical dynasty independent of any association with England. For example, John of Fordun (c.1320-c1284), Walter Bower (c.1385-1449) and Hector Boece (c.1465-1536) all emphasised Scotland's links to much older cultures. They traced Scotland's heritage to Fergus MacFerguhard (c.330 BC), whom they claimed was descended from a Greek prince, Gathelus, and Scota, daughter of an Egyptian pharaoh. More importantly the English were strongly and negatively associated with all things Gothic in general:

For Fordun and his successors, the unchallenged golden age of Scottish 'freedom' had been the years of the MacMalcolm dynasty (1058-1286), an era followed by the 'dark ages' of wars with England. The invaders were portrayed as a Gothic barbarian horde, pillaging the nation's cultural treasures.⁷

In nineteenth-century Scotland, nationalism was a dominant constituent in architecture's 'battle of the styles' and, as a consequence, there were fierce disputes for and against the use of Gothic and Classical architecture. In the light of such deep-seated anti-Gothic sentiment in Scotland it is

understandable that the issue produced passionate outbursts. The argument is clearly highlighted in the following extract from one of Alexander 'Greek'

Thomson's diatribes against Augustus Pugin's ideas.

The Gothic Revivalists are fond of catching hold of people by their prejudices. They say theirs is the national style, and this assertion has come to be admitted almost generally. Yet nobody seems to understand exactly what it means. It certainly had not a national origin, and, although it was practised in this country for some centuries, and assumed national and local peculiarities, the same may be said for the Classic styles. But they tell us that it suits the national taste. Now this argument, if it be worth anything at all, can be admitted only after it has been proved that Gothic is the best style, otherwise it is no compliment to the nation. We are next told we should adopt it because it is the Christian style, and, strange to say, this most impudent assertion has also been accepted as sound doctrine even by earnest and intelligent Protestants; whereas it ought only to have force with those who believe that Christian truth attained its purest and most spiritual development at the period when this style of architecture constituted its corporeal frame ...⁸

Thomson was certainly right to question the motives behind the use of certain styles. Nineteenth-century Scotland lacked a visible heritage of Gothic constructions, but this absence was as much due to practicalities as ideological rhetoric. Medieval Scotland's aristocracy was not as wealthy as its English counterpart and could not afford to build as extensively. In addition, Scottish buildings from this period tended to be constructed from stone - ashlar for religious building and harled rubble for secular buildings. The use of this material resulted in heavier, more monumental buildings rather than the spiky, grid-like 'perpendicular' associated with the Gothic found in France and England. Even so, Thomson was perhaps stretching the point to deny Gothic any place in Scotland. Deep-seated ideological differences, as well as the nature of the country's architectural heritage may well have been at the root of the resistance to the Gothic ideal in certain Scottish quarters, but as Gavin Stamp points out, 'long before 1852 [the year of Pugin's death], Scotland had

developed a respectable and accomplished Gothic Revival of her own, albeit one different from south of the border and one which would go in different directions.⁹

Pugin's role in the Scottish Gothic Revival is worth further consideration. If one regards Pugin as one of the important motivators for the revival of the craft of stained-glass design in England, and if one accepts the thesis that Scotland tended to follow English trends, then it should follow that he had a similar influence on the rise of the discipline in Scotland and upon the country's rekindling of interest in the decorative arts as a whole. This notion is strengthened because of his well-documented links with Scotland. Certainly his friendship with the Scottish architect James Gillespie Graham¹⁰ (1766-1855), which began in 1829 when Pugin was just 17, was a crucial factor in his decision to become an architect. Indeed, Pugin visited Scotland on many occasions and assisted Gillespie Graham on several projects, such as the refurbishment of the west wing at Taymouth Castle.¹¹ Yet it has been argued that Pugin himself had little direct impact on Scotland and furthermore that the country's rise of interest in stained glass was largely independent of the English Gothic Revival.

In 1996 the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland's national conference set itself the task of examining Pugin's relationship with, and influence on, Scottish architecture in order to present a broader picture of the scope of his work.¹² Many of the views put forward at the conference are especially significant to this reconsideration of Scottish stained glass. Juliet Kinchin's examination of Pugin's influence on Scotland's decorative arts is most pertinent.¹³ Kinchin

puts forward three impediments preventing a smooth transfer of Pugin's ideas from England to Scotland. The first concern is one of religious differences. Whilst the high church in England was enjoying a successful revival, the Scottish Presbyterian church remained the arbiter of taste and moral values. Secondly, Kinchin raises the issue of a lack of home-grown and inspirational gothic heritage as mentioned above.¹⁴ However, according to Kinchin, the largest barrier preventing a widespread acceptance of Pugin's form of Gothic was the deep-seated enthusiasm for Sir Walter Scott's interpretation of the ideal, which was melodramatic and romantic rather than pious and moral. Thanks to Scott 'the Gothic tomb in Scotland was more likely to unleash a warlock or wizard than the remains of a saint.'¹⁵ Scott's role in re-establishing a strong sense of cultural identity will be discussed further but it is important to recognise at this point his broader function in providing the essential ingredients for a distinctly Scottish brand of the Gothic Revival.

Much of the income raised by Scott's literary work went towards the creation of his house and estate of Abbotsford, built between 1817 and 1823 on the River Tweed near Galashiels. Scott began his collaboration with William Stark (1770-1813) in 1811 and the original plan was for a house that was vernacular in spirit. However, Stark's death prevented the realisation of the 'whimsical, gay, old cabin that we had chalked out'¹⁶ and in its place William Atkinson (1773-1839) and Scott created 'an old-fashioned Scotch residence, full of rusty iron coats and jingling jackets [...] in the old-fashioned Scotch style which delighted in notch'd gable ends and all manner of bartizans.'¹⁷

As the description suggests, the interior of Abbotsford consisted of an eclectic mix of old architectural fragments, antique carvings and bric-a-brac. The new materials of the house itself were designed to look equally time worn and ancient. For example woodwork was painted in imitation of oak or cedar and stained glass was also used as an essential part of the 'ancient' architectural decoration. Abbotsford, however, was not the first Scottish house to have stained glass incorporated in its decorative scheme. One of the earliest premises to include a large stained-glass window in its design in Scotland was Crawford Priory near Cupar in Fife [Fig. 1].

Now in ruins, Crawford Priory was built in 1812 for Lady Mary Lindsay Crawford in 'Gothic ecclesiastical style' by James Gillespie. The Priory was erected as an extension to the small lodge which stood on the Crawford estate and, according to an early account of the house, the intention was for the new building to resemble the cathedral of Dunblane and, at the same time, to reflect Lady Crawford's 'ample fortune and noble descent...'.¹⁸ However, other architects had also been involved with the reconstruction of the Priory. On 8 October 1809 Lady Crawford wrote to Hugh Hamilton of Pinmore stating that she wished to commission David Hamilton (1768-1843) to draw up designs for the new house to replace the original hunting lodge, which she considered to have been 'raised under bad and awful auspices ...'.¹⁹ James Cleland (1770-1840) was also engaged to assist with the project. Hamilton's aim was to create a Gothic Hall but, unfortunately, the relationship between architect and patron deteriorated quickly. By March 1810 Lady Crawford was writing letters of complaint. She had not received notification of the cost of the new building

and she was anxious to know 'if her fortune will allow her to go through with the Gothic Hall according to Mr Hamilton's superb ideas'.²⁰ On 23 December 1810, Lady Crawford wrote to tell Hugh Hamilton:

Mr Hamilton having declined all farther trouble, Mr Gillespie who gave plans for many of the first buildings in Scotland now surveys this one. He has been here two days in approving what is done [and] has stopped the workmen till spring, but they continue to hew stone in booths to be ready for putting on...'.²¹

Gillespie recased the Lodge 'in the manner of [William] Atkinson's Rossie Priory, with Perpendicular windows, Norman doorway and an openwork parapet similar to that at his own Ross Priory'.²² Figure 2 gives an idea of the style and proportions of the house.

Lady Crawford's contribution to the construction of the lobby is clearly defined by Chambers:

At the western extremity of the Dining-Room there is a magnificent lobby, with an elaborate arched roof, supported by four massive fluted pillars. This is one of the finest parts of the whole house. It was designed by the noble Proprietress; and executed by Mr Gillespie, who admired Her Ladyship's original sketch so much, that he did not think it necessary to design any thing himself.²³

Obviously a high level of flattery is at play here, both in terms of Chambers' description itself and/or Gillespie's response to Lady Crawford's plan for the lobby. A degree of scepticism is, therefore, necessary. Whilst Lady Crawford perhaps had clear ideas of the way in which she wished to be perceived through her property, the style of the house certainly suggests Gillespie was in overall charge of this part of the project. A comparison with other examples of Gillespie's work, such as the Roman Catholic chapel, Clyde Street, Glasgow, which he executed in 1820 [Fig. 3], is indicative of his exuberant enunciation of Gothic features.

One thing is clear. Lady Crawford certainly did not spare any expense in creating an appropriate messenger of her status. According to the 1830s' description, the ceiling of the Grand Hall alone cost £1500. The account then goes on to describe the glass in the Hall which was inserted in 1812.²⁴

It [the Hall] is chiefly lighted by one vast arched window of stained glass, executed by Edington [sic], and pronounced by that artist to be the finest he ever did. It is impossible by words to convey an adequate idea of this splendid work of art, which is the largest of the kind in the kingdom, except that of Arundel Castle in Sussex, the seat of the Duke of Norfolk. The principal figure is one of St Ignatius, the well-known founder of the Jesuits, representing him reading the laws. On each side is the representation of the armorial bearings of Lady Mary Lindsay Craufurd, with the variations appropriate to Her Ladyship's two estates. In the centre, below, is the armorial coat borne by Her Ladyship's family before the union of Scotland and England. The rest of the window is filled with a profusion of *fleurs de lis* of the brightest colours. The window fronts towards the west; and when the level rays of the setting sun are transmitted through it, so as to stain the opposite wall with its rich and fairy-like colours, the effect is inconceivably fine.²⁵

This account raises more questions than answers. Why would Lady Crawford have chosen to decorate the hall with such an elaborate window? One possibility put forward by Rush-Bambrough is that Gillespie was aware of the lavish renovations at Taymouth Castle which commenced in 1809 and Edington's large window for the fourth Earl of Breadalbane, depicting his family's genealogy and their descent from the first ten Lords of Glenorchy.²⁶ This commission appears to have been carried out by Edington between 1813 and 1815.²⁷ She also notes that he was involved with the commissions (including glazing) for Lord Macdonald of Armadale Castle on the Isle of Skye (1814-22) and William Hay of Duns Castle, Berwickshire (1818) and suggests that Lady Crawford was following the trend.²⁸ However, since the glazing at Crawford Priory was carried out in 1812, it appears that Lady Crawford was setting, rather than following the trend. Lady Crawford clearly wished to

articulate her own nobility so it was essential that her property should be furnished with prestigious decorative details which were at the forefront of technical and aesthetic developments.

However, the choice of St Ignatius Loyola (a key figure in the Catholic Reformation) as the main subject of the glazing is extremely perplexing. Why did Lady Crawford have a Jesuit Saint depicted in such a public space? Rush-Bambrough suggests that Gillespie may have recommended the subject matter. He certainly appears to have been sympathetic towards the Catholic church but, whilst his wife and sister were Catholic, his own status is unconfirmed. It is thought he was Episcopalian, although 'he is recorded as going to "St Mary's Church" which was the Catholic Cathedral in Edinburgh.'²⁹ Rush-Bambrough notes that Gillespie commissioned a large portrait of the Saint from William Raphael Edington (1778-1834), the designer of Lady Crawford's window, for his own library in Albany Street, Edinburgh.³⁰ However, there is no date for this commission and so no way of knowing whether Gillespie's *Ignatius* was produced before or after Lady Crawford's. Even if the stained-glass was produced at his behest, it is still a strange choice given that the Crawford family had been staunchly Protestant in the past, and had even been the gaolers of Mary Queen of Scots. The ecclesiastical nature of the house itself and the fact that St Ignatius was a well-known convert to Catholicism raises the possibility that Lady Crawford had embraced the Catholic faith. Furthermore, Gillespie put it on record that he had 'been extensively employed by the Catholics, who have been sincere friends to me.'³¹ Such circumstantial evidence does not, by any means, confirm Lady Crawford's

religious beliefs, but it adds to the likelihood that she was a convert to Catholicism.

To include a figure in stained glass at all was unusual so early in the nineteenth century. As noted, the windows were supplied by Edington, a Birmingham-based designer. William Edington was the son of Francis (1737-1805), who produced a large number of enamel-painted windows, including the east window in St Asaph's Cathedral, Flintshire, North Wales, of 1800. William worked in partnership with his father who presumably taught him the techniques of painting and firing. William designed and executed the windows at Arundel Castle (mentioned in the description of the Hall). The main window contained fourteen large figures representing the Barons who signed Magna Carta in 1215 and it was commissioned as part of the celebrations to note the 600th anniversary of the document's creation. The Edingtons were among those early nineteenth-century artists who first began to recognise the fundamental properties of the medium of glass and William was referred to by his colleagues as 'the great reviver of modern glass painting.'³² That said, the barrister and stained-glass devotee, Charles Winston, was less enthusiastic about Edington's work and noted in his memoirs: 'that the dulness and want of power of enamel-coating must be obvious to anyone who had seen the painted windows in the Barons' Hall, Arundel Castle.'³³ Until further records of the glass at Crawford Priory are uncovered, it is difficult to comment about the aesthetic qualities of the work. Nonetheless, the fact that the Priory had such a large and early window is significant to the notion that wealthy Scottish patrons were instrumental in the development of the craft's revival.

The current Lord Crawford has two glass panels in his care which were removed from the Priory just after the last occupant moved to newer accommodation [Figs 4 and 5]. Both panels are set in an oak frame and form part of a larger sash window. One panel has 'top left east' inscribed in pencil along the frame. The leading is made from lead and not cast iron as was often the case with early nineteenth-century windows. The type of glass is antique which has been painted and fired. The windows were thought by Lord Crawford to be from the Great Hall, but they do not match the description given in 1830. Rather than a *fleur de lis* background the foliage consists of stylised leaves which encircle central panels of an ostrich holding a key and a white rose [Figs 6 and 7].

It is possible that these panels are emblematic sections of the Crawford family's coats of arms.³⁴ It is difficult to gauge the windows' exact date of execution, although their style and the materials used suggest mid-nineteenth century at the earliest. It would seem reasonable to presume that the two panels date from the early 1870s when additions were made to the house. The foliage in the background of these panels resembles the decorative cornices of the entrance porch [Fig. 8]: again, the 1830s description does not mention an entrance porch and the picture at the frontispiece does not show a porch [Fig. 2]. The stonework is much greyer than that of the rest of the house (see Fig. 2) so it is likely that this was one of the additions made either by William Little of Kirkcaldy in 1870 and 1872 or by Rudolph Fielding when he created a domestic chapel in 1871. At present, it is difficult to draw a watertight conclusion because the stonemason may have used the decorative

foliage in a window already *in situ* as his source of inspiration for the decorative cornice.

There is clearly a critical need for more research to be carried out on this much impoverished building.³⁵ Despite the lacuna of information, the Priory should be seen as an important indicator of early Scottish interest in stained glass. The large size of the window and the acknowledgement of the effects of its presence suggest that even in the early nineteenth century, stained glass was beginning to be viewed as a vital aspect of Scottish architectural vocabulary and that some members of the Scottish elite were just as interested in promoting Gothic ideals as their English counterparts.

Lady Crawford's decision to commission the Birmingham-based Edington was perhaps based on the reputation he gained through his work at Arundel Castle. Her choice, however, also raises the issue of a lack of an indigenous tradition. In the closing decades of the eighteenth and the first thirty years of the nineteenth century there were very few stained-glass craftsmen working either in Scotland or England. The Church of St John the Evangelist, Princes Street, Edinburgh, offers another example of the shortage. The church, designed by William Burn in Gothic perpendicular, was erected in 1818 and the Scottish artist Andrew Geddes was commissioned to design the east window. However, it was William Edington who was again called upon to execute the design in 1820.

By the 1840s, a rapid expansion of stained-glass companies had taken place in England and Scotland, many of which were in provincial towns. One of the

most notable Scottish firms was formed by the painter and decorator James Ballantine (1808-1877), who set up his decorative business in Edinburgh in 1828 and expanded to glass painting in 1839/40. Despite Ballantine's being a successful and prolific company there are few published sources about the studio or his work.³⁶ There is, however, an interesting overlap of Edington's and Ballantine's work in St John's, Princes Street. In 1856 the east end of the church was completely altered and Ballantine was asked to create five windows for the new apsidal structure. The central, most prominent windows are solely by Ballantine, but the first and fifth window in the series (which cannot be seen from the nave) include some of the original panels by Edington [Figs 9 and 10]. The areas are thickly painted and the leading is extremely minimal. Whether this was a cost-cutting exercise by the church or Ballantine is unclear, but the retention of the panels gives an important insight into the original decorative scheme at St John's and the style of glazing in the west window at Crawford Priory.

One of Ballantine's earliest ecclesiastical commissions came from the Chapel of St Anthony the Eremite at Murthly Castle in Perthshire. In 1846 Gillespie Graham and Pugin were employed by Sir John Stewart to extend Murthly Castle and to add a Romanesque chapel to the original pre-Reformation Chapel. This building has the claim of being one of only two Catholic projects executed by Pugin in Scotland. The fact that this was a Catholic chapel and the question of Lady Crawford's Catholic sympathies begins to suggest that there is a need for reconsideration of the role played by Catholic patrons in the re-emergence of stained glass in Scotland. Scottish Episcopalianism has been cited as responsible for the revival of stained glass.³⁷ Certainly, the Tractarian movement had a

profound effect upon Scottish Episcopalianism and inspired a zeal for new buildings complete with stained glass, but this took place in the 1840s and 1850s. Again, the problem facing any reconstruction of the use of stained glass by Catholic patrons is hampered by the lack of records and extant glass. As with domestic glass, windows for private chapels are not necessarily listed or recorded.

One wonders how much input Pugin had on the design of Ballantine's fenestration. It is perhaps mere coincidence that the year following his commission to glaze the Chapel at Murthly, Ballantine published a short work entitled *A Treatise on Painted Glass* in which he extolled the virtues of domestic stained glass and criticised other companies for their lack of innovation and indiscriminate copying of medieval glass. He does not name Pugin, but his ideas could be construed as an indirect attack on the architect. He begins his treatise by commenting on the employment of 'Native Artists' in the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament which he believes will further the advancement of British art. Since he had just obtained success in the national competition to provide stained glass for the newly built Palace of Westminster, it is perhaps of little surprise that Ballantine should begin this way. He then issues a call to arms suggesting that all who are connected with the 'decorative professions should endeavour to accelerate a movement so auspiciously begun, and by contributing the result of their practice and experience, assist in urging it in the right direction.'³⁸ He then acknowledges the fact that more time has been spent on commercial and martial activities to the detriment of the decorative arts which are still in their infancy. It is at this point that he begins to berate those who merely copy older styles:

Now, however, that so large a portion of the national intellect is directed to artistic pursuits, a manifestation of inventive power may shortly be expected, and this appears to be the proper time to develop those first or elementary principles, the knowledge of which alone can enable us to ascertain the value of all artistic invention. [...] it may not be out of place to advert to that blind veneration for the Antique, which does not distinguish between the faults and beauties of Ancient Art, but extends its admiration equally to both. As if in penance for former transgressions, the national taste has prostrated itself before the spirit of Antiquity, and is now offering it a homage at once abject and indiscriminating. This folly has been most injurious to several of the Decorative Arts, and to Glass Painting in particular, in which the good, bad, and indifferent have been all copied, and repeated with equal fidelity and zeal. Several Glass Painters have acquired an extensive and profitable reputation, simply by pandering to this vitiated taste, and by anticipating the effects of time in their imitations of antique glass.³⁹

Here we see yet another example which suggests that Scottish artists and architects were not against using Gothic imagery in their work but at the same time they were not merely willing to copy their English contemporaries' ideas.

This contention is further supported by Kinchin who notes:

Pugin is widely credited with recovering virtually single-handedly all sorts of subsidiary arts, from glass painting to brass and ironworking, embroidery, bookbinding and encaustic tiles. Apart from the fact that such claims place undue emphasis on the role of the individual in instigating such revivals, I am sceptical of this claim in relation to Scotland where a parallel momentum seems to have been developing.⁴⁰

Emerging evidence suggests that Scotland had a design culture of its own; a culture which was not only strong enough to withstand outside competition, but which may have provided an impetus for some aspects of the Gothic Revival in England itself. Scottish, or Caledonian, Gothic had much in common with its English counterpart, but to view it as merely aping trends and fashions begun in London would be misplaced. A more accurate account would be to see the Gothic Revival in Scotland in terms of a concurrent development of the ideas and attitudes being formed in England, with some overlap in places, but also with distinct areas of individuality and independence.

Socio-economic status of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen

In addition to the flourishing of ideas, Scottish economic success and industrial achievement was also crucial to the development of stained glass in the country. Scotland enjoyed a strong global position in terms of wealth and power and the country's early industrialisation had ensured it had a head start over many European rivals. As Devine notes: 'Scotland was truly a force to be reckoned with in the world economy and had achieved a position of manufacturing supremacy out of all proportion to the small size of her domestic population.'⁴¹

In many ways Edinburgh would have seemed the ideal place for the promotion of the stained-glass revival since it was the capital city and the financial, legal and ecclesiastical hub of the country. Edinburgh, however, was steeped in its own particular traditions: despite the increasing number of Gothic buildings appearing in the city the 'Athens of the North' was firmly associated with neo-classicism. More significantly, Edinburgh was home to the headquarters of the Church of Scotland. Although this denomination gradually began to relax its attitude towards the use of stained glass and other imagery within its churches, essentially it remained doctrinally cool towards the idea until the end of the nineteenth century. The following extract from J. R. Fleming's *A History of the Church in Scotland 1843-1874* gives an indication of the strength of prejudice against changes within the Kirk at the turn of the century:

Not a whisper was as yet raised in favour of a more catholic worship or a more elaborate ritual in the services of the Kirk. Any suggestion of the sort would at once have been tabooed as savouring of Romish innovation. [...] Only in the Episcopal Church (not to mention the Roman) could aesthetic desires find satisfaction, and this explains the tendency - rather

noticeable at this time - of persons, especially in the upper classes, who had been educated in England, to frequent the services of that Communion.⁴²

Whilst Edinburgh largely continued to think in terms of the continuity of tradition, Glasgow's inhabitants turned to contemporary developments in both Europe and America for inspiration in its art and industry.⁴³ Glasgow was not so strongly bound to the same notions of tradition and, to an extent, prided itself on its otherness to Edinburgh. This attitude percolated into many aspects of life within the city and offers an explanation of why Glasgow encouraged more exciting innovations within the stained-glass medium and why the real thrust of its revival took place here.

Glasgow also played a vital role in the expansion of industry and wealth and it witnessed the largest growth in terms of urban development:

An army of men and women flooded into the city from the farms and small towns of the Lowlands, the Highlands and Ireland to satisfy the enormous appetite of the great staple industries for both skilled and unskilled labour. In the 1830s there were already over a quarter of a million Glaswegians. By 1871, the total had reached half a million, and just before 1914 [...] the magical figure of 1 million inhabitants was attained.⁴⁴

By the mid-1850s the trade of decorating and glass staining was a common choice of apprenticeship in Glasgow, and all the principal Scottish towns. Some Scots began by learning the craft from local companies, then moved to London to further their training by joining larger firms before returning to Scotland to set up their own studios or to rejoin a former company. Daniel Cottier (1838-1891) is a good example of this. He began his apprenticeship with John Cairney and Co. in 1852 and in 1859, he moved to London and worked for Ward and Hughes before joining the newly formed Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co in 1861. He was employed by Morris for a

year before returning to Scotland to Field and Allan's studio in Leith. In 1865 Cottier transferred to Glasgow and opened his own studio. This peripatetic lifestyle was essential to the continued growth and cross-fertilisation of ideas. Direct contact with Morris enabled Cottier to gain first-hand experience of his ideas. Morris had succeeded in injecting a new vitality into the craft, particularly through his emphasis on the importance of retaining the essential characteristics of the Medieval idiom whilst developing a modern style. In addition, the company's long-term commitment to Powell and Son's 'antique' glass in the name of quality stimulated many studios in England and Scotland to incorporate it into their designs. Some adverse comments were directed at Morris and Co. In 1887 J. Aldam Heaton commented negatively in the Century Guild's publication *Hobby Horse* on the company's policy of passing on artists' designs to copyists for them to transfer the image to glass.⁴⁵ Historian Paul Thompson in his work on Morris and Co. comments that by the 1870s the Firm lacked signs of development.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, Morris and Co.'s vigorous productivity ensured an heightened awareness of the qualities of stained glass throughout Britain and Europe. Most significantly its work was an important source of inspiration to designers of the next generations, such as Christopher Whall and Henry Payne (1868-1939) in England and Cottier and Stephen Adam (1848 -1910) in Scotland. Adam later acknowledged both Morris and Cottier as inspirational figures for his work:

In design I have been greatly influenced by the works of Rossetti, Burne-Jones, William Morris and Puvis de Chavannes; and, if I may speak confidently of my work as a Colourist, in Colour I found my master in the late Daniel Cottier, the eminent glass painter.⁴⁷

Edinburgh and Glasgow generally receive the most attention from historians and critics regarding the revival of stained glass in this period. However, Aberdeen too had its own thriving community of commercial glass studios which would have provided Strachan with his early creative environment.⁴⁸ Certainly the city was not at the forefront of the stained-glass revival but nonetheless the companies produced a good standard of decorative design and one which was sufficient to nurture him in his early career.

Perhaps one reason that Aberdeen's stained-glass artists have received less attention is because it is geographically remote and overshadowed by the more eminent cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. It is, therefore, easy to assume that Aberdeen was inhabited by an isolated, culturally beleaguered and politically conservative community. However, the city had forged strong international trading connections: it exported stockings and linen to the Low Countries; Aberdeen Clippers created links with tea-producing countries such as India; and the local granite was exported worldwide. Aberdeen also enjoyed a long-established academic tradition. The first university was founded there in the fifteenth century and in 1860 King's College and Marischal College joined together to form the University of Aberdeen. The University fostered intellectual discourse and stimulated the development of erudite groups such as the Aberdeen Philosophical Society. In 1886 the cleric Dr James Cooper, architect William Kelly, and botanist James Cromar Watt began the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society which actively encouraged local enterprise in both art and design and attempted to promote good taste in church architecture and its allied arts. Public lectures and evening classes were also commonplace and a

diversity of disciplines were offered to citizens and students alike. Such courses were not necessarily aimed at the middle classes. Patrick Copland, for example, a lecturer at Marischal College, ran a course directed at 'those engaged in the mechanical professions'⁴⁹ in which he taught the principles of Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Electricity, Magnetism and Astronomy.

Aberdeen's prosperity enabled it to take an active part in the Gothic Revival and new buildings were erected throughout the city. Again these were frequently complete with extensive decorative schemes incorporating murals and stained glass. The Advocates' Hall is a good example of this. Designed in 1870 by James Matthews, the interior contains extensive stencilling throughout by Arthur Klein. Much of this was painted over in the 1950s, but some of the decoration based on Omar Khayyam's *Ruba'iyat* in the hall and library rooms, still remains.⁵⁰ The windows in the stairway were created by Daniel Cottier; Fig. 11 shows *Justice*, complete with sword and scales.

The fact that Cottier was commissioned to complete this window further highlights the extent to which patrons were aware of developments within the genre. In keeping with the general trend, Aberdeen had a growing number of glazing companies. James Garvie and Sons were established in 1867 as a large painting and decorating firm based in the city centre at 234-236 Union Street. In 1884 they expanded their business to include glass staining and by 1897- the city's *Trades Directory* lists 7 companies under the heading of 'Glass Stainers and Engravers.'⁵¹ Much research still remains to be carried out on these local companies but their presence in the directories suggests that artists and patrons in Aberdeen, despite its distance from Edinburgh and Glasgow,

were willing and able to participate in the development of the stained-glass revival.

Douglas Strachan: background, training and collaboration

Strachan's early relationship with stained glass is difficult to chart.

His first window is thought to have been the *St Mary and St John at the foot of the cross* window [Fig. 12] created in 1899 for the south transept of St Mary's Chapel in the Kirk of St Nicholas, Aberdeen.⁵² William Kelly had been heavily involved in the major restoration of the Chapel and the Minutes of the Town Council note a letter received from Kelly dated February 1899, 'requesting permission to erect a window in the south transept of St Mary's Chapel as a memorial to the late Mr George Cooper C.A.'⁵³ Strachan's daughter, Una Wallace, recounts how her father was asked by Kelly to provide a window as part of the rebuild, but that Strachan initially refused on the grounds that he did not know how to create a window.⁵⁴ Kelly apparently refused to be daunted by this reply and eventually persuaded him to meet the request. The supplement to the January 1899 issue of *Life and Work*, the Journal of the Church of Scotland, notes that:

The window in the South Transept has been generously provided by a Member of the Congregation, who, with the cordial approval of the Architects, has given the commission to execute it to Mr Strachan, the young Aberdeen artist whose paintings in the Trades Hall, Belmont St, have attracted much attention.⁵⁵

The information is corroborated by J. G. Grant Fleming, who in 1935 as the Minister of St Nicholas put together a history of St Mary's Chapel. In it he notes that the George Cooper Memorial window was 'the earliest piece of stained glass work done by Dr Douglas Strachan.'⁵⁶ Unfortunately, the window

has been partially destroyed, but the remaining intact light certainly has characteristics of work produced by Strachan during this early period. The figures are extremely naturalistic, almost to the point of being portraits. For example, the Roman centurion's face which appears between Christ on the Cross and St John is very finely drawn and reminiscent of a pencil portrait. The leading of the glass is very busy in appearance and intrudes upon the overall image. It suggests perhaps that the window was by an accomplished artist, yet someone who had little knowledge of how to incorporate lead lines into the overall plan.

This description corresponds with Strachan's personal history. For many years his intention had been to become a painter. In 1884 at the age of nine, Strachan won a bursary to attend Robert Gordon College in Aberdeen. In an interview for the Aberdeen magazine *Brown's Bookstall* Strachan commented that he enjoyed his time there, but that he used to look out of the classroom window at the nearby Gray's School of Art and think: 'how much better it would be to be there than doing lessons.'⁵⁷ He spent three years at Robert Gordon College before starting work as an office boy in a granite merchant's establishment where he 'found vent for his artistic skill and a congenial task for his somewhat grave disposition in drawing tombstones.'⁵⁸ In 1890 Strachan was apprenticed as a lithographer in the office of the *Aberdeen Free Press*, depicting news and events from the community. Whilst at the *Press* he attended the 'advanced section' evening classes at Gray's School of Art. He was taught by John P. Fraser, a flower, figure and landscape painter, and Robert A. Ogg who specialised in landscape and still life. At the same time, Strachan met W. Milne Gibson, the Editor of *The Northern Figaro*, who

encouraged Strachan to produce drawings for his newspaper. Strachan submitted a number of successful designs including a series of portraits of distinguished authors [Fig. 13].⁵⁹ Strachan's determination to pursue a career as an artist appears to have continued as he combined money earned from the published lithographs with the savings from his apprentice's salary to pay for tuition at the Life School of the Royal Scottish Academy in Edinburgh between 1894 and 1895.

After completing the course at the Royal Scottish Academy, Strachan went to Manchester and worked as a 'black and white' artist on several newspapers. From 1895 Strachan was employed as a political cartoonist by the *Manchester Evening Chronicle*. Figures 14 and 15 show examples of his cartoon work for the paper. The cartoon shown at Figure 14 is in poor condition but of interest since it appeared in the first issue of the *Evening Chronicle*. It would seem that by 1895 he had become a skilled cartoonist and his work was considered to be of a high standard.

Although personally his heart was not in the class of work on which he was then engaged, he nevertheless produced some exceptionally clever cartoons [...] It is rather a curious coincidence that on one occasion he produced a topical picture almost identical in subject and in treatment with one drawn by Mr F C Gould for an issue of the '*Westminster Gazette*' appearing simultaneously with that of Mr Strachan's paper, and on another anticipated Sir John Tenniel and *Punch* in a similarly striking fashion.⁶⁰

That so much of Strachan's training and early education relied on bursaries and paid work suggests that his family were working class and not wealthy. He was the eldest of seven children born to Hercules and Isabella Strachan and his father worked as a cashier/clerk for the North of Scotland Electric Lighting Company. The family had strong connections with the Trades Union Movement

through his uncle (his mother's brother), William Livingston. Livingston had played a prominent role in the public life of Aberdeen as a member of the Typographical Printers Association and later as a Justice of the Peace in Aberdeen. He had also been vice-president of the Trades Council in 1887 and President in 1889. It is perhaps because of his personal background and the strong connections with Trade Unionism that much of Strachan's work subsequently centred on the notion of labour. The Trades Hall in Aberdeen (discussed in detail in Chapter 3) is one of the most notable Strachan essays on work and its moral benefits. Although a newspaper article of 1898 comments that 'Strachan was a sympathiser with popular movements',⁶¹ little is known of his political allegiances. However, the fact that he offered to produce the first panels of the Trades Hall decorative scheme free of charge would suggest he had, at some level, a belief in the cause of socialism and the labour movement.

It should of course be borne in mind that for many, socialism had as much to do with the right to individual expression and moral beliefs as it had with the ideas of Marx. Furthermore, belief in the nobility of labour can be linked to the wider Protestant tradition in which the 'work ethic' had long been fostered. The nineteenth-century Scottish writer, Thomas Carlyle, one of the 'prophets' of the 'Gospel of Work', had espoused hard work as bringing its own rewards. Work was something to be valued in itself, even as possessing a kind of religious value, so it is unsurprising that 'Labor Omnia Vincit' was one of the two mottoes which featured prominently in the mural scheme in the Aberdeen Trades Hall. The north east of Scotland was strongly Protestant so Strachan's

representation of this ethic of hard work bringing harmony and fellowship must have met with much approval from his patrons.

Whilst Strachan was not a practising Christian in his adult life, it seems likely that he attended Church of Scotland services in childhood.⁶² His father was a church Elder and his academic record at Robert Gordon's College notes that his previous school had been the Church of Scotland Practising School. This exposure to Church of Scotland doctrine is significant since Presbyterianism did much to foster the connection between love of God and the benefits of honest toil.

Whatever the degree and form of Strachan's socialism, his choice of subject matter whilst working as a political cartoonist on the *Manchester Chronicle* (and later as a stained-glass designer) offer an insight into the issues that interested him. Strachan's cartoons frequently highlighted the problems faced by workers at the hands of their employers, while the underlying theme in many of his stained-glass designs is that of peaceful co-operation; a living fellowship of workers both heavenly and temporal. In many respects his windows echo F. D. Maurice's Christian Socialist belief that all people are fundamentally equal because they are equal in the sight of God. That is not to say that either Maurice or Strachan thought all should have equal political power, but that there should be better relations between people at different levels of the social hierarchy. In many of Strachan's windows, farm labourers and fishermen rub shoulders with kings, prophets and saints. As a result, Strachan's characters always have a 'down to earth' air about them. The image of Sts Peter, James and John in the *Stilling the Storm* window [Fig. 16] at St

Columba's Kirk, Largs, is typical of Strachan's portrayal of the disciples of Jesus, who are rarely shown with haloes or beatific faces but are given rugged outlines, suggesting that they know the hardship of toil and labour.

Strachan's experience as a lithographer and a political cartoonist, producing work for a mass market rather than for an elite, kept him in touch with working people and their problems. Strachan's murals, and later his stained glass, gave him the opportunity to create complex allegorical and narrative scenes, which could express contemporary political notions of equality through public art. The murals are of particular interest because they offer a glimpse of the beginnings of Strachan's career as a decorative artist and show the influences at work in his art of William Morris, Patrick Geddes and Walter Crane, all of whom emphasised the social role of murals. At the same time, the public, and therefore, democratic nature of these works give an insight into Strachan's own political leanings.

Even pictures created for his own pleasure continued to focus on the topic of work. Following a visit to Venice, he produced a landscape of the Grand Canal [Fig. 17]. However, unlike many artists who visited this city, he chose not to depict the Doge's Palace or the many other iconic landmarks denoting Venice. Rather he foregrounds two figures hard at work, manoeuvring their boats through the busy waterway. Il Redentore and San Giorgio Maggiore are both included, clearly demarcating the landscape, but they are obviously not of primary interest. Even in the romantic setting of Venice, the main subject is still that of labour. It is possible that Strachan was drawing a parallel between two cities, Venice and Aberdeen, both very different in some respects yet

whose economic and cultural existence depended on the ability to manoeuvre boats and command the sea.

Whilst interviews and newspaper cuttings and the content matter of much of his work give an insight into his personal beliefs and identity, little is known about how, when and where he actually acquired the skill of making stained glass. J. W. Knowles, who compiled a 'List of English [sic] Glass Painters' notes the following: 'Douglas Strachan, Aberdeen. He is supposed to have learnt the art of glass painting from Williams of Chester.'⁶³ Strachan could easily have visited Chester when he was working in Manchester, but as yet, there is no firm evidence to support this suggestion. Una Wallace contends that Strachan's methods 'were his own' and, in the broadest of terms, she could be correct. A comment made by Strachan in 1929 suggests that he believed that the technical aspect of stained glass could be acquired without too much effort. 'The mere craft-procedure that goes to the making of stained glass is a simple affair that can be explained in ten minutes and learnt in a day.'⁶⁴ Whilst it is perhaps possible to learn the rudiments of the craft very quickly it would, nonetheless, have taken some time to acquire the breadth of knowledge and skill required to execute some of the large and relatively complex windows created by Strachan early on in his career. Even the *St John and St Mary* window at St Nicholas's Kirk, which is simple in design and uses flat antique rather than the thick and uneven slab glass, would have required the basic tools for cutting and leading the glass as well as a kiln for firing painted pieces. So Strachan's assertion is correct but unrealistic, especially when applied to the physical undertaking of a paid commission for a relatively large window for a novice.

Further research into this question has confirmed that Strachan used a glazing company to realise at least some, if not all, of his early designs. A small, unattributed newspaper cutting in Mrs Strachan's scrapbook describes the new east window in St James's Episcopal Church, Aberdeen (dated either 1900 or 1904) [Fig. 18]. What is interesting is that the penultimate sentence reads as follows:

The whole scheme of colour has been admirably conceived, and the window is a magnificent piece of work, which reflects great credit on Mr Strachan, as designer, and on Messrs James Garvie and Sons, Union Street, Aberdeen, who carried out the cutting, leading and firing of the glass and the inserting of the window.⁶⁵

This implies that Strachan produced the designs and cartoons and painted the glass, and a well-established studio cut, fired and leaded the glass. Strachan's studio was at 259 Union Street so he could have quickly and easily collaborated with Garvie and Sons (at 234-236 Union Street) and overseen the implementation of his design. This was not the first time that he had collaborated with the firm. In 1899, the company carried out the work for a modest mural scheme at St Machar's Church in the Aberdonian suburb of Bucksburn, according to Strachan's designs.

The newspaper cutting regarding the St James's window is on the first page of the scrapbook adjacent to two cuttings relating to the Geddes Memorial Window, *The Adoration of the Magi*, at King's College Chapel Aberdeen [Fig. 19] which was dedicated on 11 January 1903. Peter Cormack cites this window 'as his [Strachan's] most accomplished and exciting work, made especially so by a more direct involvement in craft processes than was possible after the demand for Strachan's work burgeoned in the 1920s.'⁶⁶ However, this may be

too sweeping a statement and given the date, it would seem far more likely that precisely the opposite was true; that Strachan had little involvement with the craft process and again it was Garvie and Sons who dealt with the cutting, leading and firing. The *Story Window* commissioned to commemorate Principal Story in Glasgow University's Bute Hall dates from c.1907 and correspondence between Strachan and Story's daughter also suggests that Strachan did not make this window:

If you could make your visit to Aberdeen later in the month I would have more to show - more of the leaded work. All this week the men will be busy upon the leading of Margaret, Melville, Knox and Kentigern and I cannot tell what condition they will be in by the end of next week.⁶⁷

Although the report in the *Banffshire Journal* is not as explicit as the one concerning the creation of the east window at St James's Church, it certainly gives sufficient information to doubt Strachan's hands-on involvement with craft processes in the *Geddes window* was as direct as Cormack believes: 'The pieces of tinted glass were selected in London, but the whole of the designing, drawing, and manipulation of glass has been done in Aberdeen, the artist being Mr Douglas Strachan.'⁶⁸

Strachan is credited with creating approximately 30 windows between 1899 and 1910. Some of these were enormous undertakings. The Marischal College Library *Faculties of Science* window in Aberdeen (1906) consisted of nine tall lancets. While the *Christ in Glory* East Window in the Old Parish Kirk, Fraserburgh (also 1906) is a large three-light work. The creation of so many extensive and intricately decorated designs would have represented an extremely heavy workload, even to a well-established glazier with a fully equipped studio.

As previously discussed, the glass in Strachan's windows was heavily painted and his figures were extremely realistic, emphasising his interest in portraiture; indeed he often included actual portraits in his designs. The Fraserburgh window, for example, was commissioned by Sir George Anderson Knight in memory of his parents [Fig. 20]. Based on Psalm 148, *The Benedicite*, the window contains heavenly and earthly figures praising God, with many of the figures being based on members of the church's congregation. It also apparently includes portraits of John and Jean Anderson to whom the window is dedicated.⁶⁹ Mixed in with these images are allusions to well-known works of art by Benozzo Gozzoli, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci as well as William Blake and Puvis de Chavannes. For example, the mannered posture of the figure in green to the upper left of the nativity scene is reminiscent of the angels in *The Adoration of the Magi* cycle from the chapel in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi in Florence by Gozzoli, c.1460.

References to the Italian Renaissance were perhaps the result of Strachan's trips abroad with James Cromar Watt. During the last years of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth century, the two men travelled to Europe on many occasions, sketching, painting and buying objets d'art.⁷⁰ However, the imitation of well-known artists could also have been intentional and more pragmatic, enabling Strachan to assert himself as an artist and to advertise his skills in this genre to a wider public. These references may have also been a source of self-assurance, a way of reminding himself of his skills and more importantly his identity as an artist rather than as a craftsman. If so, this emphasis on art can be clearly related to Strachan's personal aspirations at

that period. At this time it is apparent that Strachan had no intention or wish to abandon his career as an artist and he continued to paint portraits and produce extensive mural schemes for the Music Hall in Union Street, Aberdeen, Bucksburn Episcopal Church, the Chapel of the Epiphany in Peplow, Shropshire, and a large *Adoration of the Magi* scheme which was exhibited in London. According to the listings in *The Aberdeen Trades Directory* Strachan continued as 'an artist' working from his studio in Union Street until 1910 when he moved to Edinburgh and his name was removed from the *Directory*. Moreover, Strachan later confirmed his lack of ambition to become a stained-glass designer in his communication of 1935 with W. O. Hutchinson, the Director of Glasgow School of Art, when he comments on his slow realisation that glass was the best medium with which he should work:

But presently I became conscious of some new influence disturbing and bothering me in my paint, [...]. I need not detail the stages by which at length I identified it as unwanted stained glass ideas, of how I accepted a commission for a small window expecting to get it over and be done with it: of how this led immediately to commissions for three more windows and how I got jealous of this encroachment on my painting time and refused to do any more, of how I held to this while in spite of myself visions of glass possibilities kept on sketching away in my head to a horizon which threatened still further unknown territory: of how I came to knowledge of the fact that glass was the natural medium for dealing with the kind of images that bothered me.⁷¹

Furthermore, there is evidence that Strachan, particularly in his teenage years, believed that being a painter was a far more prestigious profession to follow than that of a craftsman. In a lecture to his students at Edinburgh College of Art he notes how: 'there are still those who count it derogatory to the dignity of a painter or a sculptor to practice [sic] one of the crafts: (I confess that when I was a painting student in my teens I was one of them).'⁷² He then goes on to note that such people are lacking in an ability to judge from the

viewpoint of art or beauty. His next comment suggests that his own decision to become a stained-glass designer perhaps met with some resistance:

If they happen to be your personal friends, they do not hesitate to tell you that it is altogether incomprehensible to them that you should continue to pain them, and stultify yourself, by engaging in craft pursuits that are, they say, manifestly lower in order of importance than others that might be followed.⁷³

Given his resolution to continue working as an artist, his own misgivings relating to the status of craftsmen and possible peer pressure, there seems to have been little incentive for him to have taken the time to master the craft of stained-glass making. In the light of the evidence given above, it would seem more likely that Strachan took on the role of stained-glass designer, undertaking commissions, creating the cartoons, painting the glass and collaborating closely with a glazing company throughout the entire process.

He was certainly well aware of the intricacies involved in the craft of choosing, painting and treating the glass itself. Whilst abroad in the first decade of the twentieth century Strachan spent much time studying the colour techniques employed by medieval glaziers and used binoculars to get a closer view of the glass. In Carcassonne Cathedral he even climbed scaffolding left by the Cathedral workmen to examine a window.⁷⁴ Chartres Cathedral, in particular, provided Strachan with much of his initial inspiration, especially regarding colour techniques employed by the medieval glaziers:

The famous west windows at Chartres are of a markedly cold blue all over when viewed in the forenoon: in the late afternoon they become ruddy golden surfaces. [...] The explanation of the complete change of colour is this: take a square-inch of white glass, a square-inch of palish blue, and a piece of rich ruby 2 square inches; hold them at arm's length against a good light, and you will find that the ruby dominates. Place the same pieces among other glass in a west window at a great height and view them against a cool morning light. The white will expand until it seems

several times its actual size; the blue will retain its proper dimensions but appear paler than it is in reality; the ruby will contract and become a dull brown verging on black. Reverse the dimensions of blue and ruby making the blue twice the size of the ruby, and the latter (viewed against a cool light) will disappear into the blue. View the same glass in the afternoon against the western sun and you will find that the ruby has now leapt to life and is burning fiercely, while the warm tone of the light and the ruby's vigour have bleached the blue into a warm silvery-grey.⁷⁵

Strachan also incorporated other sophisticated treatments of glass into his designs. For example, the Fraserburgh window, in common with his other schemes, contains intricate examples of acid-etching and a skilled use of clear, strong colours. There is evidence to suggest that Strachan spent time experimenting with the treatment of glass. In a later letter to Miss Story, he comments that: 'Things will run smoothly now as I have fixed the treatment (colour and texture of glass) of each now.'⁷⁶ There is no doubt that Strachan was highly accomplished in terms of utilising light and colour within his designs, however, the many other skills, such as firing and leading, involved in the successful production of stained glass were more likely to have been learnt slowly and over a much longer period.

There is another important element which needs to be considered when questioning Strachan's possible collaboration with other craftsmen and that is the role played by his younger brother Alexander (1878-1954). Whilst Strachan's name and profession of artist continued to be listed in the *Trades Directory* throughout the first decade of the 1900s, Alexander is listed from 1903 onwards as 'worker in stained and leaded glass' at Windsor Place, 455 Great Western Road, Aberdeen.⁷⁷ This is of utmost interest and brings into play more questions and further possibilities for the argument of collaboration. Whilst little is known of Douglas's background and training, there is even less

information available on Alexander. He was married but did not have children and other members of the family do not appear to have retained any of his studio records, cartoons or even personal memorabilia.⁷⁸ Alexander does not seem to have followed the same academic route as his brother as his name does not appear on the register of Robert Gordon College. However, the fact that he was working as a professional stained-glass maker suggests that he had undergone training and thereafter established himself as an independent maker in Aberdeen.

As previously noted, there were a number of stained-glass companies working in Aberdeen so there must have been opportunities for apprentices. It is possible that he trained with Garvie and Son, perhaps through Douglas's connections with the company itself or through his brother's links with people such as William Kelly and Cromar Watt. It could be that Alexander followed his brother south and trained in Chester with either Gamon and Co. or Williams, which is why Knowles recorded the name of Strachan in his manuscript.

Christopher Whall executed a window in memory of James Cooper's ministry in Aberdeen for St Mary's Chapel in St Nicholas Kirk, in 1899. At the very least, the Strachan brothers would have been aware of Whall's work and they may well have met him at this time. Peter Cormack recalled that Veronica Whall had thought Douglas Strachan had been a pupil of her father's.⁷⁹ To date, there are no records suggesting that Douglas worked with Whall in his studio and it seems an unlikely possibility, especially in the light of the above discussion. The records at the Central School do not have either Alexander or Douglas registered as a student, although it is still possible that it was Alexander who attended the School where Whall was an enthusiastic teacher. Until more

tangible information can be found, the circumstances regarding Alexander's background and training can only be conjectured.

To date, there is no complete list of Alexander's work and without studio records it is very difficult to accumulate sufficient information to compile an accurate account. He obviously did not have as great an output as his brother but there are windows by Alexander in Orkney in the far north of Scotland and Gullane just south of Edinburgh. A relatively early window dated 1911 by him can be found in New College Library, Edinburgh. By the time this was created, Alexander had moved to Edinburgh. On 3 June 1909 he was engaged as an Instructor of stained glass at Edinburgh College of Art. According to the College archive he was allowed leave from his employment, as was the case with many of the instructors, to join up and fight in the First World War, but on his return from the war he continued to teach at the College until 1925. The archives at Glasgow School of Art also reveal that he worked there as a visiting lecturer in 1923 and 1924. In 1929, Alexander moved to 5a Balcarres Gardens, Edinburgh, and presumably managed to earn enough money through commissions for windows and, possibly, by assisting his brother, working as an independent maker rather than as a teacher/maker.⁸⁰

Windows by Alexander have much in common stylistically with Douglas's and each man's work is often mistakenly attributed to the other brother. However, a comparison of their work shows clear differences in painting style.

Alexander's painting technique tends to be softer, his style is often 'muddier', and the colours generally lack Douglas's clarity. Figure 21 is a detail from the *Livingstone* window created by Alexander in 1937 for Dunfermline Abbey. If it

is compared to a smaller *Acts of Mercy* window by Douglas from 1932 [Fig. 22] it can be seen that Alexander's designs share some stylistic similarities with Douglas's, but that his faces are more generic and conventional than the characters found in the older brother's work.

The woman's face in Douglas's window [Fig. 22] is minimalist in execution, but nonetheless it conveys a sense of humility and compassion whereas Alexander's woman is lightly drawn with delicate features and conforms to the more typical visual vocabulary so often used in nineteenth-century stained glass designs to represent female compassion. In addition, Douglas tends to rely more on the glass itself for the decorative element. The streaks of colour in the pauper's robes are mostly derived from the inherent qualities of the glass and the lines of the figures are fewer and simpler. Of course, it is necessary to allow for the difference in size of these windows, since the Dunfermline window is large and intended for an extensive audience whereas Douglas's design was originally for the more intimate environment of a Boy's Clubhouse in Canongate, Edinburgh. However, the stylistic differences noted above can be seen in much of their work.

Whatever their personal history and individual talents, the two Strachan brothers did collaborate on some projects and when Douglas became too busy to take on new work, he engaged Alexander to assist. The *St Margaret* window [Fig. 23] in Dunfermline Abbey was created in 1932 and stands adjacent to Alexander's *Livingstone* window. The Abbey guidebook originally cited Douglas as the creator of this work, but the Strachan family contest this and claim that it is by Alexander.⁸¹ It seems more likely that this is in fact a collaborative

work. The overall design is much stronger than the *Livingstone window*, the architectonic forms in the background give a greater sense of perspective and depth to the work and the figures appear to be situated within the space rather than on the surface of the glass. The faces, however, are generally softer and more generic than one would expect to find in Douglas's work which suggests that Alexander was the painter for much of this window. There are other instances where the brothers have probably collaborated whilst the patrons appear to have remained unaware of the fact. St Leonard's Church in St Leonard's, Buckinghamshire, is such a case. Correspondence (which is now in the Oxford Diocesan Archive) dating between 10 December 1921 and 16 October 1922 plainly demonstrates that the donor, Dr Herbert Morley-Fletcher, thought he was in direct contact with Douglas Strachan and that it was Douglas who would be creating the window. In one note to the Diocesan Advisory Committee, Morley-Fletcher comments: 'After consultation with various authorities as to the best man for designing this window we decided on Mr Strachan of Edinburgh who, as you doubtless know, is one of the leading experts in the country.'⁸² Further correspondence regarding the choices of subject matter (Humility - The Annunciation, Truth - Jesus, and Courage - David) and problems regarding Diocesan criticisms of the standard of leading and that Jesus was using his left hand to administer the blessing are also in the records. Again, there is no suggestion that Alexander was a co-designer with his brother. For example, on 19 April 1922 Morley-Fletcher wrote a long letter to J. Rose (a member of the Diocesan Advisory Committee) saying:

Mr Strachan is unable to comprehend the objection that the leading is bad as the design submitted does not contain a single line of lead. [...] He does not know on what grounds they make the statement that the Saviour is blessing with his left hand since He is not blessing but pointing

the Way of Truth. Further conceding that if there is an objection to the position of the two fingers, then Mr Strachan is willing to bend the second finger.⁸³

The tone of the letter is certainly similar in style to notes in other archives which are without doubt written by Douglas. However, when one looks at the completed window [Fig. 24] it would seem, for the same reasons as given above, that the figures are more likely to have been painted by Alexander, from a cartoon designed by his brother. The figure of Christ with angels above Him is extremely similar to windows which are by Douglas. His East window in Bedrule Parish Kirk dating from the same period (1922) is a particularly salient example. The central window contains an image of the resurrected Christ surmounted by two angels [Figs 25 and 26]. Christ's left arm is raised to a higher degree in the Bedrule window and the mandorla behind Christ is more complex, transforming at the apex into a cross, complete with the emblems of Saints Matthew, Mark and Luke. Despite these differences, the basic design has too much in common with the St Leonard's window [Fig. 27] for the similarity to be a coincidence. In the light of this evidence, it would appear that, in the case of St Leonard's and elsewhere, Douglas remained the main point of contact with commissioning bodies and provided the cartoons, but that the main body of the technical work on the window, and occasionally the painting, was carried out by someone else on his behalf. Given family anecdotes and stylistic qualities, Alexander was certainly a significant member of Douglas's studio. Christian Shaw, who has carried out repair work on Strachan's windows, has also observed a variety of styles of leading in his windows.⁸⁴ Although it is impossible to designate leading styles to a particular

person it lends further support to the argument for Strachan's collaboration with a number of assistants.

A collection of cartoons currently held by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) provides another eloquent demonstration of the working practice of the brothers. The twelve cartoons depict Scottish regimental crests such as those of the Argyll and Sutherland regiment and the Royal Scots Fusiliers. The cartoons were given to the RCAHMS by the Trustees of the Scottish National War Memorial and were thought to be intended for an earlier version of the Hall of Memory in the Memorial (1924-27) in which Robert Lorimer, the architect, planned to have windows running along each of the sides.⁸⁵ The style of the cartoons is very similar to Douglas Strachan's final designs for windows in the Hall of Memory and moreover, the handwriting of the annotations is identical to entries in his Estimate Book and to letters written by him. Furthermore, the annotations 'selected slightly yellower in glass [and] all thistle jewels have facets',⁸⁶ suggest that the windows had been executed [Fig. 28A and B]. In fact evidence suggests that the designs were originally produced for Holy Trinity Kirk, St Andrews, rather than the War Memorial.

Three of the cartoons have 'St Andrews Holy Trinity Clerestory' written on their reverse. The clerestory at Holy Trinity, contains seventeen small windows. Fourteen depict the crests of the Scottish Regiments and three represent the Royal Navy, Flying Services and Medical Corps. All match the cartoons held by the RCAHMS. What is most interesting here is that the church guidebook and

records maintain that the windows were by Alexander, not Douglas Strachan.⁸⁷ The first window in this series was commissioned by the Minister of the church, whose son had been killed in the First World War, and subsequent windows were funded by members of the congregation who also wished to commemorate friends and relatives.

In this instance Alexander appears to have been the recipient of the commission but, again, the final outcome appears to be the product of collaboration and it was Douglas who designed the cartoons and oversaw the choice of glass. The Holy Trinity commission dates from c.1919, four years before Strachan was involved with the War Memorial in Edinburgh. The fact that the cartoons were in the possession of the Trustees of the War Memorial may suggest that Douglas presented them as an example of the work he could produce. Given that this was such a prestigious commission he would have been unlikely to submit final designs which had previously been used, nor would he have plagiarised his brother's work. The scheme requires more research as it is possible that Douglas was initially requested to carry out the work at Holy Trinity since he had already provided the church with its East and West windows. The important point here is, however, that the cartoons and clerestory windows clearly demonstrate the long term pragmatic working relationship between the Strachan brothers.

Whilst Douglas may have been the better designer of the two, there is further evidence to suggest that he relied heavily on Alexander for technical support, particularly in the early years of his career. As already noted, Alexander was established in Aberdeen as a stained-glass worker and could easily have

provided studio, tools and practical assistance for his brother's earliest commissions. This theory is strengthened by the fact that shortly after Douglas moved to Edinburgh to set up the Crafts Section at Edinburgh College of Art, Alexander was employed in the same department as an instructor in stained glass. Why did this happen? It could be that Douglas was anxious to support his brother by finding him work in the capital city where there were bound to be better business opportunities, or it could be that Strachan was still reliant on Alexander's technical expertise in order to meet the many requests for work.

Douglas was invited to move to Edinburgh through a direct approach from Morley Fletcher, the Director of the Edinburgh College of Art. On 2 February 1909 Fletcher proposed in person that he move to Edinburgh and assist in the practical work of the Design Section of the College. On 25 February, Fletcher sent a proposal stating that he wished to extend the Design course by adding a Crafts Section, and that he wanted Douglas to be in charge of this new section. William Black was to remain as Head of Design and teach Historic Ornament, whilst Douglas would teach the general principles of design in relation to craftsmanship. Fletcher pointed out that Douglas's position would not be one of subordination, but would be of equal standing with Black. The College was obviously keen for Strachan to join them since Fletcher added: 'if you find this an obstacle I will come and talk over the whole position more fully.'⁸⁸ The following day, Douglas received a telegram telling him that two members of the Board (J. Lawton Wingate and Robert Lorimer) were travelling to Aberdeen to meet him on 27 February at 12 noon. Douglas must have been undecided since he received a further visit from the Director and Black on 2 March 1909.

This time they were successful in their attempt to persuade him and on 8 March, Allan Sutherland, the Secretary, sent Douglas a letter informing him that the Board of Management of the College had appointed him Head of Crafts Section of the College on a salary of £300 per annum. Douglas was to be responsible for work done in all the craft workshops and he was to 'make himself acquainted with the students and advise them regarding their studies.'⁸⁹ Figure 29 shows Douglas seated watching one of the students working at his easel in an interior decoration class at the College.

It is clear that Douglas did not jump at the chance to take up this position. There may have been domestic reasons for his tardiness. He had married Elsie Isobel Cromar in 1909 and would perhaps have wanted to be sure that she was happy to move. However, the offer of a regular income and the prestige which would have accompanied the position must surely have been very appealing. It is entirely possible that Strachan was aware that he would need reliable technical support if he was to continue making windows once he had moved to Edinburgh. The ideal answer would have been for Alexander to move with him; thus ensuring continuity in the standard of his windows and the peace of mind of working with someone who understood his requirements for translating designs into a leaded form.

It seems that Alexander had gained a reputation for interpreting cartoons because he was commissioned to create the Iveagh Memorial window, *Mother Church ministering to the needs of humankind*, from a design by Frank Brangwyn, at St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, which was installed in 1937 [Fig. 30]. As yet it has not been possible to determine the exact connection

between Brangwyn and Alexander Strachan.⁹⁰ However, it seems reasonable to presume that Strachan would not have been asked to execute the design unless he had achieved a reputation for being particularly skilled in this respect, especially since Brangwyn had worked for Morris and Co.

Douglas produced over 350 windows during his career and this number represents a gargantuan task for one man to accomplish. Given the fact that Alexander was an established stained-glass worker who had presumably undergone an apprenticeship as was the common practice of the time, and given that Douglas appeared to rely on others for the practicalities of making the window far more extensively than has hitherto been recognised, it seems reasonable to conclude that Alexander was a vital component of his brother's work and that without him Douglas may not have been able to achieve either the extraordinary output nor the high technical standard attributed to his windows.⁹¹

Douglas Strachan's period at Edinburgh College of Art proved to be brief: a note from Fletcher dated 25 April 1911 confirms receipt of a letter of resignation from Douglas, and on 22 May 1911 Allan Sutherland replied telling him that "the Board of Management had at their meeting on 18th instant, his letter of 22 April to Mr Morley Fletcher intimating resignation of his appointment as Head of the Crafts section at the end of the current session."⁹² Whilst at the College he had been able to create fruitful links with other artists and architects as well as to influence the next generation of stained-glass designers. It was during this time that he developed a close friendship with Robert Lorimer which led to him being commissioned to produce a number of

successful stained-glass schemes in Edinburgh, including the east window for the Thistle Chapel at St Giles and the fenestration for the Scottish National War Memorial at Edinburgh Castle. He also came into contact with influential members of the Kirk of Scotland and academics from the University. For example, the Very Reverend Dr Charles Warr, Minister of St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, became a close family friend and it is clear from his account of the Strachan family in his memoirs *The Glimmering Landscape* that Douglas's life had altered remarkably from his working-class beginnings in Aberdeen.⁹³

Strachan's lifestyle in Edinburgh, and especially at Pittendreich in Lasswade in Midlothian where he moved to in 1928, was that of a wealthy man, far removed from the young artist who had worked on numerous papers in order to make a living and who had relied on bursaries to achieve a good education. His wife and daughters, Elma and Una, were presented at Court, Queen Mary visited his studios in Edinburgh and in Pittendreich, and the Duchess of York also viewed his work at the latter.⁹⁴ Yet despite his wealth, he seems not to have forgotten his own humbler beginnings and according to Colin Russell, Strachan remained 'a proud Aberdonian', always keen to support the city either by producing work for its many churches or giving opening speeches at arts events within the city.⁹⁵ In addition, he often made generous gestures to an assortment of establishments in Aberdeen and elsewhere, deliberately underpricing a window or even donating one free of charge. He produced other objects too such as lamps as gifts. The lamp above the pulpit in King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, was donated by Strachan, as was the lamp in the Chapel of Youth in St Giles Cathedral. In some respects this way of life might appear to be paradoxical given his earlier support of working class movements, the

emphasis on the nobility of manual work and his own apparently wealthy social status. However, it is not impossible for the two to sit together and perhaps the most obvious parallel to be drawn is with that of William Morris and the polarity between his ideals and lifestyle.

Strachan's attitude towards his work also had much in common with Morris's own methodology. Whilst Morris was in charge of securing commissions for stained-glass windows, creating cartoons (although not as many as Strachan) and choosing appropriate glass for the designs, he relied on other skilled workers, such as George Campfield, to produce the windows. Both men also shared similar aesthetic approaches to their work. A lecture entitled 'Modern Art and the Future' given by Strachan to the Aberdeen Classical Society contains passages which reflect Morris's teachings on both truth to materials and fitness for purpose.

Ornament [...] spreads over and smothers all surfaces, like some horrid fungus growth; a fatuous craze obtains for deception - the imitative skill that produces, say, a mosaic which deludes the spectator into the belief that it is an oil painting, still evoking a degree of admiration which the work, were it really an oil painting, would not call forth [...] ...we should cease altogether to think consciously of ART; and turn our thoughts on *Fitness*- of things for their purpose - as the standard of worth.⁹⁶

It is also the case that in many respects Pittendreich represented the ideal Arts and Crafts establishment. A large manorial house situated away from the bustle of the city, it functioned as a family home and the focus of a small community of workmen. A section of the house was converted into a workshop with one of the outside walls being replaced with a vast expanse of glass, against which the windows could be built. The studio was on the ground floor and the walls were hung with the cartoons on which he was working. Outside

in the courtyard amongst the peacocks, were the kilns. Within the grounds of Pittendreich were a number of cottages which were rented out to individuals such as the seven craftsmen who assisted him, including his foreman James Scullion. A cartoon produced by Strachan to entertain his young daughters whilst they were away from home [Fig. 31] gives a good indication of the working practice at Pittendreich and at the same time restates Strachan's identity as artist rather than artisan. Strachan depicts himself with paintbrush in hand quietly working on the design whilst in the background the creation of the window itself is carried out by five men, four of whom are rushing backwards and forwards.

Strachan's windows executed at Pittendreich have much in common with work produced by his contemporary Christopher Whall. Even the practice of employing others to realise his designs falls in line with Whall's own standards for the craft. In 1905 Whall wrote *Stained Glass Work* for the 'Artistic Crafts' series edited by W. R. Lethaby. The book became an important text for anyone interested in stained glass since it offered sound technical and aesthetic advice. It also offered guidance on ethical points (which Strachan similarly adhered to):

I care not whether a man calls himself Brown, or Brown and Co., or co-operating with others works under the style of Brown, Jones or Robinson, so long as he observe four things.

1. Not to direct what he cannot practise;
2. To make masters of apprentices, or aim at making them;
3. To keep his hand of mastery over the whole work personally at all stages; and
4. To be prepared sometimes to make sacrifices of profit for the sake of the Art, should the interests of the two clash.¹⁹⁷

Stylistically, Whall and Strachan had much in common with one another too. Both broke away from the styles established by the leading commercial studios of the period. Whall had been at the forefront of incorporating Britten and Gilson's Early English (also known as Norman or Slab) Glass into his work. Developed in 1889, the thick and uneven glass gave Whall the opportunity to extend his innovative ideas and enabled him to create strong, simple effects without the 'mannered fussiness of the purveyors of "tradesmen's gothic"'.⁹⁸ Strachan also incorporated this textured glass, which he generally purchased from Hartley Woods, into his work, using it to create architectonic forms within his windows and more importantly, to incorporate light itself into his designs. The unevenness of slab glass allows light to enter the building in a 'burst' rather than a 'stream' and Strachan was always at pains to stress that: 'the artist-craftsman's aim is, not perhaps to eliminate, but to sublimate his material: to merge its characteristics in the expressional content of the work.'⁹⁹

Both Whall and Strachan were interested in the expressive function of the leadline to create intricate patterns within their windows. They also attempted to achieve a smooth integration of subject matter, intense colour and complex texture of glass within their designs. Indeed, the following description by Cormack of Whall's work could just as easily be applied to Strachan:

Whall deliberately broke away from the hackneyed style of most contemporary studios, dispensing with complicated canopy work or other historicist ornament and concentrating instead on naturalistic figure drawing, rich and pure colours, and bold leading patterns.¹⁰⁰

Such similarities in approach raise questions as to the nature of their relationship and the extent of Strachan's awareness of Whall's work. However,

until factual evidence comes to light, the level of contact between the two artists remains open to speculation.

Strachan: 'Founder of a Modern Tradition'

There is no doubt that Whall was a significant figure in the development of British and Irish stained glass. What is interesting is that, as with Scotland's relationship with the Gothic Revival in the nineteenth century, this development was used in very specific ways, especially by Strachan, to reflect late nineteenth- and twentieth-century Scottish concerns in terms of religious, civic, and cultural identity. Moreover, Strachan embraced many of Whall's ideas (wittingly or unintentionally) and created a style which acknowledged the past achievements of stained glass and at the same time attempted to posit it within a contemporary artistic context. As Strachan's style developed, his figurative work became less naturalistic and more abstract. The upper sections of the windows in the Shrine at the Scottish National War Memorial, Edinburgh created between 1924 and 1927 are a good example of this move towards abstraction. The patterning in these windows is dense and it can be more difficult to pick out some of the images in the lacework of lead. The Horsemen of the Apocalypse which appear in windows 1 and 2 of the Shrine are a good example of this abstracted style. As can be seen from Figure 32, without close scrutiny it is very difficult to establish the outline of the horses and riders which are just above the tip of the Angel's wings because the images have been abstracted through their integration with the overall pattern of the glass and the leading. Strachan himself emphasised the importance of pattern in his work, referring to himself as a 'pattern weaver' rather than a designer.¹⁰¹ An exterior view of one of his earlier windows at the Peace Palace shows not only

extensive pattern work, but also the complex technical ability of Strachan's studio [Fig. 33]. The window incorporates double and triple plating as well as pieces of etched flashed glass.

This innovative approach to design certainly sets Strachan apart from the prevalent style of windows being created in Scotland. The other maker who was starting to challenge the established style was Alfred Webster who, had he not been fatally wounded while serving with the Gordon Highlanders in World War One, would have provided Strachan with fierce competition for commissions. Webster's work was in many ways similar to Strachan's. They were both skilled draughtsmen and frequently incorporated portraits into their designs or included scenes which reflected the geography of the area within which a specific church was situated. Good examples of their incorporation of portraiture work into their designs can be seen in the *Peace Achieved* window in The Peace Palace and the *First Fruits* window in the Parish Kirk of New Kilpatrick respectively [Fig. 34 A and B]. Strachan included his eldest daughter in this large triumphal procession whilst Webster's small single-light window contains a portrait of his son Gordon (who was also to become a stained-glass designer, heavily influenced by Strachan). Webster's death was without doubt a great loss to stained glass in Scotland because the development of his style alongside Strachan's would have fostered a strong base for the craft within the country.

Following Strachan's death in 1950, Willie Wilson, a Fellow of the British Society of Master Glass Painters and himself deeply influenced by Strachan's work, wrote an obituary for the Society's Journal, in which he commented that

Strachan was the 'Founder of the Modern Scots Tradition' of stained glass.¹⁰²

At first glance this term seems to be something of an oxymoron. He was perhaps making reference to Strachan's own observations in a lecture to students at Edinburgh College of Art in 1910: 'I certainly do not think that a modern tradition is impossible; on the contrary, I think that one has been slowly forming itself for years.'¹⁰³

Wilson also used the term to convey the extent to which Strachan's work moved away from the generic style of commercial studios and, by implication, the strong impact Strachan's work had on his contemporaries:

A profound thinker, Douglas Strachan imbued the subject matter of his windows with a deep sense of human feeling far removed indeed from the cheap and mawkish religiosity of trade glass. [...] Strachan's particular treatment of the Bible story distinguishes his work with a strongly-marked Presbyterian significance, expressing in terms of colour and light a truly Scottish spirituality.¹⁰⁴

Indeed, Douglas Hogg attributes a further tradition to Strachan, the 'East coast tradition' of glass making, which again reflects the long-lasting influence of his painterly style. Edinburgh College of Art still teaches architectural glass and the succession of leaders on this course from Douglas Strachan, Herbert Hendrie, Sax Shaw, Douglas Hogg to Alex Galloway all shared this fundamental, painterly approach towards glass.

These strands of tradition are important and each of them opens up a way of thinking about Strachan's work. Wilson's description of Strachan as the founder of a modern tradition was, therefore, apt since he brought a fresh approach to the discipline through a complex use of iconography and symbolism, an innovative manipulation of glass and an implicit understanding of the nature of

the medium. He admired the traditional qualities of medieval glass, but that did not prevent him from being prepared to experiment. He gave his students the following advice:

Careful observation of your medium will in time reveal its possibilities; and, if you have invention, you may discover possibilities that are not included in the accepted rules. The test is simple. If the proposed development serves to bring out still further the essential characteristics of the material, it is a gain; if it merely tends to force imitation of effects that are characteristic of another medium, have nothing to do with it. ¹⁰⁵

It is this fluidity and adaptability which both sets Strachan apart as a forerunner of twentieth-century developments in architectural glass and which also places him firmly within the context of Scottish stained-glass, which throughout the nineteenth century had demonstrated the capacity for absorbing current trends and synthesising them in an independent and relevant form.

¹ Senie, H. F., and Webster, S. *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context and Controversy*, (New York, 1998), p101

² Wilson, W. 'Founder of the Modern Scots Tradition' obituary for *Journal of the British Society Master Glass Painters*, vol 11, no1, 1951, pp52-53

³ See Harrison, M. *Victorian Stained Glass*, (London, 1980)

⁴ Rush-Bambrough, S. *Glass Painting in Scotland 1830-70*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2001

⁵ Harrison, M. *Victorian Stained Glass* (London,1980) p13

⁶ Cannizzo, J. *O Caledonia! Sir Walter Scott and the Creation of Scotland* Exhibition Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh 1999. The notion of Scott's Gothic romanticism and its legacy will be questioned in Chapter 3 within the context of Herder and cultural nationalism

⁷ Glendinning, M., MacInnes, R. and MacKechnie, A. *A History of Scottish Architecture; from the Renaissance to the present day*, (Edinburgh, 1996), p2

⁸ Alexander Thomson, 'An Inquiry as to the Appropriateness of the Gothic Style for the proposed Buildings for the University of Glasgow, with some Remarks upon Mr. Scott's Plans'. in *Proceedings of the Glasgow Architectural Society* (Glasgow, 1865-67), p46

⁹ Stamp, G. 'Introduction', *Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland*, vol 8: *Caledonia Gothica: Pugin and the Gothic Revival in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1997), p3

¹⁰ In 1815 Gillespie lengthened his name to Gillespie Graham

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- ¹¹ The rooms by Pugin were thought to be equal in grandeur to those in the House of Lords
- ¹² The Pugin exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1994 and at the Bard Institute of Fine Arts, New York, USA, in 1995 dealt with his influences on Ireland, America and Australia but had overlooked Scotland's role in his work
- ¹³ Kinchin, J. 'Pugin and the Decorative Arts in Scotland' in *Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland*, vol 8: *Caledonia Gothica: Pugin and the Gothic Revival in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1997) pp74-89
- ¹⁴ In the 1890s, according to Kinchin, only one piece of Pre-Reformation church silver had been discovered in Scotland
- ¹⁵ Kinchin, J. 'Pugin and the Decorative Arts in Scotland' p79
- ¹⁶ Scott W. quoted in Glendinning, MacInnes and MacKecnie *A History of Scottish Architecture from the Renaissance to the Present Day*, p238
- ¹⁷ Scott W. quoted in Glendinning, MacInnes and MacKecnie *A History of Scottish Architecture from the Renaissance to the Present Day*, p238
- ¹⁸ Chambers, R. *A Description of Craufurd Priory* (Edinburgh, 1830), p10
- ¹⁹ RCAHMS Archive GD 142/10/96-97x
- ²⁰ RCAHMS Archive GD 142/1-/98
- ²¹ RCAHMS Archive GD 142/10/56-57x
- ²² Macauley, J. *The Gothic Revival 1745 - 1845* (London, 1975), p235
- ²³ Chambers, *A Description of Craufurd Priory*, p14
- ²⁴ Donnelly, M. *Scotland's Stained Glass*, (Edinburgh, 1997), p17
- ²⁵ Chambers, *A Description of Craufurd Priory*, pp15-16
- ²⁶ Rush-Bambrough, *Glass Painting in Scotland 1830-70*, p141
- ²⁷ Breadalbane muniments in the Scottish Records Office contains a bill from Edington to Lord Breadalbane dated June 25 1815. The first item on the document records a trip to London on 14 July 1813 to 'furnish drawings of window with figures and arms'. SRO GD112/20/4/12
- ²⁸ Rush-Bambrough, *Glass Painting in Scotland 1830-70*, p142
- ²⁹ John Steuart of Dalguise 'The Private Diary for 1827' quoted in Macaulay, J. 'James Gillespie Graham and A. W. N. Pugin: Some Perthshire connections' in *Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland*, vol 8: *Caledonia Gothica; Pugin and the Gothic Revival in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1997), p24
- ³⁰ Rush-Bambrough, *Glass Painting in Scotland 1830-70*, pp147-8
- ³¹ Macaulay, 'James Gillespie Graham and A. W. N. Pugin: Some Perthshire connections', p24
- ³² Pemberton, F. quoted in 'Glass Painters 1750-1850 Part III', *Journal British Society of Master Glass Painters*, vol 13, No 3, 1961-62, p514
- ³³ Winston, C. *Memoirs illustrative of the Art of Glass-painting*, (London, 1865), pp186-7
- ³⁴ Heraldic pattern books have not suggested the inclusion of an ostrich for the Crawford family - research still in progress
- ³⁵ As can be seen from the photographs the building is in a poor state of repair, having been abandoned to the elements by its present owner Lord Cochrane. [See accounts in 'Nooks and Corners', *Private Eye*, 21 February 1997, p12 and *The Scotsman*, 10 February 1997]
- ³⁶ Rush-Bambrough's thesis provides the most extensive information on Ballantine's training and the development of his company
- ³⁷ See Donnelly, M. *Scotland's Stained Glass: Making the Colours Sing*, (Edinburgh, 1997), p17
- ³⁸ Ballantine, J. *Treatise on Painted Glass, shewing its applicability to every style of architecture* (Edinburgh, 1845), p1
- ³⁹ Ballantine, J. *Treatise on Painted Glass*, p2
- ⁴⁰ Kinchin, 'Pugin and the Decorative Arts in Scotland' p76
- ⁴¹ Devine, T. *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000*, (London, 1999), p261

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- ⁴² Fleming, J. R. *A History of the Church in Scotland 1843-1874* (Edinburgh, 1927), p9
- ⁴³ This is a generalization since, for example Alexander Greek Thomson was based in Glasgow
- ⁴⁴ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000*, p253
- ⁴⁵ Aldam Heaton, J. quoted by Crawford, A. *By Hammer and Hand*, (Birmingham, 1984), p120
- ⁴⁶ Thompson, P. *The Work of William Morris* (London, 1967), p146
- ⁴⁷ Adam, S. quoted in Donnelly *Scotland's Stained Glass*, p8 [Donnelly does not give any references for quotes used in his book]
- ⁴⁸ Page 335 of the *Aberdeen Trades Directory* for 1897-8 lists seven companies under the category of glass stainers
- ⁴⁹ Copeland, P. quoted by John S Reid, 'Late Eighteenth-Century Adult Education in the Sciences at Aberdeen: the Natural Philosophy Classes of Professor Patrick Copland', in *Aberdeen and the Enlightenment*, J. J. and. Pittock J. H (eds), (Aberdeen, 1987), p169
- ⁵⁰ Khayyam was born in 1048 and died in 1122. The poem was only translated into English by Edward Fitzgerald in the 1850s
- ⁵¹ *The Aberdeen Trades Directory*, (Aberdeen, 1887-1898) p335
- ⁵² Russell, A. C. *Stained-glass windows of Douglas Strachan*, (Balgavies, 2002), p27
- ⁵³ Pers. comm. the Revd James Stewart, ex Minister of St Nicholas Kirk, Union Street, Aberdeen
- ⁵⁴ Pers. comm. Una Wallace
- ⁵⁵ Pers. comm. Revd James Stewart
- ⁵⁶ Grant Fleming, J. G. *The Story of St Mary's Chapel* (Aberdeen, 1935), p20
- ⁵⁷ Interview given by Strachan in *Brown's Book-stall*, pp251-255
- ⁵⁸ *Brown's Book-stall*, p 253
- ⁵⁹ This image and the following two political cartoons were found in a scrapbook entitled *Newspaper and Other Illustrations, R. Douglas Strachan* which was compiled by one of Strachan's aunts and is in a private collection
- ⁶⁰ *Brown's Book-stall*, p255
- ⁶¹ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, p3
- ⁶² *Brown's Book-stall*, p252
- ⁶³ Knowles, J. W. Manuscript 'List of English [sic] Glass Painters' compiled c.1930. NAL cat. no. MSL/1933/1975, Pressmark 86.BB.72. Page 153a
- ⁶⁴ Strachan, D. *A Lecture on Design and Craft*, (Edinburgh, 1910), p118
- ⁶⁵ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's scrapbook, p7
- ⁶⁶ Cormack, P. review of MacDonald, J. 'Visions Through Glass. The Work of Douglas Strachan (1875-1950)' in *The Journal of Stained Glass* vol 25, 2001 p173
- ⁶⁷ Glasgow University Archive: DC21/161, Undated letter from DS 259 Union Street, Aberdeen, to Miss Story.
- ⁶⁸ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's scrapbook, Cutting from *Banffshire Journal*, 6 January 1903, p7
- ⁶⁹ This information is taken from Fraserburgh Old Parish Church notes on the Anderson window. Unfortunately, the notes do not indicate the portraiture work.
- ⁷⁰ Strachan's notebook lists items bought in Paris, Milan, Bologne, Florence and Rome and landscapes produced further suggest they visited Venice, Gerona and Ragussa
- ⁷¹ Strachan to W. O. Hutchinson, 9 February 1935, Glasgow School of Art, Hutchinson letters DIR9/10 1934-35
- ⁷² Strachan, *A Lecture on Design and Craft*, p7
- ⁷³ Strachan, *A Lecture on Design and Craft*, p7
- ⁷⁴ Strachan, D. 'Art Theory and Stained Glass Practice', *Aberdeen University Review*, vol 16, 1929, p121
- ⁷⁵ Strachan, R. D. 'Art Theory and Stained Glass Practice', pp 119-120
- ⁷⁶ Glasgow University Archive: DC21/160, letter from DS 259 Union Street, Aberdeen, to Miss Story. No date

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- ⁷⁷ This was the family home - one of Strachan's letters to Miss Story has this address crossed through and replaced with his studio address of 259 Union Street.
- ⁷⁸ A niece, Hilary Mather, recalls Alexander but only to the point that he 'was a very kind man'. Pers. comm. Hilary Mather
- ⁷⁹ Pers. comm. Peter Cormack
- ⁸⁰ He certainly didn't accumulate as much wealth as his brother, since when he died in Edinburgh in 1954 his estate amounted to £2,550 (Douglas's estate amounted to £39,574)
- ⁸¹ Russell, *Stained Glass Windows of Douglas Strachan*, p18
- ⁸² Pers. comm. Cliff Robinson: extracts from Oxford Diocesan Records for St Leonard's Church, Buckinghamshire
- ⁸³ Pers. comm. Cliff Robinson: Letter from Morley-Fletcher to J. Rose, Oxford Diocesan Records for St Leonard's Church, Buckinghamshire
- ⁸⁴ Pers. comm. C. Shaw
- ⁸⁵ In an article on the RCAHMS's collection of the War Memorial's artefacts, (Watters, D. 'The Scottish National War Memorial', *AHSS Magazine* No 12, Summer 2001, p35) Diane Watters notes that the cartoons 'may be the work of stained glass designer Louis Davis, whom Lorimer employed at the Thistle Chapel from 1909-11.' She further comments that Lorimer appears to have written on some of the cartoons suggesting alterations. Inspection of these cartoons, however, reveals that they are by Douglas Strachan, not Louis Davis. Davis would have been an odd choice given that he was not Scottish and the aim was that the building and its decoration should be created by Scots men and women
- ⁸⁶ Strachan, D. On cartoons held by Royal Commission Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland
- ⁸⁷ Page 17 of Russell's catalogue also notes that the clerestory windows are by Alexander
- ⁸⁸ Edinburgh College of Art, Letter Book No 3, 1909, p179
- ⁸⁹ Edinburgh College of Art, Minute Book, June 1909-July 1910, p68
- ⁹⁰ Research on the Brangwyn window at St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, is currently being carried out by Joseph McBrinn, a PhD student at NCAD, Dublin
- ⁹¹ Christian Shaw, Douglas Hogg and Phoenix Glass who have each carried out conservation work on a variety of Strachan windows all comment on the high standard of lead work found in Strachan's windows
- ⁹² Edinburgh College of Art, Minute Book, May 1911, p83
- ⁹³ Warr, C. *The Glimmering Landscape*, (London, 1960)
- ⁹⁴ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, p42
- ⁹⁵ Pers. comm. Rev A. C. Russell
- ⁹⁶ Strachan, R. 'Modern Art and the Future' in *Aberdeen University Review*, vol 5, 1918 pp5-6
- ⁹⁷ Whall, C. *Stained Glass Work* (London, 1905), pp268-269
- ⁹⁸ Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass*, p 65
- ⁹⁹ Strachan, 'Art Theory and Stained Glass Practice', p119
- ¹⁰⁰ Cormack, P. 'Recreating a Tradition: Christopher Whall and the Arts and Crafts Renaissance of English Stained Glass', in N. Gordon Bowe (ed.), *Art and the National Dream*, (Dublin, 1993), p17
- ¹⁰¹ Strachan, *Lecture on Design and Craft*, p.10
- ¹⁰² Wilson, 'Founder of the Modern Scots Tradition', pp52-53
- ¹⁰³ Strachan, *A Lecture on Design and Craft*, p15
- ¹⁰⁴ Wilson, 'Founder of the Modern Scots Tradition', p53
- ¹⁰⁵ Strachan, *A Lecture on Design and Craft*, p17

Chapter Three

Civic identity: Aberdeen and its assertion of municipal pride through the murals and stained-glass windows of Douglas Strachan

*O come all ye at hame wi' freedom
Never heed whit the hoodies croak for doom;
In your hoose a' the bairns o' Adam
Can find breid, barley bree an' painted room.¹*

Dr William Brogden in his *Architectural Guide to Aberdeen* commented that:

A city is its buildings, and, since buildings unlike citizens do not at all mind being stared at, photographed and pointed to, they are the most accessible key to Aberdeen's character. Through them one can come to know much of the nature of the Aberdonian himself.²

Brogden was making specific reference to the exterior appearance of architecture, but the interior decoration of buildings is similarly open to such scrutiny. As discussed in Chapter 2, Aberdeen's role in Scotland's cultural development is often overlooked by historians. This exclusion is predominantly due to the city being geographically remote from, and somewhat overshadowed, by Edinburgh and Glasgow. As a result, it has been a common assumption that Aberdeen at the end of the nineteenth century was essentially parochial, harbouring an isolated community which was culturally deficient and politically conservative. Yet the reality was that Aberdeen enjoyed much prosperity based on well-established international trade links and long-standing and thriving academic institutions. Its presumed political conservatism was similarly erroneous. The city had a sound tradition of democratic ideals as regards the education of its inhabitants and the representation of its workers and was home to a strong Trades Union movement.

It is also clear from reports in the local press that many of the city's inhabitants took an active interest in their immediate architectural environment and that some were unhappy with recently erected buildings in their late nineteenth-century city. For example, in 1898 *Brown's Book-Stall* noted that 'Aberdeen is notoriously a city of White Elephants.'³ Perhaps as a result of such complaints, the Aberdeen Artists' Society, which was formed in November 1827, aimed to improve the town's artistic and architectural content.

The Aberdeen Artists' Society might not be able to influence the civic mind individually, but it might do so by the knowledge which might be made to permeate the civic mind in a collective sense, and might thereby do much to elevate Aberdeen to what it ought to be - one of the most picturesque and beautiful cities in the British Isles.⁴

The City's leaders had good reason, therefore, to attempt to combat such widespread, erroneous stereotyping and local dissatisfaction through the promotion of a strong civic sense of self-worth and communal pride.

The aim of this chapter is to examine the role of Strachan's murals and stained-glass windows produced between 1898 and 1909 in creating a civic, rather than religious or national, identity. The focus will chiefly be on the Trades Hall murals in Belmont Street, the Music Hall scheme in Union Street, the Geddes Memorial Window, *The Adoration of the Magi*, at King's College Chapel and the large Cruickshank Memorial Window, *The Faculties of Science*, for Marischal College Library, because their context (political, cultural and educational) broadly speaking represents the chief structures of civic identity. Through a close scrutiny and evaluation of these works it will be argued that they were created with the intention of providing intellectual cultivation and

refinement and, more crucially, of promoting Aberdeen as a cosmopolitan, erudite and hard working city. Furthermore, the contention is that this promotion was intended for consumption by both the citizens of Aberdeen in order to foster a heightened sense of self-worth and municipal pride, and to a broader audience to reassert the city's place within a wider national and international context.

Between 1800 and 1900, Aberdeen witnessed a phenomenal growth in industry. Lord Provost Means noted, at the opening of the second meeting of the Scottish Trades Union Congress on 27 April 1898, that whilst Aberdeen was not the second largest city, it was second in terms of the sheer number of industries represented in the city. 'I question if any other city in the United Kingdom can say as we can, that we don't rest our prosperity and advancement on one particular trade but on the great variety of trades in our midst.'⁵ This broad expansion of industry in turn engendered a burgeoning demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labour. However, the city's craft associations, keen to protect the dignity of their trades against the onslaught of mechanisation, were not eager to extend a welcome to the swelling army of cheaper, less-skilled labour that was an integral part of that mechanisation process and so, did not offer their support and protection to such workers. Because of this, Trades Councils quickly became focal points for already established, skilled workers and by 1876 Aberdeen had a particularly active Trades Council which took a fervent interest in the lives of its members, both in the workplace and within the wider municipal community.

The late 1890s proved to be a particularly exciting time for Scottish trades unionists. Although the Trades Union Congress had been founded nearly thirty years earlier, the TUC's London base frequently appeared to be too remote to relate to Scottish concerns. As a result of this, and related problems regarding their status within the TUC, the Scottish trades councils decided to form their own independent institution and on 25 March 1897, the Scottish Trades Union Congress was formed in Glasgow.

By 1898, Aberdeen's Trades Council enjoyed a thriving membership of approximately thirteen thousand.⁶ In his welcome speech to delegates at the Aberdeen Congress Mr Robert Smillie, chairman of the Parliamentary committee, commented on the city's support of the newly formed STUC and he congratulated the Aberdeen trades unionists on their full ownership of the Trades Hall which enabled them to:

meet under their own vine and fig tree without any fear of eviction. [He further commented that] ... he thought he was right in saying that in no other town or city in Great Britain had they such a place as this for trades unionists to meet in, a hall which they could call their own, and the delegates who were there from the south would go back he felt sure with feelings of determination so far as Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dundee, and other great centres were concerned, that they would take to heart the lesson they had received here from the trades unionists of Aberdeen, and would do everything in their power to stimulate their fellow workers and colleagues in trades unionism to build such a place as that, in which trades unionists might meet.⁷

The Aberdeen Trades Council purchased its house in Belmont Street in June 1892 and in 1896, decided to erect a hall and a suite of committee rooms on the garden space extending from the side and rear of the building to Lower Denburn Road [Fig. 35]. The architects, Ellis and Wilson, designed the new accommodation in Scottish Baronial style. They incorporated suites of

committee rooms and a hall with electric lighting and a seating capacity of 1200. Whilst the intended function of the new building generally met with public approval, the design of the Trades Hall appears to have encountered local criticism. One newspaper commented that 'public opinion was freely expressed by the Marquis of Huntly who said things about the building that only a member of the House of Lords in a mood of indignant candour would be allowed to say.'⁸ This is perhaps a reference to a speech reported in another local newspaper when the Marquis spoke to the Aberdeen Artists' Society describing, but not naming, the Trades Hall.

Many opportunities have been lost in Aberdeen and one of those was the opportunity for the treatment of that beautiful valley on both sides of the Denburn - Union Terrace on the one side, and Belmont Street on the other. [He then particularly referred to] ... one abortion [...] that had been allowed to be erected on one side of the valley of the Denburn. [commenting on] the peculiar ideas that architects had of placing mushroom-looking turrets at the ends of gables which had not the slightest approach to any architectural use [...] He could not believe that any person who walked along Union Bridge and looked at that awful building [...] would disagree.⁹

The Marquis of Huntley's lack of generosity towards the building may have stemmed from his own political viewpoint. Whatever the reasons were for the his comments, it was important for the Trades Union to foster a positive public opinion of the Hall. There was little to be done to alter the exterior appearance of the building but his well-publicised criticisms may have influenced the decision taken by delegates at a meeting of the Executive and Hall Committee on 7 February 1898 to decorate the interior of the main hall. However, the committee was also keen that the decoration be paid for 'without interfering with the ordinary income and expenditure and without taking from the Capital account.'¹⁰ This decision coincided with Strachan's return to Aberdeen. He had

intended to leave Manchester in order to travel to France and Italy to further his artistic education, but in 1898, ill health forced him to change his plans and he returned to Aberdeen. Strachan presumably heard of the Trades Council's plan to decorate the interior of the Hall via his uncle, William Livingston. Livingston held a prominent role in the public life of Aberdeen he was a member of the Typographical Printers' Association and later a Justice of the Peace in Aberdeen. He had also been Vice-President of the Trades Council in 1887 its President in 1889, and was also a member of the committee in charge of organising the decoration of the hall.

In view of the decision to decorate the hall without recourse to the Trade Council's funds, Strachan's offer to donate two murals to flank the stage must have delighted the Council. Unfortunately, the interior of the Trades Hall has been drastically altered and the murals lost [Fig. 36]. To date, no cartoons or detailed photographs of the scheme have been found, so contemporary newspaper articles offer the best descriptions and images of the scheme.

Strachan had two aims for his Trades Hall design. He wanted the murals to be united through the decorative colour scheme; and to illustrate symbolically the principal industrial activities of Aberdeen. Figure 37 was printed in *The Scots Pictorial* on 1 October 1898. The *marouflage* panels were destined for either side of the stage and were each 12 feet high and 10 feet wide. Intended as allegorical representations of work, the left panel recalled 'ancient', and the right 'modern' labour. *Ancient Labour* shows a classically inspired scheme with various forms of employment represented. A Roman soldier stands on the steps surveying the bustle of the market place. To his left, there are women

with baskets of fruit and men carrying water, whilst to the right, figures on a scaffold appear to be in the process of decorating a building. Beneath the scaffolding a man walks alongside a figure with a donkey, whilst the foreground is dominated by slaves carrying heavy bales from the market places to the quays. In the lower left, just behind the slaves and in front of the soldier, a wealthy merchant stands and quietly surveys the scene. According to *The Scots Pictorial* the *Ancient Labour* panel:

with its background of noble classic architecture, presents in the foreground such a scene as may still be witnessed in Constantinople, or Jaffa, or any other place of cosmopolitan character that is "behind the time" in manufacturing or mechanical matters.¹¹

The pendant panel, *Modern Labour*, differed significantly from the photo-engraving [Fig. 38] (which could well have been created by Strachan before he had actually completed the work). According to several newspaper reports (including *The People's Journal*), this image depicted Progress seated on a cart with the Arts behind, pulled along by representatives of different industries.¹² In the final work, Progress and her acolytes have been replaced with a sculpture of a male winged statue 'Freedom'.¹³ This figure is also positioned within a cart which is being led by figures representing the chief industries, but in its left hand, Freedom carries a semi-raised horn and is about to strike 'the new note which has entered into the psalm of life.'¹⁴ Whilst some alterations took place as the idea was developed, in both the photo-engraving and the completed panel, 'Engineering' remained the keynote of the design, the solid-looking factories and smoking chimneys in the background contrasting with the triumphal arch and classical columns of *Ancient Labour*. Again, the foreground is occupied with hardworking men, but these figures contrast starkly with

those in the foreground of the left panel. The facial expressions and posture of the slaves suggest servility, restraint and toil whereas the men on the right generally appear to have noble postures, their countenances suggesting they are satisfied with their place in life. Again *The Scots Pictorial* comments that:

In "Modern Labour" the scene is a busy wharf, thus introducing a glimpse of one of those great steamers which play such an important part in present-day life, and explaining the presence of lumbermen and other picturesque pioneer labourers, while the corner of a huge factory is discreetly indicated in the background.¹⁵

This image, despite its overall idealism was designed to be perceived as a reflection of everyday life within Aberdeen. The many trade unionists who would ultimately use the Hall may not have considered themselves connoisseurs of art, however, the immediacy of the images in *Modern Labour* with its incorporation of the wharf, steamers and local factories would no doubt have had a strong impact on its viewers.

Strachan also used other more subtle motifs to commend modern work ethics. The mural representing ancient labour is pyramidal in shape, perhaps suggesting the hierarchical nature of its society. It can be divided into three separate levels. The upper part portrays wealthy members of Roman society, people on camels, a soldier resplendent in his armour and a merchant. Then there are the traders and agricultural workers with the artisans linked to their level by the ladder. In front of them, at the lowest level, are the labourers. The grouping also adds a sense of separateness to the scene, the various individuals in each section working for their own needs. The right-hand mural offers a more homogeneous scene. The characters seem to flow from Freedom and, once the bottom of the canvas has been reached, they rise again until

they are finally almost at the same level as the winged statue. The idea of democracy is further contrasted in the column in the background of *Ancient Labour* and the lamp to the right of the cart of Progress in *Modern Labour*. The equestrian figure in the column recalls the power available to select people within a hierarchical system, whilst the lamp both represents a more contemporary form of power, that of electricity. It is a symbol of democracy, shedding light on all people.

According to the photo-engraving of the design [Fig. 38], Strachan had intended to include monochrome figures above the two panels representing, from left to right, Electricity, Textiles, Building and Steam, in order to further emphasise the link between new and traditional forms of labour. However, in an image of the interior which also appeared in *The Scots Pictorial* [Fig. 39] there appear to be only two figures; one either side, over the panels, the two cornices being filled in with pattern rather than a kneeling human form. The image on the left appears to be female and on the right male and they may well be amalgams of the four trades. The female holds an implement in her hand, which perhaps relates to textiles, and the figure on the right holds a torch, and could well represent steam and/or electricity. An article in the *Aberdeen Press and Journal* comments on the boldness and originality of this scheme, and notes Strachan's success in overcoming 'the difficulty of getting sufficient richness of colour in modern garments to harmonise with the more luxurious fabrics of the ancients.'¹⁶ Another article mentions the border for the two panels which was 'quieter in tone than the warm, bright colours of the mural, showing a spiral band of gold on a background of dark green.'¹⁷

The Aberdeen Trades Council was so pleased with Strachan's two panels that it immediately commissioned him to extend the scheme and provide designs for the entire hall. Strachan accepted the commission but, according to *The Scots Pictorial*, did not decorate the hall unaided as one of the city's painting and decorating companies assisted him:

The greater part of this stupendous labour of love [...] has been accomplished wholly by the artist's own hand, involving the strenuous labour of many months. The remainder of the task - under Mr Strachan's personal direction and close supervision - has been carried out by the workmen of Messrs. Whyte of Aberdeen.¹⁸

The overall colour scheme has been reported as particularly rich.

He has command of a palette of great richness and delicacy. His work abounds in beautiful harmonies of exquisite greens and greys, and lovely qualities of amber, russet, and saffron that possess an illusive mystery and romantic charm only found in the work of the great colourists.¹⁹

For the rear of the stage Strachan designed allegories of Truth and Justice. In front of Justice he placed a knight, ready to carry out her decrees. On the other side a woman looked into the mirror held before her by Truth. Again, Strachan apparently used sumptuous colours for these designs, the figures being painted in orange and pea green and set against the deep maroons and gold of the curtains.²⁰ He divided the ceiling into three ellipses, the central one being the richest and containing two winged figures in the centre supporting tablets bearing the mottoes 'Labor Omnia Vincit' (Labour conquers all) and 'Veritas Vincit' (truth conquers). At some point during the Trade Hall's history, this ceiling had been covered by a false one. In 1994 Aberdeen District Council (as it was then known) decided to use the building as a media centre and the false ceiling was removed. As can be seen from these photographs [Fig. 40]

Strachan's ceiling (and the interior) had suffered extensive damage over the years.

However, the angels remain clearly visible, along with their banners celebrating the merits of hard work and one can get a sense of the richness of colour used in the scheme. The organic style of the ceiling decoration has much in common with the sinuous forms of Art Nouveau. The Art Nouveau influence is particularly apparent in the hybrid forms which emanated from the central rose. The shoulders beneath the frowning faces transform into the flowing lines of flowers and seed heads which encapsulate the hermaphroditic cherubs and their slogans. The sunflowers which intersperse the design are also indicative of a strong relationship to the Aesthetic Movement and the interior decoration schemes of James McNeill Whistler. The ceiling, whilst referring to European and British decorative ideas also contained images particular to Aberdeen. In the one corner, he included Aberdeen's heraldic leopard and 'Bon Accord' whilst in the other, there is a winged lion and the royal motto: '*Nemo me impune lacessit*' (No-one provokes me with impunity). This dictum is also used by the Order of the Thistle, the highest honour in Scotland. So both Aberdeen and Scotland were acknowledged by the scheme, along with the virtuous properties of honest toil.

Along the upper half of the two side walls of the hall were fourteen, equally elaborate groups, seven on one side representing *In the Way of Greatness* and seven on the other representing *In Pursuit of Fame*. Again, *The Scot's Pictorial* gives a full account of the images, stating that Greatness typified 'the march of the world's labour and thought towards that intrinsic "greatness" which can be

achieved by every honest worker and true thinker.²¹ Fame on the other hand was represented as a pursuit in which 'the noble and ignoble alike may join.'²² Strachan was keen not only to create allegorical depictions of *Fame* and *Greatness*, but also to contrast their inherent qualities. The seven *Fame* pictures were described in the local press as being 'full of brightness and sunshine, of physical beauty, and admiration, as typifying the visible or tangible rewards of labour.'²³ By contrast, the prevailing tone of the opposite group was sombre, 'almost religious as if striving after an ideal beyond visible reward or fame.'²⁴ [Figs 41 and 42].

James Caw explained the idea of opposition in the themes of 'Fame' and 'Greatness' as 'the lasting satisfaction and enduring good achieved in the way of Greatness, by honest labour, whether of mind or hand, for the common weal, and the engrossing and more selfish if not always ignoble strivings of those engaged in the pursuit of Fame.'²⁵ A newspaper article further commented on Strachan's use of colour to contrast the two groups:

Mr Strachan does not intend that each of his groups shall have a definite meaning interpretable with the same prosaic cast-iron certainty as a photograph of a Lord Mayor's Show or a Derby Day. His pictures are in the first place *decorative* and nowhere do they descend to the level of illustrated stories. It is by their harmony of colour and grouping that they suggest community of idea.²⁶

However, it is clear that Strachan had a broad allegorical narrative in mind when he devised the scheme. In the central panel Greatness itself was shown as a guardian angel with outspread wings which curve towards the kneeling figures in an almost maternal gesture. In her right hand she holds a sphere, the emblem of truth, and in her left she clutches flowers at her breast

suggesting the joy and satisfaction given by nature. She stands beneath an arch which is created by the 'joined hands of the darkling forms of elemental forces.'²⁷ At her feet are the devotees who have reached her shrine and who are united in their goal to achieve greatness. The remaining six panels formed part of a procession, three to either side: the first group symbolised workers in the fields of science; the second represented those who spent their time thinking or philosophising; the third focused on those who toiled on the land; the fourth showed artists, musicians and poets whose work often survived long after their names were forgotten; the fifth consisted of warriors, redressers of wrong; and the final group was of 'those who find true greatness in high places.'²⁸ Again, in these panels there is reference to the wider community since at the front of each group was a ceremonial figure 'stoled, and bearing treasures and incense - types of the communal virtues and labours by which cities and societies rise to greatness.'²⁹

The central panel for Fame was less intricate, consisting of a flame on an altar; a flame which could be extremely fickle, blow either way or even be extinguished. Around the altar surrounded by sacrificed animals, sat figures in self-absorbed poses, symbols of those who had tried to achieve fame but who had ultimately failed. The panels to either side of Fame contained a number of other figures: a prophet encouraging people to seek fame; a philosopher; a young knight - his mind not so much on seeking justice but on making a name for himself through his brave deeds; a woman holding a small mirror surrounded by her courtiers; a group of women representing heroines of history such as Cleopatra and Helen of Troy; a weary-looking man and noble family who together represent those who have built great masterpieces and

shrines in an attempt to find fame through prosperity; and lastly, two people whispering, 'for "Fame" may begin with a whisper and a whisper may destroy it.'³⁰

Below these groups, on the panels between the windows, were eight life-size figures representing various arts and crafts. Some members of the Trades Council were keen that the trades have their emblems painted on the panels in the hall, but no firm decision was reached. Strachan's allegorical representations of the various trades was an ideal resolution of the dilemma. On the north wall, he included depictions of navigation, carpentry, weaving and printing and on the south, architecture, agriculture, decoration and engineering. Personifications of Music and Oratory were also produced in order to make reference to the uses for which the hall was intended. Strachan deviated from normal iconographical representations of the industries in these depictions as the images were alternately male and female. Thus Navigation, frequently portrayed as a man at a wheel, was replaced by a woman standing on the backs of dolphins, her flowing garments caught by the breeze forming a sail to bear her along. Carpentry was a male figure holding a carved shield, bearing the arms of the craft. Figure 43 is taken from Strachan's *Peace Achieved* window in the Great Hall of Justice, in the Peace Palace at The Hague. This scheme was created in 1913 and the window celebrates the passing of humanity from a society which craved war or control to one of peaceful co-existence. The woman in this small section of the window is sat at her loom weaving a cloth of peace which stretches across the lower section of the window, and the overall image perhaps bears some similarity to the style

of design in the Trades Hall, particularly 'Weaving' which is said to have taken the form of a lady working at an old-fashioned loom with the distant landscape shown through a window in the background. 'Decoration' was portrayed via a woman studying her palette. The adjoining wall behind her bore a piece of decorative work on which she was engaged, while in line with her head, was a small stained-glass window. One cannot help but think that Strachan was keen to exhibit the initial blossoming of his own interests here. As already discussed in Chapter 2, his first commission for stained glass was received in 1898, so it is possible that this was on his mind whilst he worked on the Trades Hall murals.

It is of interest to question Strachan's democratic use of male and female personifications. Whilst Walter Crane frequently included romanticised women in flowing robes in his designs for Trades Union banners, the heroines of work did not appear in Trades Union iconography until the early twentieth-century. The interplay of gender would have offered a sense of balance to the Trade Hall's murals, but because Livingston was Strachan's uncle, he must have been aware of the vital role of the trades councils to many female workers. The Scottish trades councils extended trade unionism to unskilled workers and '...included among the least advantaged were women, to whom the trades councils offered a welcome denied by many craft unions.'³¹

Due to the lack of photographic evidence, it is not only difficult to comment on the developmental stages of the design, but also to ascertain the artistic influences at work on Strachan at the time of the production of these murals.

Although his main interest at this time was oil painting, he would certainly have been aware of the revival in mural decoration. By the 1880s, mural decoration had become a vitally important art form in Britain, its popularity stemming in part from the recognition that in order to create a good mural the artist had to work in sympathy with his or her surroundings. Integration of the arts was an important principle expounded by prominent artists such as William Morris and Walter Crane and the biologist Patrick Geddes. In October 1889 at the meeting in Edinburgh of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry, William Morris declared that: 'the synonym for applied art is architecture, and I should say that painting is of little use, and sculpture of less, except where their works form a part of architecture.'³² Walter Crane in his essay 'Of Decorative Painting and Design', was equally emphatic about the relationship of decorative work to its environment and the integration and balance of decoration and design:

the first essential of a decoration is that it shall be related to its environment, that it shall express or acknowledge the conditions under which it exists. If [it is] a fresco on a wall, for instance, it adorns the wall without attempting to look like a hole cut in it through which something is accidentally seen.³³

Crane also put forward five 'tests' for the decorative artist: 'Does the design fit its place and material? Is it in scale with its surroundings and in harmony with itself? Is it fair and lovely in colour? Has it beauty and invention? Has it thought and poetic feeling?'³⁴

Patrick Geddes played a vital role in introducing many of Morris's philosophies to Scotland and Scotland's 'mural renaissance' has been attributed to his zealous efforts.³⁵ Like Morris and Crane, Geddes believed that the condition of

art and design had a direct influence on the moral state of civilisation and he was deeply committed to urban and moral renewal, believing in a biological model of society whereby 'economics was an integral part of biology and art an integral part of economics.'³⁶ In 1885, he formed the Edinburgh Social Union which aimed to improve the quality of life in the city, particularly in the Old Town, by 'making the dingy grey of our cities gain something of the pure azures and flash across its smoky wilderness the gleam of renaissance hope.'³⁷ Geddes employed a variety of people such as Robert Burns, James Cadenhead, Mary Hill Burton, Charles Mackie, William Hole, John Duncan, Phoebe Traquair and students from the Old Edinburgh School of Art, to create numerous murals in mission halls, hospitals, schools and churches throughout the city. The subject matter and style of the murals was equally varied, ranging from Celtic knot-work designs to reproductions of works by J. E. Millais or Edward Burne-Jones, and from Traquair's poetic lyricism to Duncan's Celtic symbolism. Whilst Strachan's mural schemes were independent of the Edinburgh Social Union and the Arts and Crafts Movement, his works certainly adhere to the principles set out by Morris, Crane and Geddes.

There are other influences discernible in his work at the Trades Hall however. Whilst in Manchester, Strachan must have been aware of the important scheme designed by Ford Madox Brown for Manchester's Town Hall. Brown began the murals in April 1879 and completed them in 1893. During this time he became friendly with Alexander Ireland, editor of the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, and C. P. Scott, editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, who modelled for figures in the designs, along with other friends of Brown. In addition to *Ancient Labour* sharing a Roman theme with one of Brown's works, the nobility of the figures

in the *Modern Labour* mural have much in common with the workers in Brown's well known allegory of labour, *Work* (1852-65), which heroicised all forms of labour. Brown produced two versions of this painting, one for a Birmingham industrialist and another for James Leatheart, which was shown in Manchester in 1865 and was purchased by Manchester Art Gallery in 1885.

It is important to consider the ideological framework of Strachan's scheme within the context of late Victorian and Edwardian attitudes to society, where the working classes tended to be the objects of art not its audience. Whilst working in Manchester, Strachan also met Walter Crane who, according to an article in *Brown's Book-Stall*, fully approved of the decorative aspect of Strachan's 'black-and-white' work.³⁸ It is difficult to believe that at their meeting Crane and Strachan would not have talked about their common interest in political cartoons and that Crane would not have put forward his strong views on the importance of public art, such as murals, as an integral part of Socialism. Crane firmly believed that without economic freedom, political freedom could not exist, and whilst there were monopolies of land, slavery and poverty would continue. All of this would ensure that art could not flourish. In *The Claims of Decorative Art* 1892, Crane wrote:

'We want a vernacular in art... no mere verbal or formal agreement, or dead level of uniformity but that comprehensive and harmonizing unity with individual variety which can only be developed among people politically and socially free.'³⁹

It is reasonable to assume that Strachan was aware of Crane's *Triumph of Spring* and *The Triumph of Labour*, both of which celebrate the ideals of work and social unity. *The Triumph of Labour* was created to commemorate the first International May Day of 1891. The triumphal procession shares the idea of

community celebration found in Strachan's *Modern Labour* panel and it was reprinted in *Cartoons for the Cause* which was intended as a souvenir of the International and Trades Union Congress of 1896. Strachan's awareness of mural decoration in Edinburgh and Manchester, and his meeting with people such as Crane must have played a significant part in his decision to volunteer to paint two pictures for the Trades Hall. Moreover, the visual link with well-known Socialist art such as Crane's was an ideal way of signifying Aberdeen's relationship with the broader national Trade Union movement.

The Trades Hall murals, like Ford Madox Brown's painting *Work*, idealised and ennobled labour and they certainly shared Brown's device of separating the various forms of labour into manual, philanthropic and philosophic. However, *Work* was addressed to a middle-class art public whereas the Trades Hall is significant because the working people were both the subject and viewers. In many ways, the Trades Hall decor must be seen as an extension of the ideals contained within Trades Union banners. The first Trades Union banners were produced as early as the 1820s and by the 1890s, there was a huge rise in their popularity. Banners were taken everywhere, to meetings, demonstrations, picnics and funerals and they had three main functions: they offered members a sense of community and identity, they were an advertisement for the union itself, and they were a public declaration of unity.

The Trades Hall in Aberdeen similarly functioned as a permanent and constant reminder of the Trades Union presence in the City. Although the front façade in Belmont Street is unprepossessing, the rear façade [Fig. 35], at Lower Denburn Road, holds a commanding position. The combination of the

prominent geographic site and the choice of Scottish Baronial architectural style functioned as a powerful public signifier of the strength and unity of Trades Unionism in Aberdeen. Further more it encapsulated values which could be traced back throughout Scotland's long history of combating domination by enemies such as the Roman army and the English monarchy and, as a result, played an important role within the Scottish psyche. Strachan's iconography within the Hall acknowledged this history and drew on the notions of continuing strength and unity. At the same time the scheme enabled each trades unionist to perceive him/herself as a valued and respectable member of society working together in the name of self respect, freedom and even greatness.

A photograph of Strachan taken c.1898 shows him seated at his easel within the Trades Hall [Fig. 44]. The canvas he is working on may well have been an interpretation of a scene from William Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (a copy of which accompanied an interview of Strachan in *Brown's Book-Stall* at the height of interest in the decoration of the Trades Hall [Fig. 45]). The photograph is of interest for a number of reasons. Given the dearth of images of the interior of the Hall it offers another glimpse of the mural scheme and secondly, it emphasises Strachan's position as creator and artist. Whilst the quality of the photograph is not good, it is possible to get a broad idea of the scale of the allegorical figures representing the trades. It also shows that work must have begun on these figures before the insertion of the processions of Fame and Greatness. Finally, the image also reflects Strachan's aspirations as an artist rather than artisan and an image such as this would not only have given credibility to Strachan's identity, but would also have boosted the

reputation of the Trades Hall within the eyes of the general public. The work was being carried out by a promising young artist who, given the air of importance conveyed in this photograph, was obviously bound for success.⁴⁰ In the light of the earlier criticism aimed at the Trades Hall and other important municipal buildings, the message of a successful decorative scheme being completed by an indigenous artist must have functioned as a significant inspiration for Aberdonian self-confidence. This was certainly how the Aberdonian press perceived the decoration and it followed the progress of the Hall with great enthusiasm for both the art and its designer.

One of the best recommendations for Strachan's mural work was made by a delegate at a friendly society's conference in the Trades Hall who wrote:

I had never been in Scotland before, and I candidly confess that, with the inborn conceit of a Lancashire Trades Unionist, I didn't expect to get any 'points' on Trades Union enterprise in that country. When I entered the Aberdeen Trades Hall and surveyed the beautiful building, I felt exceedingly small, and was only kept in countenance by the fact that I was not the only one who had had his cocksure ideas rudely dissipated, for there were Trades Unionists from [...] numerous other towns, equally 'flabbergasted'.⁴¹

As noted, Aberdeen journalists were also very enthusiastic about Strachan's work at the Trades Hall and voiced their hope that the Aberdeen Music Hall authorities would entrust him with the decoration of its interior. Their call was answered, and in 1899 Strachan embarked on a scheme which, due to the pressure of other commissions for windows and portraits, was to take ten years to complete.

The Music Hall, Aberdeen

Forty years earlier on September 14 1859, Aberdeen's Music Hall had been opened to the public by the Prince Consort. The aim of the Hall was 'to afford performances on a large scale of the highest musical compositions... at a cost within the reach of all classes of the community.'⁴² It became a very popular feature in the social life of the city, so Strachan must have been under great pressure to produce a decorative scheme which was pleasing to look at and which would also appeal to the musical interests and erudition of Aberdeen's cultured audiences.

The Music Hall owners and civic dignitaries must have been well aware of the use of murals in other cities, especially Paris, and were perhaps keen that Strachan should choose a theme which allowed Aberdeen to be viewed in the same cultural light. Strachan's decision to illustrate the story of Orpheus was highly appropriate: the ancient Greek myth integrated with both the classical facade of the building and its musical theme, and the fact that the decoration of the foyer of the Paris Opera was also based on the Orphic legend gave further glamour to the Hall. Willson has commented that this choice of subject is far closer to 'continental precedent than to the more prosaic choice of historical episodes for many contemporary English murals in public buildings including the Royal Exchange in London.'⁴³ The popularity of the story was also due to the fluidity of interpretation which the narrative allowed. In medieval times Orpheus was perceived as a Christ figure, overcoming death, and in the Renaissance he was ascribed with Humanist and neo-platonic virtues. He personified the power of music, a discipline in which scientific and mathematical precision together create a language that transcends reason.

During the Romantic era Orpheus became a mystic, an eternal seeker for secrets beyond the bounds of this world. This flexibility provided a conduit through which the needs and aspirations of communities could be communicated. Through his choice of theme, Strachan was able to present Orpheus as a champion of humanism, a symbol of the power of music to soften the untamed hearts of humans and, therefore, as a conveyor of a refined, civilised culture.

A notebook belonging to Strachan gives some indication of his original intention for the decorative scheme. Images scattered throughout the book imply that Strachan planned to tell the entire story via seventeen *marouflage* panels, beginning with Apollo presenting his son with a golden lyre and culminating in the tragic death of Orpheus at the hands of the Bacchantes. Figure 46 suggests that Strachan had originally intended to insert four panels between the pilasters at the east, or rear of the hall. However, at some point the plan altered since the middle pilaster was removed and Strachan produced a thirty-three foot wide canvas instead.

Together the three rear panels which were finally created depict the *Orphic Argonautica*, the poem that tells of Orpheus protecting the sailors from the Sirens through his music. The wide central canvas is of Orpheus on board the boat with the Argonauts [Fig. 47] whilst the panels to the right and left depict the Sirens [Fig. 48], 'As if on either side of narrow straits with rock edges.'⁴⁴ The right-hand panel shows one of the Sirens seated on the rocks attempting to entice the sailors. The presence of the birds and fish link directly to

Simonides's (556-468) version of the poem: 'Over his head flew innumerable birds and to his beautiful song fish leapt straight out of the blue sea'.⁴⁵

As with the Trades Hall, Strachan began by creating the panels on either side of the stage. Unfortunately only five of Strachan's original paintings remain exposed. Historic Scotland have, however, been restoring another three and the project should be complete by the end of 2003. The five panels remaining on display depict: Orpheus losing Eurydice; the Bacchantes pursuing Orpheus; Orpheus pleading with Pluto; Orpheus at the tomb of Eurydice; and Orpheus Crossing the Styx. The most striking element of the Music Hall murals is the decorative quality of the scheme. The narrative is portrayed, and emotion elicited, through careful grouping of characters and use of colour rather than by detailed gestures and facial expressions. Strachan used subdued, tertiary colours in his panels with occasional flashes of brilliant hues to highlight intense moments of emotion. An example of his emotive use of colour can be found in the panel depicting Orpheus losing Eurydice, where the red glimmer of Hades' wing emphasises the darkness of Tartarus to which Eurydice must return [Fig. 49]. Similarly, in the Bacchantes pursuing Orpheus, bursts of colour in the group of Bacchantes contrast their violent animal passions with Orpheus's calm acceptance of his fate. The archives at Aberdeen Art Gallery hold a photograph of a framed painting signed by Strachan and dated 1908. It depicts a winged masculine figure restraining a winged female who carries a torch in her left hand. There is no cavernous background behind this pair, but given that both the painting and mural panel were created within a year of one another (the Music Hall panel is dated 1909) it is reasonable to assume that

this is also an image of Hades preventing Eurydice from leaving Tartarus [Fig. 50]. Unfortunately, the Aberdeen Art Gallery archive does not have any records accompanying this photograph and nor does it have any information regarding the painting's provenance or current whereabouts. It may have been a preliminary sketch for the mural scheme, although it would be unusual to go to the expense of framing such work. Given that at this time Strachan was still working from his studio in Union Street as an artist, it may have been commissioned by a patron who had visited the Music Hall and wanted a similar image in his or her own home. However, until more information can be uncovered, such ideas have to remain tentative and it is impossible to attach further significance to the image.

In addition to panels around the room, Strachan also decorated the ceiling [Fig. 52]. He complimented the Orphic series with an Apollonian theme. Again the choice is highly significant since Orpheus was believed to be the son of Apollo and the Muse of epic poetry, Calliope. Apollo was also the god of music and master of harmony. This ornate decoration was complete by September 1899, but is now unfortunately covered. The *Aberdeen Free Press*, however, offers a comprehensive description:

The ceiling is divided into three elliptical panels [...] In the centre of each panel a central ellipse is brought out in a green shade and upon this in natural and effective colours are depicted human figures moved to dancing by the lyre music which the two figures at the end of each ellipse provide. Ten figures are introduced into each ellipse, clad in classic robes which float around their limbs with a gentle and gaudy flimsiness. Around each panel is a magnificent fringe of peacocks, the brilliant plumage of which is one of the most telling of the perfectly harmonious features of the decoration. The borders of the great panels are finished in a subdued aquamarine green, as indeed are all the borders in the ceiling, which tends to bring out more effectively the ground decorations.⁴⁶

The intricately decorated apse fresco [Figs 52A and B] offers an insight into the rich ceiling scheme. Apollo is accompanied by the nine muses who, according to legend, presided over song and prompted memory. The Greek text, which runs beneath the figures reads: 'But sing of Pythian Phoebus (Apollo), of golden hair, shooting far, skilled with lyre, whom blessed Lato bore beside the famous lake.'⁴⁷

The quiet colours of the narrow canvas on the back wall echo Orpheus's sombre mood as he crosses the river in his long boat. The grey-toned colours help to unite the various panels into one gentle scheme which is appealing but not so distracting that the viewer is unable to concentrate on the stage itself, which is the main focal point. Strachan's ability to appeal to the viewer's sense of identity and place is further revealed in this scheme. His unusual choice of perspective for the rear panel brings the viewer into close proximity with the sailors straining at the rigging [Fig. 53]. The sight of men struggling against the wind and waves must have been a familiar one for many in the audience who made their living from the fishing industry in Aberdeen.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the geographical landscape is reminiscent of Scottish coastlines, the gentle colours of the hills in the background and the long swathe of grey-blue water. The image of men working also reiterates the theme of *Modern Labour* in the Trades Hall panel, but the sense of realism found here contrasts with the Olympian vision of Apollo above the stage area; this vision suggesting the heights to which music and all the arts can transport the individual.

Between 1898 when the Trades Hall murals were completed and 1909 when the Music Hall scheme came to an end, Strachan travelled widely through Europe. Whereas the Trades Hall designs echo particularly his contacts with Brown and Crane, the Music Hall is indicative of his growing cosmopolitan experience. Certainly some of the drapery and wings of the mythological characters are reminiscent of the indigenous style of late Victorian artists such as Edward Burne-Jones and George Frederick Watts, for example, Watts's own version of Orpheus and Eurydice which was created in 1869 and which was bequeathed to Aberdeen Art Gallery in 1901. The overall scheme, however, has unmistakable links with European Art Nouveau. Many of the motifs Strachan uses are strongly identified with the movement: the peacocks, the *femmes fatales* and the emphasis on youthful beauty.

In many respects, the Music Hall murals can also be seen as a homage to the French Symbolists. The mystical element of Strachan's work, that evocation of the ethereal and spiritualised world is a common theme in their work, and his interest in decorative harmony and sumptuous use of colour also allies him with this movement. Indeed, some of the descriptions of Strachan's murals found in the *Aberdeen Press and Journal* could easily have come directly from the pages of Huysmans' *À Rebours* [*Against Nature*] published in 1884.⁴⁹

Orpheus was a favourite choice of subject for Gustave Moreau and Puvis de Chavannes, and latter was undoubtedly one of the strongest influences on the Music Hall scheme. The restrained quality of the Music Hall decoration and its classical theme has much in common with Puvis' frescoes in Paris. In a lecture

of 1910 at Edinburgh College of Art Strachan told his students that he admired Chavannes' 'colour [which] is of the most exquisite powderiness - as light as air; his drawing - that is, the outlines of his masses - is heroic in its loftiness'.⁵⁰ Strachan saw the use of pattern as the characteristic which separated painting from decoration:

What then is this decorative or craft expression as distinct from the pictorial? What are the reasons for desiring a decorative treatment while admitting that the natural object is exquisitely beautiful as it stands; and how does it stand in relation to nature? The whole might be answered in one word, 'Pattern' - the delight in pattern as a creation distinct from nature, although woven round the hint given by her.⁵¹

The decorative nature of Strachan's work highlights his awareness of the nature of mural work and the Arts and Crafts principles of truth to material as expressed by Crane in his *Of Decorative Painting and Design*.⁵² The murals, however, gave Strachan the opportunity to create complex allegorical and narrative scenes, a freedom he would not have enjoyed as a portrait painter or as a cartoonist, both of which required a recognisable portrayal of the subject. At some level, Strachan must have recognised this freedom because on completion of the Trades Hall mural he apparently announced his ambition to continue his decorative work commencing with 'his "ain toon" first'.⁵³ Furthermore, the murals gave him the opportunity to respond to Crane's call for the muralist to be 'not only a painter, but a poet, historian, dramatist, [and] philosopher'.⁵⁴

The two decorative Music Hall schemes discussed here represent Strachan's affinity with Continental *fin de siècle* artistic trends and moreover, are further evidence of Scotland's progressive attitudes toward mural work. Together, the

themes of Apollo and Orpheus offered the people who attended the Music Hall an erudite scheme. In addition, the story of Orpheus gave one of the city's key cultural buildings a fashionable topic and one to be proud of since it shared the theme with the Opera House in Paris, the very seat of civilised refinement.

It is essential to view Strachan's eclectic references to Scottish culture, Art Nouveau, French Symbolism and popular contemporary British artistic styles within the wider context of cultural identity, which will be the principal subject of the following chapter, the Celtic Revival and Internationalism. There were many other Scottish designers, artists and architects who supported the Arts and Crafts philosophies of craftsmanship and combined these ideas with international fashions and traditional indigenous styles. These people were well aware of their potential and a good example of this self-knowledge can be found in the School of Applied Arts in Edinburgh which was formed in 1892 under the direction of Rowand Anderson. In 1894 it issued a report which stated its hope of developing:

a national character because there is in Scotland an art of the past with a distinctly local colouring capable of being developed and applied to the wants and necessities of the present day.¹⁵⁵

One element of the 'wants and necessities' of the patrons of Strachan's murals was the promotion of Aberdeen as a city of equal standing with other leading urban centres in Britain and Europe. This again was not an unprecedented idea. Geddes had promoted the notion that art was an essential part of life, that art was not 'an exotic supplement to life but was as inseparable from it as hygiene.'¹⁵⁶ For him, art was an indispensable element of his social and environmental ideas and murals were the best medium through which ideas

about history, nature and even science could be communicated to a large audience.

Geddes was largely responsible for the Celtic Revival which did much to renew artists' interest in reasserting a national pride. However, as Elizabeth Cumming notes, Scottish artists were encouraged to examine their native heritage and to look at developments abroad in order to synthesise a new art. 'Turning to the past in their search for modernism, [the artists'] relationship with Celtic precedent went far wider and deeper than mere copyism'.⁵⁷ This synthesis led to a form of internationalism which as Murdo Macdonald has argued was local in inspiration but was far from xenophobic in its outlook.⁵⁸ For him, a nation's uniqueness is derived from the fact that: 'the combination of cultural aspects which make it up is indeed unique. But this uniqueness claim is an assertion of a unique diversity, not an insistence on a unique homogeneity'.⁵⁹ Macdonald further and quite rightly argues that cultural diversity is one of the things that defines a nation. 'Nations are identifiable as meaningful cultural entities as a result of their internal diversity, not as a result of an internal homogeneity'.⁶⁰ Based on this hypothesis Macdonald sets the Celtic Revival firmly within an outward-looking, international web of traditional revivals taking place in countries as diverse as Japan, Finland and India.

John Duncan's *Adoration of the Magi* of 1915 [Fig. 54] is a good example of this combination of Celtic influence and internationalism. As Macdonald points out it 'has a clear debt to Italy and yet is unmistakably part of the Celtic Revival, not least through its setting on the island of Iona'.⁶¹ The kings form an exotic trio. The youngest one to the far right wears a feathered garment, the

middle king is clearly intended to be perceived as Celtic, which is denoted by both the colouring of his hair and skin and the many Celtic symbols on his sumptuous cloak. Macdonald draws attention to the eldest king who, whilst not specifically Asian, is clearly wearing a Chinese Yin-Yang symbol on the clasp of his cloak. He notes that its presence is of interest because it is both an early use of the symbol in Western art and a reminder that the Celtic Revival in Scotland was far from an inward-looking phenomenon. Strachan similarly makes use of symbols from other cultures. The swastika, for example, which appears on the shoulder of Christ Triumphant in Window 8 of the Shrine in the Scottish National War Memorial, had significance in Asian culture before it came to be identified with the National Socialists in Germany in the 1930s. Macdonald contends that such eclecticism is vital because it contributes to the diversity of a nation: 'the idea of a national tradition of art as a rich and diverse thing, [is] dependent both on the vitality of the local and on the vitality of international links.'⁶²

It can be argued that part of the appeal of Strachan's murals is that they similarly fell into this category. The degree to which the Trades Hall was part of such internationalist thinking can only be speculative, although the ceiling certainly speaks of the eclecticism of Art Nouveau. Without a doubt, the Music Hall broadly acknowledges the indigenous Celtic Revival as well as European artistic developments: the positioning of the Argonauts in what could easily be a Scottish coastline; the influence of Puvis' work; and the adoption and adaptation of Art Nouveau to a distinctly Scottish context. All these elements can be defined within the boundaries of Macdonald's internationalism and this internationalism was essential from the point of view of asserting a civic

identity for Aberdeen because it removed the city from a provincial setting to the broader sphere of a contemporary cosmopolitan context.

Geddes Memorial Window: Adoration of the Magi

Although Strachan's mural works stimulated much local interest and were highly praised, they seem to have never captured his full enthusiasm, perhaps because by 1909 when he completed the Music Hall, he was already much more involved with the design and creation of stained-glass. As discussed in Chapter 2, one of Strachan's earliest commissions was for a window commemorating the life of Sir William Geddes who was Professor of Greek at the University of Aberdeen from 1855 to 1865 and Principal and Vice-Chancellor until 1900. This work [Fig. 55] is also of interest because it provides a key link between Strachan's mural schemes of the time and his developing career in the design of stained-glass. The window is on the south wall of King's College Chapel and although the setting is obviously ecclesiastical, it nonetheless played a key role in promoting Aberdeen's significant academic traditions.

Divided into four vertical lights and tracery by three stone mullions, the principal subject of this design is the Adoration of the Magi and it is 5.74 metres high by 3.05 metres wide. The two lower panels of the central lights tell the story with the second light (from the left) containing all three Magi, resplendent in their purple and magenta gowns. It seems that Strachan, like John Duncan, followed the eighth-century custom of using the kings to represent the three ages of humankind.⁶³ The eldest Magus, traditionally Melchior, has his crown at his feet and is about to offer his gift to Christ. What

is of particular interest here is that Melchior is in fact a portrait of Geddes, shown in his Vice-Chancellor's robes [Figs 56A and B].

Joseph and Mary holding Christ are depicted in the third light. At their feet in full bloom is a lily, the symbol of purity. Above their head hangs a bird cage which Strachan frequently uses in nativity scenes to mark the doorway to the stable.⁶⁴ Immediately above their heads, their names are inscribed in the centre of a trellis-patterned band along with the chi-rho monogram.⁶⁵

The lower panels of the first and fourth lights show representations of Plato and Virgil. According to the early Christian church, the world had been waiting for divine inspiration to be revealed and it was thought that the doctrines of Plato and Virgil were unconscious prophecies of Christianity. Many of Plato's teachings were read as the prefiguration of Christian teaching and similarly Virgil's fourth Eclogue was compared to the Messianic prophecies of Isaiah, and was accepted by the early Church as a divine message.⁶⁶

Plato is shown wearing sandals and a brownish-rose robe, and in his right hand he carries a staff. His face is turned to the left and he appears to be watching the central adoration scene. His clothes are plain and he could easily be mistaken for a pilgrim or apostle, travelling along the road to bear witness to Christ. However, his left hand rests on a scroll which contains a sentence from his dialogue, *Phaedo*. Again, it is not by chance that Plato is holding this particular work. Geddes had dedicated a great deal of time to it and in 1863 had published his own edited version.⁶⁷ In this text, Plato considers the destiny of the soul and announces his belief that people may receive Divine inspiration to guide them. Virgil, in the fourth light, also faces the activity in

the central panels. He too wears sandals but his red cloak, with its gold floral motif and white patterned trim, is more opulent than Plato's robe. He also leans on a scroll but this time the words are from his Fourth Eclogue: *Jam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna*, (Now the virgin and the Saturnian age return). The Saturnian age refers to the reign of Astraea (the goddess of justice) and it was thought by the early Christians to be Virgil's Messianic prophecy.⁶⁸

The upper sections of the main lights show four angels, each holding symbolic attributes. Above the Magi, the winged figure holds a sceptre and an orb representing Christ's divine kingship. Above the Holy Family, another angel bears the crown of thorns. The figure over Plato holds the flame of wisdom aloft whilst Virgil's angel holds the wheel of fortune. Again, Strachan has looked to traditional artistic precedents. In medieval art, Pagan philosophers depicted in a Christian context were frequently accompanied by such a wheel. Strachan may well have seen a version on the floor of Siena Cathedral or even Mantegna's altarpiece in San Zeno, Verona, which also includes the Wheel of Fortune. There are four figures on the wheel. One is clothed and enthroned, while the other three are naked or semi-naked, and are dethroned, falling, or rising. The background is composed of white doves and swirling patterns of fruit-bearing vines and in the tracery are four Sibyls with their attributes. These figures represent four of the twelve Sibyls of Jewish and early Christian times. All twelve had mottoes and emblems, and here, Strachan portrays the Sibyls who foretold the coming of Christ to the Gentiles, echoing the role of the prophets who were God's messengers to the Jews. The Persian Sibyl is shown with her attribute of a lantern. She is believed to have prophesied the coming

of Christ. Beneath her is the Phrygian Sibyl who foretold the resurrection of Christ and who is shown with a banner or standard as the symbol of the Resurrection. To their immediate right is the Libyan Sibyl, shown with a lighted torch signifying the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles. To the far right, next to the rood screen, is the Cumaean Sibyl who predicted the Nativity and she is shown with her attribute of a manger. The Sibyls are flanked by the Lamb of the Resurrection with the letter Alpha on the left, and the Lion of Judah with the letter Omega on the right, again encircled by flowing vines.

The Sibyls' prophetic status was widely accepted by the medieval era and they were often portrayed alongside the prophets. For example, in the mosaic pavement of Siena Cathedral, in Perugino's fresco in the Collegio del Cambio at Perugia, in the stained-glass windows of Auch Cathedral and, perhaps most famously, in Michelangelo's scheme for the Sistine Chapel.⁶⁹ Representations of the Sibyls, however, are rare in British churches, although there are two sets of painted screens in Devon in the Parish churches at Ugborough and Bradninch. In addition, the inclusion of the Sibyls with the kings in an Adoration scheme also appears to be an uncommon combination. One of the mural panels Strachan created for St Machar's Church at Bucksburn was an Adoration scene, but only the Kings and Holy Family are present. However, the combination of the adoration of the Magi and Sibyls makes sense because the kings were the last of this long line of pre-Christian scholars and philosophers to have realised that Christ's epiphany was imminent. Whilst it might be argued that Strachan is renewing an archaic tradition in this window, their presence is more likely to be due to Geddes's particular research on the ancient Sibyls and pagan philosophers.

The integration of archaic symbols with contemporary portraiture locates the Geddes Memorial Window as innovative and distinctive, particularly when compared to the more generic styles of glass being produced by commercial companies. However, it becomes even more significant when compared to a mural Strachan created for the Chapel of the Epiphany in Peplow, Shropshire. In terms of this scheme's provenance, Mrs Strachan's Scrapbook merely mentions 'Peplow' under murals without any further annotation and it was not recorded by Colin Russell in his Catalogue. Neither was it remarked upon by the Aberdonian press. Nevertheless, the Peplow mural is quite clearly by Strachan's hand and is signed, monogrammed and dated.

Built between 1877 and 1879 by Richard Norman Shaw for Sir Francis Stanier of Peplow Hall, the Chapel of the Epiphany [Fig. 57] is vernacular in style. It was built in red English bond brick with the upper part being decorated with a dark timber frame and bricks laid in a herringbone pattern. Following Sir Francis Stanier's death in 1900, his wife and family commissioned Strachan to design a memorial mural for the chancel walls. As the Chapel was dedicated to the Epiphany, a narrative frieze recounting this story was an obvious choice for the decorative scheme.

The murals on the north wall were created using marouflage [Fig. 58A]. The images on the east and south walls appear to have been painted directly on to the surface rather than canvas [Figs 58B]. Although the Chapel itself is dark and poorly lit, the rich colours of the Magis' cloaks and jewels gleam against the muted tones of the background and accompanying figures. Taken together,

the scheme in the Chapel of the Epiphany offers a coherent, tightly-knit account of the Magis' journey to find and worship the infant Christ. The design runs along both sides of the chancel. On the north side, the mural is approximately two metres high and five and a half metres in length, whilst the painting on the southern wall is smaller, having to accommodate a two-light window and an organ arch.

On the north side of the chancel the mural is divided into three parts and tells the entire story of the Magis' quest to find Christ. The first and the last sections are narrow, thus leaving more space for the central panel. The narrative begins on the left with an image of Herod sitting hunched on his throne, brooding on the meaning of the Magis' request to view the child destined to be King of the Jews [Fig. 59A]. The central panel shows the stable at Bethlehem with the Magi, accompanied by their entourage of slaves, horses and hounds, offering their gifts to Christ [Fig. 59B]. The final scene shows the three Magi mounted on their horses riding through a wood away from Bethlehem. In the bottom left-hand corner, a solitary and extremely loosely-drawn figure watches their exit into woodland [Fig. 59C].

Beneath this panel is a text which also tells the Adoration story. The east end of the church around the altar has a very narrow space on either side of a five-light window and here Strachan incorporates the annunciation to the shepherds. The mural on the south wall has decorative foliage which entwines around four seated women, the Sibyls, and the dedicatory text [Fig. 60].

From these descriptions, it can be seen that there are several significant allegorical and stylistic similarities between the Peplow Mural and the Geddes Memorial window. Through his inclusion of the Sibyls (and philosophers in Aberdeen), Strachan has attempted to link the pagan and Christian worlds. The principal subject of both is to convey the idea that the Adoration of the Magi represents the Epiphany, or manifestation to the world, of a Divine Humanity. Both the mural and the windows then attempt to take the idea further and show the viewer that although rich, wise and potent, the Magi were willing to consecrate their worldly riches to a divine power. Stylistically, the most noticeable similarities are the appearance of the Sibyls and their attributes, and the use of swirls of foliage to link the disparate sections and create a cohesive image. Also, the colour schemes are not dissimilar. In both works, the Magi and Holy Family are dressed in brighter, primary colours whilst the remaining characters are allocated tertiary amber and brown hues. In the mural and the window, the narrative has been broken into sections to suit the architectural setting. The grouping in the mural is based on the horizontal plane whilst the three divisions in the window emphasise the vertical structure.

It is difficult to ascertain whether Strachan's ideas for the designs sprang from the mural or the window commission. He must have been working on the design for the Geddes window in 1902, because it was dedicated in January of 1903. As yet, a precise date has not been found for the completion of the mural, but given the amount of work required by both commissions, it was presumably executed later in the year. It is interesting to note that even in Peplow the notion of labour is still clearly in his mind. The slaves struggling to carry the Potentates' goods are strongly reminiscent of the slaves carrying

goods down the steps in the *Ancient Labour* panel at the Trades Hall executed three years previously [Fig. 61].

The inclusion of the Sibyls suggests that Strachan was thinking about ways of representing Geddes's academic interests and it was, perhaps, a fortunate coincidence that he was commissioned to design a mural for a chapel with the same theme as the window, thus enabling him to incorporate similar imagery into the design. It is possible that the two commissions coincided and he was able to develop his ideas for both schemes simultaneously. Whilst the question of the commission date could be debated at some length, what is indisputable is that the 'Adoration' theme played a significant role in stimulating his ideas at this time.

This is borne out by Strachan's creation of yet another version of the Adoration on a huge canvas (almost 5 metres in length) for an exhibition of 1904 shown by Martin Colnaghi in his Marlborough Art Gallery in London. The painting was later divided into ten pieces. To date four of the ten segments have been discovered but are insufficient in themselves to offer detailed information. Figure 62 shows three of the pieces. The fourth section was discovered in November 2001.⁷⁰

A contemporary newspaper account offers a brief description of the work and suggests a number of significant similarities in the general design with the Geddes window and the mural scheme at Peplow:

The Virgin holding the infant Jesus is represented sitting in the open by a building of grey stone. Behind her stands Joseph, while the first of the Magi approaches reverently bowing to the holy child. Another of the trio follows with doffed crown and the third, a young warrior in mail, is in the

act of dismounting from his charger. The standard bearer and other attendants are effectively grouped to the right. The artist's command of colour is manifest in the robes of the Orientals and in allotting to them appropriate splendour of hue he has been able to eliminate anything of a garish element. Gentle contrast of light and shade derived from the opposition of warmth and coolness of tone rather than from contending brilliance and depth rules the general effect. Mr Strachan shows himself to be fully competent to paint on a large scale.⁷¹

What is most interesting about the mural and window designs is that they offer an insight into the translation of Strachan's work from one medium to another. The Shropshire mural is well designed and executed and a testament to Strachan's painterly skills, but the work remains very much an oeuvre of its time. The Magi might almost be the gallant knights of Arthurian legend so popular in Victorian and Edwardian art. As already discussed, much of his mural work has, unfortunately, been greatly altered, or completely destroyed, and thus leaves little opportunity to assess his development as an artist in this field. It is, therefore, impossible to know whether Strachan would have enjoyed an equally successful career had he pursued his initial ambition to be a painter rather than moving to stained glass.

A rich legacy of his window designs remain however, and this allows the opportunity of a fuller assessment of his development as a stained-glass designer. Appearing relatively early in Strachan's career, the Geddes window, does not share the eloquence of some of his later works. The leading and image are not fully integrated and occasionally tend to interrupt the flow of the design. The Sibyls and foliage in the tracery are too crowded and this section of the design works much better in the mural, where there is a larger space in which to incorporate these elements. However, the Geddes window, despite its shortcomings, also demonstrates Strachan's ability to reduce such an

intricate theme into uncomplicated but highly decorative imagery.

Furthermore, when compared to the late nineteenth-century windows in King's College Chapel, Strachan's design abounds with a vibrant energy.

Given his enthusiasm for colour and paint, it is not surprising that Strachan came to realise that glass was the natural medium for his work. His lecture to craft students gives evidence of his awareness of its qualities:

There seems to me to be a curious law of compensation in decorative art, that apportions an increasing loftiness of expression as the medium becomes less pliable, less capable of expressing the more delicate or subtle thoughts. [...] Whether this strikes others in the same way or not, it is certain that the conditions in glass are more rigorous than those that obtain in paint, and the kind of pattern that succeeds on the wall would fail in the window. [...] since a jewel-like shimmer is essentially the quality that glass of all mediums is most capable of realising, it is folly for the glassworker to spend his time forcing jewels to produce an imitation of the performances of paint⁷²

As may be seen in the iridescent colours of the Peplow mural, (and from descriptions of the Trades and Music Hall murals) it seems Strachan had, ironically, spent much time trying to force paint and canvas to perform like glass. What the Geddes Memorial window does achieve, however, is a glowing statement of the academic prowess to be found at King's College and the humility with which such learning was borne.

Cruikshank Memorial Window: *The Faculties of Science*

Three years later in 1906 Strachan created another paean to Aberdonian knowledge and learning in the form of the Cruikshank Memorial window: *The Faculties of Science*. This was a large nine-light window situated in Marischal College Library. Each light was approximately 3.8 metres high by 0.6 metres wide and encompassed 16.7 metres of glass.⁷³ Its position was particularly

prominent because it was sited within the only cantilevered window in the College building, immediately above the gateway and overlooking the busy Broad Street in the city centre. Unfortunately the window is no-longer *in situ*. It probably disappeared in the late 1970s when a considerable amount of building work took place at Marischal College.⁷⁴ However, in the summer of 2001 seven of the nine upper lights appeared for sale in a London showroom and Aberdeen University subsequently bought and are in the process of restoring them. Since then, all but the central main light have been rediscovered and are similarly waiting to be cleaned and restored.

It is also fortunate that a cartoon of the work survives and that Elsie Strachan's scrapbook contains a reasonably full account of the aims and content of the window [Fig. 63] which was commissioned by Anne Hamilton Cruikshank, daughter of John Cruikshank who had been Professor of Mathematics from 1817-1860 and Librarian at Marischal College from 1844 - 1860. The window was erected in 1906 and commemorates John Cruikshank's service to the university and his love of his subject, as well as recalling the patron's brother and his life-long devotion to science.⁷⁵ The nine lights were divided into two. Together the lower sections represented the sciences: physics, mathematics, astronomy, geology, chemistry, botany, agriculture, zoology, medicine, anthropology and surgery. Along the upper section the lights told the story of Creation. Whilst the components of the biblical story were present in this series, the intention was not so much to repeat the traditional narrative but rather to chart the development of the universe and its broader connection to the human race.

In order to avoid merely representing the genres as disparate units, Strachan adopted Aristotle's teaching, 'the whole is something more than the parts', as the central theme with which to unite the facets of science. The Aristotelian motto appeared in the central light as a textual reminder of the visual intention so that, taken as a whole, the window shows science in relation to heaven, to earth and to humanity. The colour scheme similarly reflected this relationship, with green representing the earth, blue the heavens, and red, humanity.

Because the window's function was to allow light into the library, the chief aim was to create a design whose colour did not overwhelm the interior space. Rich colours were kept to a minimum, and were saved for the robes of the anthropomorphic figures. As can be seen in Figure 64, large areas of translucent glass were incorporated into the scheme and according to the newspaper account in Elsie Strachan's scrapbook, Strachan achieved a good balance between richly coloured and white glass: 'the pellucid light which streams through the window is evidence of the success with which that problem [inadequate lighting] has been solved; the rich flashes of colour, darting through its creamy whiteness, suggest the fiery glow and brightness of the opal.'⁷⁶

Strachan began the series with Botany who appears in the first light (running from left to right) as a young girl enjoying the beauty of spring and summer flowers. She was shown:

standing beneath two rose trees which formed an arch above her, while flowers spring up around her feet. Her right arm supports a sheaf of flowers, while her left hand tenderly touches the lily growing at her side.⁷⁷

Her robe was embroidered with flowers and was white tinged with green, suggesting spring, rebirth and rejuvenation. Next to her was Agriculture which contrasted with the vivacity of Botany by being given a more serene, melancholic demeanour. The newspaper clipping suggested that she was not so much the joyous dancing Agriculture depicted by Duccio di Agostino at Rimini but:

like the Demeter of Cnidus, rather serene though somewhat sad and weary with the long quest for her lost daughter. She wears a white robe embroidered with ears of wheat, in rich gold [...] At her feet lies the mystic basket of ripe fruit, and in her hand she holds a golden bowl from which she scatters seed. Her hair is bound with a fillet of wheat ears, and is yellow like ripe corn.¹⁷⁸

Behind her were two crystal pillars supporting the heavens from which drops of rain were falling. Figures could be dimly seen behind the pillars and were supposed to be the influences which controlled the rivers and caused the plants to grow. The intention was to point out that agriculture was a long and involved process; Demeter might be responsible for sowing the seed but she was just one factor in the long chain of events required to successfully grow and harvest the results. The third figure in this series represented Zoology. He was depicted as a strong youth accompanied by his faithful hound and horse. The dominant colour of this panel was white to suggest 'the joy of life combined with the triumph of purity.'¹⁷⁹ This vibrant young man wore a golden quiver and a belt ornamented with golden bosses (echoing the shape of the horse's hooves) and the intended message from this panel was that through the study of animals humans could enjoy companionship and gain both wisdom and delight from them.

Following on from Zoology was Chemistry, depicted as an alchemist in sumptuous robes. In his left hand, he held a pair of scales reminding the viewer of the exactness of chemistry and in his right, he clasped a vessel which was the object of his attention: 'the final stage doubtless in the solution of some mystery that baffles but yet haunts him, the transmutation of metals or perhaps even the secret of life itself.'⁸⁰ By his side there was a furnace and at his feet a lamp illuminating his research and indicating the burning passion such individuals possessed in order to pursue these truths. Next, was the central panel of Physics accompanied by Mathematics and Astronomy. It is clear from the description that Physics was intended to be perceived as the dominating presence of the entire window. Seated on a throne and dressed in a rich purple robe he was in deep contemplation whilst Mathematics and Astronomy knelt at his feet, the former drawing a scientific symbol on the ground, the latter gazing into space. The throne of Physics' was flanked with pillars 'surmounted by groups of figures representing the winds, two of which support the terrestrial globe on which the continent of Africa is indicated, while the other pair sustain the armillary sphere.'⁸¹ To Physics' right was Geology, represented by a male figure wearing a skirted costume, reminiscent of an ancient society, standing at the entrance of a rocky cavern. It seems that Geology offered a sombre counterpart to the monarchical splendour of Physics:

... everything in this panel suggests the unutterable loneliness and desolation of this period of development. The fossil dragon, the seaweed, and the toad are types of extinct or early forms of life, and the glimpses of the river with the icy blue of its waters, indicates an immeasurably slow awakening of nature from the dim and lifeless torpor of the glacial epoch.⁸²

Medicine is the next science to appear in the scheme, depicted by a solemn physician who holds a cup to a child's lips, the cup decorated with the ancient

symbol of the snake winding itself around the stem, the emblem of prudence and rejuvenation.⁸³ Then there was Anthropology, dressed in an opulent red robe decorated with gold embroidery. His concentration was directed at a skull which he is carefully measuring whilst at his feet were scattered a number of other skulls. Behind him was a globe of the earth suggesting the scope of this science. The scene was circumferenced by a castellated screen interspersed with turrets, indicating that 'man alone of the animals expresses himself in building with art.'⁸⁴ The ninth and final light contained Surgery which, like, Medicine consisted of two figures, the surgeon wearing white stood by a bed, taking the pulse of an otherwise unseen patient. Apart from an anatomical drawing on the wall outlined in red, the bright green surgeon's robe had been laid aside and formed the main note of colour in this panel.

In the upper section, again running from left to right, Strachan first placed plants and birds and animals. Next was the creation of the cosmos: 'the Nebulous State in its first blaze [...] the Spiral State [...] while to the right is an indication of the Revolving Period, and the formation of the planets.'⁸⁵ In the last three lights was the portrayal of the diversity of the human race with a North American Indian with buffalo in the seventh light [Fig. 64], then a Caucasian couple, presumably Adam and Eve, and finally, in the ninth light, an African man accompanied by a lion.

There are a number of observations to be made from this newspaper account of the window. First, it is possible to see that the cartoon was obviously created in the early stages of the design. The anthropomorphic series certainly runs in the same order, with Physics seated watching Mathematics and

Astronomy in the central light. Medicine and Surgery attending their patients in the seventh and ninth lights respectively also adhere to the description. There are some major discrepancies, however, between the cartoon and the journalist's report. Botany is male not a young female and Zoology seems to be accompanied by a cow rather than a horse, whilst in the penultimate light Anthropology is walking towards a woman and child rather than measuring skulls. In the smaller upper sections there are significant differences in the seventh and eighth lights which contain angelic figures rather than human forms.

Despite such differences, what is clear from both the cartoon and the description is that the window was intended to be read as a triptych with the middle three sections forming the central focus of the window. The lights further divide into complete sub-sections with the first three relating to earth, both in terms of the sciences (botany, agriculture and zoology) and the upper sections (the presence of water, plants and animals). The central section was connected to the heavenly and metaphysical (chemistry, physics, mathematics, astronomy and geology) and the cosmic events which resulted in the creation of earth. The third section represented humanity. The sciences depicted here were those which related most directly to knowledge concerning the human body and human society and above, in the smaller lights, was a small selection of the forms that the human body could take. The fifth and central light is the most important one within the scheme. The large section suggests that Physics is the chief of the sciences and above his head in the smaller light is the creation of the cosmos, the very beginning of time and therefore of humanity's history.

This window, in common with the most successful examples of didactic works, functions at more than one level. The first level is simplistic: for the casual observer there is the obvious message that the faculties of science are present in Aberdeen and that the city could be proud of its eminent professors and academic staff, such as Professor Cruikshank, who worked in these various disciplines. For the more informed spectators the window contained a multiplicity of messages, some more explicit than others. There is the aforementioned separation of the window into triptych form and its relation to earth, heaven and humanity. At a higher level of complexity the window endeavoured to combine philosophical thought with scientific progress. As already discussed, the central text quoted Aristotle's belief that the whole is greater than the parts. The message being that in order to achieve progress all the sciences needed to work together. Other Aristotelian teaching was also present in the design. In the first section of the upper lights, which relates to earth, Strachan placed the following text: 'All things that swim and fly and the plants are somehow related to one another.'⁸⁶ This text represents the spur which encouraged scientists to endeavour to understand the universe and the relationship of the various forms of life to one another and to the wider complex of the earth and its planetary system. It suggests that the days of Creation which were displayed in the upper lights were not only there to signify the development of life, but to signify the evolution of science as well. The cartoon suggests that other texts were included in the design, but the newspaper account does not give them, and the inscriptions on the cartoon are illegible. Even so, it is reasonable to presume that these texts were also quotes from ancient philosophers. The combination of philosophy and physics would

have had another connotation for some spectators since in Scottish universities Physics retained its medieval designation of Natural Philosophy. The Cruikshank window thus endeavoured to comment not just on science as an independent structure but also attempted to show how the various disciplines within the genre should be perceived as an element in the inter-relation of the intellectual and moral developments of humanity.

When considered together the Geddes and Cruikshank windows encompass the breadth of academic knowledge in Aberdeen through their representation of the sciences and the humanities. Both windows were available for public consumption as well as being directed at Aberdeen's academic community within the dual sites of King's College in the old part of the city and Marischal College in the centre of the town. In a sense, these windows functioned as advertising for the University, particularly the *Faculties of Science*. Because of the size and the location of this window it could in fact be interpreted as a large billboard promoting the quest for knowledge within the University's buildings.

Conclusion

Without doubt, murals have played an important part in the cultural life of Scottish people. As Willsdon points out: 'An aversion to bare walls seems to run deeply in Scottish blood...[and Scotland enjoys] a rich heritage of mediaeval and Renaissance wall decorations [...] from St Magnus Cathedral in Kirkwall to Borthwick and Stirling Castles, [and] the Palaces of Holyrood and Culross...'⁸⁷ This aversion appears to have remained a strong characteristic and Aberdeen at the beginning of the twentieth century was clearly able to use

the decoration of some of its key buildings as a way of asserting a strong sense of civic identity. Both murals and stained-glass windows were adopted as useful tools with which to proclaim the vitality of the city in terms of its political, cultural and academic achievements. It is unfortunate that so few of Strachan's original murals remain and that the majority of the *Faculties of Science* window has been lost. Whilst the Music Hall has preserved some of his panels, the overall effect is very different from the original decorative scheme. The remaining fragments of the Music Hall and sketches and descriptions of the Trades Hall murals along with the two windows considered in this chapter do, however, offer some insights into Aberdonian self-perception and cultural aspirations. Certainly they functioned as an expression of civic refinement and a wish to compete with the artistic developments in other major European cities, but they also suggest a keen sense of democracy, a wish for art to be shared by all members of the community rather than a chosen few.

As Murray G H Pittock notes in his introduction to *Celtic Identity and the British Image*, 'characterizations of the Celt from outside have been primarily ethno-cultural, while internal self-definition has dominantly emphasized the civic and territorial...'⁸⁸ Strachan's murals in the Trades and Music Hall and his windows for the University's buildings can be interpreted as examples of such self-definition.

Throughout the nineteenth century the city's skyline was filled with gothic and neo-classical civic buildings as well as the red brick factories vital to the many industries located within the town. The Trades Hall aimed to celebrate the virtues of hard work and the city's inhabitants were well aware of the rewards

that hard work could bring. The Music Hall brought that self awareness to a broader and arguably wealthier audience. It aimed to welcome all spheres of Aberdonian society through its doors but the decoration of the interior was certainly aimed at a culturally aware audience. A large proportion of this audience would have understood the significance of the themes of Orpheus and Apollo and their links to principal European centres of culture such as the Opera House or the Sorbonne in Paris. The windows at King's College Chapel and Marischal College reminded the viewer that Aberdeen had a strong academic heritage of which to be proud. The windows also attempted to induce humility, the designs clearly acknowledging that such learning and pride should also be tinged with this attitude. The three kings, because of their wisdom and wealth, were willing to humble themselves and worship the newborn Christ, and the faculties of science, although incredible, are but a small element in the overall scheme of the universe. Taken together, the decoration of such buildings ensured that the City's inhabitants could be proud of their achievements whilst those from further afield were made well aware of Aberdeen's conviction that it should be considered as a cosmopolitan rather than parochial location, with works of art equal to those found in Edinburgh, London, Paris or Brussels.

In 1851 Thomas Purdie, a decorative painter, delivered an essay on mural painting to the Architectural Institute of Scotland. He called for 'Scots to remain at home and emulate the examples of Venice, Genoa and Pisa, where the "walls and ceilings of public halls and chambers glowed with the productions of the painter's art appealing to patriotism"...'⁸⁹ Approximately

fifty years later, Purdie would have been pleased with Strachan's work which clearly demonstrates such patriotism. In Aberdeen, he provided images in both murals and glass which glowed with pride for the city and with the city's pride in its civic identity, an identity which undoubtedly encompassed politics, culture and education.

¹ Henderson, H. 'The Freedom Come All ye' quoted in Aitken, K. *The Bairns o' Adam: the story of the STUC*, (Edinburgh, 1997) pi

² Brogden, W. A. *Aberdeen Architectural Guide*, (Edinburgh, 1986), p3

³ *Brown's Book-Stall*, No 14, (Aberdeen, 1898), p251

⁴ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, newspaper article, c1899, p1

⁵ Lord Provost Means quoted in Scottish Trades Union Records: Report of the second annual Scottish Trades Union Congress, Aberdeen 1898, p20

⁶ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, newspaper article, p3

⁷ Scottish Trades Union Records: Report of the second annual Scottish Trades Union Congress, (Aberdeen, 1898), p21

⁸ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, newspaper article, p23

⁹ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, newspaper article, p1

¹⁰ Aberdeen University Special Collections: Aberdeen Trades Council, Minutes of the Executive and Hall Committee, Minute Book 7, Monday February 7 1897

¹¹ Anon. *The Scots Pictorial*, October 1, 1898, p96

¹² Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, p3

¹³ Anon. *The Scots Pictorial*, p96

¹⁴ Anon. *The Scots Pictorial*, p96

¹⁵ Anon. *The Scots Pictorial*, p96

¹⁶ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, newspaper article, p3

¹⁷ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, newspaper article, p3

¹⁸ Anon. *The Scots Pictorial*, p96

¹⁹ Anon. 'R.D.S. An Appreciation' *Brown's Book-Stall*, p.259

²⁰ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, newspaper article, p7

²¹ Anon. *The Scots Pictorial*, p96

²² Anon. *The Scots Pictorial*, p96

²³ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, newspaper article, p7

²⁴ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, newspaper article, p7

²⁵ Caw, J. L. *Scottish Painting Past and Present*, (Edinburgh, 1908), p414

²⁶ Russell Collection, Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, newspaper article, p7

²⁷ Anon. *The Scots Pictorial*, p96

²⁸ Anon. *The Scots Pictorial*, p96

²⁹ Anon. *The Scots Pictorial*, p97

³⁰ Anon. *The Scots Pictorial*, p97

³¹ Aitken, *The Bairns o' Adam*, p11

³² Morris, W. 'Presidential Address' in *Transactions on the Meeting of National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry*, Edinburgh, October 1889, (London, 1890) p192

- ³³ Crane, W. 'Of Decorative Painting and Design', *Arts and Crafts Essays*, (London, 1893), reprinted (Bristol, 1996) p42
- ³⁴ Crane, 'Of Decorative Painting and Design', p42
- ³⁵ Willsdon, C. 'Scotland's Mural Renaissance' *Scottish Review*, No 29, (Edinburgh, 1983), pp15-22
- ³⁶ MacMillan, D. *Scottish Art 1460-1990*, (Edinburgh, 1990), p272
- ³⁷ Geddes, P. quoted by Cumming E., in Kaplan, W. (ed.) *Scotland Creates: 5000 Years of Art and Design*, (London, 1990), p149
- ³⁸ *Brown's Book-Stall*, p255
- ³⁹ Spencer, I. *Walter Crane*, (New York, 1975), p145
- ⁴⁰ This photograph is currently owned by a member of Strachan's family and unfortunately there is no text on the image to indicate the intended audience - newspaper readers or family. Given that *Brown's Book-Stall* published the *As You Like It* sketch it is quite likely that this would have been a photograph intended for public rather than private consumption, perhaps for inclusion in a later edition of *Book-Stall* or a related journal.
- ⁴¹ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, newspaper article, p3
- ⁴² Newspaper comment quoted by Pratt, J. *The Music Hall*, (Aberdeen, 1993), p4
- ⁴³ Willsdon, 'Scotland's Mural Renaissance' p 20
- ⁴⁴ Russell Collection: Douglas Strachan's Notebook
- ⁴⁵ Simonides fr 62 quoted by Robbins, E. in 'Famous Orpheus', Warden, J. (ed.) *Orpheus and the Metamorphoses of a Myth*, (Toronto, 1982), p6
- ⁴⁶ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, newspaper article, p4
- ⁴⁷ Pearce, T. Music Hall information sheet
- ⁴⁸ As similarly noted by Willsdon, in 'Scotland's Mural Renaissance', pp15-22
- ⁴⁹ *Against Nature* (trans. Baldick, R.) (London, 1959)
- ⁵⁰ Strachan, D. *Lecture on Design and Craft*, (Edinburgh, 1910), p10
- ⁵¹ Strachan, *Lecture on Design and Craft*, p.10
- ⁵² Crane, 'Of Decorative Painting and Design', pp39-51
- ⁵³ *Brown's Book-stall* (November, 1898), p259
- ⁵⁴ Crane, 'Of Decorative Painting and Design', pp39-51
- ⁵⁵ Applied Art School Committee, quoted by Cumming, *Scotland Creates*, p151
- ⁵⁶ Geddes quoted by Willsdon 'Blazoned in Colour', *Times Education Supplement*, 20 July 1984, p11
- ⁵⁷ Cumming, *Scotland Creates*, p152
- ⁵⁸ Macdonald, M. *Local and International: the Democratic Intellect and Scottish Art*. Paper given at NICA Conference, Glasgow School of Art, 17 May 2001
- ⁵⁹ Macdonald, *Local and International: the Democratic Intellect and Scottish Art*.
- ⁶⁰ Macdonald, *Local and International: the Democratic Intellect and*
- ⁶¹ Macdonald, *Local and International: the Democratic Intellect and Scottish Art*.
- ⁶² Macdonald, M. *Local and International: the Democratic Intellect and Scottish Art*.
- ⁶³ According to the Venerable Bede, Caspar was a young man, Balthasar was in the prime of life and Melchior was an ancient white-haired king
- ⁶⁴ This emblem was also present in the mural scheme at Peplow
- ⁶⁵ The Chi-rho is a monogram of 'cr', the first letters of the Greek *Christos* (Christ)
- ⁶⁶ Virgil was regarded with pity, as a soul who had narrowly missed the salvation offered by Christ. An early Christian story tells of St Paul overcome with pity for Virgil, weeping at the poet's tomb in Naples
- ⁶⁷ Geddes, W. *Platonus Phaedo*, (London, 1863)
- ⁶⁸ Plato also predicted that there would be an Emperor greater than Augustus
- ⁶⁹ Strachan's depiction of the sibyls strongly echo Michelangelo's representations of the soothsayers
- ⁷⁰ When the panels arrived at the Crawford Art Centre, St Andrews for hanging, as part of the *Visions Through Glass: the work of Douglas Strachan* Exhibition it was noted

that the backing of the first panel shown here, was in fact another section of this *Adoration* scheme.

⁷¹ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, p12

⁷² Strachan, *A Lecture on Design and Craft*, p19

⁷³ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, p16

⁷⁴ Mr Russell saw it in 1974 when researching his catalogue *Stained Glass Windows of Douglas Strachan*

⁷⁵ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, p16

⁷⁶ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, p16

⁷⁷ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, p16

⁷⁸ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, p16

⁷⁹ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, p16

⁸⁰ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, p16

⁸¹ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, p16

⁸² Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, p16

⁸³ According to the early Christian text *Physiologus*, the snake represented rejuvenation because of its ability to shed its skin

⁸⁴ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, p16

⁸⁵ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, p16

⁸⁶ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, p16

⁸⁷ Willsdon, 'Scotland's Mural Renaissance', p15

⁸⁸ Pittock, M. G. H., *Celtic Identity And The British Image*, (Manchester, 1999), p7

⁸⁹ Purdie quoted by Willsdon, 'Scotland's Mural Renaissance' p15

Chapter Four

Cultural identity: a case for the 're-visioning' of Celtic Romanticism

*Men are racy of the soil in which they grow, even as grapes are;
A Saxon nurtured in fat Kent or Sussex, amid flats of
heavy wheat and acorn-dropping oaks, must of necessity
be a different creature from the Celt who gathers his
sustenance from the bleak sea-board, and who is
daily drenched by the rain cloud from Cuchullin.¹*

It is widely accepted that a sense of personal identity is forged from an understanding of our geographical location as well as our position within a family and community. In turn, such identities are crucial to the broader notion of society and its development because it is through such comprehension that we are able to formulate a national identity. The problem, however, when attempting to discuss any aspect of identity as a concept is that it is always in a state of flux and as a result of its multi-dimensionality, is an easily misunderstood term. Sociologist David McCrone once commented in a radio interview that one's 'nationality is like an old insurance policy; you know that you have one but are not sure where you put it.'² Whilst this is a rather light-hearted summation, it does highlight the reason why the fundamental aspects of nation, nationalism and self-definition continue to be fervently contested by all who choose to write on the subject.

The constituents required to create a national identity have proved difficult to pin down. It is generally accepted (by academics) that there needs to be a differentiation from other perceptions of collective identity such as gender, class, race or religion. All of these can and do interact at various levels to

comprise a sense of an homogeneous unit, and the relationship between religion and national identity with particular reference to Scotland will be the chief focus of discussion in the following chapter. Yet there has been little agreement among scholars about subjective and objective factors in the definition of nationhood. The nineteenth-century French philosopher Ernest Renan, for example, understood the nation as a social system:

A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle... A heroic past of great men, of glory, that is the social principle on which the national ideal rests. To have common glories in the past, a common will in the present; to have accomplished great things together, to wish to do so again, that is the essential condition for being a nation.³

In contrast, Joseph Stalin, Dictator of the Soviet Union from 1929 to 1953, acknowledged the role of culture, but based his argument primarily on the belief that a nation is situated in economics, territory and language:

A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.⁴

These examples represent a major division in approaches to understanding nationalism. The subject remains a controversial one and the causes of nationalism are also open to continued discussion. A significant contributor to the debate, certainly in terms of European nationalism, is the writer Tom Nairn. He sees the phenomenon arising in threatened, peripheral societies whose intelligentsia motivate people through their vernacular culture. Some theorists view the modern nation as an artefact; Benedict Anderson's imagined political community and Eric Hobsbawm's invented traditions are examples of such theories.⁵ Despite their diversity, the common thread running through all these theories is the concept of nationalism as a political one.

There are, however, other ideas which argue against the identification of nationalism purely with politics. Sociologists such as Anthony D Smith and John Hutchinson shift the focus from economics and sociology to a group's cultural output and argue that this is a major driving force within the dynamics of a community's regeneration and sense of self. Smith promotes what he calls 'Ethnosymbolism' as a crucial tool for understanding the formation of a cultural identity. He maintains that myths, memories, symbols of ethnic heritage and traditions have an extremely important place within the formation of nationalism. 'If nationalism is part of the 'spirit of the age', it is equally dependent upon earlier motifs, visions and ideals.'⁶ Hutchinson asserts that cultural nationalism should be seen as a movement quite independent of political nationalism; that historical memory is more important than language in defining the national community; and that its emphasis on the past is a positive stance intended to inspire the community to higher stages of progress.⁷

Both Smith's and Hutchinson's ideas are drawn from arguments put forward by the Prussian-born philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1750-1803). Herder was an early proponent of the idea of cultural nationalism and he perceived the nation as a unit endowed with unique cultural attributes. In addition, as Berlin notes, Herder spoke of the nation as an ongoing, regenerating community:

A nation is made what it is by 'climate', education, relations with its neighbours, and other changeable and empirical factors, and not by an impalpable inner essence or an unalterable factor such as race or colour.⁸

The role played by Herder is rarely discussed in an art historical context, let alone with reference to Scottish visual artefacts and nationalism. Yet his work provided the basis for many of the subsequent theories on nationalism and populism. It was Herder who first formulated the idea of an organic, cultural nationalism. For him the 'essence of a nation is its distinctive civilisation, which is the product of its unique history, culture and geographic profile.'⁹ Furthermore, he believed that a community's 'historic identity' had to be continuously reconstructed in terms of the requirements of each generation.¹⁰

Much work produced by artists living in Scotland and Ireland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries dealt with mythical tales and historical memory. As a result, it is considered to be sentimental by many academics, such as Nairn, who deal with nationalism and identity and they dispute the value of the political ideas expressed within such Celtic romanticism. More importantly, because of the dominant belief that nationalism can only have a political dynamic, this work is not thought of as having a vitalising role in the creation and/or formation of nationalism.

This chapter will use Herder's notions of cultural nationalism and the ideas of Smith and Hutchinson on ethnosymbolism as models for disputing this categorisation and will demonstrate that there is an argument for viewing cultural nationalism as having a politicising dynamic in its own right. It will begin by reviewing the major concepts relating to nationalism before focusing on examples of Strachan's work at the Peace Palace in The Hague, the Scottish National War Memorial, St Margaret's Chapel in Edinburgh and the vestibule of Lawson Memorial Kirk in Forfar. These examples will be used to critique

ethnosymbolist theory, demonstrating how these designs function as signifiers of identity and comply with Herder's, Smith's, and Hutchinson's theses. The aim is to enable a 're-visioning' of Strachan's work, arguing that Scottish national identity did not disappear under a romantic haze but rather that, as Devine contends, 'new or refurbished icons continued to provide the nation with crucial symbols of identity and distinctiveness within the union.'¹¹ It will be argued that cultural nationalism provides a better contextual framework with which to view his work, and indeed that of many of his peers. Having established this as the case, it will then assert that Strachan's work had an effective role in the reflection of a Scottish cultural identity in the early 20th century.

In Smith's book *Myths and Memories of the Nation*¹², he questions the appeal of nationalism and asks why so many people remain deeply committed to their community or nation. In order to deal fully with this question, the author takes into account past attempts to formulate an answer, dividing the responses into four categories of explanation: the primordialist, the perennialist, the modernist and the ethnosymbolist. They provide a useful way of contextualising attitudes to nationalism and it is worth reviewing these categories in detail before moving on to discuss nationalism and cultural identity.

According to Smith's categorisation, the primordialist's understanding of nationalism is to view a nation as a natural or organic phenomena. This

includes the belief that nations and ethnic communities are merely the outgrowth of ancient kinship units, built up from smaller clans and families. This explanation of nationalism is based on a sociobiological approach which argues that a biological affinity underpins cultural agreements such as language and religion. Myths of shared descent have a role within a primordialist account but only because they are thought to relate to a real biological ancestry.

Smith, however, points out some problems with this theory. His first claim is that it is extremely difficult to prove that certain families and clans from across the globe were able to extend and create national communities.¹³ Another problem relating to the use of mythical narratives is that myths of shared descent rarely correspond to established facts concerning biological descent. This primordialist notion of an organic community which emphasises kinship ties has perhaps been most prevalent in Eastern Europe and Asia but does not seem to have much relevance to twentieth-century or contemporary thinking on nationalism and identity.

Smith's second, perennialist, category seems to be more of a subsection of primordialism rather than a completely separate division. The perennialists differ from the primordialist framework in that they do not believe in the biological order of nationalism. Although they can accept that some national

communities have existed throughout recorded history, for them, 'nations were perennial collective actors but not natural or primordial.'¹⁴

Again, Smith identifies a major problem with this particular approach. He protests that whilst it is possible to trace a continuity of national heritage to pre-Reformation periods, especially in Western nations such as Scotland, England or Ireland, the problem is that it is difficult to know whether one is imposing a retrospective nationalism onto communities and cultures which may have been regional or local and not by any means national as we would understand it:

While it might be possible, as a result of consistent definition and open-ended empirical investigation, to categorize certain communities in antiquity and the Middle Ages as nations (for example, the Jews, the Armenians, the Swiss, and the Japanese), this would hardly suffice to allow us to claim that nations were recurrent phenomena of history, since the nationalist ideologies and the vast majority of nations can be shown to be of much more recent vintage, including all those nations of design created by nationalists or by pragmatic politicians through international treaties in the aftermath of prolonged wars like the Napoleonic or First World War.¹⁵

Smith is right to raise such concerns. Of course such loyalties are of interest when considering issues of identity but they do not necessarily constitute national identity.

More recently, both primordial and perennial approaches have been usurped by modernist thinking which forms the third category. Like Smith, modernists regard both of the previous categories as expressions of nationalism itself and therefore fatally flawed. Modernists such as Ernst Gellner, Benedict Anderson

and Eric Hobsbawm argue that nationalism is a recent product and indeed, that it is part of the process of modernisation. For them, the French Revolution heralds the introduction of nationalism which they perceive as a phenomenon without roots in the past and as a contemporaneous expression of cultural homogeneity and self-determinism.

As in the primordialist and perennial approaches, Smith draws attention to the shortcomings of this modernist approach: that it is abstract and leaves little room for collective choice and that it fails to explain why some so-called low cultures (non-literate for example) manage to usurp the former high culture of rulers.¹⁶

Other academics have sought a model which centres on the argument that nationalism is a strictly political structure and not a manifestation of cultural identity. Anthony Giddens, Michael Mann and John Breuilly have all followed this line of enquiry. They acknowledge that nationalist ideologies, ceremonies and symbols have a role to play, in as much that such elements enable sub-elites who are seeking power to mobilise and co-ordinate an attack on the status quo. However, they regard such phenomena to be of limited value because such ceremonies and symbols are essentially cultural not political. Tom Nairn's post-Marxist socio-economic approach can be seen as a variation on this theme. His thesis on nationalism in the *Break-Up of Britain*¹⁷ offers a populist theory, combining the ideas of Ernest Gellner with those of Antonio Gramsci in order to explain the rise of nationalism. Nairn views nations and nationalism as products of capitalism and as reactions to imperialism or forms

of colonialism. Modernist interpretations such as those of Giddens and Nairn share the view that nationalism and identity have a political tradition which has been selectively generated by state elites in order to counteract the divisive tendencies of modernity and its machinations: capitalism, industrialism, centralised governmental departments, etc.

The most discouraging problem with such modernist accounts is that they tend to fail to recognise the validity of cultural identity and pre-ethnic ties and they dismiss the celebration of vernacular traditions as merely a form of romanticised retreat. Nairn, for example, argues that the combination of a lack of political nationalism and diminution of a feeling of distinctive identity posed a cultural dilemma to the Scottish intelligentsia, particularly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Scots were steadily becoming invisible as a people, as their ancient institutions and traditions were diluted and eroded by the corrosive impact of closer association with the world's most powerful nation, a process that also had devastating cultural consequences.

He arrives at this pessimistic interpretation because, in his view, the rich sources of national culture could not be used to arouse a sense of political identity. Instead, Nairn locates the vernacular revivals of the early twentieth century in the notion of uneven development brought about by capitalism and industrialisation which led many in the middle classes to create an idealised view of pre-industrial society. They hoped that a reinstatement of vernacular ideals and images in their own society would bring them a similar stability.¹⁸ Via his modernist approach Nairn is able to conclude that Scottish culture was romanticised and substituted a sentimental identity for a true political one. Through people such as Sir Walter Scott, Scotland's cultural producers became

involved in the creation of a fictitious past, a past which idealised and revised history and which eventually delivered a quasi-national inheritance.

Nairn has not been alone in this reading of Scottish society. William Ferguson notes that: 'Loss of confidence led to a virtual collapse of Scottish culture: literature degenerated into mawkish "kailyard" parochialism and painting into "ben and glen" romanticism...'.¹⁹ Similarly, Craig Cairns suggests that it is only when individuals perceive themselves to be a significant product of the past that they will endeavour to instigate a search for a true interpretation of that past. Furthermore, Cairns believes that for many, pre-First World War Scotland took on similar characteristics to the Celtic world of the Highlands before the 1745 Rising and the clearances. Separated from historical processes, the 'old' world was defined by cycles and repetitions, not by a beginning, middle and end, and so 'Scotland divorced from history became a place of romance'.²⁰

Whilst it is true that contemporary British society tends to base its notions of Scottish identity largely on romanticised ideals such as the 'ben and glen' sentimentality which underpins much of the Scottish tourist market, it seems a somewhat sweeping generalisation. Modernist, neo-Marxist analysis overlooks the dynamism provided by ethnicity and culture in shaping people's perceptions and life experiences. More importantly, these responses render vernacular culture generally, and craft practice in particular, impotent. They remove them from the possibility of performing as valid players within the broader notions of nationalism and identity. This is where Smith's final interpretation of identity and nationalism, which has been termed the ethnosymbolist approach comes into play.

An ethnosymbolic approach challenges primordialist, perennialist and modernist frameworks. Unlike Anderson and Gellner, Smith in his work on national identity posits the possibility of pre-modern antecedents to national identity, and this construct thus allows cultural identity to be considered part of the political dynamic. Smith locates one of the central problems of the modernist approach as the failure to include popular beliefs and actions and an inability to identify long-term processes which are subsumed into successive generations:

I refer to their systematic failure to accord any weight to the pre-existing cultures and ethnic ties of the nations that emerged in the modern epoch, thereby precluding any understanding of the popular roots, and widespread appeal of nationalism. This failure stems from serious inadequacies in the social constructionalism and instrumentalism that underpin their modernism in providing convincing accounts of cultural and political phenomena like nations and nationalism.²¹

This ethnosymbolist model draws upon modernist theoretical critiques, but at the core of the thesis is the acknowledgement that myths, memories, symbols of ethnic heritage and traditions have an extremely important place within the formation of nationalism:

For ethno-symbolists, what gives nationalism its power are the myths, memories, traditions and symbols of ethnic heritages and the way in which a popular living past has been, and can be rediscovered and reinterpreted by modern nationalist intelligentsias. It is from these elements of myth, memory, symbol and tradition that modern national identities are reconstituted in each generation as the nation becomes more inclusive and its members cope with new challenges.²²

John Hutchinson's work on cultural nationalism has much in common with Smith's argument. Hutchinson defines cultural nationalism as:

a movement of moral regeneration which seeks to re-unite the different aspects of the nation - traditional and modern, agriculture and industry, science and religion - by returning to the creative life-principle of the nation. Since this identity can only be grasped as a living whole - as a

differentiated complex of interactive units - that is in continuous evolution, it cannot be codified. It can only be understood genetically and intuitively as a *gestalt*. For this reason, its proponents are not politicians or legislators but are above all historical scholars and artists who form cultural and academic societies designed to recover this creative force in all its dimensions with verisimilitude and project it to the members of the nation.²³

As already noted, the importance of cultural nationalism tends to be overlooked because scholars generally assume that cultural nationalism can be conflated with political nationalism. It is viewed as primarily a linguistic movement, and as a regressive response to modernisation. Both Smith and Hutchinson argue against such assumptions. Smith comments that 'what we call nationalism operates on many levels and may be regarded as a form of culture as much as a species of political ideology and social movement.'²⁴ Hutchinson goes further, asserting that it should be seen as a movement quite independent of political nationalism, that historical memory is more important than language in defining the national community and that its emphasis on the past is a positive stance intended to inspire the community to higher stages of progress. He believes that modernist views of the celebration of vernacular traditions as merely a form of romanticised retreat is misplaced. Indeed the evocation of folk traditions is seen by Hutchinson 'not as a flight from the world but rather a means to catapult the nation from present backwardness and divisions to the most advanced stage of social development.'²⁵

Whilst it can be argued that there is a place for cultural nationalism to be considered as being independent of political nationalism, that is not to say that it does not have its own political agendas. According to Herder, artists have a key role to play in the formation of culture because they create literary,

aural and/or visual artefacts out of the collective experience of the historical legends and ancient culture of a particular group. Through the artistic media, a nation can be 'reconstructed' and indeed, countless artists, poets and musicians have looked to the heroes and sages of the past to inspire and celebrate a particular community's cultural uniqueness.

It is, therefore, of little surprise to learn that Herder provided inspiration for authors, poets and playwrights in both Scotland and Ireland. According to Angus Calder, 'it was contact with German writings in the movement associated with Herder which launched [Scott] as 'minstrel' of the Scottish border.'²⁶ Herder believed that 'in the works of imagination and feeling the entire soul of the nation reveals itself most freely'.²⁷ Isaiah Berlin notes that this belief was developed into a full-scale political-cultural doctrine by Michelet and Mazzini, but concludes that:

Herder stands even closer to the outlook of Ruskin [...] or William Morris [...] and to all who, in the present day, are opposed to hierarchies of status or power, or to the influence of manipulators of any kind.²⁸

Cultural nationalism's political agenda was clearly demonstrated in the Celtic Revivalism of the early twentieth century. Herder, for example, proved to be an inspiration to the novelist Eric Linklater, who stood as the National Party of Scotland's candidate in the 1933 East Fife by-election. Linklater noted that '... During his discussions ... he had found himself more than once quoting a dictum of ... Herder: "Study the superstitions and the sagas of the forefathers." That was what Yeats and Synge had done.'²⁹ Murray Pittock, Convenor of the Scots-Irish Research Network at the University of Strathclyde, further

comments that the Republican Padraig Pearse was also influenced by Herder's beliefs.³⁰

It is clear that many of the artists, poets and playwrights saw no contradiction between their Celtic cultural and political beliefs. Cultural nationalism, therefore, generates a greater interest in the historical sciences and the arts in order to challenge political and cultural elites. It is through this challenge that rising educated generations are encouraged to:

... re-create the idea of the nation as a living principle in the lives of the people. Cultural nationalism then has a politics, but it is very different from that of the political nationalist in its goals and modes of organisation.³¹

The argument raised by an ethnosymbolist approach for considering cultural identity as a viable and dynamic alternative to a political identity is further strengthened when one considers that history and culture provide the motives for conflict as well as solidarity. Where there are competing claims to territory, whether contemporary as in Palestine, or historical, such as Poland's, it tends to be the cultural and moral values which are emphasised.

If one accepts this argument, ethnosymbolism allows a different emphasis to be placed on work which has previously been considered part of a vernacular or 'romantic' idiom. Sir Walter Scott's work has recently been reappraised by Jeanne Cannizzo. Her approach appears to have had much in common with ethnosymbolist beliefs. In an exhibition *O Caledonia!* which was held in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in 1999, she suggested that Scott's oeuvre had meaningful and positive repercussions. For example Cannizzo believes that

he should be viewed as a dynamic element in the production of a Scottish identity:

Through his fiction Scott changed the way a wider public saw the physical features of his homeland. What had been an undifferentiated harsh and barren sweep became, under his pen, a picturesque and peopled landscape rich with echoes of the past.³²

The significance of the work of Scott cannot be ignored. His re-presentation of Scotland inspired the visualisation of his characters and their environment, and his work was a crucial element in the development of a society which saw itself as distinct from the English. Without doubt Scott's literary work had a radical impact on attitudes towards Scotland, both at home and abroad, reviving interest in Scottish history, promoting the development of the historical novel, and inspiring writers and artists to reconsider their national heritage.

Cultural identity: universal, national and local

This next section examines the workings of cultural identity on three levels, universal, national, and local. It begins by using the Peace Palace as an example with which to establish the boundaries of cultural nationalism and also to critique the limitations of such universalism. The windows in the Scottish National War Memorial and St Margaret's Chapel, Edinburgh are good examples of cultural identity functioning on a national level and they also provide an opportunity to consider the Honan Chapel in Cork which could also be described as an example of national romanticism. Finally the Vestibule window of Lawson Memorial Kirk in Forfar, Angus will be discussed for its value as a local determinant of cultural identity.

The Peace Palace in The Hague, the Netherlands, offers an example of an attempt to celebrate cultural identity at an international level through the creation of a building which reflected the best cultural achievements of all the major countries in the world [Figs 65A and B]. The fact that the Palace was completed only a year before the outbreak of the First World War suggests that this particular attempt to create world peace was a failure. However, the fact that the Palace and its Court of Arbitration is still a key player in administering international law implies that it has enjoyed a significant level of success in uniting countries in the pursuit, if not the achievement, of peace and justice. The success, or otherwise, of the Peace Palace is, however, not the central issue to this discussion. What is of interest here is the way the Palace as a whole, and Strachan's windows in particular, attempted to represent the best cultural output throughout the world in order to create a united identity.

On 29 July 1899, at the instigation of Czar Nicholas II of Russia, the First Peace Conference took place in The Hague. The city had been chosen as the host for the Conference because it was not the home of one of the 'Great Powers, where so many political interests are centred which might, perhaps, impede the progress of a work in which all the countries of the universe are equally interested.'³³ At this 'First Hague Peace Conference' the twenty-six countries present agreed that a Permanent Court of Arbitration should be established within The Hague. Following this decision the Court found a modest home in a large house in Prinsegracht, The Hague. Immediately after the close of the Conference, ambassadors and diplomats began to use their contacts to search for wealthy philanthropists willing to donate money so that a place

could be built to house both the Court and a large library of international law, for use not only by the Court but by the whole world.

It was fortunate that this search coincided with Andrew Carnegie's plans to retire 'in order that he might spend his life in distributing the money which he had taken so much time to earn.'³⁴ Carnegie was approached by representatives from the Conference and after four years' deliberation, he wrote to the Dutch diplomat Baron Gevers to confirm that he had arranged for a Banker's draft for \$1.5 million to be sent for the construction of a 'Court House and Library, a Temple of Peace for the Permanent Court of Arbitration...'³⁵

Since the main aim of the court was to resolve disputes and maintain world peace, it was given the name of Peace Palace and all signatories to the Hague Convention were asked to contribute towards its completion:

by sending materials for construction and decoration, and objects of art representing the purest specimens of its national production, in order that the Palace, the expression of universal good-will and hope, be constructed of the very substance of all countries.³⁶

On 2 May 1908 the British Government received a memorandum from the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Carnegie Foundation asking that:

...the contribution of the British Government might consist in the four large upper-windows of stained glass of the great Hall of Justice, the principal apartment of the Palace. [...] The Directors have already, with all discretion, allowed themselves to make similar suggestions to other Governments with a view to bring about between the different contributions of the different Governments that harmony and utility ... [...] The windows of stained glass for the (sic) which the English industrial art is famous, would ensure to Great Britain that prominent place among the contributions.³⁷

As a result of this memorandum, the British Government organised a competition. Henry Payne and Douglas Strachan were the two competitors. Their designs were considered by Earl Beauchamp, the Earl of Plymouth and Sir John Stirling Maxwell and on 3 August 1911, they unanimously agreed that Strachan's designs were 'in every way superior to those of Mr Payne.'³⁸

Strachan had devised an elaborate scheme centred on the allegorical theme of 'The Evolution of the Peace Ideal'. The plan in Figure 66 indicates the layout of this scheme. Each window represents a phase of evolution, the Primitive Age (A), the Age of Conquest (B), the Present Age (C), and the Achievement of Peace (D). His aim was that as the theme unfolds the viewer becomes aware of:

...the gradual development of human intelligence and civilization based on the firm belief of a World Force greater than man: from self-preservation, through fallacies of military power and industrial supremacy, man is led into an age that sees war as a monstrous folly.³⁹

It should be noted that colour played an important role in the overall symbolism of the design: the background of the windows is composed of plain quarry-glazing, partly for the practical reason of allowing as much light into the hall as possible, but also because white is the symbol of peace. Strachan utilised this requirement to his advantage, commenting:

This necessity has been turned to use in relation to the significance of the windows, by adopting white as a symbol of Peace; each period, expressed in colour-schemes that vary with the mood of the periods, is seen against, and judged in relation to a background of white.⁴⁰

The four large windows were each divided into four lights surmounted by four smaller panels. The *Primitive Age* window deals with the chief developments of early human society and reflects the development of societies in prehistory as it was understood by archaeologists at the beginning of the twentieth century. The first light contains a semi-anthropomorphic Mother Earth with two naked human forms emerging from her green figure [Fig. 67A]. Her large right hand curves protectively around one of the tiny human forms. To her left, a simply drawn male and female emerge from her side, leaning forward as if to peer at the environment around them. Composed completely of white glass, their pallor and lack of detailed features suggest purity; that their lives are still to be coloured by their achievements. Directly beneath them are two hunters, whilst in the next panel a shepherd cares for his sheep [Figs 67B and C]. Here Strachan has included signs of cultural development; the shepherd is playing on pipes whilst the woman who sits at his feet with a baby in her arms is spinning wool. Above them a family gather together in front of a cave and one of the youths is busy creating fire from a stick and a pot; a faint wisp of smoke curls itself around the stick. The third panel takes these developments further showing a harvest gathered in and a Bacchus-like figure, head wreathed in vine leaves, treading grapes to make wine. The fourth panel in this window shows men working at a furnace creating metal (one worker wears a large copper coloured earring in his left ear) and the cave dwelling has been replaced by a more sophisticated thatched building [Fig. 67D]. At the top of the main lights in all the windows are four signs of the zodiac, one in each

light. In this window they are Aries, Taurus, Gemini and Cancer. In the upper lights Strachan has included anthropomorphised elements, wind, rain, sun and lightning, to represent humanity's terror and worship of natural phenomena [Fig. 67E].

A broader reading of this window suggests that Strachan is attempting to convey the notion of human stereotypes, the hunter (killer) and shepherd (pacifist). At the bottom of the middle two lights he juxtaposes a bird in its nest with a ship on water to suggest that alongside their many cultural achievements, humans have also developed a need to migrate. It was this migratory instinct which eventually resulted in war and death. The Latin text which runs above the nest and boat refers to the overall pastoral nature of this first window and reads as follows: 'Helmet nor sword were found; man lived in peace without any need of the military.'⁴¹

The second window, *The Age of Conquest*, portrays the destructive nature of human beings. The first panel depicts a proud conqueror [Fig. 68A] whilst beneath him three allegorical figures representing Bloodthirst and Greed⁴² stand over vast amounts of money and treasure [Fig. 68B]. This trio form a grotesque tableau and the colour of Greed's metallic scales and armour contrast with the pallor of his two comrades. In the second light, Peace and Love are tied to a wooden strut and where agriculture and industry once flourished, war has demolished it. The vernacular dwellings have been

replaced by huge castles constructed to protect the Conqueror against invaders [Fig. 68C]. Above in the smaller tracery lights, Bellona, the Roman goddess of war and her evil hordes rage across the sky preceded by Hunger and Death⁴³ [Fig. 68D]. The legend which runs along the lower section is based on Juno's address to Allecto in Virgil's *Aeneid* VII 335-338:

You know well how to set brothers, united in love, at armed conflict one against the other. You can wreck homes by hate and bring scourges and fire-brands of death within their walls. You have a thousand types of mischief, a thousand artful ways of doing harm.⁴⁴

The story is not, however, completely desolate. The final, fourth light, contains Justice and Peace who have appeared to inspire humanity to better things [Fig. 68E].

The optimistic note is continued in the third window, *The Present Age*. The key theme here is industry and the realisation that war can only hinder humanity's progress. Construction men work together to create new, exciting cities [Fig. 69A]. In the next light Finance, depicted as a businessman, sits at his desk and scrutinizes the globe, his fingers poised on the telegraph machine ready to send his communications across the world [Fig. 69B]. Beneath him Greed, who still holds on to his sword, has been captured and put into chains by a figure representing Labour [Fig. 69C]. The third light refers to the understanding and alleviation of suffering the Sciences can bring. A doctor tends to his patient whilst above him, a man sits surrounded by scientific equipment [Fig. 69D]. The final section represents Philosophy and the Arts as the peacemakers. Through their work, they have recreated a beautiful environment for humanity [Figs 69E and F]. In the smaller panels above the heads of this scene of

industry and creativity, figures representing the four quarters of the earth meet to seek mutual understanding [Fig. 69G]. The banner which runs through the window reads: Unnoticed, Nature by her vital force herself puts an end to the grim work of Mars.⁴⁵

In this particular window Strachan has returned to the theme of labour which he first dealt with in the Trades Hall in Aberdeen. The message seems to be that through humanity working together great things can be achieved. Labour, whether it is industrial, scientific or creative, when combined can overcome human vices such as greed. Here Strachan's ideas parallel the socialist idealism found in William Morris's writings. For example, in his lecture *How We Live and How We Might Live*, which was delivered to the Hammersmith Branch of the Social Democratic Federation in 1887, Morris commented that the competition engendered by capitalism was merely another word for war. This war was fought at an international and at a national level between commercial companies. His answer to this was Socialism which 'can offer you peace and friendship instead of war'.⁴⁶ In his view it was possible to create an improved society through education which would result in people realising that:

the old system of organising labour for individual profit is becoming unmanageable, and that the whole people have now got to choose between the confusion resulting from the break up of that system and the determination to take in hand the labour now organised for profit, and use its organization for the livelihood of the community [...].⁴⁷

The final window in this series continues to expand this theme. The window (running from left to right) shows the migration of humanity which is being guided by a phoenix from the ruins of their fortress to the New City. In the middle of the exodus, one of the crowd breaks his sword in half [Fig. 70A].

This proletarian figure strikes a heroic posture and again recalls Morris's belief in the need for a peaceful revolution. In the centre, Destiny weaves a tapestry which gradually changes in colour from the red of bloodshed to the white of peace [Figs 70B]. At the head of the crowd are the Statesmen, Scientists and Philosophers [Fig. 70C] who will presumably be the leaders of the new peaceful world. Just above Destiny stand the four corners of the world with North and South holding the scales of justice above their heads [Fig. 70D]. In the third panel Bellona dies in the arms of Peace [Fig.70E]. In the half lights, the powers which form humanity's destiny watch the proceedings from their lofty positions [Fig. 70F].

Strachan produced notes to accompany his windows in which he comments that: 'Each stage in the development has produced its constructive spirits - poets, seers, prophets - who voicing their vision of a further stage of development, have prepared the way for its realisation.'⁴⁸ This idea clearly echoes Herder's belief in the importance of artists who provide inspiration for their society. The overall theme of the windows also conforms to Hutchinson's ideas of the basic requirements for the formation of a politicised cultural identity: that in order to enjoy moral regeneration a nation has to look to its artists and academics, because it is through their work that the polarities of agriculture and industry and science and philosophy can be brought together and thus unite a nation. In line with this theory, Strachan's scheme appears to acknowledge that this process is a continuous one and one which is composed of many parts, as Hutchinson says, a *gestalt*.

Whilst the overall idea is sound in theory, to put it into practice on such a broad and international scale was problematic. The Peace Palace Guidebook comments that:

The windows indeed represent the best of cultural traditions. The symbols and allegories are topical from classical to modern times, in the literary and plastic arts alike. It is only in recent decades that we have forgotten to understand, if not appreciate them.⁴⁹

The extent to which Strachan's designs at the Palace were reflecting the *zeitgeist* of the era is open to debate and certainly the utopianism of the theme matches that of the project as a whole. It is the question of topicality which highlights a major problem with attempting to depict a united community on such a large scale. The scheme certainly tries to describe humanity's evolution in terms of its scientific and cultural development but the references are too expansive, too universalist and cannot, therefore, exert a tangible influence on the viewer. The non-specificity of Strachan's representation of humanity's creation offers a useful starting point for examining this problem. All Creation myths differ and certainly Strachan, through his inclusion of a male and female figure emerging from Mother Earth, has attempted to avoid referencing, or even prioritising, particular religious beliefs. By referencing religion in such an abstract way he is also removing the process whereby a viewer can directly identify with the imagery, and as a result, achieve a state where s/he might be disposed towards global compatriotism. Similarly, his references to classical literature and culture are ethnocentric rather than ethnosymbolist. The ancient Greek and Roman diasporas ensured a widespread embrace and knowledge of their beliefs and customs but this was not world-wide and again fails to be all-inclusive.

Furthermore, there is a hint of western society being proposed as morally superior. The upper half-lights in the *Present Age* window depict the four parts of the world attempting to understand one another [Fig. 69G]. According to the Palace Guidebook, they do this through 'balancing between a peaceful spirit (on the left) and distrust (on the right).'⁵⁰ The peaceful spirit is dressed in a westernised vernacular fashion whereas the distrustful spirit on the right is positioned behind East and wears a more exotic non-western costume. Of course Strachan had a job to do, he was trying to create a design which was visually, as well as intellectually, stimulating and he could have been attempting to recognise that the west was more industrially and economically advanced. The races present in the windows are also predominantly white. Strachan created these designs in a very different socio-cultural climate when such ethnocentricity was rarely criticised, and again, it can be argued that the technical requirements of allowing as much unadulterated light in as possible to a large extent dictated this imbalance. What is of chief interest here, however, is that the Palace was attempting to be pluralistic in its approach. Yet it was the very multicultural intent of the windows' design which ironically resulted in the lack of the key constituents in the creation of a homogenised, global cultural identity: clearly defined shared myths, memories and symbols of ethnic heritages.

Despite its problems, the idea for bringing together the best cultural traditions of each country under one roof in order to achieve a better, progressive society was not completely idealistic. Homi Bhabha in his discussion of the role of culture and identity notes that:

Political empowerment, and the enlargement of the multiculturalist cause, come from posing questions of solidarity and community from the interstitial perspective. Social differences are not simply given to experience through an already authenticated cultural tradition, they are the signs of the emergence of a community envisaged as a project - at once a vision and a construction - that takes you 'beyond' yourself in order to return, in a spirit of revision and reconstruction, to the political conditions of the present.⁵¹

Whereas the Peace Palace sought to be internationalist in design, the Scottish National War Memorial was intended as a monument to draw together one specific nation. Edinburgh Castle has been (and indeed still is) for many Scots a key icon of their national heritage. The Memorial is situated within the grounds of the Castle. As such, it provides an ideal example with which to demonstrate the successful employment of an ethnosymbolic approach to achieve a united cultural identity.

Opened in 1927, the building was intended to function as 'a casket of memories',⁵² recalling the heroism of the many Scots men and women who died fighting for their country, not just in the Great War, but throughout the history of the nation. The idea of a building dedicated to the patriotic actions of individuals in defence of a nation raises some interesting issues. During the first few decades of the twentieth century, the British government, sensitive to the political climate of revolution, attempted to promote the sense of an all-British patriotism and this patriotic ideal was inevitably strengthened by British victory over Germany in 1918. Had the Memorial been intended simply to recall the heroism of British soldiers fallen in the First World War, then the issue would not be so complex. However, the Memorial is dedicated to those who fell defending Scotland against enemies ranging from the Roman invaders,

through King Edward II and his army, to the Willhelminian Reich, and thus portrays an identity independent of British, and more particularly English, ideals of national unity.

Scotland had remained outwith the nationalist movements which had swept across Europe during the nineteenth century. This reticence was certainly not due to the country being without the necessary conditions for a successful bid for independence. As Nairn points out in *The Break-Up of Britain*, Scotland had its own particular history of independence and a thriving middle class and intelligentsia. Yet the country remained essentially, politically passive and did not attempt to reclaim Scotland from Westminster's control. This is not to suggest that there were no Scots agitating for some form of national independence. The Scottish Home Rule Association was created in 1886 and Home Rule bills were intermittently presented to Westminster between 1894 and 1926 with the intention of creating a Scottish Parliament. However, despite having the necessary assets for a bid for self-governance, Scotland did not develop a significant driving political force for nationalism until the National Party of Scotland was formed in 1928.

It would be wrong, however, to presume that such inactivity in nationalist politics represented a complete loss of national identity. The Union of Parliaments in 1707 (when Scotland agreed to be ruled from Westminster in London) obviously had an enormous effect on Scottish self-perception, but the Union did not represent a total severance with the past. As historian T. C. Smout comments: 'Most Scots would, quite rightly, have laughed at the idea that the Scottish nation came to an end in 1707 ... it was the end of an auld

sang, perhaps, but it was not yet the end of an auld people.'⁵³ Throughout the eighteenth century, the Scots maintained a sense of their identity through secular and religious traditions, in folk-lore and vernacular heroes, and in an anti-English sentiment characterised in poems and ballads, most notably those of Robert Burns. As noted in the previous chapter, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it was individuals such as Patrick Geddes who ensured the continuation of this independent cultural spirit. As well as commissioning numerous murals, Geddes published the Journal *Evergreen* with the explicit intention of encouraging a northern, Celtic awareness and he enthused artists from all media to partake in a 'Celtic Renaissance'.⁵⁴

The site of the Memorial itself was intended to have an immediate emotional impact on the nation. From its inception it was planned that it should have a strong Scottish, as opposed to British, identity. Placed within the bounds of Edinburgh Castle it laid a strong claim on the hearts of all patriotic Scots. Having agreed on the need for a national memorial, Glasgow and Edinburgh were both keen to offer appropriate sites. Edinburgh Castle was eventually selected because of its perceived links with the nation's past. It was commented that the Rock, 'beyond any other of Scotland's sacred places, may claim to symbolise the national soul'.⁵⁵ The Foreign Secretary, Arthur Balfour, himself a Scot, supported this idea, believing that 'no site in the whole world will seem more fitting in the eyes of men of Scottish blood, wherever they may be living than the Castle round which centre so many memories of our national history'.⁵⁶ Situated on the pinnacle of the rock, the Memorial is linked to both the sacred and historic roots of Scotland since its position is close to the

original Chapel of St Mary, founded by King David I (c.1085-1153) and rebuilt by David II in the 14th century. It was, therefore, considered imperative that the design of the new building and its contents should similarly win a place in the nation's heart. Robert Lorimer, the architect of the Memorial, was instructed to approach his commission with the utmost reverence for the emotional and historic association of Edinburgh Castle: 'All tradition, all national sentiment centres round this wonderful rock'.⁵⁷ The building was financed by donations from Scottish burghs and parishes and by money from expatriates in Canada, South Africa and America, and two hundred Scottish artists and craftworkers were chosen to work on the building.

The War Memorial stands in the centre of Crown Square. Its plan is rectangular with three projections facing south onto the Square and an apse, which is sited in the centre of the north-facing wall, and which forms the shrine [Fig. 71]. David Erskine of Linlathens, a member of the Building Committee, told Lorimer that 'any building on Edinburgh Castle Rock should not be in a definite style either Gothic or Classic, but that it should be rugged, rigorous, and depending for its effect not on fine details but on mass, light and shade.'⁵⁸ In response, Lorimer created a building which combined elements of Classical, Gothic and Scottish Baronial styles. The rubble exterior which utilised stones from the barracks which had been demolished to make way for the Memorial, contrasted with the smooth ashlar over the entrance and the window casements. All the main building materials were sourced from Scotland. The door was made from Scottish oak, the granite floor in the interior came from Ailsa Craig off the Ayrshire coast, and the carved stone was from Swinton Quarry in Berwickshire.

Together the materials emphasised the links between the past and present and promoted the idea of a territorial unity.

The windows for the Memorial were of vital importance to Strachan's career and reputation. As noted in Chapter 2, Strachan and Lorimer probably first met in February 1909 when Lorimer travelled to Aberdeen to persuade Strachan to take on the role of Head of Edinburgh College of Art's Craft Section. Their first collaboration was in 1911 when Strachan produced the St Andrew east window for Lorimer's Thistle Chapel in St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh. Lorimer had until this point frequently worked with Louis Davis. However, in 1923 Lorimer asked Strachan to provide the fenestration for the Memorial. As with the Thistle Chapel there had been a strong call by the Trustees for all the work to be carried out by Scottish craftworkers. Also by this point the relationship of Lorimer and Davis had deteriorated substantially. This deterioration followed their collaboration on the Thistle Chapel. Lorimer had asked Davis to produce ideas for the windows, telling the Trustees of the Thistle Chapel that 'there was nobody in Scotland that I thought could do the glass as it should be done'⁵⁹ and at that time he dismissed Strachan as having insufficient experience. The Trustees, however, favoured Strachan's designs and wanted the work to go to him. The situation became more problematic with Davis threatening legal action. A settlement was eventually reached whereby Strachan produced the east window and Davis provided the remaining glass. Davis did eventually carry out further commissions for Lorimer but it must have been clear to Lorimer that Strachan, who by this time had achieved

national and international success, was the obvious choice for the War Memorial.

Strachan was commissioned to design all the windows for the Memorial and he also produced cartoons representing the planets for the seven tympanum panels above the windows.⁶⁰ The first mention of Strachan's role in designing the windows occurs in the Construction Committee's minutes of May 1923 which record that the committee had visited Strachan's studio in order to discuss the scheme, that some criticisms had been made but that the committee was very impressed and had authorised Strachan to proceed with the centre light as a trial. The Chairman's Report of 14 November 1924 noted that 'members of the Committee inspected the glass work by Douglas Strachan and gave approval'.⁶¹

Lorimer created two distinct parts to the Memorial: The Hall of Honour and the Shrine. The Hall of Honour comprises a long rectangle divided into pillared arcades or bays. Each bay is dedicated to the memory of a regiment, complete with regimental colours and rolls of honour. They are lit by a stained-glass window whose glass is pale enough to allow light through so that the names in the rolls of honour can be read with relative ease. The windows are low-set within the tall, stone-clad interior. There are eight windows in this section of the Memorial, each recalling an aspect of the Great War. Of the eight, four windows show scenes of war in different seasons of the year as seen by those who remained at home in Scotland, and the other four depict the war 'at the front', recalling the work of the Army, Navy, Royal Flying Corps, and Women's Services. The windows are all of a similar basic design, with

roundels in a vertical pattern set in silvery-white quarry. The Summer Window [Fig. 72] shows a troop ship about to sail, seen by those remaining on the quay. Many cruise liners were stripped of their luxurious decor and fitted for battle in the Clyde boatyards. Honeysuckle and thistles in the border represent flowers typical of Scottish hedgerows in summer. The Autumn window contains an image of a reaper gathering in the harvest. In the centre is a homecoming, soldiers returning by train. Two lower panels depict some of the work carried out in Scottish factories - munition making and the annealing of large guns. The flora and foliage around this window is composed of scabious, rose hips, rowan and bramble. The winter window is more melancholy in character. The top section shows a figure bringing in faggots. The central roundel has a lone soldier viewed from the side; trumpet raised to his lips, he sounds the last post. Around this scene are hellebores niger, holly, ivy and mistletoe. The lowest part of the window contains a camouflaged convoy guarding the Scottish coast.

Similarly, the Naval window [Fig. 73] shows highly detailed images of destroyers and troopships zig-zagging along the Firth of Forth with the Forth Rail Bridge depicted in the middle roundel. Interestingly Strachan's cartoons for the aeroplanes, ships and submarines were examined by Admiral Sir Reginald Tyrwhitt and Chief of Air Staff Sir Hugh Trenchards to ensure the sea and aircraft were accurately portrayed. The subsidiary imagery [Fig. 74] is again composed of typically Scottish motifs, but here Strachan juxtaposes the contemporary military vehicles with ancient Celtic knotwork designs. The Women's Services window [Fig. 75] on the South Wall of the Hall depicts tasks

they carried out. The top section represents the Women's Land Army followed by munition-making, Red Cross motor cyclists and nurses. The central roundels are united by allegorical representations of Faith, Hope, Charity, Prudence, Justice, Patience and Fortitude.

Together the windows in the Hall of Honour portray positive images of the whole nation working together, from women making cannon and cartridges in ammunition factories or riding motorcycles as part of the Red Cross movement, to the guarding of the coast and the poignant sight of troop ships loaded with their precious cargo. These windows then represent experiences of life during the war and as such they offer images of the living to the living.

The Hall of Honour is inclusive. Its environment is not so grand as to be intimidating and it provides a space where relatives of the dead, as well as survivors of war, can recall the dead without being overawed. The Shrine however, has a distinctly different character. It is exclusive. The floor space is restricted and the windows are too tall to allow the viewer to see the imagery easily. The patterning in the windows is dense and it takes longer to pick out some of the images in the lacework of lead. Here, the scheme requires a composite reading, with links running forward and backwards and across the room from one window to another. Perhaps only the dead, as perpetual witnesses to the truth, are intended to have a perfect vision of the scheme.

The Shrine itself is apsidal. In its centre, a marble altar emerges from the rock upon which the shrine is built and on top of the altar stands the casket containing the names of the hundred thousand Scottish dead of World War

One. Seven windows flank the Shrine and soar above the casket. The windows are very different in colour and style to those in the Hall of Honour. The colours are rich and vivid, the style more angular and hard-edged. The figures in these windows are less naturalistic, having flattened faces and high cheekbones. As witnessed by the breadth of techniques, such as stippling, etching and shading, there is still a strong decorative element incorporated into the designs. The extent of these techniques can be seen in Figure 76 where Cain sits pondering upon on his actions. The trees in the mythic land of Nod (the place of wandering) are attenuated and stylised and the fields are given texture through stippling. The most eloquent contrast in style, however, can be seen in the use of leading. Whereas the figures in the roundels in the Hall of Honour are representative and set within a simple decorative diaper pattern, the figures in the Shrine windows are incorporated into an abstracted and intricate web of leading.

It is possible to make a semi-narrative reading of the Shrine's fenestration. Starting on the left side of the apse, the first two windows recount the birth of war and incorporate scenes from the Book of Genesis. In the windows opposite, the havoc and terror of war are displayed, intertwined with the idea of salvation drawn from the Book of Revelation, whilst the three central windows of the apse offer an image of peace restored. The scheme can also be reduced to three themes: biblical, allegorical and historical, and this deconstruction offers some interesting parallels with Herder's notions of cultural nationalism.

The scheme starts with the biblical assertion of common ancestry. Figures holding spheres [Fig. 77] represent the first four days of the Creation, the very beginning of time in our world. Beneath them, we see Adam and Eve [Fig. 78], cast out from Paradise, grieving over their youngest son Abel murdered by his brother Cain. It is through this death that the seeds of war are sown and the combined actions of Adam, Eve and Cain trigger a chain of events which will eventually be broken by Christ's second coming, described in the Book of Revelation and shown in the central windows of the apse. Here Strachan is at pains to describe Christ as resurrected and victorious [Fig. 79]. His hands are free of the cross and His hair and eyes blaze yellow, recalling St John's description.⁶² Above, in the adjacent lights are the elders [Fig. 80], who are there as the representatives of God's people and although the Memorial was non-denominational, the elders also reflect the Presbyterian tradition of elected elders within the Church of Scotland.

Abraham's sacrifice of his son Isaac is depicted in the bottom panel of the first light, whilst in the corresponding panel of the adjoining window Strachan shows Moses and the Ark of the Covenant [Fig. 81]. Here again, there is a strong link with the traditional ideas of Calvinism. Calvin and his followers believed in predestination - that certain individuals were chosen, or elected by God, for salvation - an idea related to the Israelites' belief that they were God's chosen people. The Ark of the Covenant also creates a visual link with the casket in the centre of the room [Fig. 82]. Both containers are guarded by angels and were built to protect the precious artefacts of the community. It is interesting to note Herder's analysis of the Jewish nation here. He thought that

the Jews were an excellent example of a Volk and noted that 'Moses created a cultivated nation'⁶³ so that the Israelites were never dependent upon Egypt for a sense of belonging. Moses can, therefore, be viewed as an archetypal cultural nationalist, attempting to preserve the Israelites' identity in dispersion. Together, Abraham and Moses represent the genesis of faith, law and order, the values required to counterbalance strife. These are also the fundamental values of Presbyterianism which in itself was a defining component of Scotland's identity.⁶⁴ As Tom Devine notes, it was the:

Presbyterian inheritance that shaped the values of thrift, independence, sobriety, the work ethic and education, which were the very foundations of middle- and 'respectable' working-class culture.⁶⁵

As one might expect, the notion of justice is key to an overall reading of the glazing scheme. Allegorical figures representing this ideal are shown in the apse to the right of the risen Christ, complete with the attributes of sword and scales. These figures of good are balanced by representations of evil elsewhere in the scheme. The hordes of evil fly above Cain's head and in the windows opposite, Evil himself sits on a splendid throne. In the background, two of his henchmen appear to have stolen the sword and scales of justice [Fig. 83]. The resulting loss is shown in the adjoining panel. Here souls cry out for mercy and men are enslaved; shackled together they appear to be pulling a battering ram [Fig. 84]. Together these images of evil highlight 'the warring element in the destiny of mankind'⁶⁶ and provide an image of what might have been had the Scots not responded to protect their country.

The three central windows celebrate the achievements of justice. At Christ's feet Bellona, the bringer of war, dies in the arms of Peace, and behind Peace personifications of East and West are united [Fig. 85]. There is a strong similarity here to the fourth window in the Peace Palace, as can be seen in Figures 70D and E where, as discussed, Strachan had similarly shown the development of hatred and war and the ultimate accomplishments of peace.

Another interesting parallel with Herder manifests itself in this evolutionary idea. In chapter three of Herder's *Reflections on the philosophy of the history of mankind*, he begins with the idea that 'the human race is destined to proceed through various degrees of civilisation in various mutations; but the permanency of its welfare is founded solely and essentially on reason and justice.'⁶⁷ The schemes in the Shrine and the Palace essentially echo this idea, depicting episodes of humanity's evolution from the idyll of Paradise through the desolation of war and culminating in the flowering of justice and peace.

Images relating to time are also prominent. The windows in the Shrine and Hall of Honour remind the viewer of chronological phases such as weeks (represented by the angels of the days of creation [Fig. 77]), months and seasons. This is a representation of human time. Another similarity with the Peace Palace designs is the inclusion of the signs of the zodiac. They are contained within four windows in the Shrine and are there to remind the viewer of cosmic time, a limitless, unfathomable measure beyond our human span. Strachan often incorporated the signs of the zodiac into his designs, alluding to the passing of time and to the cosmos. He wanted to show humanity's progress on the earth in relation 'to the larger progression - the passage of the

earth onwards through space'.⁶⁸ Herder similarly appealed to his compatriots 'to understand their place and respect their role in the cosmos, in time and space'.⁶⁹

Allegorical representations of Mars, Jupiter, Moon, Sun, Saturn, Mercury and Venus are also present in the form of seven carved medallions in the tympanum [Fig. 86]. Strachan had originally intended the planets be incorporated into the window design itself but lack of space prohibited this. The medallions are extremely difficult to see because of their situation in the dimly lit Shrine [Fig. 87]. However, the archive at Aberdeen Art Gallery holds the life-size, chalk on paper, cartoons (1.23 x 1.53) which afford greater scrutiny. The medallions were included to remind the viewer of the ancient human belief in the influence the planets exercise on our destiny.⁷⁰

Strachan also focuses on a number of historical memories, drawing from mythical, real, ancient and contemporary events. In the bottom panel of the apsidal windows there is a link to the Roman conquest where he has included the mythical hero Calgacus⁷¹ [Fig. 88]. Calgacus earned his fame through his speech to the Caledonians urging them to resist the Pax Romana and remain free men.⁷²

Other 'heroes of the nation's history' include Alexander III, William Wallace and Robert the Bruce [Fig. 89]. Alexander's reign (1249-86) became a mythical golden age for Scotland, and Scottish chroniclers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries boosted his reputation in order to stress Scottish identity

and the political independence of the kingdom. William Wallace achieved his heroic status because of his courageous fight for independence which ensured that the Scottish kingdom was re-established. A strong link had already been made between Robert the Bruce, the great hero of the Wars of Independence, and the Memorial through 'Thistle Day'. This was the name given to a one-day fund-raising event (which took the form of a flag-day) for the building of the Memorial. Thistle Day was held on 23 June 1922, the anniversary of the first day of battle at Bannockburn,⁷³ when Robert and his army began the offensive which resulted in a decisive victory over Edward II and a reaffirmation of the country's independence. Robert the Bruce was also responsible for the letter sent to Pope John XXII known as The Declaration of Arbroath. Dated 6 April 1320, and signed by Scottish Barons, it denounced Edward II's efforts at conquest and proclaimed the ancient independence of Scotland. On receipt of the letter, the Pope suspended the proceedings he had initiated against the Scots and called on Edward II to make peace. Little attention was paid to this letter until it was republished in the 17th century in an attempt to prevent Scotland joining forces with England. Since then it has often been described as the Scottish 'Declaration of Independence'.

It is interesting to note that in all three central windows the heroes are flanked by contemporary foot soldiers and cavalrymen. The idea is echoed in the bronze reliefs [Fig. 90] which run beneath the windows, and this visual link suggests that the war dead have similarly gained a place in the history of the nation and, more importantly, that such unity signifies a social cohesion, a brotherhood. This visual display of social unity also implies a removal of class

barriers, and reinforces the notion of equality before God. This confraternity of historical and mythical heroes with contemporary soldiers is further emphasised by the huge carved figure of the Archangel Michael which dominates the ceiling space in the Shrine. St Michael is depicted as leader of the soldiers of both the heavenly and temporal spheres. The figure was carved by Alice Meredith Williams [Fig. 91] but the Atholl Archive holds a photograph of a chalk sketch of Michael by Strachan.⁷⁴ Apart from the planets in the tympanum, no mention is made in materials held by the War Memorial archive of Strachan having an input into the design of the reliefs or sculptures in the Shrine. The angel in the Shrine has been given a stronger posture than its counterpart in the cartoon. This is largely achieved through the raising of St Michael's right arm, which is reaching behind his back in order to withdraw a sword from its scabbard. However, there are clearly similarities between the sketch and the completed sculpture [Fig. 92] and a newspaper clipping in Mrs Strachan's scrapbook comments that 'this impressive sculpted figure (designed by Dr Strachan) may be taken as guarding the souls of the fallen.'⁷⁵

It can be seen from the imagery that a number of strands of meaning run through the scheme. There is the obvious imagery of sacrifice. The Memorial had to speak to the nation's grief, but rather than show just one aspect, Strachan has included a number of interpretations through the inclusion of personal, historical and religious sacrifice. Adam, Eve and Abraham represent the personal pain of loss. Calgacus, Robert the Bruce and Wallace offer the heroic sacrifice for country, whilst the central window of Christ triumphant signifies His mystical sacrifice [Fig. 93]. This sacrificial theme culminates in a

message of Christ's promise of humanity's re-entry into Paradise. It confirms God's promise of a New Jerusalem, without which 'there will be no more death, no more grief or crying or pain.'⁷⁶ Flanked by ancient and contemporary Scottish heroes, this New Jerusalem evokes a specific ethnoscape.

Scotland's War Memorial is very different from the national memorials of Wales and England. Set within Alexandra Gardens in Cardiff, the Welsh National War Memorial is contemporaneous with the Scottish Memorial (1924-28) and was created by a Scot from Aberdeen, Sir J. Ninian Comper. It consists of a circular colonnade of Corinthian columns interspersed with three rectangular porticos [Fig. 94]. At the centre of the colonnade three more columns create a podium for three bronze statues of servicemen representing the three main armed forces. At the very top of the column stands a nude winged figure [Fig. 95].

Sir Edwin Lutyens created the National Memorial in England. Erected in Whitehall, London, his stone Cenotaph records the sacrifice of the country's heroes. Sir Lawrence Weaver commented that:

England's national memorial, the Cenotaph, noble as it is, was the outcome of a chance. The first anniversary of Armistice Day fell to be commemorated. A solemn observance was ordained to take place in Whitehall. A focal point was needed. The Cenotaph was designed in an evening by Sir Edwin Lutyens and set up hurriedly in lath and plaster. The observance came and passed ... The heart of London was wrung, and there came a demand that the Cenotaph should become an abiding thing. ... But it is not England's deliberate offering to the memory of her dead; rather the crystal deposit of a passive, if splendid, emotion.⁷⁷

However, the Cenotaph was not as rushed as Weaver suggests because in 1917 before the War was over, Lutyens first put forward ideas for a

permanent, non-denominational monolith which through its simplicity would convey the magnitude of loss.

The English proto-modernist monolith was intended as a symbol of the tragedy of war, its stark outline a reminder of the hardship and suffering endured in times of war. The Welsh memorial, which is set in a park and provides seating along the interior base of the colonnade, shares some similarities with the Scottish memorial in that they both provided non-denominational spaces for prayer and meditation. However, the open-plan classical architecture offers inadequate shelter from the elements and little to inspire the mourners in their sadness and the architecture and location are typical examples of the era's emphasis on the British Empire and its grandeur.

It is interesting that Lorimer chose to create a building rather than opting for a more triumphalist monument such as may be found in Wales or England.

Elizabeth Cumming comments that 'It is significant that the Scots decided on a building - and one with the scope for craft, including sculpture - rather than an austere monolith, to commemorate their dead.'⁷⁸ Cumming does not elaborate on this observation but the reasons for choosing a building must, to a great extent, have been based on practical issues, as can be seen from the following written by Robert Lorimer on 26 June 1923:

You will agree that it is very essential to try and keep the tradition of good craftsmanship alive. What is happening in this country at present is that there is a considerable amount of employment for the lower grades of tradesmen in connection with housing schemes but there is little employment for skilled stone masons, hewers and really skilled craftsmen in general.⁷⁹

The War Memorial Committee felt it vital that the Memorial should dispel any sense of regionalism and draw the nation together in its time of mourning. The building provided a sheltered place where individuals could be remembered and celebrated. Moreover, the exterior and interior provided spaces for imagery which emphasised the national community. As noted earlier in this chapter, it is difficult to create a close-knit community from universal ideals. The ability of a group to think of itself as a nation depends upon an agreement existing among its citizens about what it means to be a unified whole and the War Memorial tries to reflect this idea. Ian Hay (pseudonym of author John Hay Beith) noted that for the English it was their county rather than their country as a whole that functioned as a unit of belonging. In Scotland, he notes, the people were more aware of the country as a whole and comments 'Big England's mourning is local; little Scotland's is national.'⁸⁰ That is not to suggest that local communities in Scotland did not commemorate the heroism of those whom they loved and knew. One of the reasons why the Memorial did not open until 1927 was that time was given to allow local statues and memorials to be funded and built. However, these local memorials were mostly small statues, commemorative tablets or stained-glass windows within existing public buildings such as town halls or churches.⁸¹ Hay's point was that the Scottish National War Memorial attempted to function as a meeting point for the entire nation's grief. The extent to which such a community is a mythical or whimsical creation is open to debate but in the post-war ethos, the need for a sense of belonging was vital in helping the nation come to terms with the trauma of loss. With this in mind, the cultural nationalism evident in the Memorial can be seen as an attempt to redirect the country away from

conflict and unite it via an ethnic historicist vision as an integrated, distinctive and autonomous community.⁸²

Through the articulation of a complex 'historical memory' the Memorial was able to play an important role in reflecting a national identity. It would seem that the Scottish people responded to the emotive pull of this strand of nationalism. Contemporary newspapers reported long queues of people waiting to visit the Memorial, and one journalist commented: 'Into this memorial Scotland has put her instinctive reserve, her proud and even dour reticence.'⁸³ For many, the Shrine represented the personality of the nation's people, it was their identity, 'wrought in epic poem with glass, stone and carving for words. [...] If ever the essence of a race was embodied it is here in the sanctuary, close to the heart of Scotland.'⁸⁴

War memorials and popular heroes are among the most effective and vigorous symbols of nationalism. They signify abstract ideals in a tangible form and can evoke a strong patriotic response. In this sense the Scottish National War Memorial was highly successful. The windows of the Shrine represent the New Jerusalem and were constructed as a poetic space for a new Scottish age of achievement.

Adjacent to the War Memorial is a small chapel dedicated to St Margaret, Queen of Scotland. It is the castle's earliest extant building. Archaeological evidence suggests that this chapel was built some time around 1100 by one of Queen Margaret's sons (Alexander or David). It is currently a free-standing building but because the north face is completely lacking in original masonry, it

is generally held that the chapel may originally have been part of a square stone keep [Fig. 96]. The rectangular structure has much in common with the primitive Celtic chapels of the sixth century found in Scotland and Ireland. It consists of an apsed sanctuary and a nave separated by a chancel arch decorated with chevron markings. When first built, the chapel only had two windows: a single-light window on the south wall and a central east window.

Despite the building's obvious religious significance, it is also clear that it has been used to reinforce Scotland's cultural identity. The building has a long association with the power signified by Edinburgh Castle. It was in the Chapel of St Margaret that Edward I made the Abbot of Holyrood do homage to the English crown. Because of its cultural/political significance, it has also witnessed moments of extensive damage and restoration over the centuries. In 1329 King Robert the Bruce issued orders on his death bed for Queen Margaret's Chapel to be repaired. After the siege of 1573 more restoration work was undertaken. Following the Reformation, Elders of the Canongate Kirk were appointed to ensure the continuation of spiritual welfare within the Castle but gradually the significance of this small building, which is only large enough to hold twenty to twenty-five worshippers, was overlooked. By the nineteenth century it was used as a 'Gunner's Storehouse', the windows were blocked up and the building's original function forgotten. Daniel Wilson rediscovered the Chapel in 1846 and on his instigation another restoration was carried out with the full support of Queen Victoria. As part of the restoration work five small windows were inserted into the masonry. An article published in 1913 noted that the principal window in the apse 'commemorated the share

taken by Queen Victoria in the restoration'⁸⁵ [Fig. 97]. The three windows in the south were memorials to St Margaret, King Malcolm and David I, although these windows incorrectly recorded the dates of Malcolm and Margaret's death, giving them as 6 June 1093 and 10 June 1093 respectively.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, the article does not say who produced the windows.

However, this restoration work was only partially completed and had to wait until 1929 when Sir David Russell reinstigated the project. It was perhaps the successful rejuvenation of the old barracks into the War Memorial which stimulated a similar desire to restore the Chapel. There is also a possibility that Strachan's work at the Memorial played an important part in encouraging Sir David to take action. By this time Strachan's youngest daughter, Elma, had married Sir David's cousin, Arthur Colin Russell. Furthermore, in order to begin the restoration work, Sir David had to liaise with the Secretary of State for Scotland, the Home Secretary, the Prime Minister and Dr Charles L Warr, Minister at St Giles Cathedral and, by this time, a close Strachan family friend. So two of the key men involved with the project were also well known to Strachan and aware of his work. Given both the factual error in the existing Malcolm and Margaret windows and the close relationship between the key players involved with the restoration it is not surprising that the 1845 windows were replaced, and that the new designs for all five were supplied by Strachan. (Indeed, the windows were donated by him.)

The new designs comprised: St Andrew, St Ninian, St Columba, Queen Margaret and William Wallace [Figs 98A, B, C and D]. Although four out of the five subjects were canonised it is the fifth, William Wallace, who is the key to the reason for them being included in this intimate scheme. All five characters share iconic status in terms of reinforcing a specific Scottish cultural identity. St Andrew and St Margaret are both patron saints of Scotland, and Ninian and Columba were responsible for the spread of Christianity within the country.⁸⁷ Wallace, as already commented, was held by many Scots to be the redeemer of the nation and as Devine notes, in his book *The Scottish Nation*, even in the nineteenth century at the height of unitary British identity, Wallace remained an icon of politico-territorial identity.⁸⁸

St Andrew is depicted as a solemn, prophet-like figure. Dressed in a green robe, his hand rests on the saltire and behind his head, the three points of a stone cross carry representations of the Evangelists Mark, Matthew and Luke, the centre of the cross forming a halo around Andrew's head. At his feet is an exotic sea monster, although the relevance of this image is not entirely clear. It is similar to the one found in the central panel of Queen's Cross Kirk in Aberdeen and to the images contained in the panels of Scottish saints in the Principal Story Memorial window in Bute Hall, Glasgow. In the Story Memorial Window demons representing the sea, the wind, forest and caverns are included to remind the viewer that Saints Columba, Kentigern, Ninian and Modan did not ridicule the beliefs of the people when they first began to preach in Scotland but rather, through their teaching and way of life, demonstrated the importance of a belief in a power stronger than such monsters. This could

not be the case with St Andrew but the sea monster in St Margaret's chapel may have been included to suggest the storm which resulted in his relics being washed up in Kilrymont (now known as St Andrews). Beneath the creature appears the foot of the cross engraved with the eagle of St John.

St Columba is depicted as a man of action. Standing at the prow of a boat, shepherd's crook in hand, he waits to begin his ministry in Scotland. The small etched panel beneath the boat shows him at work in his study. The main section of the St Margaret window shows her seated on a throne with a book in her hand and two handmaids at her side. The small vignette beneath her is an exquisite piece of etched glass showing the pious Queen at prayer in St Margaret's Chapel, the Edinburgh skyline visible through the open door. Margaret was responsible for the renaissance of Christianity and courtly culture in Scotland, hence the inclusion of the book and her nocturnal activity.

Of all the glass in the chapel, the most vibrant and active is the Wallace window. Situated in the single window on the west wall, it shows him in mid-combat with his raised hand wielding a sword. His body is partially obscured by the red and gold Royal Standard, which he seems to be about to cut through. Beneath his name is a crest containing the Royal Arms of Scotland. As discussed in the Introduction, there is no doubt regarding the success of this image as, nearly sixty-five years after its creation it continues to play a part in representing the cultural identity of Scotland both to Scots and to visitors.

Part of the reason for Wallace's continuing popularity is the mythic standing he continues to have in the Scottish psyche. In the late twentieth century, the heritage and the film industries have undoubtedly helped to boost his popularity. The media are responsible for the general commodification of Scottish culture, utilising various concepts of Scottishness for commercial gain. The populist ideals promoted by such industries have gained significant currency in everyday attitudes towards Scotland and individuals' comprehension of their nationality. The controversy which surrounded the artefacts displayed in the new Museum of Scotland in 1999 bears witness to the prevalence of such attitudes. The Scottish press, on behalf of their readers, complained that Wallace had not been adequately represented within the Museum.⁸⁹ For many, the Wallace shown in the film *Braveheart* represents the defining figure of Scottishness and there have been complaints from the public that the National Museum has failed to give enough prominence to him. The historical veracity of the character in the film would appear to be of little consequence. However, the disinterest in historical accuracy suggests that Herder's and Smith's theses are correct. Wallace's role has been created by artists such as Strachan who have utilised the collective experience of historical legends and looked to such heroes of the past in order to inspire and celebrate Scotland's cultural uniqueness.

The Honan Chapel which is sited within the grounds of University College Cork offers a useful comparison to both St Margaret's Chapel and the Scottish National War Memorial. Like them it can be categorised as an example of Celtic Romanticism because the chapel and its contents centre on the search

for and exposition of vernacular heroes and ancient myths. Completed in 1916 it is obviously not as ancient as St Margaret's Chapel, yet this Irish Chapel has many similarities with both St Margaret's and the Scottish National War Memorial.

The design of the building reflects the ancient vernacular idiom. The roof is similar to the early stone-roofed churches found in Ireland and all the materials for its construction were produced in Ireland. The scheme within the Chapel was created by Harry Clarke and depicts saints who have a specific link with Cork and its locale. The *St Gobnait* window is perhaps the best known of this scheme [Fig. 99]. Situated on the ecclesiastical south side of the nave, the window gleams with vertical rows of blue and ruby beads. This patterned area also includes five large crimson and black bees, two of which hover around the Saint's head and are present in honour of Gobnait's status as the patron saint of beekeepers. The bee motif is continued in the heavily patterned blue robes of the saint which are composed of large honeycomb-shaped lozenges, onto which are painted decorative motifs, such as Celtic crosses, and tiny figures. As Gordon Bowe notes, the saint's face 'is delicately and sensitively painted, reminiscent of the striking, pale-skinned beauties of the West of Ireland; her fine features are offset by her deep red hair, which falls in long wavy strands to her waist.'⁹⁰ Balanced on the saint's long white fingers of her left hand is a tiny model of her abbey and cross at Ballyvourney. Her right hand is gently holding her elegant crozier. Behind her creeps a band of tiny, grotesque robbers; on the right a man and two green-faced spectres carrying cudgels look behind them in terror, the whites of their eyes contrasting with the green

faces. Lower, on the left, a barefooted robber runs for his life from one of the huge bees and beneath the saint's buckled shoe, a robber hides behind a shield, again decorated with a Celtic cross, in a vain attempt to escape the attention of another large bee [Fig. 100].

Gobnait was born and lived at the beginning of the sixth century, in Ballyvourney, County Cork, where a strong cult developed around her. She was viewed as both a great protector and healer. As Strachan was to do with the St Andrew window, her halo incorporates an image of a local stone cross once associated with her cult, although the nimbus itself is dulled further to enhance the contrast between the richness of her hair and the pallid complexion of her face. The scenes in the window depict two legends associated with the saint. The presence of the bees relates to the tale of robbers who tried to break into the Abbey one night and were thwarted when bees from St Gobnait's beehive, a miraculous bronze relic, were used to ward them off. The top section of the window tells how she kept the plague away from her people by drawing with her stick a line along the eastern borders of the parish, beyond which the plague never came [Fig. 101].

The other windows in the series of Munster saints include St Declan of Ardmore, St Ita, St Cronan and St Brendan. Each window contains similar references to ancient tales, precise geographical sites and stereotypical racial characteristics. As with the St Gobnait design, the windows also exhibit intensely decorative elements of Celtic patternwork and references to Elizabethan miniature and portrait paintings in general but especially of Queen

Elizabeth I herself. Gordon Bowe discusses their influence in her biography of Clarke:

There are interesting analogies between Elizabethan miniature and portrait paintings and Harry's coloured illustrations on glass or paper. Both favour small scale, intricate and symbolic detail, glowing jewel-like colours, the two dimensional use of an elaborately attired hieratic figure set against a decorative setting with any chiaroscuro reserved for the face and hands of the figure...⁹¹

His emphasis on this historic period can also be understood as part of a poignant reference to a nationalistic vision because this was the last period when the Irish chiefs attempted to resist English domination. It is this kind of regeneration of ancient vernacular traditions which is frequently cited as part of the romantic idyll of the Celtic Revivalists. Hutchinson, however, argues that the evocation of a golden age can be used as a modernising and integrative device which offers an alternative political option when the statist model of political nationalism has failed.⁹²

Given the date of the chapel and the political climate, it is not too large a stretch of the imagination to link the ideals of protection and healing shown here with the notion of national autonomy via a nation state and thus a healed or regenerated Irish community. Within an ethno-symbolist critique, the Scottish National War Memorial, and the St Margaret and Honan Chapel schemes all qualify as viable forms of political comment or encouragement seeking to regenerate each nation from perceived decay. They comply with Smith's definition of an ethnic community through their use of myths of common ancestry and shared historical memories to generate an implicit association with a homeland.⁹³ Conversely a modernist reading of the two

schemes would need to see evidence of a striving for political autonomy and would not, therefore, be in a position to acknowledge the same level of achievement. Although the Honan Chapel has only been discussed in the briefest of terms, it can nonetheless be argued that all three schemes are examples of an attempt to create an integrated, distinctive and autonomous community via an ethnic, or more specifically, Celtic vision.

It is not only large schemes which are capable of reflecting cultural identity. The vestibule of Lowson Memorial Kirk in Forfar is a prime example of cultural nationalism being proclaimed on a smaller scale. The Kirk was dedicated in 1914 and by 1916 Strachan had completed all the glazing. The three large windows in the main body of the church deal with God's time (and will be discussed in detail in the following chapter). By comparison, the large vestibule design, which consists of two, three-light windows, shows human time through a narrative of Christianity within the contexts of Scottish history and geography and through the clear provision of indicators of ethnic identity.

As noted, the windows are large but mostly plain glazed to allow as much light through as possible. The decorative panels run in two horizontal strips across the lower third of the six lights and are intended to be read from upper far left to extreme right and then from lower left to right. Commencing in the upper left panel, Strachan starts with the introduction of primitive Christianity in Angus. In this first panel, he refers to Calgacus whose presence here has a somewhat paradoxical role. His attempts to thwart the Romans and protect his homelands serve as a reminder of one of the earliest records of Scottish

bravery. His failure resulted in the Romans bringing their cultures and beliefs (especially Christianity) into Scotland [Fig. 102A]. Next is St Ninian, who was an important emissary to Angus and brought the teaching of the Western or Columban Christian Church to the area [Fig, 102B]. The third panel recounts the tale of a sixth-century miracle when St Buite restores the King to life through his prayers [Fig. 102C]. This miraculous act of intercession resulted in the King founding a monastery within the royal fort at Kirkbuddo, just seven miles south east of Forfar. The sequence continues in the first upper panel in the second window with St Columba, who was responsible for introducing Culdic Christianity to Angus, and is followed by an image of St Triudine performing a healing miracle at Rescobie (four miles east of Forfar) [Figs 102D and E]. The final upper right image is of St Adamnan on his way to visit Angus to persuade the monastery there to adopt the Roman, rather than Celtic, Catholic traditions [Fig. 102F].

The lower panels commence with the acceptance of the Roman Catholic Church in and around Forfar through the baptism of the eighth-century Scottish king, Nectan, by St Boniface at Restennet Priory in Angus [Figs 103A and B]. It is followed by a panel recounting the piety and generosity of Queen Margaret who is shown in the centre of her peripatetic court in Forfar [Fig. 103C]. Then there is King David I, who was responsible for the division of Scotland into parishes and who commissioned the building of many churches throughout the country. He is followed by Robert the Bruce whose connection to Forfar is via his son John who was buried at Restennet Priory [Figs 103D and E]. The

sequence concludes with two heroes of the Scottish Reformation, George Wishart and John Knox [Fig. 103F]. Wishart is shown taking his leave from Knox in Forfar for St Andrews where he was subsequently executed for his faith. This panel has a key role in the design as it indicates that Forfar was a crucial location in the birth of Scottish Presbyterianism.

As with the St Margaret Chapel this scheme intermingles canonised figures with politically significant heroes of Scottish history. What is different here is that together these ecclesiastical and political characters reinforce the strong sense of local historical importance. Having worshipped in the church, the congregation exits through the vestibule and is reminded by the iconography of the progression of Christianity not just in Scotland, but crucially, in Forfar itself, since the events relate directly to the region in which the church is located. It traces the lines of descent from presumed common ancestors and through the inclusion of Knox, it offers the idea of symbolic election: of the Presbyterian church being the new Israel. The symbolism is not intended merely to instil pride but to serve as a reminder that this Presbyterian congregation is the continuation of the historical time line.

Furthermore, this scheme functions as a proud statement of ethnic identity, which is signalled by the myths of origin and election, as well as symbols of territory and community. The design includes specific accounts of the history and geography of the community's origins, and the strong evidence of Celtic knotwork motifs, present on cloaks, shields and masonry throughout the

windows, stands as an emotive symbol of both territory and community. As Smith notes: 'by means of the ceremonies, customs and symbols every member of a community participates in the life, emotions and virtues of that community, and through them, re-dedicates him- or herself to its destiny.'⁹⁴ Via these images of ceremonies and symbols, the scheme is able to reinforce the notion that the worshipper plays an essential part in the continuity of this shared identity.

Conclusion

Whilst cultural nationalism and ethnosymbolism do not offer all the answers to the problems inherent in a discussion of nationalism and identity, they do provide an alternative to some of the problematics raised by scholars who concentrate purely on the political facets of nationalism. True, the effects of culture are not as clearly quantifiable as those of politics, yet it may be argued justly that artists and craftworkers have equal if not greater importance in the creation of a coherent identity. Hutchinson's argument that artists, more than any other social group, are able to express a nation's distinctiveness is an interesting one. Certainly, it offers an alternative view to the widespread acceptance of expressions of vernacular imagery and stories, such as those found in Strachan's and Clarke's schemes, as merely a form of a Celtic romanticised idyll. Hutchinson also argues that:

their [artists'] creativity is part of the momentum to independence and in a sense they are themselves symbols and icons of the nation's unique creative power; they regenerate their nation morally and speak for its heart and conscience.⁹⁵

Through its embracing of myths, memories, traditions and symbols of ethnic heritage and its positive re-evaluation of cultural identity, an ethnosymbolic

approach offers a starting point; a way into interrogating a particular relationship between traditional and modern communities. The schemes considered in this chapter attempt to bridge the divide by reminding contemporary viewers of their cultural heritage (both good and bad). As shown by the Peace Palace, there is a limit to such attempts. If a cultural identity is to be successfully formed, there has to be a shared heritage which is sufficiently broad to be able to offer particularities rather than generalised examples. Schemes which were aimed at a specific Scottish audience were undoubtedly far more successful and able to tap into the national psyche. Contemporary newspaper reports on the windows and on the queues to visit the War Memorial suggest that the scheme played an essential role in providing both solace and a sense of unity to Scottish viewers. The continuing popularity of the *Wallace* window from St Margaret's Chapel demonstrates its significant role in the formation of a contemporary cultural identity and reiterates Herder's and Hutchinson's argument that the artist plays a crucial role in reconstructing a community's cultural uniqueness. Finally, the vestibule at Lowson Kirk similarly emphasises that symbols and ceremonies are both potent and durable aspects of nationalism.

Together, the designs of all the schemes discussed embody the basic concepts of nationalism. Some of these notions, such as memorials for the dead, are obvious signifiers of unity and cohesion but popular heroes, myths and other signs of a community's historical culture are often overlooked. Strachan's (and many of his peers') designs, however, attempt to make them visible and distinct, and thereby communicate the doctrines of the abstract ideology of national identity in a tangible form and in a way which will elicit an emotional

response from all levels of the community. Strachan's work then offered a poetic voice which reflected Scotland's cultural identity through the incorporation of the country's rich heritage of ethnic myths, legends and symbols.

¹ Smith, A. *A Summer in Skye* (London, 1865), pp233-4 quoted by Morton, G. 'What if? The Significance of Scotland's Missing Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century' in Broun, D., Finlay R. J. and Lynch M. (eds) *Image and Identity: the making and remaking of Scotland through the Ages* (Edinburgh, 1998), p166

² McCrone, D. interviewed on 'Good Morning Scotland', *Radio Scotland* 22.9.99

³ Renan, E. 'Quest-ce qu'une nation?', 1882, reprinted in Hutchinson, J and Smith, A. D. (eds) *Nationalism*, (Oxford, 1994), p17

⁴ Stalin, J. 'The Nation', reprinted in Hutchinson, J. and Smith, A. D. (eds) *Nationalism*, (Oxford, 1994), p20

⁵ Anderson, B. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983) and Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger T. (eds) *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983)

⁶ Smith, A. D. *National Identity*, (London,1991), p71

⁷ Hutchinson, J. *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism* (Oxford, 1994), p14

⁸ Berlin, I. *Vico and Herder* (London, 1976), p164

⁹ Herder, J. G. *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, translated & abridged by Manuel, F. E. (London, 1968), p106

¹⁰ Herder, *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, p106

¹¹ Devine, T. M. *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000* (London, 1999), p287

¹² Smith, A. D. *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford, 1999)

¹³ The development of DNA testing should make it easier to contest or uphold this approach.

¹⁴ Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, p5

¹⁵ Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, p6

¹⁶ Smith cites Bohemia and Finland as cases in point, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, p7

¹⁷ Nairn, T. *The Break up of Britain*, (London, 1981), (2nd edn)

¹⁸ Mordaunt Crook discusses this phenomenon in his book *William Burges and the High Victorian Dream*, (London, 1981)

¹⁹ Ferguson, W. *Scotland: 1689 to the present* (London, 1968), p317

²⁰ Cairns, C. *Out of History*, (Edinburgh, 1996), p44

²¹ Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, p9

²² Smith *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, p9

²³ Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*, p14

²⁴ Smith, *National Identity*, p71

²⁵ Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*, p32

²⁶ Calder, A. *Revolving Culture*, (London, 1994), p.87

- ²⁷ Herder, J. G. *Sammtliche Werke*, xviii, 58 quoted in Berlin, I. *Three Critics of the Enlightenment*, H. Hardy (ed.), (London, 2000), p.206.
- ²⁸ Berlin, *Three Critics of the Enlightenment*, p206
- ²⁹ Parnell, M. *Eric Linklater* (London, 1984) quoted in Pittock, M. G. H. *Celtic Identity and the British Image*, (Manchester, 1999), p127
- ³⁰ Pearse was heavily involved with the planning of the 1916 Easter Rising and was executed on 3 May that year for his role in the Rising.
- ³¹ Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*, p15
- ³² Cannizzo, J. *O Caledonia! Sir Walter Scott and the Creation of Scotland*, exh. cat., Scottish National Portrait Gallery. (Edinburgh, 1999).
- ³³ Count N. V. Mouravieff, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, St Petersburg, January 11 1899, quoted in Lysen, A. *History of the Carnegie Foundation and of The Peace Palace at The Hague*, (The Hague, 1934), p75
- ³⁴ Stead, W. T. *Mr Carnegie's Conundrum*, p 57, quoted in Lysen, *History of the Carnegie Foundation and of The Peace Palace at The Hague*, p7
- ³⁵ Baron Gevers' letter of April 16th 1903 quoted in Lysen, *History of the Carnegie Foundation and of The Peace Palace at The Hague*, p56
- ³⁶ Peace Palace Archive: Proceedings of the Hague Peace Conferences: the Conference of 1907, p335
- ³⁷ Peace Palace Archive: Memorandum from Chairman, Board of Directors of the Carnegie Foundation: 29 May 1908
- ³⁸ Peace Palace Archive: MacDonnell, S., letter to Jonkheer A. de Karnebeck, Ministre d'Etat, The Hague: 3.8.1911,
- ³⁹ Eyffinger, A. *The Peace Palace: Residence for Justice - Domicile of Learning*, p 1 (The Hague, 1988), np
- ⁴⁰ Peace Palace Archive: Strachan, D. *Notes on four stained-glass windows in the Great Court of Justice at the Palace of Peace, The Hague*, 1913, p 3
- ⁴¹ Non galeae, non enses erant: sine militis usa/molliia securae peragebant otia gentes Trans. Eyffinger, A. *The Peace Palace: Residence for Justice - Domicile of Learning*, (The Hague, 1988), np
- ⁴² Strachan, *Notes on four stained glass windows in the Great Court of Justice at the Palace of Peace, The Hague*, p6
- ⁴³ The names of characters in the four windows are all taken from Strachan, *Notes on four stained glass windows in the Great Court of Justice at the Palace of Peace, The Hague*, pp4-12
- ⁴⁴ Tu potes unanimos arare in proelia fratres/atque odiis versare domos, tu veerbera tectis/funereasque inferre faces, tibi nomina mille/ mille nocendi artes. Eyffinger, *The Peace Palace: Residence for Justice - Domicile of Learning*, p 1
- ⁴⁵ Sensim vis efficit ipsa vivida naturae, ut cessent fera moenera Martis. Eyffinger, *The Peace Palace: Residence for Justice - Domicile of Learning*, p 1
- ⁴⁶ Morris, W. 'How We Live and How We Might Live' in Morton, A. L. (ed.), *Political Writings of William Morris*, (London, 1973), p138
- ⁴⁷ Morris, W. 'How We Live and How We Might Live' in Morton,(ed.), *Political Writings of William Morris*, p157

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- ⁴⁸ Strachan, *Notes on Four Stained Glass Windows in the Great Court of Justice at the Palace of Peace, The Hague*, p2
- ⁴⁹ Eyffinger, *The Peace Palace: Residence for Justice - Domicile of Learning*, p 1
- ⁵⁰ Eyffinger, *The Peace Palace: Residence for Justice - Domicile of Learning*, p 1
- ⁵¹ Homi Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, (London,1994), p3
- ⁵² Weaver, L. *The Scottish National War Memorial: a record and an appreciation*, London nd, p1
- ⁵³ Smout, T. C. 'Union of the Parliaments', in *The Scottish Nation: a History of the Scots from Independence to Union*, pp 158-9
- ⁵⁴ Geddes, P. 'Preparatory Note', *The Evergreen: a northern seasonal*, Book of Autumn, (Edinburgh, 1895), np
- ⁵⁵ Duke of Atholl Archive: Duke of Atholl, *Narrative of Scottish National War Memorial Scheme*, (Edinburgh, 1923), p.8
- ⁵⁶ Duke of Atholl Archive: Arthur Balfour, 28.1.1920, quoted by Duke of Atholl, *Narrative of Scottish National War Memorial Scheme*, p.9
- ⁵⁷ Duke of Atholl Archive: Report to Robert Lorimer 20.4.1919
- ⁵⁸ Savage, P. *An examination of the work of Sir Robert Lorimer*, PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1973, p 349
- ⁵⁹ RCHMS Archive: Lorimer Papers, Letter from Lorimer to Davis, 27 May 1909
- ⁶⁰ George Salveson carried out the modelling
- ⁶¹ Scottish National War Memorial Archive: Chairman's Report, Edinburgh, 14.11.1924
- ⁶² Revelation 2:14
- ⁶³ Herder, J. G. *Sammtliche Werke*, xii 115, quoted in Berlin, *Three Critics of the Enlightenment*, p206
- ⁶⁴ This subject will be discussed in detail in the next chapter
- ⁶⁵ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700 - 2000*, p291
- ⁶⁶ Peace Palace Archive: Strachan, *Notes on four stained-glass windows in the Great Court of Justice at the Peace Palace, The Hague*, p5
- ⁶⁷ Herder, *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, p96
- ⁶⁸ Peace Palace Archive: Strachan, *Notes on four stained-glass windows in the Great Court of Justice at the Peace Palace, The Hague*, p5
- ⁶⁹ Berlin, *Three Critics of the Enlightenment* p.205
- ⁷⁰ Whilst there is no evidence to suggest that Strachan travelled to Poland or was aware of the work of Stanislaw Wyspianski it is interesting to note that Wyspianski had similarly incorporated anthropomorphic planets into his window for the staircase of the Cracow Medical Society House in 1904. This window *Apollo: The Heliocentrique system of Copernicus* is based on Copernicus's theory that the sun, rather than the earth, was the centre of the universe. It is clear, however, that it also carried a strong nationalist message and was intended as a comment on the repression of Poland and her vernacular culture: Apollo, the sun-god and god of the arts, is tied to his lyre and thus incapacitated.
- ⁷¹ This is the name given by Tacitus to the leader of the Caledonian confederacy which was defeated in 83/84AD by Agricola and his Roman army at the battle of Mons Graupius.

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- ⁷² Calgacus' exhortation '*Ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant*': 'they create a desert and call it peace' conforms to the conventional epigrams of the Graeco-Roman histories and it is, therefore, strongly suspected that Tacitus (Agricola's son-in-law) invented the character as part of the Emperor's propaganda campaign
- ⁷³ 23/24 June 1314
- ⁷⁴ There was no accompanying literature relating to the photograph in the Atholl archive
- ⁷⁵ Russell Collection: Newspaper Clipping: Elsie Strachan's Scrapbook, p28
- ⁷⁶ Revelation 21:4
- ⁷⁷ Weaver, *The Scottish National War Memorial: a Record and an Appreciation*, p3
- ⁷⁸ Bowe, N.G. & Cumming, E., *The Arts and Crafts Movements in Dublin and Edinburgh*, (Dublin 1998), p41
- ⁷⁹ Duke of Atholl Archive: Memo from Robert Lorimer to John Bond - HM 26.6.1923
- ⁸⁰ Hay, I. *Their Name Liveth: the Book of the Scottish National War Memorial*, (London, 1931), p.6.
- ⁸¹ Strachan took on many commissions for such commemorative windows although none of the schemes were as extensive as the glazing in the Scottish National War Memorial.
- ⁸² Hutchinson, J. 'Cultural Nationalism and Moral Regeneration', in Hutchinson and Smith *Nationalism*, p129
- ⁸³ Duke of Atholl Archive: Scrymgeour, N. 'The Story of Scotland's Shrine. Scotland's soul in stone; the shrine as symbol of Scotland's Pride and Sorrow', *Sunday Post Supplement*, 11.11.1928, p.1.
- ⁸⁴ Duke of Atholl Archive: Scrymgeour, N. 'The Story of Scotland's Shrine. Scotland's soul in stone; the shrine as symbol of Scotland's Pride and Sorrow', *Sunday Post Supplement*, 11.11.1928, p.1.
- ⁸⁵ Bryce, W. M. 'St Margaret of Scotland and Her Chapel in Edinburgh Castle' in *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club for 1912* (Edinburgh, 1913), pp1-66
- ⁸⁶ Malcolm died on 13, and Margaret on 16 November 1093
- ⁸⁷ The significance of their role in the creation of Scottish identity will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter
- ⁸⁸ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700 - 2000*, p294
- ⁸⁹ For example, *The Herald*, Tuesday 1 December, 1998, p8
- ⁹⁰ Bowe, N. G. *The Life and Work of Harry Clarke*, (Dublin, 1989), p57
- ⁹¹ Bowe, *The Life and Work of Harry Clarke*, p77
- ⁹² Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*, p23
- ⁹³ Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, p13
- ⁹⁴ Smith, *National Identity*, p78
- ⁹⁵ Hutchinson, J. and Aberbach, D. 'The artist as nation-builder: William Butler Yeats and Chaim Nachman Bailik', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol 5, No4, 1999, p502

Chapter Five

Presbyterian identity: vision of a nation

*But when thou dost anneal in glasse thy storie,
Making thy life to shine within
The holy preachers; then the light and glorie
More reverend grows, and more dost win:
Which else shows watrish, bleak and thin.¹*

There is no doubt that Christianity was a deeply influential element in the formation and development of Scottish nationhood and identity. It was brought to the area long before the creation of the nation and it provided ideas and paradigms which permeated all levels of Scottish culture and society. It has, however, been claimed by many historians and sociologists that the economic revolutions which swept across Europe in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries played an active role in alienating the working classes from organised religion.² This alienation, they argue, was responsible for a society in which secular values became predominant. Nevertheless, recent scholarship disputes the extent to which such societies became secularised and there is a strong argument for acknowledging a continuing relationship between society and religion in these European nations.³ Tom Devine, for example, claims that the relationship between Scottish national identity and religion retained its importance until well into the twentieth century. Other scholars such as Callum Brown agree with him, asserting 'that church membership did not collapse and religious values continued to influence politics, education and welfare and to powerfully shape national identities.'⁴ The validity of this in relation to Scotland is clearly seen in examples taken from everyday life: Scottish public houses did not begin to open on Sundays and no games or sport took place on the

Sabbath until the 1970s.⁵ Similarly, Sunday shopping had never been made illegal, but until the 1970s it was generally considered socially unacceptable to open a shop for business on the Sabbath. Furthermore, research carried out by Brown suggests that there was no significant decline in churchgoing in Scottish cities between the 1830s and 1890s. Indeed, church membership in Scotland doubled between 1830 and 1914.⁶ It is true that such statistics tell us little about the beliefs of the people who made up these numbers but it does corroborate the argument that there was not a general alienation of society from the church and that the Church of Scotland, as the largest religious denomination in Scotland, retained an influence upon the community as a whole.

This influence was not only maintained by work carried out within Scottish parishes. Missionary projects also played a crucial role in affirming a sense of identity for the Scots. Despite much of this work being for imperial gain, the Church of Scotland invested a great deal of time and money on its missionary movement, its aim being to liberate the 'pagan' masses throughout the world. Many of these Scottish missionaries gained important reputations for Britain as a whole, but more importantly, they gave a boost to Scottish morale. For example, David Livingstone's and Mary Slessor's endeavours, turned them into national icons and gave imperial expansion a moral appeal. As Devine argues: 'By underwriting the empire as a moral undertaking, religion helped to strengthen the union with England but also assumed great significance as an important factor reinforcing Scottish identity.'⁷

Scotland witnessed a boom in church building in the mid-nineteenth century. This increase was partly because of fractures within the Church, and these churches, along with older ecclesiastical sites, also continued to play a significant part in the shaping of Scottish identity. Their aim was to offer a place of worship and sanctuary to both the rural and the growing urban population. They also provided a meeting place for like-minded people and as a result formed the nucleus for specific communities, functioning as repositories of objects which reflected the collective memory of those who met there. Such objects served to create and reshape memories of people, places and events at local and national levels assisting, therefore, the formation of religious belief and communal identity. Together with the architecture itself, stained-glass windows were an integral part of that process.

This chapter expands upon the argument that together, evocations of myths of origin and election, and symbols of territory and community, create a particular notion of identity. Whereas the discussion in Chapter 3 focused on the broad, overarching principles of cultural nationalism and identity, and argued for a revisioning of Celtic Romanticism, this chapter will take a more particular approach through consideration of the role played by the Church of Scotland in creating a specific form of nationalism bound by religious identity. The Presbyterian Kirk was by no means a homogeneous unit and it witnessed division within its own ranks culminating in the Disruption of 1843. Yet one of the common themes for both the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church remained the relationship of the Church to the nation. When the Presbyterian churches reunited in 1929 many believed that the Kirk would rejuvenate the nation.

In 1929 re-union took place. Once again the nation had a church which was recognisably Scotland's Kirk ... overall it seemed that the Kirk's destiny had been restored. So much so that one commentator could aver, "The reunited Church is a national symbol. One may even doubt whether there could be a Scotland without it."⁸

Strachan's choice of symbolism and imagery and its function in personalising religion as a part of this nationalistic identification will be the chief tool for analysing this particular form of nationalistic piety.

When Willie Wilson wrote Strachan's obituary for *Life and Work* he commented that his designs were distinguished by a 'strongly marked Presbyterian significance.'⁹ Wilson's reasons for saying this need to be examined because if what he says is true then an important question immediately presents itself. To what extent do Strachan's designs reflect and bolster the ecclesiastical *zeitgeist*, or do his windows merely reflect aesthetic trends or fashions? In order to fully dissect this relationship between subject, image and cultural identity, the work discussed will be divided into three sections, these being: community and territory; history; and doctrinal beliefs.

The chapter will begin by focusing on work created by Strachan's studio for churches in the west of Scotland, an area which has witnessed large-scale immigration of clerics and laity from Ireland over the last thousand years. Glazing in the west-coast kirks of Skelmorlie and Largs will be analysed in order to consider the relevance of community to the religious identity debate and windows at Inverchaolin and Colmonell Parish Kirks will form the basis of examples for the discussion of territorial claims by the Church of Scotland. Much of this initial material serves as an extension of ideas on nation

encountered in the previous chapter. The role of history will then be explored, beginning with windows in Iona Abbey and St Machar's Cathedral in Aberdeen. In order fully to understand doctrinal aspirations, the style of windows produced by other key contemporary artists will be included. The chapter culminates in an analysis of the relationship between the metaphysical aspects of Presbyterian belief and its ties to national identity. To this end, the windows at Lawson Memorial Kirk in Forfar will be used as the chief means for considering the visual rhetoric of Strachan's designs within a Presbyterian doctrinal context and its relationship to cultural identity.

Community and Territory

Scotland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed a huge 'invasion' of immigrants from Ireland. Life in predominantly rural Ireland was not an easy one and as a result: 'Emigration became part of the expected cycle of life; growing up in Ireland meant preparing to leave it.'¹⁰ Many people emigrated to Scotland where they had a significant impact on the emerging industrial society. As early as 1843 Friedrich Engels believed that the progress of the British Industrial revolution had been assisted by the large influx of labour from Ireland. The Irish, however, were not accorded much praise for their role in the development of Britain's urban and industrial society. Despite the fact that both Irish and Scots derived from an ethnic mix of Gael, Pict, Briton and Angle, the migrant Irish in Scotland were 'strangers in a strange land, alien in religion, speech and culture [...] and the scapegoats for every conceivable social ill from drunkenness to the epidemic diseases of the larger towns.'¹¹ In the face of such oppression, the immigrant Irish retreated from the larger community and pursued their own separate identity within Scotland,

emphasising their Catholic faith which provided both spiritual comfort and a sense of worth.

'They could not relate to a Scotland which, as a stateless nation, derived its collective identity from Presbyterianism, a creed whose adherents regarded Catholicism as at best superstitious error and at worst as a satanic force led by the Man of Sin himself, the Pope of Rome.'¹²

By 1900, the Irish Catholics in Scotland had developed a strong sense of community and were deeply affected by the Home Rule Movement which campaigned for the repeal of the 1800 Act of Union with Ireland and Great Britain and the creation of an Irish parliament in Dublin. Despite many Irish and Scots sharing common experiences in both the workplace and in domestic politics, such as trade unionism, Orange and Green disputes became endemic in many urban centres in the west of Scotland. This sectarianism had longstanding consequences and whilst much work has recently been done to unite Catholic Nationalists and Protestant Unionists in Ireland, the gulf remains extremely wide at certain levels of society. Part of the problem is that for some the situation has become so ingrained that they form their identities on the basis of the very divisions existing between the two groups. In short, as a knee-jerk reaction to the 'other'. John Brewer and Gareth Higgins, sociologists at Queen's University, Belfast, argue, for example, that anti-Catholicism in Northern Ireland is vital to the self-defining identity of most Protestants within the province:

Anti-Catholicism can thus be conceptualised as a sociological process for the production of different rights, opportunities and material rewards between people in a society where religious labels are used to define group boundaries.¹³

Scotland has also been implicated in these problems and has been described in contemporary debate as 'Northern Ireland without the guns'.¹⁴ In August 1999

the composer James McMillan delivered a passionate and controversial lecture at the Edinburgh International Festival entitled 'Scotland's Shame' in which he accused Scotland of being a land of 'sleep walking bigotry [where] visceral anti-Catholicism disfigures national life.'¹⁵ This lecture provoked an intense debate and quite rightly brought these issues into the public light. Whilst most argued that the situation has vastly improved, all agreed that during the first half of the twentieth century sectarianism in Scotland had been rife.

Anti-Catholic sentiment within the Presbyterian Church was not, however, a relatively new phenomenon. There is an argument for claiming that Presbyterianism developed out of the need to be the 'significant other' of the Catholic church. The Church of Scotland's role in sectarian issues through its staunch ideology of territoriality (the bringing together of nation, religion and culture) therefore needs to be taken into account. After 1916, the United Free Church and the established Church of Scotland resolved to work together in order to consolidate Scottish nationality, culture and religion into one identity. The second and third decades of the twentieth century witnessed the Scottish Church spending a great deal of its energies in achieving this goal and promoting Presbyterian unity. Their aim was to develop a country committed to equality and brotherhood. However, whilst the ideology was conceived in the honest quest for social justice, reconstruction and reform, a more sinister element crept into the agenda. Low wages, lack of employment and a rise in crime caused the Presbyterian Churches to mount a campaign against Irish immigrants and Roman Catholics.

At the General Assembly of 1919, the chief theme was that of reconstruction and the aim of building a 'New Jerusalem' in Scotland.¹⁶ In order to achieve this, a Committee of Assembly was created to deal with matters affecting the church and 'national life'. The rationale for the formation of this committee was outlined in a Church of Scotland Special Commission Report:

The Church is facing a new era, and among the readjustments to which she is called is that of the creation of a strong Committee, to be her handmaid and her voice, when National Interests emerge which concern the Kingdom of Christ. In coming days, both at home and abroad, such emergencies will be far more frequent than they ever have been in the past. In the decade lying immediately ahead they will of necessity be exceptionally numerous, as a consequence of the many questions in connection with home developments which are already rushing upon us, and in which moral and spiritual considerations are vital to a right settlement. Abroad too it is the same. Imperial relations to the backward races in our own Dominions, and to other Powers in backward areas, can only be rightly adjusted by a steadfast regard to the principles for which Christianity stands. On all such national developments the Church's voice ought to be heard, and regarding them therefore the General Assembly ought to be kept well and timeously informed.¹⁷

The report was clearly responding to the upheaval and chaos caused by the war and insurrections prevalent throughout Europe at this time. More importantly, it also highlights the Church's imperialist mindset, its sense of 'God-given' national endowments and, furthermore, its attitude to problems closer to home such as Irish immigration.

One of the most effective ways of creating a sense of unity is the identification of a common enemy. For the Church of Scotland, that enemy was Irish Catholic immigration. In 1922, the General Assembly received requests for support from members who resided in the west of Scotland. The west coast was an obvious destination for many Irish immigrants seeking work and a better standard of life. The allegations against the Irish were the familiar ones of transference of work from locals to the immigrants and increased pressure

on parish and philanthropic financial resources. However, there also lurked a more sinister ideological motive behind the Church's response to this problem. The Irish Catholics were perceived as a threat to the country's identity as a whole - to its inherent Scottishness. The Church and Nation Committee report of 1925 is only too clear regarding this belief:

While immigration continues unregulated and unrestricted, emigration affords no remedy for unemployment. The outlook is extremely grave for our Scottish nationality, and it is rendered no less serious by the immigration regulations of the United States of America for 1927. In that year the total number of immigrants will be 150,000. [...] There is no doubt that a very large population of the 83,000 assigned to Great Britain and the North of Ireland will be Scottish, and the United States will receive with open arms a virile and competent people, while Scotland must be content with the redundant population of Ireland, which the United States refused to receive. The outlook for Scottish nationality is such as to fill the minds of all thoughtful people with grave anxiety and alarm. The Committee expect to confer with the Secretary for Scotland at an early date on the racial problem in Scotland...¹⁸

The following year (1926) the church's position became even more transparent:

If it were the case of an inferior race being supplanted by a superior race, however unpalatable it might be, we would be compelled to resign ourselves to it. But we are convinced that the very opposite is the case; that a law-abiding, thrifty and industrious race is being supplanted by immigrants whose presence tends to lower the social conditions, and to undermine that spirit of independence which has so long been a characteristic of the Scottish people, and we are of the opinion that, in justice to our own people, steps should be taken to prevent the situation becoming any worse.¹⁹

Despite the Church's efforts, the campaign was not a success. Neither the Labour nor Conservative Parties were prepared to introduce legislation. In addition, many Scots began to feel alienated from the Church because, as Stewart J Brown notes, it was generally felt that the Church of Scotland was becoming too preoccupied with political rather than spiritual issues:

At a time when large numbers in Scotland were in real need, both materially and spiritually, the national Church of Scotland seemed more

intent upon reviving its ecclesiastical authority and reclaiming an exclusive racial nationalism, than in its mission to bring the gospel to all people.²⁰

As a result of its efforts, however, the Presbyterian Kirk, increasingly represented the identity of the nation; a nation elect, chosen by God to rule, where to be Scottish was indeed to be Presbyterian. Given this territorial and doctrinal context, the imagery present in some of Strachan's designs is particularly relevant to the debate.

As evidenced in the previous chapter, the establishment of a sense of community is a potent unifying device because the sense of belonging to such a group can override many other collective differences. If the Presbyterian Church was to achieve its aim of representing the nation, it was crucial that communities within the country were united. Smith, for example, argues that when related to religion, a communal identity enjoys a broad appeal because it dispenses with class divisions and speaks to all levels of a society. He believes that this inclusive pull is due to religious identity being based on different criteria from those which create a particular social class.

Whereas class identities emerge from the sphere of production and exchange, religious identities derive from the spheres of communication and socialization. They are based on alignments of culture and its elements - values, symbols, myths and traditions, often codified in custom and ritual. They have therefore tended to join in a single community of the faithful all those who feel they share certain symbolic codes, value systems and traditions of belief and ritual [...].²¹

Many of Strachan's designs make a direct reference to the community within which the glass would be sited. A two-light window on the south wall of St Columba's Kirk in Largs has a strong relationship with the community of this seaside town [Fig. 104]. Created in 1919, the window consists of two lights set

within grey stone columns, but the lights are distanced from one another forming a pair rather than one cohesive window. Strachan, however, creates a design that works within this architectural setting by utilising the sense of distance in order to give extra power to the story. Each of the two lights is divided into three: the apex and lower sections contain mostly clear quarry glass, although the diamonds become less symmetrical and more rounded (rather like large pebbles) as the window broadens and these 'pebbles' are interspersed with golden-brown seaweed [Fig. 105]. The central space of the left-hand apex contains an illustration of a large rock surrounded by water, whilst the right apex contains an image of the Holy Spirit in the shape of a dove descending towards Christ who is immediately below in the larger section. Between the apex and the main body of the windows, text runs from left to right: 'Jesus spake unto them saying/Be of good cheer; it is I; be not afraid.'²² The bottom panels of each window also contain the pebble and seaweed motif as well as the dedicatory text: 'To the Glory of God and in sacred memory of Alexander Haldane Eckford and Elizabeth Kerr'. The central panel of the right-hand light shows Christ walking on the Galilean sea, facing towards the disciples who are huddled together in a boat in the left light [Fig. 106].

The two main panels show the moment when the disciples, who have been waiting for Christ some way off shore, suddenly see a figure walking towards them on the water. A storm has begun to rage and in their terror, they mistake the figure of Christ for a ghost [Fig. 107]. Strachan's grouping of the three disciples conveys their fear, they cower together, their knuckles clenched,

gripping the side of the boat. Their facial expressions also add to the tension. The figure at the prow seems to be squinting into the distance in order to see more clearly, whilst the second figure stands slightly to the rear of the first, his left hand gripping the shoulder of his colleague. The third figure in this trio is much lower, perhaps crouching in fear. The colours in this scene are muted. The sky is purple and the sail muddy brown. According to St Matthew's Gospel, this event took place in the early hours of the morning, so the lantern is still lit, giving a warm glow to the muted colours. The dullness of the sail and sky helps to reduce the overall perspective and the sail's close proximity to the fishermen creates a compact atmosphere, crowding the men into a small space between the prow and the sail.

In contrast, the right-hand light is dynamic. Where the disciples cower, Christ is bold, both in terms of colour and posture. Whilst the fishermen are rigid with fear, and even a shoal of fish appear to be frozen in the glass, the sea swirls around Christ and the sky behind him seems to pulsate with energy [Fig. 107]. Strachan clothed Jesus in a white gown tinged with mauve and he made the figure twice as large as the men in the boat. This simple combination of colour and manipulation of perspective makes Christ appear much closer to the viewer. Strachan further emphasised the viewer's concentration on the figure of Christ by placing him on the crest of a large white wave. This also adds to the sense of movement and energy found within the Gospel text. The gown, which is wrapped around Christ's head and body, has a luminous quality to it, thus reiterating the idea of a ghostly apparition. The pattern of leading gives a coherent form to the figure of Christ as does the texture of the glass itself. Its

unevenness makes the gown billow in the storm, and a well-chosen piece of slab glass creates a rounded, three-dimensional effect, forming the elbow in Christ's left arm. Christ's face is shown in profile. He looks calmly, almost expressionlessly, towards the terrified disciples and these features set up a visual tension between himself and the fishermen. The background is divided between a turbulent sea, the shadowy outline of land and a stormy sky. The sky is composed of deep purple, blue, mauve and white and radiates from the suffuse halo around Christ's head. Strachan has used a combination of streaky glass and etching to achieve this startling effect. He also applies the same technique to the sea which ranges from white, with streaks of yellow, to deep greeny-blues.

The anchor and lamp are also given prominence within the left-hand light. Both, of course, are vital additions to a sailing vessel, but their significance is primarily symbolic. Faith is often symbolised by an anchor and Christ referred to himself as the 'light of the world'. The rock in the apex of the left light emphasises this reading, perhaps referring to the fisherman Peter as the rock of faith. Again, this imagery has a geographic relevance through the close proximity of Great Cumbrae Island which sits just off the coast from Largs and is a familiar landmark for the community.

Another Strachan sea scene can be found in the neighbouring Parish Kirk of Skelmorlie and Wemyss Bay. Here the theme is *Christ Stilling the Storm*. This window is also composed of two lights (and small tracery) but they are close together, forming a single window rather than a pair [Fig. 108]. The exact date

of this window is not known, but it shares many stylistic similarities with the window in St Columba's which were created in the mid-1920s. The apex and bases of the two lights have pebble and seaweed motifs and the left light again contains an image of a rock. The inset in the right apex depicts an ark and, this time, the dove descending has been placed in the small trefoil in the tracery which links the two lights. The left and right insets also contain text: 'The Lord is my rock and light/with thee will I establish my covenant'.²³

Both main sections of the lights tell the story of Christ stilling the storm.²⁴

Christ is in a boat with his disciples, the sea rages about them and the men are fighting the storm in fear of their lives. Christ stands at the prow of the boat with his hand outstretched, his first two fingers extended and the others curved, in an attitude of benediction [Fig. 109]. His head is turned away so that only the outline of his right eye, nose and mouth can be seen and his hair which is swept back and tangled is white, tinged with yellow. A ghostly white 'nebula' covers his head and face, creating a wispy, ethereal nimbus. There is a large breach in the prow, allowing the foaming water to rush in. One of the disciples kneels at Christ's feet, his hands clasped together and face raised. His features have been beautifully drawn; his mouth is open and his eyes are wide with terror as he pleads for help: 'Save us Lord; we are sinking!'²⁵ There are four other fishermen in the boat. Seated one behind another, the first and last men cling to ropes and rigging in a desperate attempt to keep afloat [Fig. 110]. The first man's body is arched over the side of the boat, his hair swept forward and his muscles tensed. The second, his face ghostly white, appears to be pathetically clinging to the oar. The third embraces the mast with both

arms, whilst the fourth holds on to the rigging at the rear of the boat. The sea dominates the background and foreground and the swell of the waves towers over the boat appearing to be about to swallow the craft and its crew whole. Just beneath Christ's outstretched arm, the flowing organic movement of the sea becomes more geometric, almost forming a vortex, with water shooting through the centre of it, and this geometric pattern echoes the pattern within the glass in the prow of the boat, just above the ruptured section.

In the background, the water is a mixture of rich shades of purple, magenta and peacock green and blue. Strachan has again used bold streaky glass, some of which he has over-painted and etched, and in other areas, left almost untouched. The depth and luminous quality of the work was created through the inclusion of areas of double and triple plating. For example, the ropes in the rigging of the boat were created by layering etched pieces of goldpink, flashed green and painted plain glass on top of one another and then leading them together.

The realistic, rather than traditionally aestheticised appearance of the sailors (few windows of the era show disciples wearing earrings), gives a strong psychological twist to these images. Largs, Skelmorlie and Wemyss Bay are all situated on the Firth of Clyde. Each locale relied on the sea as a significant source of income, and everyone would have been aware of the inherent dangers faced by those making their living from it. Both St Columba's and Skelmorlie Kirk face the sea and the Skelmorlie window itself looks on to the water. Christ has been positioned so that he literally gazes seaward. For many, the characters depicted in the windows are shipmates and loved ones

battling against the elements literally in fear of their lives. It is a situation that all who worked by or on the sea would recognise only too well. Here, Strachan fuses notions of community, territory and faith in his stormy sea scenes.

Whereas Skelmorlie and Largs deal with Christ and the sea, at Inverchaolin Kirk in Argyll and Colmonell Parish Kirk in Ayrshire the focus turns to the land. Both buildings have 'Good Shepherd' windows designed by Strachan. The Good Shepherd had been a favourite pastoral theme with the Victorians, but his designs moved away from the sickly sentimentality often associated with this subject and incorporated a deeper significance relating to both territory and national identity.

Inverchaolin Kirk contains two works by Strachan: the east window which is a war memorial from about 1920; and a small *Good Shepherd* window consisting of two lights, created circa 1914 [Fig. 111]. The building itself is small and dark, so a large proportion of the *Good Shepherd* window has clear quarry to allow as much light as possible. At the apex of the entire window the dove of the Holy Spirit descends, whilst the apex of the left light is crowned with an image of St Andrew accompanied with thistles and the diagonal cross upon which he was martyred. The cross was later to be abstracted as the saltire [Fig. 112A]. In the right light is King Knud, a ninth-century Danish King and a fervent Christian who was killed in an uprising in 1086 and canonised in 1098 [Fig. 112B]. At the top of the lower panels a ribbon of text runs from left to right: 'I will both lay me down in peace and sleep for/ you Lord only makest me dwell in safety.'²⁶ Four middle panels (two in each light) form the 'Good Shepherd' scene. Christ's figure takes up most of the two right-hand panels.

Crook and lamp in hand, he stands in the gateway of a hurdle fence with his face in profile and head tilted down slightly so that he can see His sheep. His deep-blue robe is particularly vibrant, whilst behind him, equally sumptuous purple mountains contrast with the setting yellow sky and the bright glimmer of a blue loch. The smallest lambs gather at his feet, and in the lower panel of the left light, the older sheep congregate in front of a hurdle fence and graze on blue and pink flowers. The sheep have an iridescent glow due to the combination of pink, grey and blue paint added to the striated pink glass which had been acid-etched before painting. They appear to be even whiter than the plain diaper pattern immediately beneath them. Strachan also painted and etched the surrounding glass to produce the variety of blues and mauves associated with the evening light, the deep colours of dusk creating an intimate atmosphere. The lamp in Christ's left hand further evidences Strachan's craftsmanship. It was produced from a single piece of blue slab-glass, the surface of which has been acid-etched, painted and fired to create the lamp and its radiant light.

At Colmonell, the window consists of a single light and was created around 1925 [Fig. 113]. As with the Inverchaolin design, this window can be divided into four sections, the upper and lower sections being mostly composed of clear quarry and the middle sections containing a scene with shepherd and sheep. Here, however, Strachan has exchanged the soporific, restful dusk of the Inverchaolin window for the bustle of day. Christ the shepherd strides purposefully through the countryside, crook in hand, a lamb around his neck and sheep grazing at his feet. He wears a white robe and has a light-blue cloak

with deep blue lining wrapped around his shoulders. The saltire emblem on the right lower edge of the cloak is obvious. The youthful vigour of Christ's image is echoed by the crook in his left hand and the trees in the background, tall and straight, culminate in a flourish of leafy exuberance. The top of the window contains an image of the sun shedding its rays onto the Lamb of the Resurrection which is flanked by Cherubim. Beneath the lamb runs the text: 'I am the Good Shepherd.'²⁷ The bottom section contains four winged female figures representing the seasons, with spring and summer in the left light and autumn and winter in the right [Fig. 114]. The colours in this window are bright but cool, being predominantly blues, greens and white.

What makes both of these windows so interesting, and separates them from the images of many contemporary commercial makers, is the way in which Strachan has extended the theme of the Shepherd to incorporate a geographical link with the surrounding land itself. In both cases he has included views of the immediate countryside. The image at Figure 115 was taken from within the churchyard at Inverchaolin, and the contours of the hills behind the loch are strongly reminiscent of the silhouette within the window.

Similarly, in Colmonell, Strachan has included images of Knockdolian Castle and hill, with the river Stinchar running through them [Fig. 116]. Christ the Good Shepherd is shown here literally as a man of the land, caring for the flock, walking the same hills as many of the folk who were members of the church. Strachan's depiction of specific landscapes, as seen in these two designs, was an occasional artistic device. More frequent was his inclusion of a generic Scottish landscape with purple heather-covered mountains and silvery

blue lochs threading through the countryside. This recreation of Scotland as the Holy Land did not go unnoticed by contemporary viewers. A newspaper article commenting on some of Strachan's cartoons included in an art exhibition held in Aberdeen circa 1918 notes that there are many examples which contain 'Mount Sinai set in the heart of Scotland.'²⁸

The Colmonell *Good Shepherd*, however, brings more than the inclusion of landscape to the discussion of a specific religious identity. Christ's physiognomy and clothing represent a particular cultural rhetoric. His face is the most unusual element of this window [Fig. 117]. Instead of the idealised Victorian image of Christ as a shepherd with long dark hair and soft gentle appearance so frequently seen in window designs, Strachan has created a tall, youthful man with short blond hair and finely chiselled features. The combination of blond hair, blue eyes, straight nose and strong jaw line is indicative of a generalised European physiognomy. It is also too generic to suggest that it was intended as a portrait of John Wanklyn McConnel to whom the window is dedicated. Strachan's portraiture work was particularly good and included far more detailing than is seen here. However, the addition of the blue cloak complete with saltire conveys the message that Strachan intended the Christ in this window to be perceived as a Scot.

The Scottish flag is an emotive nationalistic symbol and its message is particularly complex here because it relates to nationalist and theological themes dating back to the fourteenth century. Christ and St Andrew were crucial figures in the Declaration of Arbroath which cites Christ calling the Scots to faith through the apostle. Crucially the text suggests that the Scots were

among the first to be honoured by Christ following His passion and resurrection when Andrew brought the Gospel to Scotland. This assertion that Christ sent Andrew to be his representative, patron and protector of Scotland enabled the Scots to promote themselves and their land as a chosen nation. The Declaration has remained a vital artefact in the creation of Scottish identity and the fusion of Christ and St Andrew in this window at Colmonell is particularly significant.

Both 'Good Shepherds' reappear in a nine-light window at St Columba's Kirk at Largs also dated 1925 [Fig. 118A]. This window is a meditation on Psalm 23 and the Inverchaolin shepherd is shown in lights 5 and 6, putting his sheep safely into their folds as the sun sinks below the heather-clad mountains [Fig. 118B]. The central, fourth light is very similar to the Colmonell window except that the four seasons appear above the shepherd's head [Fig. 118C]. Again, the shepherd has blond hair and is draped in a light blue cloak, although the saltire emblem is absent from this image.

What is interesting is that both the *Good Shepherd* windows at Colmonell and Largs were created at a time when anti-Irish sentiment was strong (particularly in Ayrshire) as noted earlier in the Church and Nation committee reports. Throughout the history of Christianity, the physical likeness of Jesus has been depicted in such a way as to conform to the race, nationality and local customs of producers and patrons. Codes are embedded in His likeness which are designed to resemble the interests of those who depict him. His appearance and costume have been used to underpin social and political causes ranging from mystical devotion, monastic reform, courtly protocol,

devotional piety and national ideals. Mathias Grünewald's *Crucifixion* on the Isenheim altarpiece (1510-15) is a good example of the corporeal outcome of such imagining, inviting the viewer not only to recognise Christ but to participate in His agony. Until the seventeenth century in Europe, Jesus was rarely portrayed as Jewish. The accepted theological doctrine is that we are made in God's image, however, it would be more accurate to say that He is made in ours. In other words, the emphasis has always been laid on Jesus's similarity to, rather than difference from, those who would wish to utilise His appearance in creating a collective identity or a visual social order. In conjunction with Biblical texts, Strachan's images conspire to construct an identity which correlates between what people see and what they expect to see. This is a potent tool, since Jesus can be both appropriated and personalised to stimulate deep ideological responses within the viewer and thereby further the construction of a particular, in this case Scottish Presbyterian, identity.

The designs in these west-coast churches reflect the congregations' relationship to the farming community in Ayrshire. In all three windows, the shepherds are clearly set on Scottish soil and are a proud assertion of Scottish pride. However, the chief importance of the imagery in these windows is that it goes beyond a simple evocation of territory through the inclusion of local scenes. Their identification with Scotland is made clear through the presence of national symbols such as Saint Andrew, the saltire and Scotland's national flower, the thistle. As such, they comply with the Church of Scotland's attempts to inspire a sense of religious and cultural unity within its

congregations and ultimately contribute towards the preservation of a mythical Presbyterian racial identity.

History

Historical events which shaped the path of Christianity in Scotland also feature prominently in many of Strachan's sacred designs. Again, such inclusions interweave with the notions of territory and community.

Such events, whether mythic or real in origin, are particularly capable of contributing to the assertion of a specific religious identity. Celtic saints are perhaps the best example of this fusion and have been used by both the Catholic and Presbyterian denominations to confirm both the longevity and virtues of their particular doctrines and ideologies. As David Morgan asserts in his analysis of popular images of Jesus: 'Religious imagery anchors everyday life to reliable routines in the home and important relationships and stabilizes and particularizes the historical Jesus as the authority of faith and religious affiliation.'²⁹ The same may be said for other historical characters such as saints and martyrs, who have been used over many centuries by the Church and state to create patriotic alliances.

Iona Abbey is an ideal place to begin this section on the relevance of history to the cultivation of a Scottish religious identity. Dr Johnson on his travels through Scotland noted:

'That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the Plains of Marathon or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona.'³⁰

Iona can trace its holy beginnings back to 563 AD when St Columba, the pilgrim-exile from Ireland, landed there in the hope of converting the Scots

and Picts to the Celtic, rather than Roman, form of Christianity and its religious identity as the 'cradle of Scottish Christianity' remains of great importance to the Presbyterian Christian faith. The Abbey windows look back to ancient historical ties with Hibernia as well as pre-Christian Druidic beliefs. As will be discussed in more detail later, they also indicate a change in attitude within the Church of Scotland when the anti-Irish campaign foundered to a halt.

With the possible exception of Patrick, the saints depicted in the windows were not born in Scotland, yet their histories and characteristics have been subsumed in order to create a cohesive Scottish identity. A report on King George V's visit to Iona in *The Glasgow Herald* of 18 July 1913 demonstrates how smoothly a sense of belonging can be manufactured. King George was a member of the Saxe-Cobourg family, yet the article recorded that: 'the Moderator noted that the present King, as King of Scots, derived from the old Celtic kings of whose race Columba was and of whose blood still ruled the land.'³¹

Strachan's windows reinforce the strong emotional pull of the Abbey. Of the five stained-glass windows in the Abbey Cathedral, four were designed by him. The fifth, of St Columba, was created in 1965 by William Wilson on the understanding that the Trustees would not allow any further decorative glass to be erected in the Abbey. Each of the four Strachan windows represents of an influential saint: St Margaret, St Columba, St Brigid and St Patrick.

Together the glass forms a visual account of the founding pillars of Scottish Christianity and the saints remain figureheads of Scottish and Irish religious

identity. Queen Margaret was made a patron saint of Scotland in 1632 and Saints Patrick and Brigid are both patron saints of Ireland (although Brigid was only formally given this accolade in 1962). Columba is undoubtedly the central figure of Celtic Christianity. In addition, the four saints were also renowned for their part in promoting learning and the arts in Scotland and Ireland. Although most readily identified with Ireland, St Patrick is believed to have been born at Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton, from where he was carried off to Ireland (circa 403) as a slave, at the age of 16. He was responsible for replacing Druidic beliefs with Christianity in much the same way as St Columba was to do in Scotland. Patrick is thought to have baptized St Brigid and both Brigid and Patrick foretold the coming of St Columba.³² Brigid and Patrick had a long and close friendship which is recorded in the *Book of Armagh*, an eighth-century manuscript:

Between St. Patrick and St. Brigid, the columns of the Irish, there was so great a friendship of charity that they had but one heart and one mind. Through him and through her Christ performed many miracles.³³

Brigid was of particular significance within the Celtic church and her importance to the creation of a specific ideal of a national character is best portrayed by James Wilkie in his book on St Bride where he comments 'She is the race of immortals, she is the spirit and the genius of the Celtic people.'³⁴ Many legends surround Brigid's life, which combine ancient pagan myths with Christian beliefs and where time and space become conflated. It is said, for example, that Brigid was carried from Iona by angels to help nurse the infant Jesus in Bethlehem.³⁵ Brigid, therefore, represents a bridge between the ancient Celtic world and Christian beliefs:

"Who then is St Brigid? She is Brigid of Kildare; but she is more. She is the daughter of Dagda, goddess of the Brigantes; but she is more. She is maid of Bethlehem, the tender Foster Mother."³⁶

The windows depicting the saints are situated in the choir clerestory, the *St Margaret* window in the south, and the remaining three in the north wall. All are quite small but nonetheless they make a strong impact on the viewer due to Strachan's use of plain glazing combined with vibrant, jewel-like colour which contrasts with the austere stonework of the Abbey. The first mention of the north clerestory lights appears in an entry in Strachan's estimate book on 24 September 1936, for 'three lights 1' x 4' - £150 for Iona Cathedral'.³⁷ These windows were completed in 1939, whilst the *St Margaret* window was executed the following year.

The first of these three windows is that of *St Columba* [Fig. 119] who is shown standing at the prow of a boat clothed in the white habit and cowl usually worn by Benedictine monks. He has a Celtic monastic tonsure (Celtic monks shaved their hair in a line stretching from one ear to the other rather than the circular Roman tonsure). According to tradition, the saint was tall and dignified and certainly Strachan has captured the essence of this character in his portrayal of *Columba*. His posture is heroic, but his face is stern. In his right hand the saint holds a crozier, while in the other, he carries a richly ornamented book. This book represents the Bible and, therefore, his bringing God's word to Scotland. It also alludes to his reputation as a prolific poet and scholar. His figure is silhouetted in front of a green sail, and white doves swoop in front of the bow next to a lamp lighting his path to Iona. *Columba's* mission to convert the Scots and Picts was extremely successful and he founded so many churches in

the Hebrides that he gained the Gaelic name *Colmcille*, 'Colm of the Churches'. Of the four saints represented in the windows at the Abbey, St Columba was the most important to Iona.

The traditions founded in Iona were respected throughout Europe and its Celtic style of worship (as opposed to Roman) dominated ecclesiastical and monastic life throughout Scotland, Ireland and Northumberland for nearly two centuries. Even in the nineteenth century, Columba remained an important national religious figure for Scots who had moved away from Scotland. St Columba's Church in Pont Street, Brompton, London, was built in 1884 as a Presbyterian church for expatriate Scots. The fact that Columba was chosen as its patronal Saint indicates the continuity of his importance in terms of shaping a Scottish religious identity. In the early twentieth century Strachan created a design for the church's large roundel depicting the saint at work in his cell on Iona³⁸ [Fig. 120].

Next to Columba is St Brigid (also known as Bride) [Fig. 121]. St Brigid founded the first convent in Ireland at Kildare in c.470 and in this window she is dressed in the white clothes of an abbess, her uplifted right hand holding a lamp with a flickering candle in its centre. According to tradition, the altar flame at St Brigid's monastery was never allowed to go out and the fire burned there for over a thousand years. In her left hand, she clutches a small gold cross to her breast: St Brigid founded a school of art at Kildare, which carried out metalwork and illumination. The work produced at the school, particularly the *Book of Kildare* was especially famous for the beauty of its decoration. The greeny-blue foliage in the background creates a strong contrast with the saint's

white gown. According to a contemporary article in *The Scotsman*, Strachan's lush foliage was intended to convey 'the gentle elusiveness of the woodland spirit.'³⁹

The third window in the north clerestory is of St Patrick [Fig. 122] who is shown in his bishop's robes with a crozier in his left hand and his right hand raised in Benediction. A knot of snakes swarm at his feet, whilst the border of his chasuble is decorated with emerald green shamrocks on a white background. This window is the most densely coloured of the three with both background and main figure being composed of deep blues, greens and reds.

The St Margaret window [Fig. 123] in the south choir clerestory was commissioned in 1940. The same size as the first three, it shows Queen Margaret dressed in royal magenta robes with gold trim. On her head is a crown and wimple, she carries a large, heavily bound book and at her feet lie architects' plans, set square and compass. Margaret, the wife of the Scottish King Malcolm III (Canmore), was loved for her piety and charity. She was also responsible for the founding of monasteries and churches throughout Scotland, including the burial place of Scottish royalty, Dunfermline Abbey, in 1072.

The *St Margaret* window, although distanced by the main aisle from the triplet of Celtic saints, nonetheless maintains strong links to them. The St Margaret's window at Iona commemorates her important role in instigating the rebuilding of St Columba's monastery on the island. A comparison with Strachan's depiction of her in St Margaret's Chapel, Edinburgh Castle, highlights this importance. Whilst the main panel in St Margaret's chapel still alludes to her

cultural influence, it shows the Queen in a more passive position, seated on a throne reading, whereas the Iona window suggests activity, via the tools displayed at her feet and the book in her hand, which symbolise building and learning. Margaret is also representative of a new phase of Christianity in Scotland. She was also a staunch supporter of the Latin form of worship. Through her efforts (and those of her third son, David I), the Celtic liturgy was abolished and replaced with the Latin liturgy used by the rest of Britain and Europe.

Whilst this description gives some insight into the designer's ability to combine his artistic skills with historical knowledge, some analytical attention needs to be given to the overall significance of these images. The key to understanding the wider context of these four designs perhaps lies within the date of the execution of the windows, 1939 and 1940. In 1938 the Very Reverend Lord George MacLeod of Fuinary was given permission by the Abbey Trust to found the Iona Community and he moved from his parish in Govan, Glasgow, to rebuild the ruined living quarters and other Abbey buildings on Iona. In 1937 the Church Interests Committee, which had fought for legislation restricting immigration and even for deporting 'undesirable' Catholics of Irish origin, was disbanded and the convener and veteran campaigner, John MacLagan of Glasgow, stated that the 'cure' for the Irish Catholic problem was now 'in the hands of the Scottish people themselves...'⁴⁰ A minister of the Church of Scotland, MacLeod wanted to create social and political change based on spiritual rather than material ideals. For him, Iona was the perfect place, and he described the island as a 'thin place with only a tissue paper separating the

material from the spiritual.⁴¹ MacLeod invited 'young ministers to work as labourers to the craftsmen (who were carrying out the restoration), as part of an imaginative training programme to prepare the ordinands for work in inner city and housing scheme areas.⁴² His aspirations, although undoubtedly founded within the beliefs of the Church of Scotland, ran parallel to those of Columba, Patrick, Brigid and Margaret, namely to build a Christian place and centre of learning within Scotland in order to convert more people to Christianity.

These windows do not share the overt nationalistic symbolism of the Largs and Colmonell designs but they still have an important role within the formation of a religious identity. They illustrate key figures in the historical beginnings of Christianity in Scotland as well as the ideals personified by the saints associated with Iona. They remind the viewer of Columba's heroic courage, Brigid's piety, Margaret's cultivating influence and Patrick's missionary zeal. Certainly such virtues are not owned or claimed by any one denomination or faith, but when combined with these historic characters and their geographical location they do indeed suggest a solid Presbyterian ideal.

The west coast did not by any means own the monopoly on Celtic saints. As discussed in Chapter 3 with reference to the Vestibule of Lowson Memorial Kirk, the east coast also witnessed its share of evangelism. The Cathedral Church of St Machar in Aberdeen had a strong connection with Iona.⁴³

Strachan's Crombie Memorial window, *Life of St Machar and the founding of the Cathedral*, is another good example of his ability to fuse myth and history with landscape and community. Created in 1908, the three-light window is

divided into six sections and tells the story of Machar's despatch from Iona, his arrival at the place Columba had described, and the building of a church there [Fig.124]. All the key elements of the story are included in these six panels. The first panel shows the saint at work in his cell inspiring the jealousy of his brothers which led to Columba's decision to send him away. The angel above him pours her radiance upon his work so that he can continue his studies [Fig. 125A]. The second panel shows the emotive farewell, Columba's arm raised in benediction and his fellow monks full of grief and guilt. They are faced with the resolute Machar taking one last look at his master and his western home [Figs 125B and C]. The lower sections deal with his new life, the hand of friendship extended by the native Aberdonians, finding the location on the River Don where he was to build the Cathedral and finally, the fulfilment of his mission, the establishment of the first Christian house of prayer in the north east of Scotland.

Landscape is again fused with history in this design. The middle lower light shows the sun setting behind the hills and St Machar's discovery of the location of his future ministry. This is not a generic pastoral scene. Rather it portrays the bend in the Don which was vital to this religious narrative, as well as Balgownie Wood. Both are within sight of the Cathedral. This landscape is important on two accounts; the first is obvious as it clearly relates to the life of St Machar. However, it also links the window with J. W. Crombie to whom the window was dedicated. Balgownie was Crombie's home and he would have recognised Strachan's depiction of the surrounding countryside and cathedral.

There is, however, more to the window than the narration of the establishment of Christianity in the area and Crombie's patronage. The Aberdonian sense of community is also reinforced by references to the city's civic achievement and subsequent ecclesiastical history. The angels in the upper tracery surround two urns filled with flowers. The urn on the left is decorated with the arms of Aberdeen University with a thistle sprouting from it. Of course the thistle is the country's national flower but according to a newspaper report of the time it was 'indicative of the development of Scottish genius.'⁴⁴ The right urn has the coat of arms of Old Aberdeen emblazoned upon it and contains a lily. This sense of pride and achievement was reinforced when Strachan created a design for the adjoining window which incorporated three life-size figures of the prominent Aberdonian Cathedral builders, Bishops Kininmund, Leyton and Elphinstone [Fig. 126]. These Bishops were responsible for the rebuilding of this Cathedral Church as well as playing a crucial role in Aberdonian matters of state and civic life. Bishop Leyton successfully negotiated the ransom for King James I, held in captivity by the English. Bishop Elphinstone founded the University of Aberdeen in 1495. Hector Boece, first principal of the university, noted that the institution was founded to 'enhance the glory of the fatherland [and] to promote the wellbeing and honour of Scotland.'⁴⁵

The schemes of the windows discussed above function at a broad nationalistic level as well as informing and confirming the collective memories of a particular congregation. The saints and bishops are heroes of the Scottish Presbyterian church, functioning as the guardians of its particular Christian tradition. Their role is to:

record, preserve and transmit the fund of ethnic myths, memories, symbols and values encased in sacred traditions commanding the veneration of the populace through temple and church, monastery and school, into every town and village within the realm of the culture-community.⁴⁶

Locally, important and fundamental requirements for the creation of an homogeneous identity are also present. Territory (both generic and actual) is a recurring theme, as is the reflection of communal cultures (fishing, farming). Common myths and historical memories are also included, giving the viewer a sense of continuity on a wider chronological scale. Essentially, such reconstructions are not intended to be private but, rather, they play a vital role in the collective shaping of the imagination and memory which in turn forms a powerful social reality; in this case, a coherent religious identity.

Doctrine and aesthetic

The Presbyterian church has a long-standing history of austerity and predominance of 'the word' over lavish imagery. As mentioned earlier, it was the Kirk's 'otherness' to the Catholic church which provided it with its fundamental identity and part of this otherness was its rejection of imagery. However, the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century broadening of attitudes towards the arts within the Church of Scotland created a fertile environment within which window designs were able to flourish. *A Handbook on the Principles of Church Building* published by the Church of Scotland in 1963 highlights the changing attitudes to the arts in general within Scottish Presbyterianism throughout the twentieth century. The book covers all aspects of ecclesiastical furniture and fittings. It is a useful text because it considers the aims of those who commissioned decorative work as well as the impact of the visual arts from a fundamentally Presbyterian approach. The text highlights

the Church of Scotland's acknowledgement of the influence of form and colour and its importance as a constituent in creating an environment for worship. In addition it deals with the more subtle role of imparting particular attitudes and modes of thought deemed relevant at the time of commissions of work. In the introduction, for example, the author, Esme Gordon, comments on the results art and architecture can produce when the two are thoughtfully integrated:

To have significance the church must be a source of inspiration and peace to its members and visitors. With beauty its influence is palpable but sure. Mysteriously, but profoundly, it brings its power to bear upon the human soul. The passage of light across the colour of a wall, the majestic curve of an arch and vault, the radiance of a stained-glass window, the quiet lines of mouldings or a semi-dome of a simple apse may, often in a manner that is unrealised, touch the heart and aid the worshipper profoundly in his approach to God.⁴⁷

Sacred space has traditionally held a distinctly different meaning for highly liturgical forms of Christianity than for those who follow a less ritualised form of worship. The sacred for Catholics and Anglo-Catholics is usually localised to spaces within a particular form of architecture, church, altar, or tabernacle of the Host for example. For protestants, whose form of worship does not necessitate such artefacts, the sacred is often invested in less tangible forms such as time spent in prayer or worship, either personal or communal. Morgan asserts that for many protestants 'the architecture of the sacred is one of time, in the activities of prayer, song, or testimonial.'⁴⁸

For protestants the sacred space is understood to exist solely in heaven and more particularly within the New Jerusalem. This belief stems most notably from a debate held in Marburg in 1529 when the Protestant reformers Martin Luther and Huldreich Zwingli failed to agree on the function of communion. Luther argued for transubstantiation and refused to compromise this belief

whereas Zwingli insisted that the act of communion was rather a celebration in remembrance of Christ's sacrifice and that His spiritual presence was in the believers themselves and not in the bread and wine. Christ as far as Zwingli and his followers (such as John Calvin) were concerned was firmly enthroned in heaven and not present in any shape or form on earth. The corollary of this belief is that for protestants their own body is the temple of Christ, as opposed to man-made buildings and artefacts. For them, a church offers a space where members might meet to commemorate Christ's sacrifice and as such it is a place worthy of respect but it is not a sacred site.

This fundamental Calvinist doctrine engendered a deep-seated distrust of sanctifying the worship space and despite the obvious change in attitude, the Church of Scotland has remained a cautious patron of the arts. There were many obstructions to clear, in the form of presbytery and General Trustees, before a window design, for example, was accepted and the nature of the imagery deemed suitable and authorised. As notes and letters in various archives testify Strachan certainly had his share of problems in encouraging church officials and theologians to accept his ideas. St Salvator's Chapel at The University of St Andrews offers a most extreme example of commissioning body and artist being unable to resolve their differences.⁴⁹ The St Salvator's misunderstanding was unusual, and as his many windows demonstrate, he clearly had the ability to visualise his patrons' requirements. The union of aesthetic vision and ideological requirements was, however, not without its problems. As Strachan himself acknowledged:

In contriving a subject plan in sections and detail one's hope is that the plan worked out will prove to be exactly what the images were already endeavouring to communicate. But it is sometimes rather ticklish work

like driving two chariots with one foot in each, for while both start and finish at the same points images progress on a purely aesthetic principle, subject schemes tending to develop on ethical and literary lines. A subject scheme which by itself looks beautifully complete may, on being fitted to the image plan give rise to discords.⁵⁰

The chief question here is why does Strachan's work epitomise the Presbyterian ideal? Certainly the Church of Scotland was his best customer and, to date, there is no evidence to suggest that Strachan was commissioned to produce work for the Catholic Church. However, he did not work solely for the Church of Scotland and throughout his career, he produced a small number of windows for the Episcopal Church in Scotland and was commissioned by approximately twenty seven churches in England (both Church of Scotland and Church of England). Whilst the Kirk was willing to accept the use of imagery within its places of worship, the images needed to conform to particular ethics and expectations, especially those of austerity or sobriety. Yet the majority of Strachan's designs are far from austere. Many of his windows are noted for their particularly virtuosic orchestration of colour. Many examples cited in this chapter attest Strachan's skill at combining sensuous purples, pinks and greens on a large scale, as well as being able to utilise vibrant colour in smaller designs. So it was not the distinct lack of sensuality which enabled his windows to fulfil Presbyterian aesthetic values.

A major factor in Strachan's work which made it so suitable for inclusion within Presbyterian buildings was the presence of realism, in the sense that the saints, martyrs and apostles, and even Jesus himself were frequently portrayed as everyday characters. Jesus, the Saviour of the World, is seen walking through the Ayrshire countryside tending his sheep. St Peter, the rock

of the church, is shown quivering with fear in a boat, begging that his life be spared. St Columba and St Machar, stalwarts of the Scottish church and steadfast and zealous in their faith, appear full of emotion when the time comes for them to part. These are but a few examples of Strachan's ability to depict ecclesiastical heroes in an ordinary and unpretentious manner. Similarly, the setting of his characters in a three-dimensional perspective, such as Bishop Elphinstone outside his Cathedral, also give Strachan's designs a veracity which the conventional work of commercial studios and the abstracted work of artists like Willie Wilson and Gordon Webster lack. (It should be noted that with reference to Wilson and Webster this lack is within the context of specific Presbyterian ideals, not artistic skill).

Wilson's *Christ Stilling the Storm* in Pittenweem Parish Church, Fife, (c.1947) [Fig. 127] and Webster's *Christ Teaching the Disciples* (c1940) in the Old High Church, Inverness, [Fig. 128] are typical examples of their work. Both men were of a later generation than Strachan but were influenced by his work. In an interview for *Life and Work* Webster commented: 'I was reared among stained glass, my father Alfred Webster was an artist in stained glass before me. [...] My father was my first inspiration. After his death my great inspiration was Dr Strachan.'⁵¹ Webster also spent some time working with him in the Lasswade Studio.⁵² Similarly, in his obituary on Strachan, Wilson recalled the impact Strachan's work first had on him when:

as a boy in a commercial stained-glass shop, accustomed to the jeering remarks of glass painters and cutters at the new type of glass by Strachan, I was tempted to see for myself the windows which were being put in the newly-built War Memorial on the Castle. The impact of the sheer glassy splendour, freed from sickly yellows and lemonade greens,

was a revelation. Second only to a first visit to Chartres, it was an experience never to be forgotten.⁵³

Both artists were able to build upon Strachan's individual approach to stained-glass design in terms of colour and technique. However, Wilson and Webster received commissions from Protestant and Catholic patrons so it is clear that their work did not suggest itself to one denomination more than another. One of the striking features of their designs, especially when compared to Strachan's, is that they do not convey precise messages of territory, myth or history. Certainly their designs included appropriate iconography, St Andrew with a fishing net for example, and Wilson was particularly known for his encyclopaedic knowledge of ecclesiastical symbolism. Yet this iconographical language is generalised and a Christian from any denomination and in any part of the world might understand its semiotic significance. Wilson's and Webster's designs are essentially decorative and conventional and, in this sense, they are not representative of daily life. Wilson believed that the narration of a story was perfectly acceptable but that "the stained glass attitude" is essential as a convention, if the window is to take its place in its architectural setting'.⁵⁴

A comparison of Strachan's designs with some examples by his contemporary, Harry Clarke, reveals interesting parallels and differences. *The Consecration of St Mel, Bishop of Longford, by St Patrick* [Fig. 129] is an early panel created by Clarke in 1910 and Bove notes that it won him the first of a series of gold medals at the 1912 National Competition in South Kensington.⁵⁵ The most striking element of this panel is the presence of so much direct portraiture, a device often used by Strachan. Without doubt too, there is a sense of graphic realism in this image. However, even in this early work, Clarke's work displays

a sensuality in the form of the opulent jewellery and the Queen of Heaven insert which would have made it difficult to reside within a Presbyterian setting. (Bishop Elphinstone, Figure 126, wears a mitre decorated with jewels, but they are far less exuberant than those worn by Bishop Mel).

Both Clarke and Strachan were skilled craftsmen who preferred to use Norman slab and flashed blue, ruby and goldpink glass to achieve vitality in their designs. Similarly they were both highly capable of manipulating their chosen medium through etching and multiple plating to achieve a desired effect. However, as Clarke's work progressed, it became less involved in reality and more evocative of a mystical spirituality. The *St Dymphna* figure [Fig. 130] is part of a two-light window (*Sts Brigid and Dymphna*) produced by Clarke for the Chapel of the Novitiate of the Oblate Fathers of St Mary Immaculate in Raheny, Dublin, in 1925 and it shows the extent to which this mysticism developed. As with much of Strachan's work, the window alludes to specific Celtic myths and history, but the telling of it is done via a very different visual rhetoric. The attenuated facial features, body and fingers of Dymphna combined with the finely detailed surroundings imply that she is not of this world. Her holiness is portrayed by her otherness to, rather than identification with, the viewer. In other words, her character is something to which a congregant might aspire rather than attempt to seek common human traits.

By contrast, Strachan's work, through its manipulation of spatial and figurative detail, creates characters which are more immediate to the congregants of a particular church. As Morgan notes 'the power of visual piety consists in enhancing the immanence of the spiritual referent through the image, reifying

it, and merging it with a concept of the historical Jesus.¹⁵⁶ This process can, of course, occur without referential imagery, but again, as Morgan points out, clear recognition of an image in its context 'strengthens the sense of immediacy of the idea and facilitates its naturalization....'¹⁵⁷

This is why Strachan's work seems to speak so clearly of identity in terms of wider cultural issues of nationality and of Presbyterianism's particular denominational identity. The accessibility of all aspects of worship was a fundamental ideological pillar of the Protestant church and, within its Presbyterian strand, rational discourse on even the most abstract theological or metaphysical matters was the preferred approach. If individuals are taught to believe that their personal relationship with God is the essential element of their faith then Strachan's representation of saints, martyrs and even Jesus himself as ordinary people is the crucial element which gives his work a 'Presbyterian' style. As Wilson concluded in his obituary on Strachan, 'His art never loses itself in a vague mysticism. There is never any doubt that the Christ is "in all points as we are" very man as well as very God.'¹⁵⁸

Strachan also developed his style, as might be expected of any competent artist. Yet even his later, more abstracted work continued to rationalise and demystify Biblical and theological doctrines. The *Stilling of the Storm at Glenapp, Kilmarnockshire*, is such an example [Fig. 131]. Created in 1933 in memory of the First Earl of Inchcape, this small, three-light west window is dominated by flat, geometric shapes. As in Skelmorlie and Largs, Christ is wrapped in the mauve-tinted gown, but his head is turned towards the viewer revealing a flattened, more abstracted, face with high cheekbones. The sea is

divided into a complex pattern of large pieces of glass and the outline of the leading creates the sense of motion and direction, speeding the boat from right to left in front of the viewer. The scene of the storm is not as dramatic as that found in the Skelmorlie window. Yet, despite the absence of such tension, and the introduction of more abstraction, Strachan has attempted to make explicit a complex theological theme within the confines of this relatively small window. Christ in control of the elements is a common theme, but in this storm scene the sea also functions as an allegory of evil which can only be overcome by God. Through the inclusion of the angelic host guarding the limits of heaven, Strachan has amalgamated the Gospel story with an apocalyptic vision.⁵⁹ As discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to the glazing scheme at the War Memorial, the notion of election was particularly pertinent to the identity of the Presbyterian church. So this window at Glenapp again reflects a fundamental doctrine which has a particular resonance for the Scottish believer.

Perhaps the scheme which best demonstrates Strachan's ability to reflect both the essential elements and the complexity of Scottish Presbyterian doctrines is to be found within Lawson Memorial Parish Kirk in Forfar, Angus. The three large windows form the only points of colour in the large but austere building. However, the decorative element of the scheme is secondary to the cohesive pull of the windows, which function as strong identifiers of both Scottish and Presbyterian identity. Essentially, the glazing scheme at Lawson is an essay in space and time, a subject that remained a recurring theme in Strachan's work. These spatial and temporal dimensions are not just interesting from an aesthetic point of view. By placing them in a specifically Protestant context, their philosophical meaning becomes far more complex.

The glazing scheme in the main body of the church depicts the *Creation* and *Apocalypse* in the transept whilst the east window is a representation of the *Te Deum*, heaven and earth eternally praising the glory of God. Together, the windows symbolise God's control of time from the beginning of creation to the last days of the Apocalypse. The scheme commences with the *Creation* window [Fig. 132] on the north side of the Church. Although the window comprises six elongated lancets, the central design within the vertical structure is circular. The window describes the six days of creation as found in the first chapter of *Genesis*. Commencing in the second light, the first day is represented by the separation of darkness and light. This idea is partially represented by the expulsion of Lucifer from heaven [Fig. 133A]. His face covered by his elbow, he plummets out of his celestial home towards the darkness of hell. The third light deals with the division of earth and heaven and the introduction of birds, fish and all animals which moved within the waters [Fig. 133B]. The fourth light depicts the introduction of higher life forms in the shape of a chimpanzee and Adam who is shown without Eve in a verdant landscape with only the birds and the beasts for company [Fig. 133C].

The four small tracery lights similarly contain a representation of the 'evolution of the solar system from the flame nebula, the spiral and solidifying sphere to the eventual formation of the planet'.⁶⁰ At the top centre of the third and fourth lights, six rays representing light emanate from a dove, each ray directed towards one of the panels. Around the periphery of the inner sphere, Strachan has included other images relating to time. A ring of text taken from

the book of Genesis encloses this sphere and the text is surrounded by white glass representing a layer of cloud. The signs of the Zodiac are included in this cloud section, which as previously discussed, allude to the cosmos, to the earth's presence within the star system and also to the passing of mortal time, of seasons, months and years.

The idea of time passing is further emphasised by the figures of youth and age who stand in the outer lancets. In the first lancet, Youth [Fig. 134A] is depicted as a vigorous young man who holds an hour glass in his left hand and sunflowers in his right - again obvious allegorical symbols of the passing of time in terms of hours and days. Death [Fig. 134B] is shown in the final light. A gaunt and pale figure, its body is surrounded by a mandorla of feathers reminiscent of the 'Orpheus losing Eurydice' panel in Aberdeen's Music Hall, Figure 49 in Chapter 3.

The lower panels also reflect upon the passing of time. Here, Strachan has used the six panels to represent the six major chronological periods of the Old Testament. As with the vestibule window discussed in the previous chapter, Strachan has again reverted to a horizontal design to indicate the human time line. The first period is from Adam to the flood, represented by Noah and his sons [Fig. 135A]. The second panel shows Abraham meeting Melchizadek [Fig. 135B] and this represents the time between the Flood and the rise of Abraham. The third section deals with Abraham and the Exodus, represented by Moses with the Ten Commandments [Fig. 135C]. As previously noted, Abraham and Moses represent the genesis of Faith, Law and Order and the sign of the zodiac which is next to Moses in the window is that of Libra. The

scales of justice echo the role of Moses as the mediator of God's laws. The fourth and fifth panels represent the Hebrew monarchy in the figures of Gideon, David and Isaiah respectively, and the final section represents the fall of the monarchy and the foretelling of the coming of Christ by Ezekiel who is shown receiving his vision [Fig. 135D].

Having dealt thoroughly with the beginning of time, Strachan turns his attention to the end of humanity. The *Apocalypse* window [Fig. 136] is on the south wall of the church, and like the *Creation* window, which it faces, its composition is predominantly circular. Strachan wanted the window to give the impression of one comprehensive vision emanating from the figure of St John who is situated in the middle left lower light [Fig. 137A]. St John's body is silhouetted against the clamour of his apocalyptic vision and his face which peers out from his cloak is the entry point into this dynamic confusion of war. The face is starkly drawn but might almost be a portrait, again emphasising the human element within this heavenly battle. John's static figure and rigid, stern face draws the viewer into the conflict which signals the end of time.

Despite its prophetic nature, Strachan reverts to an historical era to depict John's vision [Fig. 137B]. The first light contains the temporal and spiritual rulers of the period in the figures of the emperor and Pharisee. The Roman tyrant's clenched fist appears to be pressing down upon the head of a bound figure dressed in white. Strachan's notes about the windows inform the viewer that this white-clad figure is that of Truth.⁶¹ Behind this scene, a Pharisee sits stroking his beard and a discarded crucifix lies at his feet.

The central lights are concerned with the hordes of evil and the heavenly army of angels who are locked in fierce combat. In the third light, Christ triumphant sits astride a white horse carrying the flag of the resurrection [Fig. 137C]. Christ is flanked by an angel bearing the Book of Seven Seals, whilst above them, the four horsemen of the Apocalypse flee across the sky pursued by angels [Fig. 137D]. To Christ's left, St Michael slays the great dragon, the personification of the world's evil [Fig. 137E]. To his left, an angel pours God's wrath upon the earth. In the final scene angels bring peace and salvation to the souls who have reached the New Jerusalem.

Whilst the transept windows deal with the polarities of time, the central, east window takes the adoration by heaven and earth of Christ in Glory as its main theme [Fig. 138]. This act of worship is set upon another construct of time, the life of Jesus. Fourteen lancets and an elaborate tracery make up this window. The lower row of lights illustrate significant incidents in Christ's life on earth commencing on the left with the nativity, His baptism by John and the Transfiguration [Figs 139A, B and C]. The Crucifixion is in the centre and this is followed by the deposition [Fig. 139D]. The point of view of this scene is unusual as Strachan has placed the viewer in the rock tomb looking up at Joseph of Arimathaea and his assistants as they lower Christ into his tomb. Next in the sequence is the resurrection and this is followed by Christ's appearance to His disciples. The upper row shows Christ in heaven, enthroned and surrounded by all those who have lived on earth but who are now in heaven: the Prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, John the Baptist and David [Fig. 140A]; the noble army of Martyrs; and the glorious company of the Apostles. The nine smaller tracery lights contain the nine orders of angels (Dominations,

[Fig. 140B] Virtues, Seraphim, Cherubim, Principalities, Archangels, Powers, Thrones and Angels). The design culminates in the three topmost tracery panels containing the Sibyls, the sun, the moon and stars.

This central *Te Deum* window plays a crucial role within the scheme at Lowson for both aesthetic and philosophical reasons. Its design stabilizes the other two windows which are respectively composed of colours taken from opposite ends of the spectrum. *The Creation* window is very cool, comprised of blue and green glass, while *The Apocalypse* design utilises hot colours such as gold-pinks, red and pink. The *Te Deum* window is composed of a combination of these colours preventing either of the transept windows from being too overpowering.

Philosophically, the *Te Deum* is also vital to the complex symbolism contained within the windows at Lowson because, just as it balances the colour within the space, so it also draws together elements from the Old and New Testaments. The Sibyls clearly relate to the Prophets in the *Creation* window. Both groups proclaim the coming of Christ to each of their (pre-Christian) societies and together they represent the knowledge held by ancient civilisations. The apostles and martyrs of the New Testament are shown here worshipping Christ in his glorious kingdom.

More importantly, the Sibyls' presence alludes to the continuity of time and the interaction of ancient pre-Christian and Christian knowledge. There is no doubt that time is an important theme for the scheme at Lowson because Strachan has included a complex chronological construction in his work here. There is

the notion of God's time - a never-ending cycle seen in the overall shape of the *Creation* and *Apocalypse* windows, of human time which runs horizontally from beginning to end in both the *Creation* and *The Pillar Events of Ecclesiastical History in Angus* window in the Vestibule. Finally, there is also the notion of a chronological simultaneity between earth and heaven. The tiny 'Ucelloesque' forms which battle beneath the great angel [Fig. 141] remind the viewer that the fight between good and evil is not just a historical vision or prophetic reminder but that it is simultaneously taking place on earth too. In the bottom right hand corner, the window bears the date, 1916. This battle scene was particularly pertinent as the Great War devastated Europe.

The celestial scene in the *Te Deum* window is then the final destination of time and space, an eternity where both concepts lose their meaning and relevance. For the Church of Scotland, the New Jerusalem had a particularly evocative appeal. It is to this new city that humankind will be raised after the Apocalypse and as noted at the start of this chapter it was the aim of the Church to recreate the Scottish nation as the 'New Jerusalem', as a holy state peopled by a united and patriotic congregation.

Strachan not only questions how time reveals itself but also examines how it relates to the cosmos, to space and to eternity. This is a question which philosophers and theologians have long attempted to examine. Plato is one of the earliest scholars to have endeavoured to answer this question. As noted earlier, he had already figured in Strachan's work from the very early designs for the Geddes Memorial Window: *The Adoration of the Magi* in King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, and in the *Evolution of the Peace Ideal* in the Peace Palace

in The Hague. The philosopher's ideas seem to inform much of Strachan's visual and metaphysical language and there are remarkable parallels with ideas expressed in Plato's *Timaeus*. In particular, the first of the three discourses in which Timaeus tells of the creation of the cosmos and of the other living beings within it, seem to have influenced Strachan's imagery.⁶² According to Plato, the Cosmos was made by an artisan god who fashioned the body of the cosmos from fire, air, water and earth, whilst the sun, moon and planets were formed from two circular bands which were split and set at an oblique diagonal forming seven concentric circles.

The thought occurred to him of making a moving image of eternity; and in ordering the heaven he makes the heaven as an image of the eternity that abides in unity, an image moving according to eternal number, that which we call time.⁶³

In Lowson, Strachan appears to have attempted to illustrate this Platonic ordering of heaven and the creation of time, and sets it within the framework of Genesis and Revelation. Furthermore, through the juxtaposition of the *Pillar Events of Ecclesiastical History* with the larger metaphysical scheme in the main body of the church Strachan is simultaneously linking the congregants to Angus and to their place in the cosmos.

It was not only in terms of time and space, however, that this scheme speaks of a Presbyterian vision of identity. Theologian William Storrar in *Scottish Identity: a Christian Vision* proposes three categories of communities of those called by God in relation to Presbyterian identity; chosen, acoustic, and tangible. What is exceptionally interesting is that these divisions can be seen clearly in the Lowson scheme. Israel is presented in the Bible as the holy nation, chosen by God to be His people. In the first ten chapters of Genesis,

the reader is presented with images of God creating the cosmos, the earth and the beginnings of the human race. Then through Noah and his sons, humans increase and diverse nations begin to inhabit the earth. However, as Storrar comments, it becomes clear as the Old Testament narrative progresses that

the history of these nations is subordinate to the story of one particular nation, Israel. [...] Israel's nationhood is not based on [their] cultural, ethnic, territorial and military grounds, unlike the gentile nations. Israel is a people whose national identity is based on the spiritual ground of God's election covenant and law.⁶⁴

Storrar also argues that the nation of Israel was in a sense an acoustic one. That is it existed 'through a style of hearing based on the transcendent word of the living God and Lord of human history and culture, given to a particular people in a particular place and time.'⁶⁵ The *Creation* window at Lowson closely reflects this idea. In the lower sections, Strachan has included symbols of Israel's 'acoustic' nationhood: Noah and Abraham hearing and responding to the word of God, Moses receiving God's word in the Commandments, the political independence of the nation through David and the Hebrew monarchy and Ezekiel receiving the word of God through his heavenly vision. The people of Israel are called to witness to God through their love and faith in Him.

Whilst Israel is the chosen community of the Old Testament, the church of the New Testament is peopled by gentiles as well as Jews. The common denominator is that they were spoken to directly by Jesus. 'In the past God spoke to our forefathers through the prophets at many times and through various ways, but in these last days he has spoken to us by his Son, whom he appointed heir of all things, and through whom he made the universe.'⁶⁶

In Lowson, the *Apocalypse* window represents this new acoustic community -

the holy nation who have heard the Word, accepted it and through their faith will overcome evil and be led to the heavenly city of God. As Storrar notes, 'Nationhood is now described in terms of images, images for all time and every place.'⁶⁷ This hearing of the Word is the core doctrine of Protestantism. As various nations hear the Word, repent and are baptized so they join the holy nation of God's people. In effect, they take on a new national identity. That is not to say, however, that they are expected to reject their earthly identity. The Scottish Christian tradition recognises no division between secular affairs of this earthly world and the spiritual concerns of heaven. Again Storrar comments that:

God's people are called to a dual nationality in which they live out their eternal Christian identity within the provisional community and identity of their nationhood, seeking to sanctify and transform it [...] And both nationhoods only operate within the overarching environment of the Kingdom of God, the eschatological community of those who obey God's Word in Jesus Christ.

The outcome of this nationhood is the third concept of a tangible community and at Lawson this is seen in the *Te Deum* window and also in what is in effect its opposite window in the Vestibule, *The Ecclesiastical Pillars*. It resides within the new Jerusalem and consists of everyone who was touched by God. This tangible community was foretold in Old Testament prophecy, realised when Christ was born in Bethlehem and will gain fruition when Christ reappears in judgement. So it is found in Christ's incarnation and through the humanity of Jesus as he proclaimed God's word and carried out his will: '...we have heard it; we have seen it with our own eyes; we looked upon it, and felt it with our own hands [...].'⁶⁸ Again, there is the notion of a dual nationality and this is why the scheme at Lawson seems to fit this model so well. 'Christians are called to have two national identities [...] They are called to be in the church,

hearing and proclaiming God's word in that community, and they are called to be in the nation, obedient to God's word in that community.⁶⁹ This duality is loudly proclaimed in Lowson, the East window showing the ultimate community of God and the West window recalling the proud acts of the people of Angus [Fig. 142]. Although this earthly community is still separated from the heavenly one, it has an important responsibility to the future since, as the theologian Richard Mouw argues, when God reigns over this new earth 'the tangible achievements of the nations, their history and culture, may contribute to the life of the new humanity in the new creation.'⁷⁰

Conclusion

The church in Scotland has been a cornerstone of the nation's identity. The Declaration of Arbroath leaves little doubt as to the certainty of that. The nationalistic character of the Scottish Church remained a constant thread running throughout the upheavals of the Reformation. The flavour of this character did, however, alter. Following the Reformation, nationhood was no longer drawn from parallels with saintly piety, but was based on the Word of God and through national examples drawn from Israel's history. It has been successfully argued that Knox himself was not a Scottish nationalist *per se* because he based his ideas firmly on Biblical, not nationalist, traditions.⁷¹ Yet ironically, the Church in Scotland was able to use his arguments to create a theology, church and culture with a distinctively national character. Storrar comments on the outcome of this paradoxical effect:

...this Knoxian vision of the Word of God fashioning a godly commonwealth through godly rulers and preachers had a distinctively Scottish result. In time, a uniquely Scottish religious and cultural ethos and identity developed, what the sociologist John Highet has called 'the Presbyterian nation.'⁷²

This sense of identity was so deeply ingrained that when Scotland agreed to the Union with England in 1707, it was done on the understanding that the Presbyterian and Calvinist nature of its national Kirk would be assured.

As discussed, the Industrial Revolution, brought a new set of problems for the Church of Scotland (including the Disruption of 1843 which had its roots in the swift rise of industrialisation in Britain). It created a huge increase in employment opportunities which, in turn, lured large number of immigrants, particularly from Ireland, to Scotland's industrialised areas. This influx was perceived as a national threat by the Kirk and resulted in a large-scale attempt to promote Presbyterianism as the true patriotic voice of the nation. In 1929 when Scottish Presbyterianism converged to form the Church of Scotland, it had to meet other challenges to its identity. Following the two World Wars, the Kirk was confronted by an increasingly cynical, secular society and it had to use all the facilities at its command to try to maintain its position as a key national institution.

Strachan's work was produced within this context of the Church of Scotland's ever-growing insecurity and much of his work strongly relates to the Kirk's vision of Scotland as the chosen nation of God with its people working together to recreate the New Jerusalem. His ecclesiastical designs contained all the crucial elements for the construction of a cultural identity. As demonstrated in the windows at Inverchaolin, Colmonell, Largs, Skelmorlie, Iona, Aberdeen, and Lowson he combined communal, territorial, physiognomic, historical, and mythical references. These references ranged from the blatant, such as Christ wearing a saltire at Colmonell, to the subtle as found in the Crombie Memorial

window and the inclusion of Balgownie woods. Together territory, community and history provide the organising principles for the creation of a Scottish Christian nationhood. The Good Shepherd windows at Inverchaolin, Colmonell and Largs offer an explicit link between blood and the soil through the relationship of Christ the shepherd and his own death as the sacrificial lamb. The notion of Christ in the centre of the community for example, in the 'storm scenes' at Largs and Skelmorlie, and the historical references to the founding figures of Scottish Christianity in Iona and Aberdeen similarly function as forms of cultural reclamation.

Morgan correctly asserts that 'Bible class, confirmation class, Sunday school and sermons based on the interpretation of images [...] binds [sic] a community together, traverses generations, and uses the imagery to inculcate a collective identity.'⁷³ Stained-glass windows should also be a part of that canon as they too are able clearly to relate the Word of God with an image. This is particularly important if the image is to function as a signifier of a particular message, in this case identity, because:

The advantage of linking word and image in religious education and devotion is that the image, while subordinate to the word (just as the created world is subordinate to the creative Logos), gives the appearance of a seamless correspondence between the nouns of grammar and the objects of perception. In other words, the arbitrary code of cultural meanings is equated to the "natural" code of appearances.⁷⁴

Given the clarity of his images and their ability to inculcate the viewer with an idea of belonging to a particular group, it can be argued that Strachan's designs held an integral place in the maintenance of a twentieth-century Presbyterian nationhood.

It is also clear that his work reflected fundamental Presbyterian doctrinal views within the context of the continuing creation of a Christian nation. As discussed, one of the main thrusts of Protestant (including Presbyterian) teaching has been the development of a personal relationship with Christ. How better to foster such a relationship than by the creation of an indisputably 'Scottish Christ' through the location of the figure within very specific local areas? The recreation of Christ as a man of the people was also a way of dealing with the increasing secularism of the post-war nation. Christ on earth living amongst his people; leader of a nation governed by Presbyterian values. By the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries many Scots, such as Keir Hardie, were working hard to recreate this vision north of the border.

Through the provision of public education, through better public transport and municipal tramways, through improved leisure facilities for the masses, the city fathers believed they were building in stone the Christian moral ideal of a caring, socially responsible community in an urban, industrial age. Through temperance crusades, through socialist politics or trade union organisation, many working class and radical Scots believed they had found a better way of building the New Jerusalem.⁷⁵

This was a belief shared by many within the Church and Strachan's emphasis on the importance of labour and equality would seem to be sympathetic to this ideal.

The glazing scheme at Lowson Memorial Kirk provides the clearest example of the integration of church and nation. The Presbyterian approach to the sanctity of time and space is illustrated, as are the fundamental virtues of the Presbyterian Kirk (faith, law and order). Many of Strachan's designs, such as the *Te Deum* windows in Holy Trinity, St Andrews, Fraserburgh and Tarland Parish Kirks, deal with these issues but on a smaller scale. More importantly

the dual nature of nationality inherent in Scottish Presbyterianism is clearly declaimed in the East and West windows at Lawson, both of which deal with nation states, one heavenly the other temporal.

Strachan's designs for the Presbyterian Kirk clearly reflect its nationalistic aspirations and its doctrinal beliefs and in many respects it is difficult to divide one ideal from the other. The windows discussed in this chapter were a part of a deep-seated desire to ensure that the Scottish Presbyterian racial identity continued to be a mainstay of the nation as a whole. As the theologian Peter Bisset commented in the *Kirk and Her Scotland*: '...the Kirk in Scotland's story has been the custodian of a dream. It has been the keeper of the soul of Scotland.'⁷⁶

¹ Herbert, G. 'The Window', *The Poetical Works of George Herbert*, (New York, 1985), pp84-85

² See Smout, T. C. *A Century of the Scottish People 1830-1950*, (London, 1986) pp181-208 and Devine, T. *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000*, (Edinburgh, 2000), pp363-388

³ See Brown, C. G. *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh, 1997) and Hempton, D. *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland*, (Cambridge, 1996)

⁴ Brown, C. G. quoted by Devine in *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000*, p363

⁵ Some parts of the Western Isles, such as Lewis, Harris and N. Uist, still observe such customs

⁶ Brown, C. G. quoted by Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000*, p367

⁷ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000*, p367

⁸ Bisset, P. *The Kirk and Her Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1986), p4

⁹ Wilson, W. 'Dr Douglas Strachan, Artist in Stained Glass', *Life and Work* (March, 1951), p56

¹⁰ Collins, B. 'The Origins of Irish Immigration to Scotland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', in Devine, T. M. (ed.), *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, (Edinburgh, 1991), p1

¹¹ Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000*, p488

¹² Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000*, p488

¹³ M. Rosie, and D. McCrone, 'The past is history: Catholics in Modern Scotland', quoted in *Scotland's Shame*, T. M. Devine (ed.), (Edinburgh, 2000), p201

¹⁴ M. Rosie, and D. McCrone, 'The past is history: Catholics in Modern Scotland', p201

¹⁵ Macmillan, J. 'Scotland's Shame' in Devine, T. M. (ed) *Scotland's Shame*, (Edinburgh, 2000), p15

¹⁶ Brown, S. J. 'Outside the Covenant: The Scottish Presbyterian Churches and Irish Immigration, 1922-1938', *Innes Review*, XLII, (1991), p22

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- ¹⁷ Church of Scotland Special Commission Report, *The Life and Efficiency of the Church*, quoted by Sinclair, D. 'The identity of a nation' in *Scotland's Shame*, T. M. Devine (ed.), (Edinburgh, 2000), p177
- ¹⁸ Church of Scotland Special Commission Report, *The Life and Efficiency of the Church*, quoted by Sinclair, D. 'The identity of a nation' pp178-179
- ¹⁹ Church of Scotland Special Commission Report, *The Life and Efficiency of the Church*, quoted by Sinclair, D. 'The identity of a nation', p179
- ²⁰ Brown, 'Outside the Covenant': The Scottish Presbyterian Churches and Irish Immigration, 1922-1938', p43
- ²¹ Smith, A. D. *National Identity*, (London, 1991), p6
- ²² Matthew 14:2
- ²³ This text is not a direct biblical quote.
- ²⁴ Matthew 8:23-27
- ²⁵ Matthew 8:26
- ²⁶ Psalm 4:8
- ²⁷ John 10:14
- ²⁸ Russell Collection: Elsie Strachan's scrapbook. Anonymous newspaper cutting 'Art in the North', p22
- ²⁹ Morgan, D. *Visual Piety: a history and theory of popular religious images* (California, 1998), p207
- ³⁰ Johnson, S quoted in *Samuel Johnson and James Boswell: a Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland and the Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, first published 1775 reprinted (London, 1984), p141
- ³¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 18 July 1913, p8
- ³² A man child shall be born of his race,
He will be a sage, a prophet, a poet
A beloved lamp, pure, clear
Who will utter no falsehood
- ³³ Knowles, 1907 quoted in <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen>
- ³⁴ Wilkie, J. *St Bride - The Greatest Woman of the Celtic Church*, (np, 1913) p54
- ³⁵ The conflation of space and time is typical of the Celtic mystic mind.
- ³⁶ Wilkie, *St Bride - The Greatest Woman of the Celtic Church* , p53
- ³⁷ Russell Collection: Strachan's Estimate Book p39
- ³⁸ Unfortunately, the church was completely destroyed in the Second World War when it received a direct hit by a bomb on 10 May 1941.
- ³⁹ Iona Archive Scrapbook: Newspaper cutting from *The Scotsman*, 26 September 1939, p369
- ⁴⁰ Brown, 'Outside the Covenant: The Scottish Presbyterian Churches and Irish Immigration, 1922-1938', p40
- ⁴¹ www.iona.org.uk
- ⁴² Iona Community pamphlet, nd, p1
- ⁴³ Columba instructed Machar to build a church on the banks of a river at a point where the stream winded in such a way that it formed a Bishop's crozier and the crook of the river Don fulfilled this prophetic instruction.
- ⁴⁴ Russell archive: Elsie Strachan's scrapbook, 'The Late Mr J. W. Crombie, Memorial window in St Machar Cathedral' p11
- ⁴⁵ Boece, H. quoted by Storrar, W. in *Scottish Identity A Christian Vision*, (Edinburgh, 1990), p20
- ⁴⁶ Smith, *National Identity* , p6
- ⁴⁷ Gordon, E. *A Handbook on The Principles of Church Building: Furnishing Equipment and Decoration* (Edinburgh, 1963), p11
- ⁴⁸ Morgan, *Visual Piety: a history and theory of popular religious images*, p183
- ⁴⁹ See www.st-andrews.ac.uk/services/muscoll/juliette.html *An Unfulfilled Vision: the commission for St Salvator's Chapel*, (1998)

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- ⁵⁰ Strachan, D. 'Art Theory and Stained Glass Practice', *Aberdeen University Review* vol. 16, (1929), p118
- ⁵¹ Webster, G. quoted by T. J. Weir in 'Why Stained Glass', *Life and Work*, (October, 1963), p315
- ⁵² The result of Strachan's influence can be clearly seen in the *Law* window, Glasgow University Chapel which was executed by Webster in 1954 (four years after Strachan's death)
- ⁵³ Wilson, 'Dr Douglas Strachan, Artist in Stained Glass' p55
- ⁵⁴ Wilson, W. quoted in Pearson, F. *William Wilson 1905-1972* (Edinburgh, 1994), p12
- ⁵⁵ Bowe, N. G. *The Life and Work of Harry Clarke*, (Dublin, 1989), p22
- ⁵⁶ Morgan, *Visual Piety: a history and theory of popular religious images*, p43
- ⁵⁷ Morgan, *Visual Piety: a history and theory of popular religious images*, p43
- ⁵⁸ Wilson, 'Dr Douglas Strachan, Artist in Stained Glass', p56
- ⁵⁹ MacDonald, J, 'Celtic Saints, Stormy Seas and Good Shepherds' in *The Journal of the Glass Association* Vol. 6 (October, 2001)
- ⁶⁰ Russell archive: Russell, A. C. *Lowson Memorial Kirk Windows* (Forfar, nd), p4
- ⁶¹ Russell archive: Russell, *Lowson Memorial Church and Windows*, p13
- ⁶² See description of *Symbols of Providence* window in Queens Park Kirk, Aberdeen, in MacDonald, J. *Visions Through Glass* (St Andrews, 2001), p9
- ⁶³ Plato, *Timaeus*, quoted and translated by Sallis, J, 'Time and Image' in Gill, C. B. (ed.), *Time and the Image* (Manchester, 2000), p15
- ⁶⁴ Storrar, *Scottish Identity: A Christian Vision*, p114
- ⁶⁵ Storrar, *Scottish Identity: A Christian Vision*, p116
- ⁶⁶ Hebrews 1:1,2
- ⁶⁷ Storrar, *Scottish identity: a Christian Vision*, p122
- ⁶⁸ John 1:1
- ⁶⁹ Storrar, *Scottish Identity: a Christian Vision*, p135
- ⁷⁰ Mouw, R. *When the Kings come Marching in* (Michigan, 1983), p125
- ⁷¹ Greaves, R. L. *Theology and Revolution in the Scottish Reformation* (Michigan, 1980)
- ⁷² Storrar, *Scottish Identity: a Christian Vision*, p32
- ⁷³ Morgan, *Visual Piety: a history and theory of popular religious images*, p133
- ⁷⁴ Morgan, *Visual Piety: a history and theory of popular religious images*, p141
- ⁷⁵ Storrar, *Scottish Identity: a Christian Vision*, p67
- ⁷⁶ Bisset, *The Kirk and Her Scotland*, p4

Chapter Six

Conclusion

Embedded in the several topics taken up in this thesis is the notion posited by Smith that nationalism can itself be understood as a form of culture. The continuous thread throughout has, therefore, been that such an approach to nationalism provides the opportunity to perceive the decorative arts in general, and in the terms of this debate murals and stained glass specifically, in a new light.

The narration of myths and inclusion of symbols as signifiers of a cultural identity has provided the key elements for re-evaluation. Myths, symbols and ceremonies have, in the past, been deemed by scholars to be romantic trivialities, unable to play a crucial political role and ultimately impotent. In contrast, an ethnosymbolic approach puts them into a positive light and views such ethnic historicism as the most durable and potent aspects of nationalism. This is not, however to suggest that work by Strachan and his contemporaries was parochial or self-limiting. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, his murals and stained-glass designs for Aberdeen locations combined the local with an internationalist outlook and have, therefore, to be viewed within the context of a pan-European culture.

Scotland's historic union with England makes it particularly difficult to plot a clear course through the country's development of a national identity. The outcome of this problem has been that many scholars and academics, who

work outside Scotland, have presumed that Scottish culture weakened and merely followed British trends. The discussion in Chapters 4 and 5 argued against such ideas, and the Scottish National War Memorial was particularly helpful in supporting an argument for the continuing development of a strong cultural identity. The Memorial had to be exclusive in terms of its audience and the message it wished to convey, and at the same time it had to be inclusive and embrace the British Monarchy and government. The use of mythical heroic figures in the War Memorial, such as Calgacus and William Wallace, offered a good example as to how such apparently disparate ideologies could be bridged. Even in the Victorian era, when Unionism was particularly popular, staunch Unionists did not see a problem heroicising Wallace:

National devotion to Wallace demonstrated that pride in Scottish nationhood and loyalty to union and empire could be reconciled. This being so it is difficult to argue that the failure of political nationalism to develop caused a crisis in Scottish culture. It was possible for a strong and coherent sense of national identity to exist within the union and provide a solid foundation for cultural achievement.¹

In common with the Scottish National War Memorial, the imagery in St Margaret's Chapel and Lowson Memorial Kirk vestibule create a specific landscape that is associated with events and people crucial to the history of the community. The promotion of historical events and references to a country's golden age is a particularly effective nationalistic strategy, because such evocations create a 'time-space framework [which] order[s] chaos and render[s] the universe meaningful by harnessing pre-modern mass aspirations and sentiments for local and familial attachments ...'.²

All the images used for the purposes of this thesis have articulated and reinforced the structures central to the making and maintaining of a Scottish cultural identity. However, the *Good Shepherd* window at Colmonell Parish Kirk was the most direct in its enunciation of the relationship between the Presbyterian Kirk and national identity. The design's inclusion of local geographic landmarks, references to the community's well established farming economy and territorial signifiers demonstrated the way in which the social construction of everyday life operates powerfully in the collective memory of visual piety.

The foregoing debates have made it possible to establish an argument for the role of Strachan's murals and stained glass as signifiers of Scottish cultural identity. This discussion has been further supported by Smith's argument, that nationalism is a form of culture. Through the adoption of this contention it has been possible to reassess the role of cultural power and its politicization. Whilst this thesis offers new insights into Strachan's work and its meaning, there is clearly more research and analysis to be done.

In general terms, stained glass is particularly in need of more analytical attention. The British Isles is relatively rich in nineteenth- and twentieth-century stained-glass windows yet there remains a lack of critical writing on the subject. David Evans comments on the problem in the preface to *A*

Bibliography of Stained Glass:

Stained-glass windows have been the object of scholarly research and popular exposition for a considerable time, though advances in knowledge have not been systematically made and the history of this branch of learning tends to be a record of the contributions of a relatively

small number of scholars, often separated by lengthy periods of time. It is not too much to say that the subject remains at the level of primitive accumulation - to borrow a phrase from another context - and the slow progress being made at recording the mediaeval glass of England would seem to indicate that no rapid advances are in prospect.³

Evans compiled his *Bibliography* in 1982 and since then more scholarly writing has been forthcoming. However, there is a need for further research to be carried out concerning the significance of stained glass within visual culture and its many contexts. More research would also address another problem, namely the loss of many important windows. A. C. Sewter made the following comment in the preface to his seminal text on William Morris:

In no field is a fresh investigation so urgently required as in that of stained glass, which is unfortunately being lost or destroyed almost daily as a result of ignorance, prejudice, the shifting of residential areas and the demolition of redundant churches.⁴

This comment is just as applicable today as when Sewter first wrote it in 1974. Heatherlie Parish Kirk in Selkirk is a prime example of this problem. It has recently been bought by a developer who intends to demolish the building and erect houses in its place. There were windows by Cottier as well as Strachan in the church and these are being removed and sold piecemeal to interested parties. Once sold they will more than likely vanish without a trace. It is, therefore, of vital importance that researchers continue to develop the theoretical and contextual debate concerning this and other media which fall within the term decorative arts.

Without doubt Scotland will continue to cultivate its 'own distinctive history, its golden ages and sacred landscapes [all of which will provide the nation] with its fundamental cultural and political identities ...'.⁵ It is, therefore, important

that the relationship between Scotland's cultural artefacts, such as stained glass, and the ongoing formation of such identities are charted.

¹ Devine, T. M. *Scottish Nation* (Edinburgh, 2000), p295

² Smith, A. *National Identity*, (London, 1991), p78

³ Evans, D. *A Bibliography of Stained Glass*, (Cambridge, 1982), p1

⁴ Sewter, A. C. *The Stained Glass of William Morris and His Circle*, (London, 1974), pp 2-3

⁵ Smith, *National Identity*, p177

Appendix 1

Chronology highlighting key events and works in Strachan's life

1875	Born 26 May, Aberdeen
1884-87	Educated Robert Gordon College
1890	Lithographer <i>Aberdeen Free Press</i>
1893-94	Gray's School of Art, Aberdeen
1894-95	Studied Royal Scottish Academy
1895-98	Worked in Manchester for several newspapers
1898	Returned to Aberdeen
1898	Trades Hall Murals
1899	First window - Parish Kirk of St Nicholas, Aberdeen
1899-1909	Aberdeen Music Hall Murals
1900	Bucksburn Episcopal Church Murals
1903	<i>Adoration of the Magi</i> murals for Peplow Church, Shropshire
1904	Exhibition at Marlborough Gallery curated by Martin Colnaghi
1905-06	Spent periods of time in London as a portrait artist
1906	<i>The Faculties of Science</i> window, Marischall College, Aberdeen
1909	Married Elsie Isobel Cromer
1909-10	Head of Craft Section in Edinburgh College of Art
1911	<i>St Andrew, the fisherman</i> window, Thistle Chapel, St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh
1913	Began series of windows for The Palace of Peace, The Hague
1914	Began series of windows for Lawson Memorial Kirk, Forfar and <i>Women of Charity</i> Window for Holy Trinity, St Andrews
1920	Elected honorary member of RSA

- 1923 Received honorary degree of LL.D Aberdeen University
- 1925-27 Began series of windows for Scottish National War Memorial, Edinburgh
- 1928 Moved to new studio at Pittendriech, Lasswade, Midlothian
- 1932 *St Dunstan* Window, St Paul's Cathedral, London
- 1933 Commission to design windows for St Salvator's Chapel, St Andrews (these designs were never executed)
- 1933-47 Served on Royal Fine Art Commission for Scotland
- 1934 Windows for the Library, New College, Edinburgh (formerly the High Kirk of the United Free Church of Scotland)
- c.1935 *Christ Stilling the Tempest* window, St Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh
- 1939 Three windows for Iona Abbey
- 1945 Window for Holyrood Kirk, Stirling
- 1950 *Hezekiah* and *Josiah* Windows Holy Trinity, St Andrews (inserted shortly after Strachan's death)
- 1950 Died at Pittendriech: 20 November

Appendix 2

Catalogue of Strachan's work

This appendix comprises the full text of Colin Russell's most recently revised *Catalogue*. Some of the information which has come to light as a result of my research was incorporated in to this most recent version. Whilst this *Catalogue* is primarily concerned with stained-glass windows I have included information regarding other works by Strachan in different media as well as windows which have come to light subsequent to Russell's publication. This material appears at the end in Section Q.

S T A I N E D G L A S S W I N D O W S O F D O U G L A S S T R A C H A N

F O R E W O R D

The late Douglas Strachan, LL.D., H.R.S.A., left few records of his work, and no complete list of the Stained Glass windows which he designed.

The information in this booklet has been prepared from lists compiled, at various times, by his widow; from notes left by his Foreman, the late Mr Scullion; and as the result of visits made personally to the places mentioned. But there may well be several more Douglas Strachan windows not listed here. If many omissions (or other errors) are brought to my notice I would hope to produce a second (and final) edition in about a year's time.

It was not the practice of Douglas Strachan to sign his work — I found only two windows signed and one initialled; and if I have included in this list any work that is not his I can only apologise. The list is not intended to be in any way an artistic comment; but solely that those students, artists, or others who are interested in his work may know where to find it.

In most cases the 'Donor' or 'In memory of' has been mentioned — in some cases to assist identification, in others for the sake of uniformity.

Where the word 'Kirk' is used, it signifies a Church of the Church of Scotland; otherwise 'Church' is used. And where there is doubt as to the date of a window, a date referred to in some of the lists or notes (above mentioned) has been shown in brackets.

A. C. RUSSELL
October, 1972 Aberlemno

This Second Edition, 1994, is a reprint but with some 25–30 amendments, based mainly on information I have been given.

A. C. Russell
October, 1994 Balcavies Lodge

This Third (and new) Edition contains further amendments. Also a few, but only few, more examples of Douglas Strachan's initials and signature have been discovered.

A. C. Russell
January, 2002 Balcavies Lodge

**P R O B A B L E N U M B E R O F
D O U G L A S S T R A C H A N
W I N D O W S**

		<i>Number of Windows</i>
A	Edinburgh	55
B	Lothians	4
C	Fife, Angus, Kincardine	25
D	Perth and Stirling	22
E	Aberdeen	36
F	North of Scotland	32
G	West of Scotland	36
H	Glasgow, Paisley and around	31
I	South of Scotland	20
J	London	8
K	North of England	14
L	South of England	47
M	Overseas	10
	Total number of Windows	340
N	Windows erected, not now to be seen	7
O	Miscellaneous	
P	Other examples of his work	

**C H U R C H E S O R B U I L D I N G S
W H E R E A L L T H E S T A I N E D
G L A S S I S B Y D O U G L A S
S T R A C H A N**

		<i>Number of Windows</i>
A	Edinburgh Castle – St. Margaret’s Chapel	5
A	Edinburgh Castle – War Memorial	17
A	New College Library	10
C	Forfar – Lawson Memorial Kirk	4
F	Forres – St. Laurence Kirk (now has one other window)	15
G	Symington – Parish Kirk	8
L	Cambridge – Westminster College	13
L	Hemel Hempstead – School Chapel	11
M	The Hague – Palace of Peace	4

I N D E X

(Number of Windows in brackets)

	<i>Page no</i>		<i>Page no</i>
Abercorn (1)	253	Kailzie (1)	269
Aberdeen (36)	258-261	Kalimpong (6)	274
Banchory (1)	261	Kelso (2)	269
Bearsden (3)	265	Kemsing (1)	273
Bedrule (1)	268	Kilbrandon (5)	264
Birse (1)	261	Kirkcaldy (1)	255
Bothwell (1)	265	Kirkwall (1)	262
Brechin (1)	254	Kirtlebridge (1)	269
Buittle (1)	268	Knockando (1)	262
Callander (1)	256	Largs (8)	264
Cambridge (14)	272	London (8)	270
Campsie (1)	266	Milngavie (1)	267
Colmonell (1)	263	Montrose (1)	255
Cossington (1)	271	Morebattle (1)	269
Crieff (2)	256	Nairn (1)	263
Dailly (1)	263	New Machar (1)	263
Darvel (1)	263	Newton Mearns (1)	267
Dufftown (1)	261	North Cave (1)	271
Dunblane (4)	256	Paisley (2)	268
Dundee (3)	254	Perth (7)	257
Dunfermline (1)	254	Rosneath (2)	264
Eastbourne (1)	272	Rounton (2)	271
Edinburgh (55)	251-253	St. Andrews (13)	255-256
Elgin (1)	261	Selkirk (2)	269
Eryholm (2)	271	Shellingford (1)	273
Forfar (4)	254	Skelmorlie (1)	265
Forres (14)	261	Sprouston (1)	270
Fraserburgh (1)	262	Stenhousemuir (4)	257
Galashiels (4)	268-269	Stinsford (1)	273
Glasgow (19)	266-267	Stirling (1)	258
Glass (6)	262	Stonehaven (1)	256
Glenapp (2)	269	Symington (8)	265
Glencorse (1)	253	Tarland (1)	263
Glenstriven (2)	263	Thirsk (1)	272
Grangemouth (2)	257	Tillicoultry (1)	258
Greenock (4)	263-264	Urr (1)	270
The Hague (4)	274	Waterford (1)	273
Hemel Hempstead (11)	273	West Hartlepool (10)	272
Hotham (6)	271	West Hoathly (1)	273
Houston (3)	267	Wheathampstead (1)	273
Humbie (1)	253	Winchelsea (9)	273
Inveresk (1)	254	Woldingham (6)	274
Inverness (2)	262	Yarrow (3)	270
Iona (3)	264		

SECTION A – EDINBURGH Pages 251-253

			<i>Number of Windows</i>
Assembly Hall	Church of Scotland	1921	1
Canongate	Boys Club	1932	4
	Manse	1932	1
Castle	St. Margaret's Chapel	1922	5
	War Memorial	1927	17
Duddingston	Parish Kirk	1935	3
Inverleith	St. James' Church		1
Leith	North and Bonnington		
	Parish Kirk	1907	1
Murrayfield	Parish Kirk	1934	1
New College (Church of Scotland)	Chapel		1
	Library	1911-1934	10
	Martin Hall	1922	1
St. Andrew's & St. George's (George Street)	Parish Kirk	1934	1
St. Cuthbert's (West End)	Parish Kirk	1922	2
St. Giles Cathedral		1932-1939	4
	Thistle Chapel	1911	1
Salisbury (Newington)	Parish Kirk		1
	Total		55

SECTION B – LOTHIANS Page 253-254

Abercom	Parish Kirk	1921	1
Glencorse	Parish Kirk	1920	1
Humbie	Parish Kirk	1949	1
Inveresk	St. Michael's Kirk	1923	1
	Total		4

SECTION C – FIFE, ANGUS, KINCARDINE Pages 254-256

Brechin Cathedral		1949	1
Dundee	Dental Hospital	1930	1
	St. Mark's Kirk	1927	2
Dunfermline Abbey		1916	1
Forfar	Lowson Memorial	1914	4
Kirkcaldy	St. Brycedale	1923	1
Montrose	St. Luke's & St. John's	1912	1
St. Andrews	All Saints	1923	1
	Holy Trinity	1910-1950	11
	Martyrs	1929	1
Stonehaven	St James' Church	1937	1
	Total		25

SECTION D – PERTH AND STIRLING Pages 256–258

Callander	St. Andrew's Church	1947	1
Crieff	Morrison's Academy	1923	1
South & Monievaired Kirk	1926		1
Dunblane	Cathedral	1924–1926	4
Grangemouth	Dundas Kirk	1923	2
Perth	Kinnoul Kirk	1942–1946	2
	Murray Royal	early	3
	St. John's Kirk	1920, 1947	2
Stenhousemuir	Parish Kirk	1914–1950	4
Stirling	Holyrood Kirk	1945	1
Tillicoultry	Parish Kirk	1924	1
	Total		22

SECTION E – ABERDEEN Pages 258-261

Gilcomston, South		1907, 1908	2
Holburn, Central		1903, 1924	9
Holburn, West		1923	1
King's College	Chapel	1903–1938	7
	Library	1934	1
Marischal College	Library	1906	3
North and East		1908	2
Queen's Cross		1904, 1920	2
Rubislaw		1901, 1947	2
St. James'		early	2
St. Machar	Cathedral	1908–1924	3
St. Ninian's		1903	1
South		1899	1
	Total		36

SECTION F – NORTH OF SCOTLAND Pages 261-263

Banchory	Episcopal Church	1920	1
Birse		1910	1
Dufftown	Mortlach Kirk	921	1
Elgin	St. Columba's Kirk	1910	1
Forres	St. Laurence Kirk	1930–1939	14
Fraserburgh	Old Parish	1906	1
Glass (near Huntly)		1905–1915	6
Inverness	Old High Kirk	1925	2
Kirkwall	Cathedral		1
Knockando (near Elgin)		1920	1
Nairn	Old Parish	1946	1
New Machar		1915	1
Tarland		1910	1
	Total		32

SECTION G – WEST OF SCOTLAND Pages 263-265

Colmonell		1925	1
Dailly		1937	1
Darvel		1924	1
Glenstriven	Inverchaolain Kirk	early & 1920	2
Greenock	St. Paul's	1926	1
	The Old Kirk	1916, 1919	
Iona	Abbey	1939	3
Kilbrandon		1938	5
Largs	St. Columba's	1914-1936	5
	St. John's	1911	3
Rosneath	Parish Kirk (St. Modan's)	1908, 1914	2
Skelmorlie	Skelmorlie &		
	Wemyss Bay South	1920	1
Symington		1919-1942	8
		Total	6

SECTION H – GLASGOW, PAISLEY AND AROUND Pages 265-268

			<i>Number of Windows</i>
Bearsden	New Kilpatrick	1949	3
Bothwell	St. Bride's	1936	1
Campsie	in Lennoxtown	1920	1
Glasgow	Cathedral	1933	1
	Hyndlands Kirk	1921	1
	Park Kirk	1920	1
	St. John's Kirk	1932	1
	University (Bute Hall)	1907	2
	University (Chapel)	1930s	10
	Westbourne Kirk	1920, 1933	3
Houston		1923	3
Milngavie	St. Paul's Kirk	1920	1
Newton Mearns	Mearns	1937	1
Paisley	Abbey	1931, 1932	2
		Total	31

SECTION I – SOUTH OF SCOTLAND Pages 268-270

Bedrule		1922-1933	1
Buittle		1920	1
Galashiels	Old & St. Paul's	early, 1911	3
	St. Andrews	1909	1
Glenapp		1933	2
Kailzie	Cree Memorial Chapel	1929	1
Kelso	St. Andrew's Church	1944	2
Kirtlebridge		1920	1
Morebattle	Linton Kirk	early	1
Selkirk	Heatherlie Kirk	1916, 1919	2
Sprouston		1922	1
Urr		1916	1
Yarrow		1927	3
		Total	20

SECTION J – LONDON Page 270

			<i>Number of Windows</i>
Hampstead	St. Andrew's, Frogna1 1922, 1935		8
(For the Guildhall, St. Columba's, St. Paul's and Westminster School – see Section N)			
	Total		8

SECTION K – NORTH OF ENGLAND Pages 271-272

Cossington (Leicester)		1919	1
Eryholme (Yorks)		1935, 1945	2
Hotham (nr Hull)		1938, 1941	6
North Cave (nr Hull)		1950	1
Rounton (Northallerton)		1912, 1928	2
Thirsk (Yorks)		1932	1
West Hartlepool (Co. Durham)		1920	1
	Total		14

SECTION L – SOUTH OF ENGLAND Pages 272-274

Cambridge	All Saints Church	1944	1
	Westminster College	1921	13
Eastbourne	St. Mary's	1949	1
Hemel Hempstead (Herts)	Lockers Park		
	Preparatory School	1920	11
Kemsing (Kent)		1935	1
Shellingford (Oxon)		1935	1
Stinsford (Dorset)		1930	1
Waterford (Herts)		1928	1
West Hoathly (Sussex)		1920	1
Wheathampstead (Herts)		early	1
Winchelsea		1929–1933	9
Woldingham (Kent)		1933, 1936	6
	Total		47

SECTION M – OVERSEAS Page2 274-275

The Hague	Palace of Peace	1913	4
Kalimpong (India)	Graham Homes	1925	6
	Total		10

SECTION N – WINDOWS ERECTED, NOT NOW TO BE SEEN

Pages 275-276

Aberdeen	Cults East	1906	2
	King's College Library see under Aberdeen		—
London	Guildhall	1931	1
	St. Columba's		1

	St. Paul's	1932	1
	Westminster School		several
Montrose (Angus)	Melville Kirk	1912	1
Wembley	see Dundee Dental Hospital		—
		Total	7

SECTION O – MISCELLANEOUS Page 276

SECTION P – OTHER EXAMPLES OF HIS WORK Page 276

Aberdeen	Bucksburn	panels	1900
	Music Hall	murals	1899
Edinburgh	St. Giles' Cathedral	hanging lamp	
H.M.S. 'Anson'	glass lamp, probably destroyed		1943

SECTION Q – SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION Pages 277-285

S E C T I O N A – E D I N B U R G H

Assembly Hall: At the top of the Mound. Church of Scotland (and see below under New College)

1 window, North wall, behind Lord High Commissioner's Gallery.

3 light

Subject: David. Also, Left: the Adoration. Right: the Burial

Date: 1921 (or ?1936)

In memory of:

Canongate: the Holyrood end of the Royal Mile

(1) Canongate Boys' Club, in Panmure House

4 windows

Subject: the Acts of Mercy

Date: 1932

Donor: Douglas Strachan

(2) Canongate Manse

1 window

Subject: Crucifixion

Date: 1932

Donor: Douglas Strachan

Note: these 5 windows were made for and presented to St. Giles' Cathedral Boys' Club (in Gullan's Close, Canongate); this Club became the Canongate Boys' Club, and the Club later removed to Panmure House (almost adjoining the Kirk)

1994: 4 windows have now been erected in the Chapel of Rannoch School, Perthshire, and one window in Nunraw

*Rannoch School closed at the end of 2002. At present there is no further information regarding future plans for the Chapel and its windows.

Castle: St. Margaret's Chapel

5 small windows, each 1 light

Subject: St. Andrew, St. Ninian, St. Columba, Queen Margaret, William Wallace

Date: 1922 (or ?1929). Dedicated 1934 or ?1922

Donor: Douglas Strachan

Castle: Scottish National War Memorial

17 windows. 7 windows in the Shrine, 4 on the South wall, 2 at the East end, and 2 at the West end. Also 2 small windows in entrance porch. *Date:* 1925–1927
In memory of: Scots men and women who fell in World War I

Note: the 2 windows at the East end (Royal Navy and Royal Artillery memorials) were damaged by an explosion in August, 1971. They were removed for repairs, and replaced in February, 1972

Duddingston: at the East end of Duddingston Loch, just below Arthur's Seat. The Parish Kirk
3 windows. in the Gallery, North wall

Subject: Centre: 2 light: Jesus and children

Left: small, 2 light: "I was hungered & ye gave me meat";
"I was thirsty & ye gave me drink"

Right: small, 2 light: "I was naked..."; "I was sick..."

Date: (about 1935)

In memory of: J. C. Pinkerton

Inverleith: Inverleith Row (North of the Botanic Gardens), at the Goldenacre end. Episcopal Church

1 window, small, 2 light. In the Baptistry

Subject: Christ Blessing the Children

Date: (?1921)

In memory of: (?Marwick)

Leith: North and Bonnington Parish Kirk. In Madeira Street, off the Ferry Road

1 window, South wall, 1 light

Subject: Christ preaching from a boat

Date: 1907

In memory of: Amalie Salvesen

Murrayfield: Parish Kirk, 1/4 mile West of Roseburn, on the North side of the Edinburgh–Glasgow road

1 window, Great East, 5 light

Subject: Crucifixion (and below: Last Supper)

Date: 1934. *In memory of:* James Galloway

New College: at the top of the Mound. Church of Scotland College (and see, also, under Assembly Hall, above)

(1) **The Chapel:** 1 small window, 2 light

Subject: Jesus and St. John as young children

Date: (presumably between 1911 and 1934)

Donor: Miss Warrack (in memory of a nephew)

Note: this window was formerly in the Church (now Library)

(2) **Library:** 10 windows, double light

Note: the Library was formerly the High Kirk, Edinburgh, of the United Free Church of Scotland

Subject: All Biblical, Old and New Testament. Full printed description is with the Librarian

Date: begun 1911, completed in 1934

Donor: Miss Warrack

Note: there is also a window at the back of the platform in the Library (scarcely recognisable as a window because of buildings behind it) the work of Alexander Strachan

(3) **Martin Hall:** 1 small window, 2 light

Subject: 'Death is swallowed up in victory'

Date: 1922

In memory of: War Memorial

St. Andrew's and St. George's: George Street, North side, East end. Parish Kirk

1 window. West of organ. 1 light

Subject: Revelation (from Daniel Ch.7)

Date: (?1934)

In memory of: Rev. Dr. H. Hunter and his brother

St. Cuthbert's: at the West End (of Princes Street). Parish Kirk
2 windows, both in War Memorial Chapel, at West end of Kirk
(a) Small, 1 light. Over Communion Table
Subject: Christ on the Cross
Date: (?1922)
In memory of: War Memorial
(b) Plain glass, with St. Cuthbert in stained glass. At South end of Chapel.
Subject: St. Cuthbert
Date: (?1922)
In memory of: War Memorial

St. Giles Cathedral: 4 windows
(a) Clerestory. North side, window nearest pulpit. 2 light
Subject: St. Raphael, St. Michael
Date: 1936
Donor: Mr and Mrs Warden
(b) Clerestory. North side, next to a. 2 light
Subject: Good Samaritan
Date: completed in 1939, erected after the war and dedicated in 1953
Donor: Mrs A. E. Smith
(c) Clerestory. South side, 4th from East end.
2 light. 'The City Window'
Subject: St. Giles. Edwin of Northumbria (founder of Edinburgh)
Date: 1932
Donor: Mr and Mrs Easterbrook
(d) North window, large, 5 double light. Over North door
Subject: Christ stilling the tempest; and Christ walking on the water
Date: (?1935)
Donor: Charles Taylor of Stonehaven

St. Giles Cathedral, Thistle Chapel
1 window, East end, 1 light
Subject: St. Andrew, the fisherman
Date: 1911
Donor (of entire Chapel): Lord Leven and Melville

Salisbury: at junction of Grange Road and Causewayside. Parish Kirk
1 window, South wall, 2 light
Subject: Raising the widow's son. Baptism in Jordan
Date: 1936
Donor: Anne S. Baxter

S E C T I O N B - L O T H I A N S

Abercorn: West Lothian, about 3 miles West of the Forth Road Bridge, behind Hopetoun Park.
Parish Kirk
1 window, South Wall, nearest pulpit, 1 light
Subject: Abraham offering Isaac
Date: 1921
In memory of: War Memorial

Glencorse: Midlothian. About 1/4 mile up a side road North of Milton Bridge (9 miles South of Edinburgh). Parish Kirk

1 window, South wall, East end; small, 3 light
Subject: St. Patrick
Date: (about 1920)
In memory of: Capt. Fraser Tytler

Humbie: 16 miles South-East of Edinburgh. Parish Kirk
1 window, 3 light. The main window at the East end
Subject: David
Date: about 1949
In memory of: Capt. Peter Borthwick

Inveresk: Just South of Musselburgh, 6 miles East of Edinburgh
1 window, large, 1 light. To right of pulpit (when facing it)
Subject: God in Creation, Providence and Redemption
Date: 1923
Donor: Mrs Black

In that excellent annual publication 'Churches to visit in Scotland', year 2002 edition, page 273, there is under St. Adrian's church, Gullane, mention of a 3 light window by Douglas Strachan
* Visited in 2001 and is probably a collaboration between Douglas and Alexander Strachan

S E C T I O N C - F I F E , A N G U S A N D K I N C A R D I N E

Brechin: Angus, 25 miles from Dundee on the Perth-Aberdeen road.
The Cathedral
1 window, 3 light. On North wall, next to (main) North door
Subject: Moses, Melchizedek, David
Date: 1949
In memory of: War Memorial (1939-1945)

Dundee: Dental Hospital, being 200 yards North of the Nethergate, and opposite the College of Education. In the old building, in the filing room
1 window, 1 light
Subject: Peace and Tranquility
Date: 1924. Placed here in 1930
In memory of: William Rettie, founder of the Hospital
Note: Prior to erection here, this window was exhibited at the Wembley Stadium Exhibition in 1924

Dundee: St. Mark's Kirk, on the Perth road, South side, about 1/2 mile from town centre
2 windows, each small, 1 light. Immediately East of pulpit
Subject: Epiphany
Date: (?1927)
In memory of: Mary Patullo. 1994 now the Church of the Gate fellowship

Dunfermline: Fife. The Abbey
1 window, 1 light. In the old part of the Abbey (the 'Old Nave' or 'David's Nave') in the South or Rood aisle. The window nearest to East processional doorway
Subject: Abraham. This picture was used for Douglas Strachan's bookplate
Date: (?1916)
Donor: Andrew Carnegie
Note: There is a large window, 5 light, in South transept of the part of the Abbey now used for worship. *Subject:* Queen Margaret of Scotland. *Date:* 1932. *In memory of:* John Fisher of Newlands and his wife. According to the printed guide, on sale in the Abbey, this is a 'Douglas Strachan' window; according to the family, it is the work of his brother Alexander Strachan. It is known that when he had too many commissions, Douglas would sometimes make use of the fact

that his brother Alexander was also an artist in Stained Glass. This Queen Margaret window may well be such a compromise. (*Note: on the left of the Queen Margaret window there is a definite Alexander Strachan window, signed by him, the Livingstone window, 1937*)

Forfar: Angus, on the Perth–Aberdeen road. The Lawson Memorial Kirk, on the Eastern outskirts of the town

4 windows

(a) Main East. Large, 7 light. *Subject:* Te Deum

(b) North transept. Large, 6 light. *Subject:* Creation

(c) South Transept. Large, 6 light. *Subject:* Revelation

(d) In the Vestibule. 6 double light. Historical scenes, Christianity in Angus from earliest times up to the Reformation

Date (for all windows): 1914, but window in South transept is signed and dated 1916

In memory of (all windows): Provost John Lawson

Kircaldy: Fife, on the Coast. St. Brycedele Kirk, in the centre of the town, at the corner of Townsend Place. Has a very tall spire

1 window, large, 5 light. In North gable

Subject: St. Michael and the Dragon. Also war scenes

Date: 1923

In memory of: War Memorial, 1914–1918

Montrose: Angus, on the Coast. In John Street, St. Luke's and St. John's Kirk

1 window, tall, split by gallery. 2 light (4 panels), West side of Kirk

Subject: Gethsemane and the Tomb

Date: 1912

In memory of: Jane Paton, wife of John Gordon (died 1879)

1994: This Church is no longer in use as a Church, and the window has been carefully crated (and might be available if required elsewhere)

* Plans are underway for the four main sections of this window to be inserted in a new cloister at Lawson Memorial Kirk in Forfar

St. Andrews: Fife. All Saints Episcopal Church, at the East end of North Street

1 window, small, 1 light. Main West window

Subject: John the Baptist

Date: (?1923)

In memory of:

St. Andrews: Fife. Holy Trinity (the town's largest Kirk)

11 windows

(1) Great East. 7 light

Subject: Te Deum

Date: 1910

Donor: Mrs Mitchell

(2) South window in East gable. 3 light

Subject: Miracles (6 depicted)

Date: 1910

Donor: Grace family

(3) Sharp aisle, window in East wall. Small, 1 light

Subject: Justice

Date: about 1914

Donor: Mrs Armour Hannay

(4) Great West Window. 5 light

Subject: Woman. Also: "I was sick and ye visited me"

Date: 1914

Donor: the women of the congregation

(5) Tower window. 1 light

Subject: the Boy Christ

Date: 1910

In memory of: A. A. Mactier

(6) North aisle, window East of Tower. 2 light

Subject: Joshua and Gideon

Date: about 1920

Donor: Mrs Fordyce

(7) North aisle, window East of Tower, 3 light

(a) Left light: *Subject:* King Hezekiah

Date: 1950. *Donor:* Mrs Macgregor

(b) Centre light: *Subject:* King David

Date: 1923. *Donor:* A. A. Augustus

(c) Right light: *Subject:* King Josiah

Date: 1950. *Donor:* Playfair family

Note: Right and Left lights were completed only a week or two before Douglas Strachan died

(8) North transept. South window in West wall. Small, 1 light. *Subject:* the perfect woman

Date: about 1918

Donor: Playfair

(9) North transept. North window in West wall. Small, 1 light. *Subject:* the perfect Knight

Date: about 1920

Donor: Dr. and Mrs Playfair

(10) Window in North aisle, next organ. 3 light. *Subject:* Abraham and Melchisedec

Date: 1923

Donor: Johnstones of Allanhill

(11) North aisle, East end. 3 light. *Subject:* the Minor Prophets (a farming scene)

Date: (?1922)

Donor: James Cunningham

Note: there are also 18 windows by Alexander Strachan (brother of Douglas), one in the Session House, 17 in the Clerestory

St. Andrews: Fife: Martyr's Kirk

1 window, tall, narrow, 1 light, The East Window

Subject: Christ Blessing the Children. Transfiguration. Supper at Emmaus

Date: (?1929)

In memory of: Robert Forgan and his wife

Stonehaven: Kincardineshire; 15 miles South of Aberdeen. St. James' Episcopal Church

1 window, 1 light, West window

Subject: Christ's Baptism in Jordan. And, below, the 'Tolbooth Baptism'

Date: (?1937)

In memory of: W. L. Christie

S E C T I O N D - P E R T H A N D S T I R L I N G

Callander: Perthshire, 16 miles North-West of Stirling. St. Andrew's Episcopal Church (at Western end of town, on North side of the main road)

1 window, on South wall, 1 light

Subject: 'Her price is far above rubies' (Proverbs 31:10)

Date: (?1947)

In memory of: A. M. Thomson

Crieff: Perthshire, 17 miles West of Perth. Morrison's Academy

1 window, in Memorial Hall, 3 light

Subject: the Virtues. And a wounded soldier being given a drink

Date: (?1923)

In memory of: War Memorial

Crieff: (see above). 'South and Monievaired' Kirk, in Comrie Street, the main street, on way out to Comrie

1 window, 1 light. In the Vestibule – the left hand of the 3 windows there

Subject: scenes from the Pilgrim's Progress

Date: 1926

In memory of: G. Strathairn

Dunblane: Perthshire, 4 miles North of Stirling. The Cathedral

4 windows

(1) Nave. South side, West end. Baptismal window. 4 light

Subject: Baptism in Jordan

Date: 1926

Donor: Mr and Mrs J. D. Nimmo

(2) Lady Chapel. Small window, 3 light. East end of Chapel

Subject: Crucifixion

Date: 1924

In memory of: War Memorial (1914–1918)

(3 and 4) Lady Chapel. The 2 most Easterly windows in the North wall. Both small, of 3 light

Subject: Last Supper. Jesus Healing

Date:

In memory of: No.3 Mr Dermont Campbell (died 1914).

No.4 Mr and Mrs D. Willison

Note: There is also a fifth window, Jesus in Gethsemene, 1934, gifted by Mrs. Henderson of Ardgety

Grangemouth: 25 miles West of Edinburgh, on the South side of the River Forth. Dundas Kirk, in the Bo'ness Road, near the centre of the old town

2 windows

(a) Main South window, over the Communion Table. 3 light

Subject: Temptation. Crucifixion. Ascension

Date: 1923. *In memory of:* War Memorial

(b) Small window, 1 light, by organ

Subject: St. Cecilia playing organ

Date: about 1923. *Donor:* Douglas Strachan

Perth: Kinnoull Kirk, on the North bank of the River Tay, near the Queen's Bridge

2 windows, in South-East corner of Kirk, near Communion Table

(1) 2 light

Subject: Annunciation. Manger. Presentation in Temple

Date: 1946. *In memory of:* Mrs Margaret Anderson

(2) 2 light

Subject: Baptism in Jordan. Raising widow's son. Crucifixion. Empty Tomb

Date: probably about 1942. *In memory of:* Rev. Henderson

Perth: Murray Royal Mental Hospital, on the North side of River Tay (continue North from the Westerly of the 2 road bridges over River Tay)

3 windows. In the Chapel. The 3 Apse windows

Subject: Good Samaritan (other 2 windows being mainly plain glass)

Date: early. Chapel erected 1901 (?1913) *In memory of:* W. L. Lindsay

Perth: St. John's Kirk, or Kirk of St. John the Baptist; in the middle of the town, near City Chambers

2 windows

(1) Great East, 5 light *Subject:* Preaching of John the Baptist. Crucifixion. Baptism in Jordan

Date: 1920. *Donor:* Miss Eliza McNaughton

(2) In the West wall of South transept, 2 light

Subject: The Adoration

Date: (?1947). After 1944

Donor: John Lennox Anderson

Rannoch School: see under Canongate, Edinburgh

Stenhousemuir: Stirlingshire, about 3 miles North-West of Falkirk. The Parish Kirk of 'Stenhouse and Carron', situated at the East end of Church Street

4 windows

(1) Main East, large, 3 light

Subject: the Last Judgment

Date: 1914

In memory of: George Sherriff

Note: this window is signed 'Douglas Strachan, 1914' – believed to be one of the only two windows he ever signed; and there is one he initialled, see Section L – Cambridge, All Saints

(2) North wall, nearest to East end. 1 light

Subject: Supper at Emmaus

Date: 1920 (dedicated 1922)

In memory of: J. B. Cochran

(3) Next to No.2. 1 light

Subject: Angel guarding the Tomb

Date: 1950

In memory of: D. S. Merrow

Note: this window was erected posthumously, not quite finished; it was to have had some wording, which is missing

(4) Next to No.3. 2 light

Subject: the Crucifixion

Date: 1937

In memory of: Catherine Sherriff

Stirling: Kirk of the Holy Rude (situated near the Castle)

1 window, large, 4 light and tracery. In South wall, over South transept door

Subject: the Four Seasons

Date: 1945

In memory of: J. and M. M. Risk

Tillicoultry: Clackmannanshire. On the Stirling-Milnathort road (A91), 3 miles West of Dollar. St. Serfs Kirk, East end of town, South side of the road

1 window, 3 light. Main South window, over the Communion Table

Subject: Jacob's arrival in Egypt. Crucifixion. Adoration. David's charge to Solomon to build the Temple

Date: (?1924)

In memory of: Rev. J. Conn and his son

S E C T I O N E - A B E R D E E N

Gilcomston South: Parish Kirk, junction of Union Street and Summer Street

2 windows

(1) North end, above pulpit. 3 light

Subject: Ascension

Date: 1907

In memory of: Mr Walter Macbeth and his sister

(2) North-West end. 2 and 1/2 light (the latter being above a door). Under the gallery on Summer Street side of Kirk

Subject: Faith, Hope and Charity

Date: 1908

In memory of: Mr and Mrs Charles Morrison

Holburn Central: Parish Kirk, in Holburn Street, near its junction with Alford Place

9 windows, each of 1 light. 3 are in the East Gallery, 3 below them, i.e. in East wall; and 3 opposite them, in West wall

(1, 2, 3) East Gallery

Subject: Joshua outside Jericho. St. Raphael. St. Michael. St. Gabriel. Sir Laundal. (Armour of God. Ephesians Ch.6)

Date: 1903

In memory of: War Memorial (South African War)

(4, 5, 6) East Wall. Plain glazing, with crests

Subject: Coats of Arms of: Aberdeen, Gordon Highlanders, Royal Coat of Arms

Date: 1903

In memory of: War Memorial (South African War)

(7, 8, 9) West Wall. Plain glazing, with crests

Subject: Coats of Arms of: Aberdeen University and Church of Scotland (Burning Bush); and Rising Sun

Date: (?1924)

Holburn West (formerly Holburn U.F. Church): Parish Kirk, in Great Western Road

1 window, large, 3 light. Main South window

Subject: Centre: Crucifixion.

Left: The Adoration.

Right: Christ preaching from a boat

Date: 1923

Donor: Mr James Monro

King's College: The Chapel

7 windows, each large, 4 light. Fully described in printed guide available in porter's lodge. In an anti-clockwise direction:

(1) Window No.1. Prophecy of the heathen world concerning the coming of Christ

Date: 1903

In memory of: Sir William Geddes

(2) Window No.2. The Angel of the Flaming Sword

Date: 1938

In memory of: Hugh Macpherson and other Professors

(3) East Window. Christ triumphant, reigning from the Cross.

Also: St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, Bishop Elphinstone, St. Machar

Date: 1934

In memory of: John Harrower

(4) Window No.4. The Enthroned. Also, Cycle of the Seasons; and, below, the Nativity

Date: 1938

In memory of: Sir George Adam Smith and Dr. Mearns

(5) Window No.7. Presentation in the Temple

Date: 1904

In memory of: Stephen, Baron de Gurbs

(6) Window No.8. Life of Bishop Elphinstone

Date: 1912

In memory of: George Pirie

(7) Window No.9. In ante-chapel

Subject: Man's spiritual effort against oppression

Date: shortly after 1918

In memory of: War Memorial, 1914-1918

Kings College: The Library (now the Conference Centre)

1 window. 1 light. (Not seen, owing to its being crated during alterations. Still crated 1994). Missing 2002 (see page 275)

Following from printed description

Subject: Top: Hector Boece and Alexander Galloway

Centre: John Barbour and Robert the Bruce

Bottom: Edward Raban

Date: 1934

In memory of: Ewen Maclachlan

* This window has recently been found by the University of Aberdeen and is in the process of restoration

Marischal College: The Library

3 windows, large, each of 3 light. Missing (see page 275)

Subject: the faculties of science: Botany, Agriculture, Zoology, Chemistry, Physics, Geology, Medicine. Anthropology, Surgery

Date: 1906

In memory of: John Cruickshank

* The greater part of this window has recently been found. Five of the small top panels were bought from a dealer, and much of the remainder of this window has been discovered in store at the University of Aberdeen. It is now in the process of restoration. Five sections have not been recovered.

North and East: Parish Kirk of St. Nicholas, in Union Street

2 windows

(1) in the Kirk, in the War Memorial aisle/Chapel, South-West of Communion Table, 3 light

Subject: Christ blessing the Children

Date: (?1908)

In memory of: P. Mitchell

(2) below the Kirk, in St. Mary's Chapel, behind Communion Table, 3 light

Subject: Presentation in the Temple. Descent from The Cross. Teaching in the Temple

Date: (very early)

In memory of: James Cooper (died 1897)

1994: Window No.2 above is probably not a Strachan window – Strachan's window is in the Vestry, 2 light, of John and Mary at the Cross, and is thought to have been Strachan's first window about 1899

* Window 2 is by Christopher Whall

Queen's Cross: Parish Kirk, at junction of Queen's Road and Albyn Place

2 windows

(1) South Gallery. 2 light

Subject: Christ supping at Bethany

Date: 1904

In memory of: the Milne family

(2) East end, large Rose window, above pulpit

Subject: Noah's Ark and Rainbow. Symbols of Providence

Date: 1920

Donor: David Douglas

Rubislaw: Parish Kirk, about 100 yards from Queen's Cross Kirk

2 windows

(1) West wall, centre, 2 light

Subject: Moses. Crucifixion. *Date:* (?1901)

In memory of: R. W. Mackay

(2) East wall, centre, 2 light

Subject: Supper at Emmaus. Empty Tomb. Road to Emmaus

Date: (?1947)

In memory of: Rev. J. Ellis

St. James': Episcopal Church, junction of Holburn Street and Union Street

2 windows

(1) East end, large, 4 light and tracery

Subject: Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. And, at top, Christ in Glory

Date: early (?1900 or 1904)

(2) North-West corner. Very small window

Subject: Nativity. *Date:* (?1900 or 1904)

In memory of:

* Window has been vandalised and no-longer extant

St. Machar: The Cathedral, in the Chanonry, at the Northern outskirts of the City
3 windows, all on South wall
(1) at West end, 3 light
Subject: Scenes depicting founding of the Cathedral and of the life of St. Machar
Date: about 1908
In memory of: M. Crombie
(2) next to No.1, 3 light
Subject: Centre: St. Michael. Flanked by: the Virtues.
Also Military scenes
Date: 1924
In memory of: War Memorial, 1914–1918
(3) next but one to No.2, 3 light
Subject: the great builder-Bishops: Kininmunde, Lichtoun and Elphinstone
Date: 1913
In memory of: the Leslies of Powis

St. Ninian's: Parish Kirk, in Mid-Stocket Road, a few hundred yards West of Beechgrove Kirk
1 window. Main East (actually at North end of Kirk), over Communion Table, 4 light
Subject: Clearing the Temple. Teaching from a boat. Raising the Widow's son. Carrying His Cross
Date: 1903
In memory of: A. Coutts

South: Parish Kirk, in centre of town, near Rosemount Viaduct
1 window, North-East corner of Kirk
Subject: Christ Blessing the Children
Date: 1899 (his second window)
In memory of: John Cook of Ashley
1994: Now known as St Mark's Church

S E C T I O N F - N O R T H O F S C O T L A N D

Banchory: 18 miles West of Aberdeen. Episcopal Church
1 window, South wall, just East of entrance; small, 1 light
Subject: David the Harpist
Date: 1920
In memory of: A. B. Innes

Birse: on South side of River Dee, between Aboyne and Banchory.
Parish Kirk
1 window, South side of Kirk, to right of pulpit, 1 light
1994: Now in the Chancel
Subject: Emmaus
Date: 1910
In memory of: Rev. C. Dunn

Dufftown: 14 miles South of Elgin. In Mortlach Kirk
1 window, small, 1 light, South of Communion Table
Subject: David slaying Goliath
Date: (?1921)
In memory of: George Cowie

Elgin: 38 miles East of Inverness. St. Columba's Kirk (? now part of St. Giles' Kirk); at South end of Moss Street, near the Railway Station
1 window, small, South wall, 1 light

Subject: St. Michael
Date: early, possibly about 1910
In memory of: C. G. Barclay

Forres: 38 miles East of Inverness. St. Laurence Kirk, main street, west end of town
14 windows, being 1 in the Baptistry, and 13 on the South wall:
in Upper Range: 1 of 2 light and 3 of 3 light; and
Lower Range: 9 single light
(1) Baptistry. *Subject:* Christ Blessing the Children
Date: (?1931). *In memory of:* (?Donor – Sir Alexander Grant)
(2) Tall, 2 light. *Subject:* Empty Tomb and Emmaus. Crucifixion. Christ washing Disciples' Feet
(3, 4, 5) *Subjects:* Christ restoring sight to the blind, Christ preaching in the Temple, Baptism in Jordan. Nativity window. Annunciation
(6–14) *Subjects* (from Left to Right): St. Ninian, St. Laurence, St. Columba, "I was in prison... sick... naked... a stranger... thirsty... hungry..."
Dates: No.4 (?1930). Nos.2–14 (except No.4): 1939
Donors: (for Nos.2–14): Sir Alexander and Lady Grant

Fraserburgh: 46 miles North of Aberdeen. Old Parish Kirk, in main Town Square
1 window, large East window, 3 light
Subject: Christ in Glory. Adoration and Praise – Psalm 148
On left: Miriam. On right: Deborah
Date: 1906
In memory of: John Anderson

Glass: near Huntly, which is 39 miles North-West of Aberdeen. Parish Kirk
6 windows
(1) West end, Left window. *Subject:* Faith, St. Wallack, baptizing
Date: (?1915)
(2) West end, Centre window
Subject: Charity. Christ Blessing the Children
Date: (?1915)
In memory of: Rev. D. M. Ross
(3) West end, Right window
Subject: Hope. St. Andrew, the Fisherman
Date: (?1915)
In memory of: Rev. D. M. Ross
(4) over South door, small, 2 light
Subject: Flight into Egypt
Date: 1912
Donor: the Geddes family
(5 and 6) Each 2 light. To Right and Left of pulpit
Subject: Ascension. Shepherds at the Manger
Date: Early, possibly 1905–1910
In memory of: Alexander Geddes

Inverness: Old High Kirk, in Church Street
2 windows, each small, 1 light, in Apse
(1) *Subject:* St. Michael casting out Satan
Date: (?1925)
In memory of: Duncan Shaw
(2) *Subject:* Christ Blessing the Children
Date: (?1925)
In memory of: C. A. G. Shaw

Kirkwall: (Capital town of the Orkney Islands). St. Magnus Cathedral
1 window, on left (North) wall, 6th window on entering
Subject: David as a youth
Date:

In memory of: J. D. Marwick

Knockando: 6 miles West of Aberlour, about mid-way between Aberdeen and Inverness. Parish Kirk

1 window, 2 light and tracery

Subject: Jonathan. St. Louis

Date: probably about 1920

In memory of: I. R. Cumming (died 1914)

Note: Whole Church including window destroyed by fire 1990

Nairn: 16 miles North-East of Inverness. Old Parish Kirk, on the Inverness road, at West end of town

1 window, South transept, Gallery window, large. 3 light

Subject: Crucifixion. Also St. Ninian, Good Samaritan and Good Shepherd

Date: (?1946)

In memory of: W. R. Pirie and his grandson

New Machar: 10 miles North of Aberdeen, a few miles past Dyce.

Parish Kirk

1 window, East wall, 2 light

Subject: Saint Mary and Saint Machar. William the Lion granting Crown Charter to Bishop Matthew

Date: 1915

Donor: M. Crombie

Tarland: a few miles North of Aboyne, which is 31 miles West of Aberdeen. Parish Kirk of St. Moluag

1 window, South wall, Rose window

Subject: the Adoration

Date: early, about 1910

In memory of: Rev. W. Skinner

S E C T I O N G - W E S T O F S C O T L A N D

Colmonell: Ayrshire, 10 miles South of Girvan. Parish Kirk

1 window, North wall, middle window, 1 light

Subject: the Good Shepherd

Date: (?1925)

In memory of: J. W. McConnel

Dailly: Ayrshire, 6 miles North-East of Girvan. Parish Kirk

1 window, North end of Kirk, opposite to pulpit, under the loft left of 3 windows, 1 light

Subject: Faith

Date: 1937

In memory of: A. H. Todd

Darvel: Ayrshire, 10 miles East of Kilmarnock. Parish Kirk in centre of village

1 window, North wall, East end, 3 light

Subject: Alexander Morton

Date: 1924 (in Gowanbank, and erected in the Kirk in 1958)

In memory of: Alexander Morton

Glenstriven: Argyll. Half way up Loch Striven; which is North of the Island of Bute.

Inverchaolain Kirk

2 windows

(1) East window, 3 light

Subject: St. Michael overcoming Satan. *Date:* (?1920)

In memory of: War Memorial (1914-1919)

(2) South wall, West end, small, 2 light
Subject: the Good Shepherd. *Date:* early, possibly about 1914
In memory of: Walter and Emily Berry

Greenock: 23 miles West of Glasgow. St. Paul's Kirk, on Western outskirts of town, at junction of Newark Street and Benrick Street

1 window, Great West, 4 double light and tracery

Subject: Mary the Mother of Jesus

Date: 1926. *In memory of:* Elizabeth Dempster

Greenock: (see above). The Old Kirk, now called St. Lukes, in Nelson Street, at the West end of town

3 windows, each 1 light, above Communion Table

Subject: The Adoration

(a) Left. *Date:* (?1919). *In memory of:* James Shannon and sons

(b) Centre. *Date:* 1916. *In memory of:* John Haddow

(c) Right. *Date:* (?1919). *In memory of:* War Memorial

Note: I have a note of another window, 3 light, but have not seen it

Subject: Nativity. *Date:* 1930

Iona: Argyll, West of the Island of Mull. The Abbey

3 windows, all in North Clerestory

Subject (left to right): Saints Columba (gifted by R. J. Skinner); Bride and Patrick (gifted by William Chamny)

Date: 1939

In memory of: (?Donor: R. J. Skinner)

Also one window, St. Margaret, 1940 gifted by Mr. Robinson

Kilbrandon: Argyll, on the Island of Seil, 12 miles South-West of Oban. Parish Kirk

5 windows

(1) Main East: Christ stilling the storm

(2 and 3) Next to East window: Christ stilling the storm. Christ preaching from a boat

(4) North wall: Road to Emmaus

(5) South wall: Christ in Glory. Bethlehem

Date: 1938

In memory of (all 5 windows): Countess of Breadalbane

Largs: Ayrshire, on the West coast, 30 miles West of Glasgow.

St. Columba's Kirk, centre of town, on sea front

5 windows

(1) North transept, 7 light

Subject: Psalm 23. *Date:* 1925

In memory of: R. K. Holms-Kerr and his wife

(2) South aisle, 2 light

Subject: Pilgrim's Progress. *Date:* 1924

In memory of: Rev. G. L. Pagan

(3) South aisle, 2 light

Subject: Pool of Bethesda. *Date:* 1938

In memory of: Dr. G. MacGregor and his wife

(4) South aisle, 2 light

Subject: Christ walking on the water. *Date:* 1919

In memory of: A. H. Eckford

(5) South transept, 7 light

Subject: David and his warriors. *Date:* about 1924

In memory of: War Memorial, 1914–1918

Largs: (see above). St. John's Kirk, Also on the sea front, a few hundred yards South of St. Columba's Kirk

3 windows, in vestibule, each small, 1 light

Subject (of them all): John

Date: 1911
In memory of: Rev. C. Watson

Rosneath: Dunbartonshire, on the Gare Loch, opposite Helensburgh, which is 22 miles North-West of Glasgow. Parish Kirk (of St. Modan's)

2 windows

(1) South transept, left, 2 light

Subject: Christ healing. Christ bearing His Cross

Date: 1914

In memory of: Lorne Campbell

(2) South transept, right, 2 light

Subject: Christ clearing the Temple. Miraculous draught of fishes

Date: 1908

In memory of: Principal Story

Skelmorlie: on the Coast, 5 miles North of Largs, which is 30 miles West of Glasgow. 'Skelmorlie and Wemyss Bay South Kirk', on the main road, about 1/2 mile South of the North Kirk

1 window, West wall, 2 light

Subject: Christ stilling the Tempest

Date: (?1920)

In memory of: Peter Simpson

Symington: Ayrshire, 8 miles North-North-East of Ayr. Parish Kirk

8 windows

(1, 2 and 3) East end, behind Communion Table, each small, 1 light

Subject (left to right): Nativity. Crucifixion. Ascension. *Date:* 1919

In memory of: J. H. Roberts and others

(4) South side, East end, 1 light

Subject: Last Supper. *Date:* 1920

In memory of: Captain Mackie

(5) South side, centre, 1 light

Subject: Christ preaching from a boat. *Date:* 1920

In memory of: War Memorial, 1914-1918

(6) South side, West end, 1 light

Subject: Emmaus. *Date:* 1939

Donor: J. G. Young

(7) West window, 1 light

Subject: Christ in Glory. *Date:* 1919

In memory of: Sir Peter Mackie

(8) North side, West end, small, 1 light

Subject: "Simon, I have something to say unto thee". *Date:* 1942

In memory of: Rev. J. G. Boyd

Troon: 8 miles North of Ayr, St. Ninian's Episcopal Church, 1 window, Alabaster box of ointment, 1931, in memory of Lucy Townsend

S E C T I O N H - G L A S G O W , P A I S L E Y A N D A R O U N D

Bearsden: 6 miles North-West of Glasgow, on the A809. Parish Kirk of New Kilpatrick

3 windows, all in East Gallery

(1) Left: 2 light, truncated

Subject: Christ carrying His Cross. Crucifixion

(2) Centre: large, 3 light

Subject: Christ enthroned. St. Michael overthrowing Satan.

On left: St. Patrick.

On right: Wallace

(3) Right: 2 light, truncated
Subject: Emmaus
Date (for all): (?1949)
In memory of (for all): War Memorial 1939–1945

Bothwell: on the A74, about 9 miles South-East of Glasgow, 2 miles North of Hamilton. St. Bride's Kirk, in centre of town
1 window, 2 light
Subject: Adoration
Date: 1936
In memory of: Gilchrist

Campsie: on the A891, about 9 miles due North of Glasgow. The Parish Kirk, in village of Lennoxton. 1994: Due to a fire, Church now a ruin. No windows saved
1 window, North wall, East end, 2 light
Subject: Empty Tomb
Date: (?1920)
In memory of: A. B. King

Glasgow – Cathedral: (Cathedral Square)
1 window, North wall, near West end. 3 light
Subject: Moses. *Date:* (1935/36)
In memory of: R. W. Mowat and family

Glasgow – Hyndland Kirk: in Hyndlands Road, off Great Western Road, not far from Glasgow University
1 window, main East, 4 light
Subject: Upper: Abraham offering Isaac. Crucifixion. St. Michael. Miriam.
Lower: Roman soldier. Melchizedek. Wounded soldiers
Date: (?1921)
In memory of: War Memorial 1914–1918

Glasgow – Park Kirk: in Park Circus Place, off Woodlands Road. Kirk is no longer in use. 1994: Believed Church has been demolished
1 window, in Clerestory, East side, South end
Subject: Ezekiel and Daniel
Date: (?1917 or 1920). *In memory of:* David Sturrock

Glasgow – St. John's Renfield: 16: Beaconsfield Road. W2; about 4 miles from the centre of Glasgow
1 window, large, 3 light
Subject: The Adoration. At top: Christ Enthroned
Date: (?1932)
In memory of: Alexander Osborne and his son

Glasgow – University: Bute Hall. 2 windows
(1) East wall, on entering, last on left. Large, 4 light, divided by gallery
Subject: Upper: Queen Margaret. Bishop Turnbull. James VI. Queen Victoria
Lower: Andrew Melville. John Knox. George Buchanan. William Carstairs
Bottom: Saints Ninian, Kentigern, Columba, Modan
Date: (?1907)
Title: the Story Window
(2) West wall, on entering, 1st on right, large, 4 light. divided by gallery
Subject: Upper: Fidelity, Perseverance, Courage, Inspiration
Lower: the Houses of: Learning, Fame, Holiness, Beauty
Date:
In memory of: Janet Galloway

Glasgow - University: University Chapel
10 windows. There are 15 windows in the Chapel. 10 of them by Douglas Strachan who described his work 'as an attempt to figure the whole of human life as a spiritual enterprise'

(1) West window, large, 4 light
Subject: daily occupation of men. Also, Saints Andrew, Columba. Mungo, Ninian. Building of Old College and University (and much besides)

Date: after 1929

In memory of: War Memorial 1914–1918

Then, proceeding clockwise:

(2 and 3) each small, 1 light, In Clerestory on North wall of Choir

Subject: Signs of the Zodiac (part of the 12 signs of the Zodiac appearing in other windows)

Date:

Donor: Lady Newlands

(4, 5, 6 and 7) each 1 light, on North wall of Chapel

Subject: Applied Science, Medicine, Law, Theology

Date:

Donors or in memory of: Applied Science (Dr. Barr); Medicine (Sir Donald MacAlister); Theology (Rev. Prof. J. Robertson)

(8) East end of Chapel, over the arch, 3 light

Subject: Faith, Hope and Charity

Date: after 1933

In memory of: Very Rev. Prof. G. Milligan

(9) In the Choir gallery, 1 light

Subject: the Tree of Knowledge

Below: the figure of Alma Mater

Date:

Donor: Graduates resident in New South Wales

(10) Above the West window, a Rose window, 8 light

Subject: symbols of the 4 cardinal virtues of civic life; and the coats of arms of the University and its three founders

Date:

In memory of: Earl of Roseberry

Glasgow – Westbourne: In Westbourne Gardens, W2; off the Great Western Road, about 3 miles from City centre. The 'Belhaven-Westbourne' Kirk
3 windows

(1) South gallery, at left end, 1 light

Subject: Michael overthrowing Satan

Date: (?1920)

In memory of: War Memorial, 1914–1919

(2) South gallery, at right end, 1 light

Subject: David

Date: 1920

In memory of: Sir J. M. Grierson

(3) North gallery, centre, 1 light

Subject: Christ Enthroned

Date: 1933

In memory of: Lady M. H. Cargill

Houston: a village near Bridge of Weir, which is 6 miles West of Paisley. At North-East end of the village, Kirk of 'Houston and Killellan'

3 windows, each 1 light, together at West end of Kirk

Subject: Left: Archangel Raphael and St. Fillan

Centre: Christ treading on lion and dragon subduing the forces of evil

Right: Archangel Michael and St. Peter

Date: 1923

In memory of: War Memorial, 1914–1918

Milngavie: 7 miles North-North-West of Glasgow; on the A81. St. Paul's Parish Kirk

1 window, double light. Over Communion Table

Subject: Crucifixion

Date: 1920

In memory of: War Memorial, 1914–1918

Newton Mearns: 7 miles South of Glasgow, on the A77. Mearns Kirk, a mile South of Newton Mearns

1 window, small, 1 light. North-east corner of Kirk

Subject: Christ blessing the children

Date: (?1937)

In memory of: Mrs M. S. Davie

Paisley: 7 miles West of Glasgow, The Abbey

2 windows

(1) Great East. Large, 9 light and tracery

Subject: Benediction and Praise

From left to right:

(1) Adam, Melchisedeck, Moses, Abraham, Isaac

(2 and 3) The Adoration

(4) St. Michael

(5) Christ in Glory

(6, 7, 8 and 9) "Go ye and teach all nations"

Date: 1931

In memory of: James Clark

(2) Choir, South wall, 2nd from East end, large, 5 light and tracery

Subject: Christ stilling the tempest. Also, Mary and Christ.

And, Faith, Hope, Love

Date: 1932

In memory of: Thomas Greenlees and his wife

S E C T I O N I - S O U T H O F S C O T L A N D

Bedrule: 4 miles South-West of Jedburgh, which is on the A68, 48 miles South of Edinburgh. Parish Kirk

1 window. East window, 3 light

Subject: War Memorial

Left: Abraham and Isaac

Centre: Christ

Right: Shepherds

Date: 1922

In memory of: War Memorial

Buittle: Kirkcudbrightshire, on the A745, between Castle Douglas and Dalbeattie. Parish Kirk, restored and redecorated 1995

1 window, in Chancel, 3 light

Subject: Christ carrying His Cross. Angel to the Shepherds

Also: Faithful and True on the White Horse (Rev. 19:11). St. George and the Dragon

Date: 1920

In memory of: War Memorial

Galashiels: 33 miles South-East of Edinburgh. Old and St. Paul's Parish Kirk

3 large windows

(1) West transept, 4 light

Subject: St. Peter

Date: 1911

In memory of: Rev. D. Hunter, D.D.

(2) West transept. 4 light
Subject: St. Paul
Date: (early, before 1911)
In memory of: Rev. P. J. Gloag, D.D.

(3) Nave, West side, 4 light
Subject: Faith: Abraham. Moses and the Burning Bush. Moses and
the Ten Commandments
Date: (after 1906, before 1911)
In memory of: Rev. W. Lamb

Galashiels: (see above). St. Andrew's Kirk, in Bridge Street. (This was formerly the Ladhope United Free Kirk)

1 window, 3 light and tracery. In the Apse, behind organ (best viewed from the gallery)

Subject: Moses, David, Isaiah

Date: (?1909)

In memory of: (?Sanlees)

1994: This building is now an Art Centre under the Local Authority

* It is impossible to view this window as it has been covered with black paint.

Glenapp: on the Ayrshire coast, some 6 miles South of Ballantrae, which is 34 miles South of Ayr. Parish Kirk

2 windows

(1) Narrow window. 2 light

Subject: "Follow me and I will make you fishers of men"

Above: St. Michael and St. George

Below: St. Ninian and Candida Casa

Date: about 1933

In memory of: 1st Earl of Inchcape

(2) West window, small. 3 light

Subject: Christ stilling the tempest

Date: about 1933

In memory of: 1st Earl of Inchcape

Kailzie: on the B7062, about 3 miles South-East of Peebles. Cree Memorial Chapel (part of Traquair Parish), no longer in use

1 window, at South end, 1 light

Subject: Crucifixion

Date: 1929

In memory of: William Cree

Kelso: 43 miles South-East of Edinburgh. St. Andrew's Episcopal Church

2 windows

(1) West transept, North end, 2 light

Subject: 'Death is swallowed up in victory'

Date: 1944

In memory of: War Memorial. 1939-1944

(2) East transept, North end, 2 light

Subject: St. Michael

Date: (after 1942)

In memory of: Brig. Gen. Scott Kerr

Kirtlebridge: near the A74 (Glasgow-Carlisle road), about 10 miles South-East of Lockerbie, which is 13 miles East of Dumfries.

Kirtle-Eaglesfield Parish Kirk

1 window, centre of Chancel. 1 light

Subject: Christ stilling the tempest

Date: 1920

In memory of: War Memorial

Morebattle: 6 miles South of Kelso, which is 43 miles South-East of Edinburgh. Linton Kirk

1 window; small, in Apse, 1 light
Subject: Simeon and Infant Jesus
Date: 1914
In memory of: Leishman

Selkirk: on the A7, 39 miles South of Edinburgh. Heatherlie Parish Kirk (at North-West end of town). Church now being demolished

2 windows

(1) South transept, 3 light

Subject: Abraham. David, Moses

In tracery: Creation

Date: 1916

In memory of: George Roberts

(2) East end. South window, 1 light

Subject: Road to Emmaus

Date: 1919

In memory of: John Sharpe

*The windows have been removed and some panels from window 1 have been sold separately.

Sprouston: 3 miles East of Kelso, which is 43 miles South-East of Edinburgh. Parish Kirk

1 window, in Chancel, 1 light

Subject: St. Michael overthrowing the Devil

Date: 1922

In memory of: J. T. Easterfield and his wife

Urr: Kirkcudbrightshire, 3 miles North of Dalbeattie, which is 14 miles South-West of Dumfries. Parish Kirk

1 window, East end, 3 light

Subject: Crucifixion

Date: 1916 (?1921)

In memory of: A. D. V. Herries

Note: there is also a signed Alexander Strachan window

Yarrow: 6 miles West of Selkirk, which is on the A7, 39 miles South of Edinburgh. Parish Kirk

3 windows, in Apse, behind Communion Table, each 1 light

Subject: The Nativity (Adoration, Bethlehem, Shepherds)

Date: 1927

In memory of: Robert Russell, D.D., and James Russell, D.D.

S E C T I O N J - L O N D O N

Hampstead: N3, corner of Frognal Lane and Finchley Road, St. Andrew's Church, formerly Presbyterian Church of EngIand, now United Reformed Church

8 windows

(1 and 2) North transept, each 2 light

Subject: Sacrifice (Abraham and David. Crucifixion)

Date: 1922

In memory of: War Memorial

(3, 4, 5 and 6) Clerestory, North wall, each 2 light. "I was hungered... I was a stranger... I was sick..." and the Good Samaritan

Date: (?1935)

In memory of: Baron Glendyne

(7 and 8) Clerestory, South wall, each 2 light

Subject: Nativity. Christ Teaching by Sea of Galilee

Date: (?1922)

In memory of: Lady Nivison

(Guildhall, St. Columba's, St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster School – see Section N)

S E C T I O N K - N O R T H O F E N G L A N D

Cossington: about 7 miles North-North-East of Leicester; a rural area, between roads A6 and A46. All Saints Parish Church

1 window, East window, 5 light

Subject: (Centre: 3 light): Crucifixion

Left: Nativity

Right: Baptism in Jordan

Date: (?1919)

In memory of: Richard, Mary and William Astill

Eryholme: about 7 miles South-East of Darlington; at end of a side road. Parish Church

2 windows

(1) East window, 3 light

Subject: Te Deum

Date: (?1935)

In memory of: Thomas and Elizabeth Wrightson

(2) North chancel, East window, small, 2 light

Subject: 2 Angel figures (one carrying a Naval crown, the other carrying flowers)

Date: (?1945)

In memory of: Joan Wrightson

Hotham: about 15 miles West-North-West of Hull, not far from North Cave (see below). Parish Church, St. Oswald's

6 windows

(1) East window, 3 light

Subject: Nativity

Date: 1938

In memory of: Muriel Clitheroe

(2, 3 and 4) South wall

Subject: (small, 2 light): 'Nunc Dimittis'

(small, 3 light): Crucifixion

(small, 3 light): Christ in Glory

Date: (?1941)

In memory of:

(5) West wall. 2 light

Subject: Road to Emmaus, Supper at Emmaus

Date:

In memory of:

(6) North-West corner of Church, very small

Subject: St. Oswald for Hotham

Date:

In memory of:

North Cave: 12 miles West of Hull. All Saints parish Church. After damage in World War II whole church repaired

1 window, east end, 3 light

Subject: Christ in Glory (also St. John of Beverley and St. George)

Date: (?1950)

In memory of:

Rounton: Yorkshire, between Northallerton and Middlesborough, about 5 miles from Northallerton. Parish Church of East Rounton

2 windows

(1) East window, 3 light

Subject: Left: St. Margaret

Centre: Madonna and Child; and St. Lawrence

Right: St. Nicholas

Date: (?1912)

In memory of: Sir Lowthian and Margaret Bell

(2) North wall, small, 2 light. Window repaired 1998

Subject: Left: figure representing the West (including the Matterhorn)

Right: figure representing the East

Date: (?1928)

In memory of: Gertrude Bell. Died Baghdad, 1926

Thirsk: on the A19, 23 miles North-West of York. Parish Church of St. Mary

1 window, South-West corner of church, 3 light and tracery

Subject: The Happy Warrior

Also: Badges of, Constabulary, Red Cross, 60th Rifles, Lagos Government. And an African hunter

Date: 1932

In memory of: Sir Robert Bower

West Hartlepool: Durham; see Hartlepool, Park Road Presbyterian Church, now United Reformed Church. Building demolished. Window removed to St. George's church (U.R.C.), corner of Tork Road and Lister Street. Window affixed to wall and lit electrically (successfully)

1 window, gallery, West window 2 light

Subject: Carpenter's shop. Christ stilling the Tempest

Date: (?1920)

In memory of: William Edgar (Mayor, 1917-1918)

S E C T I O N L - S O U T H O F E N G L A N D

Cambridge: All Saints Parish Church

1 window, North wall, West end, 3 light

Subject: Womanhood

Date: 1944

In memory of: Kate Louise

Note: left light is initialled 'D.S.'

Cambridge: Westminster College (Presbyterian Theological College)

13 windows (the whole Chapel)

Subject: The Benedicite. "O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord; praise Him and magnify Him for ever"

Right wall: Old Testament

Left wall: New Testament

Apse (3 light): Christ in the act of Blessing. Spirits and Souls of the Righteous. The Humble and Lowly of Heart

South gable (2 light): the Old Dispensation and the New: Law and Love

Date: 1921

Donor: (who also gave the Chapel): Sir W. J. Noble and Lady Noble

Eastbourne: Sussex. In Church Street, at Western approach to the town, Church of St. Mary

1 window, South aisle, East window, 3 light

Subject: Empty Tomb, Emmaus

Date: (?1949)

In memory of: Thanksgiving for the Preservation of the Church during World War II

- Hemel Hempstead:** on the A41, 25 miles North-West of London. Locker's Park Preparatory School, the Chapel
 11 windows (the whole Chapel)
 1 window, East end, 3 light; and 10, along the sides, each 1 light
Subject: Gabriel foretelleth birth of St. John, Christ and the Doctors in the Temple. "There is a lad here which hath 5 loaves and 2 fishes". "Suffer the little children to come unto me...". Christ in the Carpenter's shop
 East end, 3 light: The Adoration (Magi and Shepherds). "My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof". "The soul of Jonathan is knit into the soul of David". "Samuel, my son, what is the thing that the Lord hath said...".
 Gideon at the waters. Abraham and Isaac
Date: 1915-1920
In memory of: War Memorial, 1914-1918 (both general and individual)
- Kemsing:** Kent. About 3 miles North of Sevenoaks, Parish Church of St. Mary the Virgin
 1 window, North aisle, West window, 3 light
Subject: St. Edith of Wilton
Date: 1935
In memory of: Dame Antonia and Dame Nina Collet
- Shellingford:** Berks., a village near Faringdon which is 17 miles South-West of Oxford. St. Faith's Parish Church
 1 window, Chancel, North wall, 3 light
Subject: Childhood (with Mary and Child)
Date: (?1935)
In memory of: Ewen David Mann
- Stinsford:** Dorset, a few miles East of Dorchester. Saint Michael's Church
 1 window; South aisle, 3 light
Subject: Elijah on Horeb (1 Kings 15)
Date: 1930
In memory of: Thomas Hardy
Note: the window is signed 'D. Strachan'
- Waterford:** Herts. About a mile North of Hertford, which is on the A802, 24 miles North of London. St. Michael's and All Angels' Parish Church
 1 window, North wall, near West end, 2 light
Subject: Emmaus (the Encounter, "Come and sup", Breaking Bread)
Date: (?1928)
In memory of: Myrtle Abel-Smith
- West Hoathly:** Sussex, a few miles South-South-West of East Grinstead, which is on the A22, 30 miles South of London. St. Margaret's Parish Church
 1 window, North wall, West end, 3 light
Subject: David
 And, Left: mounted warrior
 Right: farming
Date: (1920)
In memory of: K. W. Arbuthnot
- Wheathamstead:** Herts. 26 miles North-North-West of London, and 5 miles North-West of St. Albans. St. Helen's Parish Church
 1 window, West end, North corner, small, 2 light
Subject: The Annunciation
Date: early, possibly about 1908
In memory of: A. B. Loder
- Winchelsea:** Sussex, 2 miles South of Rye, which is on the Coast 64 miles South-East of London. Parish Church
 9 large windows (on entering, from Left to Right)

(1, 2 and 3) North wall, War Memorial

Subject: No.1 Left: Land

No.2 Centre: Air and Fire

No.3 Right: Sea

Date: 1933

In memory of: 'the men of the Cinque Ports and the ancient towns of Rye and Winchelsea', War Memorial, 1914–1918

(4) North aisle, East window. Younger memorial. 5 light and tracery

Subject: Birth. *Date:* 1931

(5) Great East, 5 light and tracery. Younger Memorial. Praise and Resurrection

Date: 1931

(6) South aisle, East end. 5 light and tracery. Younger memorial

Subject: Death and Resurrection (Fulfilment of Christ's Mission on earth)

Date: 1931

(7) South aisle, Left window. 3 light

Subject: Christ stilling the Tempest (Christ as Bestower of Peace)

Date: 1929. *In memory of:* Life-boat crew lost November, 1928

(8 and 9) South aisle, each 3 light. Younger Memorial

Subject: Centre window: Christ as Healer

Right window: Christ as Teacher

Date: 1931

In memory of: Nos.1, 2 and 3: War Memorial. No.7: Lifeboat.

The other 5 windows, by Lord Blanesborough in memory of his brothers and nephews

Donor: for all 9 windows – Lord Blanesborough

Note: the above descriptions are very brief: full details can be obtained from various publications on sale in the Church

Woldingham: Kent. About 4 miles West-North-West of Westerham, which is 22 miles South of London, at the junction of roads A25 and A233. The Parish Church
6 windows

(1) in Baptistry, West window, 3 light and tracery

Subject: The Adoration. Baptism in Jordan. Christ Blessing the Children. *Date:* 1936

(2, 3, 4, 5, and 6) in Apse, each 1 light

Subject: Henry the Navigator. St. Augustine. Christ walking on the Water. St. Aidan. Francis Xavier

Date: 1933. *In memory of:* (all 6 windows): the first Lord Inchcape

S E C T I O N M - O V E R S E A S

The Hague: Holland, North West of Rotterdam, on the Coast. The Palace of Peace. Great Court of Justice

4 windows, each of 4 light

(1) The Primitive Age: Mother Earth. Keeper of Sheep. Tiller of the Ground. Introduces Metal Working

(2) The Age of Conquest: The Conqueror, Fortified City and Assault. Same in light 3, Wreck of Broken Architecture

(3) The Present Age: Construction. Control. Enlightenment. Observation

(4) Peace Achieved: Peoples of the earth passing from the Ruined Fortress (light 1) to the New City (light 4)

Date (all windows): 1913

Donor: Britain's gift to the Palace of Peace

Note: the winning of this competition greatly helped to establish Dr. Strachan's reputation

Kalimpong: India, North of Calcutta, near the frontier with Sikkim.
St. Andrew's Colonial Homes, now known as the Graham Homes.
The School Chapel

6 windows

(**1, 2 and 3**) In the Chancel

Subject: The Adoration. Blessing the Children. In the Carpenter's Shop

Date: 1925

Donor: former pupils of the school

(**4, 5 and 6**) In West wall, above Gallery

Subject: Ascension. "He hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows". Emmaus

Date: 1925

In memory of: Sir Duncan Carmichael

S E C T I O N N - W I N D O W S E R E C T E D , N O T N O W T O B E S E E N

Aberdeen: Cults, East. On A93, a few miles West of Aberdeen

2 windows

Subjects: unknown

Date: 1906

Donor: Davidson

Kirk destroyed by fire during World War II (but not due to enemy action), windows also destroyed

Aberdeen: King's College Library. Window missing (see page 26)

Marischal College window also missing but recently major part of window discovered in London and hoped to be acquired by University (see page 26)

London: The Guildhall

1 window, 2 light, the 'Whittington' window, destroyed in World War II when the Guildhall was damaged

Subject: the Whittington family (and King Henry V)

Date: 1931

Donor: Lord Wakefield

London: St. Columba's, Church of Scotland, Pont St., SW1

1 window. Church totally destroyed in World War II

*Large round window. Subject: St Columba in his cell. See Fig ??

London: St. Paul's Cathedral

1 window, the 'St. Dunstan' window, donated in 1932 by the Goldsmiths' Company.

Destroyed during World War II. The original design is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum

Subject: Life of St. Dunstan

London: Westminster School (College)

Information incomplete, but believed to have been War Memorial (World War I) in the Chapel. Buildings damaged in World War II, and windows destroyed. Number of windows: the whole Chapel

Montrose: Angus, on the Coast. Old Parish Kirk

1 window, 1912 (?). Subject and Donor unknown

This window was in former Melville Kirk; when it was closed and the Congregation joined with and moved to the South Kirk, the window was crated and gifted to the Old Parish Kirk.

It was hoped that it would form part of the new vestibule, but this proved impracticable.

Window now displayed in the Museum of Scotland, Chambers Street, Edinburgh

Montrose: St. Luke's and St. John's (see page 255)

Still in the kirk's vaults, but proposals for local display being considered

Wembley: The Rettie window, which was exhibited at the Wembley Stadium Exhibition in 1924, is now in the Dundee Dental Hospital. (see page 254)

Knockando: (see page 262)

S E C T I O N O - M I S C E L L A N E O U S

St. Andrews: Fife: St. Salvator's Chapel (the University Chapel)

Douglas Strachan was commissioned in 1939 to 'fill the Chapel' (8 windows), but the Commission was cancelled in 1945 (see 'The Glimmering Landscape' by the late Very Rev, Dr. Charles Warr of St, Giles). Large sketches of these windows have been given to St. Andrews University

Birsay: Orkney

In 'Churches to visit in Scotland', year 2002 edition, page 305, under St. Magnus Church, Birsay, is stated stained glass window by Douglas Strachan

*This is an Alexander Strachan window

S E C T I O N P - O T H E R E X A M P L E S O F H I S W O R K

Aberdeen: Bucksburn Episcopal Church (Northern suburb of Aberdeen)

4 panels, around the Apse. Painted on canvas

Subject: Adoration by the Magi. Transfiguration. Crucifixion. Resurrection

Date: 1900

In memory of:

Aberdeen: Music Hall (half way along Union Street (on the North side).

In main hall

6 murals. 1 in ceiling of the Apse; and 5 panels

Subject: mythical

Date: 1899

In memory of:

1994: Recently restored

*In fact there are 9 panels including the Apse. Three panels are still in the process of restoration and have not yet been returned to the Music Hall for display

Edinburgh: St. Giles Cathedral. Chapel of Youth

Hanging lamp with stained glass panels of: Saints Ninian, Giles, Andrew and Columba

Date: 1929

Donor: Dr. and Mrs Douglas Strachan

(HMS 'ANSON': a stained glass lamp, 1943, for the Chapel

Whereabouts now unknown; but possibly destroyed when ship broken up)

S E C T I O N Q -
S U P P L E M E N T A R Y
I N F O R M A T I O N

Cartoons

Aberdeen: Art Gallery, Schoolhill, Aberdeen

Designs for the Planets in the Shrine of the Scottish National War Memorial (see Russell's *Catalogue*, 2002, p251 and thesis text p149)

Note: These planets were originally part of the design for the windows in the Shrine, Executed instead in stone mullion above windows by George Salveson. They share the same date and with the exception of *Mars*, which is larger, are the same size.

Subject: Venus

Size: 1.23 x 1.53

Date: c.1924

Ref no: ABDAG003711

[Fig 86]

Subject: Moon

no: ABDAG003712

[Fig 86]

Subject: Saturn

Ref no: ABDAG003715

[Fig 86]

Subject: Sun

Ref no: ABDAG003716

[Fig 86]

Subject: Jupiter

Ref no: ABDAG003717

[Fig 86]

Subject: Mercury

Ref no: ABDAG003731

[Fig 86]

Subject: Mars

Size: 1.40 x 1.83

Date: c.1924

Ref no: ABDAG003718

Aberdeen: Art Gallery, Schoolhill, Aberdeen

Designs for the Crombie Memorial Window, St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen created in 1907

Subject: Life of St Machar and the founding of the Cathedral - detail

Ref no: ABDAG004534

Note: See Russell's *Catalogue*, 2002, p260 and thesis text p209 [Fig. 125A]

Subject: Life of St Machar and the founding of the Cathedral - detail

Ref no: ABDAG004535

[Fig. 125B]

Subject: Life of St Machar and the founding of the Cathedral - detail

Ref no: ABDAG004536

[Fig. 125C]

Subject: Life of St Machar and the founding of the Cathedral - detail

Ref no: ABDAG004537

Subject: Life of St Machar and the founding of the Cathedral - detail
Ref no: ABDAG004538

Aberdeen: Art Gallery, Schoolhill, Aberdeen

Designs for Geddes Memorial Window, King's College Chapel, Aberdeen

Subject: Adoration of the Magi - detail

Size: 5.74 x 3.05 m

Date: c.1903/4

Ref no: ABDAG004539

Note: See Russell's *Catalogue*, 2002 p259 and this thesis p96
[Fig 56A]

Subject: Adoration of the Magi - detail

Size: 5.74 x 3.05 m

Date: c.1903/4

Ref no: ABDAG004540

Subject: Adoration of the Magi - detail

Size: 5.74 x 3.05 m

Date: c.1903/4

Ref no: ABDAG004541

Subject: Adoration of the Magi - detail

Size: 5.74 x 3.05 m

Date: c.1903/4

Ref no: ABDAG004542

Subject: Adoration of the Magi - detail

Size: 5.74 x 3.05 m

Date: c.1903/4

Ref no: ABDAG004543

Angus: Lowson Memorial Kirk

Design for Te Deum window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar

Subject: Te Deum

Date: 1914

Note: Early design for the East window. See Russell's *Catalogue*, p254

Edinburgh: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland

Designs for clerestory at Holy Trinity Kirk, St Andrews

Subject: Royal Scots Fusiliers

Date for all cartoons: c.1919

Note: Annotation in Strachan's hand on cartoon. For further information on this and subsequent cartoons see thesis text p50 [Fig 28A]

Subject: No 6 Scottish Rifles

Subject: No 8 Camerons
[Fig 28B]

Subject: No 11 Gordon Highlanders

Subject: No 13 Kings Own Scottish Borderers

Subject: No 14 The Royal Scots

Subject: No 15 Royal Army, Med Corps and Red Cross

Subject: Black Watch

Subject: Royal Navy

Subject: Royal Scots Greys

Subject: Argyle and Sutherland

Subject: Seaforth Highlanders

Glasgow: Glasgow University

Design for Tree of Knowledge window, Glasgow University Chapel, Choir gallery

Subject: Alma Mater

Date: c.1933

Note: See Russell's *Catalogue*, p267

London: Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London

Designs for windows in the Great Hall of Justice, Peace Palace, The Hague

Subject: Primitive Age

Date: 1913

Ref No: E.518-520

Subject: Age of Conquest

Date: 1913

Ref No: E.518-520

Subject: Peace Achieved

Date: 1913

Ref No: E.518-520

Note: See Russell's *Catalogue*, 2002, p274 and this thesis p59 [Fig. 34A]

London: Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London

Designs for St Dunstan window, St Paul's Cathedral, London

Subject: St Dunstan

Date: 1930

Size: 22 x 10

Ref No: E697

Note: This cartoon is signed DS and dated 1930. The design was for the St Dunstan window in St Paul's Cathedral and was donated to the Museum by Elsie Isobel Strachan. See Russell's *Catalogue*, 2002, p275

Subject: St Dunstan

Date: 1931

Size: 23 x 11

Ref No: E697A

Note: This second cartoon is also signed DS but dated 1931.

London: Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London

Design for Moses window, Glasgow Cathedral

Subject: Scenes from the life of Moses

Date: 1935

Size: 28 x 16

Note: See Russell's *Catalogue*, 2002, p266

St Andrews: University of St Andrews

Designs for windows at St Salvator's Chapel, University of St Andrews, Fife

Note: These designs were not realised. See Russell's *Catalogue*, p276 and www.st-andrews.ac.uk/services/muscoll/juliette.html

All cartoons share the same date: 1939

Subject: The Elements

Subject: Teacher and Reformer

Subject: Bestower of Peace

Subject: Healer

Subject: Abraham and Isaac, Moses, Samuel anointing David

Subject: *Te Deum*

Private Collection:

Design for Jane Paton Memorial Window, St Luke's and St John's Kirk, Montrose

Subject: Gethsemane and the Tomb

Date: 1912

Note: Church no-longer in use, four panels of this window to be transferred to Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar. See Russell's *Catalogue* 2002, p270 and p255 and thesis text p6

Private Collection:

Design for Tolbooth Baptism window, St James' Episcopal Church, Stonehaven

Subject: Tolbooth Baptism

Size: 57 x 29 cm

Date: 1937

Note: See Russell's *Catalogue*, 2002, p256

Private Collection:

Design for Cruikshank Memorial Window, Marischal College, Aberdeen

Subject: The Faculties of Science

Size: 79 x 47 cm

Date: 1906

Note: This design was for the Cruikshank Memorial Window in the Library at Marischal College, Aberdeen. See Russell's *Catalogue* 2002, p259 and p257, and this thesis p106 [Fig. 63]

Private Collection:

Design for the West window at Woldingham Parish Church

Subject: The Adoration, Baptism in Jordan. Christ Blessing the Children

Date: 1936

Note: See Russell's *Catalogue*, p274

Private Collection:

Design for the East window at Winchelsea Parish Church

Subject: Christ's Crucifixion and the fulfilment of His mission on earth

Date: 1931

Note: See Russell's *Catalogue*, p274

Private Collection:

Design for single-light window, probably for domestic setting

Subject: Spring and Summer

Date: unknown

Private Collection:

Design for St Margaret window, St Margaret's Chapel, Edinburgh

Subject: St Margaret

Date: 1929

Note: See Russell's *Catalogue*, 2002, p251 and this thesis p165 [Fig. 98C]

Collaborative work

Aberdeen: St Nicholas Kirk, Union Street

Silver and enamel paten

Artists: Douglas Strachan/James Cromar Watt

Subject: Resurrected Christ

Date: c.1900

Note: Strachan provided the design for Cromar Watt to execute in enamel

Aberdeen: Art Gallery, Schoolhill, Aberdeen

Enamel plaque

Artists: Douglas Strachan/James Cromar Watt

Subject: Fidelity

Date: 1916

Note: Strachan provided the design for Cromar Watt to execute in enamel. The 'Fidelity angel' appears in the top of the right light in the *Women of Charity* window, Holy Trinity Kirk, St Andrews, Fife

Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, King's College Chapel

Electric Light shade

Artists: Douglas Strachan/James Cromar Watt

Subject: The arms of the University

Date: c.1920

Illustrations

Private Collection:

Sketches

Subject: A typical day for Douglas Strachan

Date: c.1920

Note: These four pages were humorous cartoons produced to entertain Strachan's two young daughters [Fig. 31]

Private Collection:

Family Scrapbook illustrations, portraits and political cartoons cut from newspapers

Subject: Newspaper and Other Illustrations, R. Douglas Strachan

Date: 1895 - c.1900

Note: Some cuttings from the *Manchester Chronicle* but the majority are not dated, nor are there any references to the publication in which they originally appeared.

Mosaic

St Andrews: St Salvator's Chapel, East wall

Subject: Nativity, baptism, crucifixion, resurrection and supper at Emmaus

Date: 1922

Note: Glass for mosaic sourced from Powells of London

St Andrews: St Salvator's Chapel, Altar

Subject: Last Supper

Date: 1923

Note: Glass for mosaic sourced from Powells of London

Murals/Marouflage

Aberdeen: Trades Hall, Between Lower Denburn Road and Belmont Street.

Extensive mural scheme

Subject: Ancient and Modern Labour, In Pursuit of Fame and the Way of Greatness

Date: 1898

Note: Murals no-longer extant and Trades Hall is now the Belmont Cinema. See thesis text p68 [Figs 35-42]

Aberdeen: 53 Murray Terrace

Three panels, domestic scheme

Subject: Knightly procession

Date: c.1900

Note: The three marouflage panels are not signed and supporting evidence is too insubstantial to allow positive attribution to be made.

Angus: Private Collection

Designs originally part of large marouflage panel

Note: shown at Colnaghi's Marlborough Gallery, London in 1904 and subsequently divided.

See this thesis text p103

Subject: Adoration of the Magi - detail of king

Size: 16' x 10'

Date: 1904

[Fig. 62]

Subject: Adoration of the Magi - detail of king

Size: 74 x 60

Date: 1904

[Fig. 62]

Subject: Adoration of the Magi - detail of king (on reverse of above panel)

Date: 1904

Subject: Adoration of the Magi - detail of standard

Size: 390 x 34

Date: 1904

[Fig. 62]

Peplow: Shropshire, Chapel of the Epiphany,

Large mural scheme in chancel of the Church

Subject: Adoration of the Magi (north and south walls); Adoration of the Shepherds (east wall)

Date: 1903

In memory of: Sir Francis Stanier

Note: See thesis text p100

[Figs 57-61]

Oil Paintings:

Aberdeen: Art Gallery, Schoolhill, Aberdeen

Subject: Self Portrait

Size: 1.05 x 1.22

Date: c.1900

Ref no: ABDAG000665

Aberdeen: Art Gallery, Schoolhill, Aberdeen

Subject: J. Cromar Watt, LLD

Size: 1.04 x 78

Date: c.1900

Ref no: ABDAG003723

Aberdeen: Art Gallery, Schoolhill, Aberdeen

Subject: Mrs Watt (Mother of Dr J Cromar Watt)

Date: c.1900

Ref no: ABDAG003725

Aberdeen: Art Gallery, Schoolhill, Aberdeen

Subject: James Cromar Watt, LLF

Size: 1.04 x 78
Date: c. 1909
Ref no: ABDAG003724

Aberdeen: Art Gallery, Schoolhill, Aberdeen
Subject: Mrs Strachan, also known as 'The Ivory Fan'
Date: c.1910
Ref no: ABDAG000666

Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, Marischal College Museum
Subject: Hercules and Isobella Strachan
Date: c.1900

Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen,
Subject: Professor Harrower
Date: 1914

Private Collection:
Subject: Portrait Elsie Isobel Strachan
Date: c.1900

Private Collection:
Subject: An Edinburgh Morning
Date: c.1910

Private Collection:
Subject: Elma and Una
Siize: 108 x 86 cm
Date: c.1914

Private Collection:
Subject: Venice
Size: 64 x 77cm
Date: c.1906

Private Collection:
Subject: Una Wallace
Date: c.1940

Pastels

Private Collection:
Subject; Barbara with a doll
Date: c.1910

Photographs

Aberdeen: Aberdeen Art Gallery
Subject: Hades and Eurydice [my title, none on record]
Date: 1900
Note: Aberdeen Art Gallery have no trace of the framed, signed and dated, original

Aberdeen: Art Gallery, Schoolhill, Aberdeen
Subject: Menu Card for the Pen and Pencil Club
Date: 17 October 1899
Note: Black and white photograph of the menu card. Aberdeen Art Gallery have no record of the original

Blair Atholl: Duke of Atholl's Archive

Subject: St Michael slaying Dragon

Date: c.1924

Note: Photograph of Cartoon for sculpture in the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial
See thesis text p158 [Fig. 92]

Edinburgh: College of Art, Lauriston Place, Edinburgh

Subject: Teaching Staff at Edinburgh College of Art

Date: c.1910

Edinburgh: College of Art, Lauriston Place, Edinburgh

Subject: Strachan in an interior design class

Date: c.1910

See thesis text p52 [Fig. 29]

Stained-Glass Windows

Aberdeen: Duthy Winter Gardens

Subject: Neptune and Venus

Note: A minute in the Aberdeen Art Gallery Committee Minute Book 1978 notes that these windows were originally in Beech Ballroom toilets and were then removed to the Winter Gardens.

Aberdeen: Marischal College, University of Aberdeen

Subject: Scholar at work in his study

Date: ?1904

In Memory of: John Fyffe, Professor of Moral Philosophy

Note: This window has recently been found in store by the University of Aberdeen and is currently being cleaned and restored. Further research into the provenance of this window is being undertaken

Watercolours

Aberdeen: Art Gallery, Schoolhill, Aberdeen

Subject: La Serenata

Date: 1902

Ref no: ABDAG003719

Aberdeen: Art Gallery, Schoolhill, Aberdeen

Subject: Gerona

Date: c.1904

Ref no: ABDAG003721

Aberdeen: Art Gallery, Schoolhill, Aberdeen

Subject: View from Pincia

Date: c.1904

Ref no: ABDAG003722

Lothian: Private Collection

Subject: Mountains in Ragussa

Size: 21.5x29cm

Date: c.1906

Lothian: Private Collection

Subject: Ragussa

Size: 70 x 25 cm

Date: c.1906

APPENDIX 3

Glossary

Antique glass

Handmade glass produced in the nineteenth century. It contains irregular textures in order to imitate medieval glass

Annealing

The application of 'jewels' of coloured glass to the surface of white glass by painting a thick layer of glass-paint around the pieces and firing them

Back Painting

Paint applied to the exterior surface of the glass

Came/Calme

An H-sectioned strip of lead used to hold each piece of glass in place.

Diaper

A ground covered by a pattern of a small, repeated design.

Enamels

Metallic oxide pigments combined with molten glass. Applied in solution and fired onto white glass.

Etched Glass

Progressive reduction of colour due to the application of Hydrochloric acid to specific areas of flashed glass

Ferramenta

The ironwork supporting panels of stained glass within the window opening

Flashed glass

End result of applying a coating of one colour of glass to a sheet of another colour. Often used for very dark colours such as red (ruby) glass which is generally too dark to allow light through. White glass dipped into red produces a laminated glass which enables the easy passage of light

Gold Pink glass

End result of adding gold to pink glass when its in a molten state. The gold acts as an expensive but powerful colouring agent and gives the glass a striking lustre

Grissaille

Panels of predominantly white glass painted to form geometric or foliage designs.

Lancet

Tall thin pointed window

Light

Opening between the mullions of a window

Marouflage

Procedure for fixing a painted canvas directly on to a wall by means of white lead in oil which is spread over the plaster (or panelling) and the back of the canvas.

Plating - double or triple

Two (or three) separate pieces of glass may be leaded together to create intensified colour and/or deeper three-dimensional perspective

Pot-metal

Antique glass coloured throughout during manufacture by the addition of metallic oxides to the molten state

Prior's Early English Slab Glass (Also known as Norman Slab)

Thick uneven glass made in bottle-shaped moulds, first developed in 1889 by Britten and Gilsen and named after the Arts and Crafts architect E. S. Prior

Quarry

A diamond or square pane of glass; generally used to provide a plain backdrop to the main subject of the window

Stippling

Method of painting whereby paint is applied to the glass with a hard-bristled brush to create a soft effect

Tracery lights

The small shaped openings at the top of a window

Yellow-stain/Silver stain

A pigment made from oxide of silver. When fired on to glass it turns yellow.

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Crawford Priory: GD142/1/98; GD142/10/96-97x; GD142/1-/60-63x;
Alexander Strachan SC70/1/1298, SC70/1/1299, SC70/4/1061;
Douglas Strachan SC70/4/972, SC70/1/1234, SC70/5/211;
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Iona Abbey;
Lorimer Papers;
Scottish National War Memorial;
St Margaret's Chapel

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Scottish Gallery of Modern Art,

Willie Wilson Archive: GMA2537/8; GMA 2528; GMA 2531; GMA2532a/b/c

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A Lecture on Design and Craft
by Douglas Strachan, Head of Section of
Crafts at the Edinburgh College of Art
*(delivered on the occasion of the Opening of the Craft
Workshops of Edinburgh College of Art, on Wednesday,
2nd March 1910)*



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Design and Craft.

I AM conscious that the title of this lecture is of the vaguest ; it might serve with equal fitness for a score of lectures, each dealing with an aspect or section of the subject distinct from the others. Yet, when called upon some weeks ago to state the title, I found it impossible, even after considerable thought, to be more precise without becoming wordy. Had I braved that danger, there was still another beyond ; for had I stated that I wished to speak of the "Spiritual aspect of Design"—using Spirit in the sense of Vital Force, Mental Disposition, Intellect—my title must have appeared not merely wordy, but pedantic. Yet these words indicate the use I intend to make of the opportunity offered this evening, for although it is to us here the subject of greatest import, that to which all others minister, it is one that cannot very well be dealt with at any length in the daily work of the College. I do not intend to deal in an intimate or particular sense with design in relation to this or the other craft. The time at my disposal renders that impossible ; and in any case, questions of technique belong to, or rather constitute, the class-work of the schools, where only they can have real significance. Nor do I propose to offer here any rules or working hints regarding material, composition, colour, and so on. I may do so indirectly ; but my object, if I can achieve it, is *to define the decorative standpoint* as clearly as possible ; to distinguish the Decorative from the Pictorial, by endeavouring to disperse a haziness that undoubtedly exists regarding their separate functions in the Scheme of Things. There can be little doubt that the bulk of bad design is the direct outcome of ignorance of this fundamental distinction. The lack of conviction and the air of purposeless experiment that hang about so much craft-work of our time, reveal unwittingly a pathetic confession that it knows not whence it came, whither it goeth, or, for that matter, why it came at all. I want, then, to

define for you, Students, what I believe should be the mental attitude of the decorator, the creative source and ideal from which his schemes spring. Sundry questions put to me by some of you during the past months have recalled similar difficulties that confronted myself at an earlier stage. It is extremely difficult to answer these questions adequately in the course of daily work, unless one can assume in the student knowledge on other phases of the subject; on points that in reality may simply represent so many more difficulties and mysteries to him; otherwise it becomes almost necessary to cover the whole ground. As these questions all arise from a vague apprehension of the decorative purpose, I have taken this opportunity to throw my answers into the form of a connected argument, believing that if I can convey, and you accept, my definition of that purpose, it will prove helpful to you and to me in our future work here. A certain degree of personal preference must necessarily find its way into the view I submit to you, but I shall endeavour to avoid this error.

A lecture on the "Mental or Creative Aim" would have struck a Mediæval Craftsman as a preposterously unnecessary sort of effort; for the Tradition of the Craft he practised daily was in itself a complete expression of that aim; but to-day we find ourselves less happily placed. I will return to this later. Meanwhile I shall endeavour to indicate the position of the Crafts at the present time; and, as a preliminary, a word about the confusion of the terms Art and Craft may not be out of place, as this confusion is undoubtedly one evidence of the misunderstanding that exists regarding the relation between them, and as such is of importance.

Craft, unfortunately, can exist apart from Art; but Art cannot exist apart from Craft. There is a craft of picture-painting, of sculpture, and of architecture, of course, just as there is a craft of metal-working, woodcarving, and so on. Craft can exist apart from Art; for houses, chairs, tables, carpets, china, dress, and even statues, jewellery, and pictures, man *must* have, Art or no Art. These represent a need, whether of use or display, that assures their constant

demand, apart from any consideration of artistic expression. Crafts are practised in every furniture factory, painter's shop, and builder's yard; but in the majority of cases it is Craft without Art: in other words, their practice is a commercial undertaking, carried on by an investor (who may or may not be a craftsman himself) plus so many "hands," as they are called.

I need not trace the gradual decay and disappearance of artistry from the Crafts; although the contrast between the figure of the Mediæval Craftsman (and he was an important citizen in his day) and that of our "Hand" offers an interesting if somewhat depressing study. Suffice it to say that the Crafts did decay, and machinery gave a final blow by removing the last trace of personal expression and by setting up a false standard of excellence—mechanical finish. Here and there, good work has been forced into existence by the union of architect and skillful workman; but invention in the producer either came to an end or sought other outlet, and a constantly increasing interest in the pictorial view led more and more to the tendency to judge of the degree of all artistic achievement by its approach to the standard set up by Pictorial Art.

The existence of Craft without Art in clumsy furniture, vulgar metal-work, hideous stained glass, wallpapers and carpets, is accountable for, and, it must be admitted, justifies or at least excuses the habit into which we have fallen of classifying the Crafts in order of importance, beginning with Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, then following at a lower level with works in metal, enamel, glass, wood, &c. Now, I am as jealous as any of you for the pre-eminence of Painting—in its own domain; but what I wish you fully to realise before we proceed is, first, that *Design is the expression of Thought*; and that to give his thought material expression the artist has at his command tubes of paint, plaster, a block of marble, a log of wood, jewels, a sheet of silver or gold, or slabs of shimmering glass. Through each of these at some period the artist has arrived at consummate expression; has produced a masterpiece of art—and beyond that there is nothing.

In placing all mediums on the same level, I do not of course mean to imply that all craft manipulation calls for the same intellectual capacity, but I do protest against the undeniable existence of a false standard of values ; a standard that seems to determine off-hand the relative importance of this or that form of expression, on the basis of the importance or lowliness of the uses to which the object is to be put. 'Tis a sort of snobbish confusion that brings its own punishment — blindness to artistic opportunity. Michael Angelo once designed a little buckle. 'Twas that same Michael Angelo who painted the Sistine Chapel and sculptured the Medici Tombs. Door-knockers there are, greater works of art than many colossal statues one could name ; and to find in painting an artistic mastery equivalent to that displayed in, say, the glass of Chartres, the Pala d'Oro in St Mark's, or the mosaics at Ravenna, one must go to Tintoretto, Velasquez, and Rembrandt. Greatness lies not in the medium chosen, but in the level of achievement ; and it is only when art becomes detached from daily life and use—becomes too precious (in one sense of that word)—that we lose sight of that standard of judgment.

It is as futile to attempt to classify the Crafts (or the Arts, whichever you care to call them) in order of importance, as it would be to speculate on the relative importance of the heart, brain, and lungs. All are necessary ; each has its own special function. In Art each Craft aims at the expression of a different range of emotions or feelings—these being determined by the nature of the medium, be it flexible or rigid. This brings us to the distinction between the Pictorial and the Decorative ; but first let me say a word about the modern renaissance of artistry in the Crafts.

This modern development labours under a difficulty, which I think arises from the interest and enthusiasm awakened by itself ; for craft artistry is now made too much of by one portion of the community, while it is under-rated by the other ; it is thus forced into a kind of detachment from daily life that engenders an aggressive form of self-consciousness—an attitude of mind in which

the conscious crusade against ugliness is apt to bulk too largely. The time has passed when the painter and the sculptor were regarded with special and peculiar veneration as the sole representatives of Art; but there is now danger of going too far in the opposite direction, for there is not lacking a large section of the community—composed of men and women of extensive culture and artistic perception—who declare that paint motives are exhausted or have become too materialistic, while the imaginative possibilities of metal, enamel, ivory, &c., are unlimited, and of a higher order, in their decorative approach to the abstract, than those attainable by the pictorial art. This view is simply the opposite extreme, and is in some ways as potent for harm as is neglect. There is truth in it, in so far as it apprehends the higher possibilities of the Crafts; but the statement is not the whole truth because it does not apprehend the higher possibilities of painting. It can only be accepted as the "exaggeration of emphasis." On the other hand, there are still those who count it derogatory to the dignity of a painter or a sculptor to practice one of the crafts: (I confess that when I was a painting student in my teens I was one of them). Apart from student-painters, they are usually people who judge from some standard other than that of Art or Beauty. If they happen to be your personal friends, they do not hesitate to tell you that it is altogether incomprehensible to them that you should continue to pain them, and stultify yourself, by engaging in craft pursuits that are, they say, manifestly lower in order of importance than others that might be followed.

Again, I have repeatedly heard the same mistake expressed in another form by people who, in speaking with kindly concern of some indifferent and unsuccessful young painter, have said—"If he would only turn his attention to the crafts instead of struggling at painting, of which he will make nothing, etc., etc.: success would be his in place of failure": then follow remarks about silly vanity and the admission that the change would doubtless wound his self-esteem, winding up with "but what are you to do; someone ought to tell

him." Now one can easily understand a young artist being unsuccessful as a painter simply because of his capacity for decoration; the kind of thoughts that grow in his brain may be unsuited to the conditions of the easel picture. But picture to yourself a painter's facial expression if he were to hear me speaking to a metal worker, and saying to him, not because he had exhibited any faculty for painting, but solely on account of the fact that he had failed to make anything of metal—"My dear fellow, you'll never do any good at your craft. Be a man; put your pride in your pocket, and go in for painting." Yet the training of the metal-worker fits him for painting just as much as the painter's does for metal, and that is, not at all. A man may be both painter and metal worker—such exist—but that is because he possesses the capacity for both. No; craftsmen are not manufactured out of painter-failures, and the capacity for creative design is not a potentiality that can be acquired. But don't misunderstand me. While a man cannot add the decorative sense to his artistic stature merely by taking thought, any more than he could that of painting or music, yet if he possesses the desire to design he is pretty certain to possess some latent faculty that can be developed by training and guidance.

That the true full meaning of the word Artist is now in a fair way to be understood, is chiefly due to the splendid work of a group of architects, sculptors, and painters; who, possessing the decorative or craft instinct, perceived the artistic possibilities of metal, enamel, wood, plaster, glass, etc., and with absorbing love for the chosen medium, devoted the whole or a portion of their time to work therein. Architects have played a large part in this movement; and quite naturally, for the architectonic quality is at the base of all good decoration. So much is this so, that instead of accepting the well-known definition of Architecture—that is Building—as the Mother of the Arts, I feel that in a sense it would be truer to say that she is the Sum of all the Arts, of which Building is one. For who shall determine the precise cause of the emotion that seizes one on entering Westminster, St Marks, or any other mighty architectural creation.

The whole is Architecture ; but it is the result of the united efforts of mason, image maker, smith, mosaic worker, wood carver, painter, and glass worker, to express one mighty aspiration—the perfect expression for their age of its conception of beauty. As a result of the beauty that these men have revealed to us in our own day, we now apprehend that what is lacking in the Crafts is not possibilities, but Artistry.

What is the nature of this Craft Artistry? From what does it spring? What is its aim? I think I have already said that the nature of the material and the purpose of the object determines that. One can easily perceive that as no medium can be so liquid, free, and pliable as paint, so none can rival it in the expression of the thing seen. That degree of realism which is necessary to an adequate expression of vivid human emotion, or its equivalent in the moods of nature, is pre-eminently the domain of painting. Further, the condition of purpose or use, one of the limitations I named, plays no part here ; as from the point of view of mere utility, a picture has no use or purpose beyond its existence within its frame. Unless painted for a special position, its composition is in no way affected or influenced by any consideration outside the limits of its frame. In fact one's impulse with a lovely picture is either to give it a whole unbroken expanse of wall for background, or to shut off surrounding objects from one's vision while looking at it—exactly the reverse of the desire aroused by the decorative. In speaking of the Decorative Art we will suppose that we are dealing with some scheme, whether it be a vast cathedral or the hall of a house, where the various crafts are united in one work. To carry out adequately such a work is the supreme test, the supreme achievement ; and being the greater it includes all the characteristics that should govern even the detached decorative object. The decorative spirit then, aims not at this vividly personal view of nature's mood, but at intellectualising these emotions, turning them to structural use, charging some object of daily use with a beauty that is almost the abstract spirit of these emotions, using motive and method that run in harmony with that use. Paint

may do this too, of course; but in proportion as it approaches the decorative aim, it is compelled to sacrifice the special characteristics that constitute the generally accepted view of the Pictorial Art.

What then is this decorative or craft expression as distinct from the pictorial? What are the reasons for desiring a decorative treatment, while admitting that the natural object is exquisitely beautiful as it stands; and how does it stand in relation to nature? The whole might be answered in one word, "Pattern"—the delight in pattern as a creation distinct from nature, although woven round the hint given by her; but that word requires more explanation than might at first appear necessary. Inventive pattern is the governing force in all the arts, in poetry as in music. A somewhat crude illustration of my meaning might be given thus. We have all realised at some time or other the thrilling effect of descriptive music; the terror or demoniacal joy of storm, as expressed in the "Overture to the Flying Dutchman." Compare then this kind of delight with that derived from a Bach fugue. The difference is in pattern. In the former there is no pattern, properly speaking. There is arrangement—of the most marvellous genius; but the purpose of this arrangement is to create in your mind intense realisation of storm, and to carry you forward into it until you have lost consciousness of everything save the raging night sea and the uncanny figure that looms against it, until these become the only realities in your world for the time being. Whereas the fugue is all joy of measure, balance, rhythm; the extraordinary perfection of pattern, woven with such consummate skill and completeness that it almost seems as if the removal of one note would destroy it. To say, however, that pattern is a skilfully woven scheme of masses and detail in form, colour, words, or tones, while it states the whole case, explains nothing. My own experience has led me to the belief that this love of pattern is deep rooted in every mind. Many do not know it, that is, they cannot define the reason for the preferences to which it directs them; and indeed this is hardly to be wondered at, when men who are daily engaged in its practice find it almost impossible to do so. The

savage felt it, and scratched patterns of amazing ingenuity on his rude implements; and the highest civilisations in the world's history have delighted in it, and bedecked their daily life with decorative forms in endless variety. The motives, the hints underlying all this were derived from nature; yet the quality that delights us is not traceable to nature. You all know the joy stirred by the Parthenon frieze; yet that joy does not arise from any nature-interest in the figures and horses that constitute its subject matter. The same feeling of joy is also stirred by a fine Persian rug, by the bronzes and enamels of China, by her decorative works in jade, rock-crystal, and lacquer; yet the appeal is not that of nature, history, mythology, literature, or of anything that we can give a name to, save pattern. It is not even traceable to the technical devices and cunning that we may discover in these works; as when you find, say, that the rhythmic sense of movement in the horses of the Parthenon frieze is produced partly by depicting each horse in a different stage in the progression of the prancing movement. Anyone could have practised that device; the mystery of the pattern, the perfect balance of the whole surface still remains, is in fact enhanced; for this device simply represented another difficulty to be overcome. I mean the notion had to be woven into the whole texture, so that it did not jump or detach itself from the general scheme.

I need scarcely instance Architecture. From the awe-inspiring solemnity of Karnak onwards, it has ever been the supreme expression of this rhythmic balance welded to the subject; expressing both the spirit of the builder, and the purpose for which the building was created. I particularly refrain from giving Romanesque or Gothic examples; because to begin doing so, dealing with them from a Craft point of view, would be to continue therein until the exhaustion of your patience—which means, I suppose, that this is one of the personal preferences that I determined to avoid. Yet, wherein lies the extraordinary charm of these sculptured cathedral doorways, with their figures that are more a series of mouldings than a semblance of life? And indeed that is just what the sculptor intended

that they should be. He knew that this noble span must be kept tense and severe; that it must be encircled in bands of exquisite mouldings; enriched, crusted at certain points, to add emphasis to its broad stability. It was a doorway that he was creating; not a sculptured portrait gallery, as it became in decadence. Hence his draperies become a group of mouldings—and such mouldings! what character and tenseness! The heads of his figures are a series of bosses, occurring at regular intervals as enrichments; the shadow from the horizontal line of the little canopy adds force to that enrichment; while the canopy forms a little belt of richness binding this group of mouldings together. Stand back far enough to render impossible your interest in the beautiful detail, and you come nearer a solution of its success as pattern; for you will see the whole simplified to the point where, it may be permitted to suppose, it first appeared in the sculptor's mind—a surface distribution of textures and planes, enrichments and spaces, spots of light, patches of shadow and encrusted perforation. He knew to the full that the space left is of equal importance with the space enclosed, a point we are too apt to forget. Upon this first plan or pattern of texture depends entirely the success of a completed work; no amount of detail can hide its absence if it is wanting. On that account, I personally think it is a good plan to commence a design at this point, indicating not merely the general distribution of spaces and the relative position of enrichments, but the kind of surface texture that these enrichments are likely to present at a distance. Later, you weave your detail *into* that texture, and the characterisation of your masses into that bulk—this first sketch or idea, however, being no hazy haphazard grouping of spots, but the most perfect expression of fitness that you can invent from your knowledge of the objects, uses, and conditions. This Gothic doorway is such an expression; its converging sides, with the tense upward swing of its lines and the span of its arch, are full of the expression of entry to a sanctuary; while taken from the reverse position, its lines are equally expressive. The strenuous lines of its draped figures

convey an almost uncanny sense of brooding stillness, which the flapping realism of later draperies entirely destroys. It is, therefore, a perfect expression of fitness, that is, a decorative triumph. Much of this harmonious perfection is due to the fact that it was hewn on the spot, in the daily presence of doorway, mouldings, towering walls, and buttresses. One haze of stone-dust enveloped the whole; when action ceased the cloud thinned, and the completed product emerged as if it were the work of one man. And so it was, for it was the product of one Traditional Ideal.

One of the justest criticisms put forward regarding the scheme to foster and direct the modern revival of the Crafts in Art Colleges, is, that such a process is artificial—unreal. These critics point to the various great periods of Artistic life, to the periods which produced the works that are now the School of the World, and remind us of the regular system of training and discipline in the Craft Guilds; of Art Tradition and Method handed down from master to pupil, each adding his personal discoveries to the common stock of that Tradition; and they argue that since success in the Crafts has always been so conditioned in the past, it cannot be achieved otherwise in the future. (By the same rule, painters and sculptors ought to be trained in the bottega). They have splendid material to support their argument, but what of that?

The conditions existing at the present day never existed before. We stand in a very welter of knowledge of all the styles evolved by the races of mankind; but tradition is broken, and, as I have already said, mechanical devices and labour-saving machines have completed the destruction of the personal element, in the vast majority of factories and workshops. As things go, there is no evidence whatever of a revival coming from these workshops. Thoroughly good work is produced by a few, but in the main the only evidence of movement of any sort is the appearance of that abomination known as the "New Art." The recent revival of interest in the Crafts created a consciousness in the mind of the public that the Trade product was no longer adequate. The trades-

man, recognising this, affects to become artistic and modern, cribs in his wares the most obvious characteristics of Art Periodical reproductions, their weak eccentricities and stupid lawlessness; till at length this vile growth wriggles and worms all over the land. Again, the machine, to justify its existence, must continue to produce a series of monotonous repetitions, until the man who designs for it feels that the public must be so tired of his latest pattern that he must invent something as different from it as possible; and thus is created a morbid thirst for originality unknown to the spirit of Tradition. In a recent article on the influence of tools upon Design, the writer says—"This great divergence and variety of types and species, and this monotonous similarity of the individual examples of each species, are alike unnatural, alike bear witness to the absence among us of any living and natural tradition. When there is such a living tradition you have neither this wide divergence of types, nor the exact similarity of individual samples. There will be a class of tables, for instance, of a given period which are like leaves of the same tree, all nearly but no two exactly alike; another class of tables, or a class of chairs, like leaves of another tree of the same climate, and so on; and the types of one period grow out of the types of the previous period, just as the natural species of one geological era grow out of those of the era preceding that, and almost as slowly." The tools, which for purposes of economy and commercial rivalry, workmen are now compelled to use, have rendered it much more difficult to arrive at artistic results. Things more beautiful than we seem able to produce, were made with tools simpler than ours. Mechanical contrivances not only tend to eliminate the human element, but they also limit the workman's practice and lessen his dexterity; and they further tend to hinder the free play of artistry, by setting up an ideal of mechanical finish in the workman's mind. Elaborate tools and machinery have in many cases captured the market of the artistic producer, who cannot afford to buy such expensive tools. I am not accusing employers of having consciously sacrificed

artistry to gain, by the introduction of machinery. I imagine that circumstances rendered the possession of such machinery absolutely imperative, if their businesses were to continue to exist; and we must accept the use of machinery as another condition, another difficulty, to be solved in Design. Nevertheless the fact remains that to a large extent artistry has escaped from the Crafts; and I cannot see how, under the existing commercial conditions, it is to be won back again save under the discipline and stimulus of a School of Crafts. Here and there a man employing apprentices may be found, who either is an artist or possesses some degree of artistic feeling and ability; but only here and there, and your apprentice is everywhere. I do not admit that there is anything artificial in this method of Craft School instruction. The artificiality is in fact a sentimental idea, and not a reality. I confess that it is a sentiment with which I have full sympathy; and I assure you that the plan we intend to follow in the teaching of this section, will have for its object the realisation of that unity and reality which provides such stimulus to all work. I need not detail the scheme here, but I may say that each class in the section is to be under the charge of a craftsman skilled in all the possibilities of his medium, and if any one of you *does* succeed in arriving at the "New Art," it will be over our dead bodies, so to speak. At all events, Craft-Schools represent to me the most vital hope, otherwise I would not be addressing you this evening. I said that tradition is broken. I did not say, and certainly do not think, that a modern tradition is impossible; on the contrary, I think that one has been slowly forming itself for some years. The man who breaks with tradition breaks with the stream of life; but in order that the thread may be picked up and the spinning continued, it is necessary that we should do more than go back to the traditional mode of a past age. It is true that the craftsman must be thoroughly conversant with what has been done in the past, if he is to develop sanely. But the sense of pattern is no mere application of a given method; its being is in constant invention; and it is racial

expression, as the study of history demonstrates. Nor is it the mere adaptation of a nature motive to a given object or space. Nature, however, is the never ending source from which each age derives its motives, if it is to add anything to the sum of Creative Design. Design, like all art, is the expression or manifestation of thought; and thought is the outcome of observation, craft-technique being the language used to give it expression. Observation, in the experience of the individual, becomes in time an unconscious action of the mind; but like every other faculty it has to be trained. Nature is perhaps not quite the right word; for no man would dream of laying it down as a rule that his observation is to be restricted to figures, animals, mountains, rocks, trees, flowers, water, and sky. Anything may be productive of suggestion to the seeing eye—a chance grouping of man's products, with its hint of possible pattern in form or colour, may arrest, as readily as a natural object. It is unnecessary to say that this faculty of seizing a suggestion for pattern cannot be too sedulously cultivated; but it may be worth while reminding you that it comes from no mere surface observation. Take for instance the simplest form of its exercise, the study of some flower which it is desired to use decoratively. The drawing or drawings that you may make will not be so many pictures, so many atmospheric renderings of the flower, but a series of working drawings—the inevitable result of a mental process of endeavour to stock your mind with all the flower's characteristics, and the possible pattern suggestions which you have observed. I might put it in another way, by saying that the ideal decorator's equipment would include a vast exhaustive knowledge of the ways and characteristics of every kind of object, from which store he would draw at will whatever he needed to clothe his pattern-thought. The human decorator cannot possess such complete knowledge, and fortunately so, for otherwise he would miss all the chance combinations that constitute the most fruitful of all sources of suggestion. So when the necessity arises for acquiring thorough knowledge of some flower or object which he only knows super-

ficially, he makes his drawings in the process of making good this deficiency. Consequently his drawing differs entirely in character from that of the flower painter. With the knowledge thus gained, plus that of the characteristics and possibilities of his medium, he proceeds to weave his phantasy, guided and controlled unconsciously by his link through memory with Tradition.

Successful pattern, like successful verse, gives a sense of final expression. But the process of weaving pattern is preceded by the selection of the essential note in the nature motive, the rightness of the quality selected being the measure of the artist's capacity. We are, however, discussing this apart from two considerations that in reality play the chief part in Craft; these are, first, the nature of the object to be made—its use as an object; and, second, the conditions inherent in the material. These you may term "limitations" if you choose, but they are in reality an endless source of inventive suggestion. One evidence of the self-consciousness inseparable, I suppose, from any revival, is the formulation of a series of hard and fast rules as to these limitations, rules derived from the study of old work. Do not be too ready to throw these aside, for there is truth, in some degree, behind them; but neither should you allow them to govern you absolutely. It is as well to remember that, not only decay, but development also, creates an extension of the accepted code of the time. But obey the code of rules with a mind open to fresh light, knowing that the last word can never be said. Careful observation of your medium will in time reveal its possibilities; and, if you have invention, you may discover possibilities that are not included in the accepted rules. The test is simple. If the proposed development serves to bring out still further the essential characteristics of the material, it is a gain; if it merely tends to force imitation of effects that are characteristic of another medium, have nothing to do with it.

I have condemned the "pictorial" in decoration, but it is equally necessary to say "Avoid the affectation of archaism." Any condition that necessitates your going back on our own period (as we term it),

that forces upon you a pretended ignorance of facts that we are perfectly well aware of, is insincere; no true growth ever sprang from that soil. For instance, the truth that wall decoration must be flat, has been used to justify all sorts of abuses. The first law of decoration is that it shall be in perfect harmony with the character or uses of the object decorated; that it shall serve to emphasise these. In wall decoration, this means that the decorated surface shall convey a sense of flatness; an entire absence of irregularity, of sudden changes of tone or colour. But this rule has been seized upon by the prosaic, literal, uninventive mind as one easily conformed to: and has been used to justify work having nothing but its flatness to offer. The charlatan shields himself behind it; and in attacking him, you must appear to combat a great truth, whereas it is his perversion of it that you seek to condemn. In wall decoration, Chavannes has demonstrated that it is not necessary to give the lie to our own time and its knowledge. The walls he has decorated really appear flatter than unbroken expanses of plaster. Yet his figures have solidity, his distance the charm of distance. This result is achieved partly by the extraordinarily limited range of his tone scheme, and partly by his landscape and figure motives having been composed in a series of planes, each complete, flat, and unbroken. Pattern is at the root of his success; pattern of a complexity that achieves the greatest simplicity. It is possible to find flaws even in the greatest works; and appreciation of them, more particularly when they are of our own time, is to some extent a question of personal temperament. I understand, for instance, that it is possible to dislike Chavannes' colour; for a very distinguished painter once said to me, "I can't imagine what you fellows see in that man's work. For one thing, he has no sense of colour." I could not have been more utterly at sea, as to this critic's point of view, had he made the same remark about a Whistler nocturne.

Study reproductions of Chavannes' mural decorations, if you cannot see the originals. You will find them a liberal education in Pattern as applied to wall-surface. You will find that every portion

of his scheme is necessary; it is designed like a shield; that is to say, with a like tense economy and significance of form, and with a similarly simple purity and completeness; no patch but has its decorative bearing on the whole. His colour is of the most exquisite powderiness—as light as air; his drawing—that is, the outlines of his masses—is heroic in its loftiness; and I have no hesitation in saying that he has laid the basis of a modern tradition in mural painting; for while it conforms to all the great laws derived from study of the past, yet it speaks a new language. It is essentially modern.

In the other two colour mediums—mosaic and stained glass—the conditions are much more rigorous. There seems to me to be a curious law of compensation in decorative art, that apports an increasing loftiness of expression as the medium becomes less pliable, less capable of expressing the more delicate or subtle thoughts; so that a granite tower, or an iron grille, such as those superb rejas in Spanish cathedrals, conveys a sense of lofty distinction that, to my mind, no joyous colour-medium ever reaches. Yet this law applies to the colour-mediums too; for glass, and still more mosaic, seem to excel paint in this quality, in proportion as they lose others that paint achieves. Whether this strikes others in the same way or not, it is certain that the conditions in glass are more rigorous than those that obtain in paint, and the kind of pattern that succeeds on the wall would fail in the window—another evidence that successful design is derived from the material, and not imposed upon it.

Leading in stained-glass is at once a very marked limitation and an immense artistic possibility. Too often it is but a chance network of more or less troublesome lines—and then the glassworker has thrown away one of his greatest opportunities for pattern-weaving. In glass there is a great temptation to fall into archaic modes of expression. Possibly the fact that the break with the great period has been more complete—and the fall greater—than in the case of the other crafts, and the re-awakening to the jewel-like splendour of

old glass correspondingly more dramatic, may have something to do with this tendency. Be that as it may, glass possesses artistic possibilities that are yet undeveloped; possibilities, therefore, that must lead it beyond the laws deduced from the study of old work; that is, to a *different* expression. I am thinking more particularly of colour-expression. Joyous colour-schemes of reds and blues will continue to give joy as in the past; but there are jewel-like colour-qualities other than those to be obtained from the primaries,—haunting illusive themes that have in them something akin to the mental and spiritual temper of our time.

While there is this tendency in one school of glass designers to archaism; in another to an affectation of the childlike, which, to my mind, is a blemish in some of the best modern glass, one is still asked at times why a pictorial treatment in glass is condemned so roundly. If it can be done, why not do it? The answer is, because each medium has some phase of expression for which it is pre-eminently fitted; and since a jewel-like shimmer is essentially the quality that glass of all mediums is most capable of realising, it is folly for the glassworker to spend his time forcing jewels to produce an imitation of the performances of paint. This is the old blunder arising out of the pictorial obsession that holds the public mind, leading it to judge all artistic expression by a popular standard of pictorial excellence. Painters suffer from the application of this standard almost as much as the followers of the other crafts; for it is the most blatantly "real" pictures of scenes or sensational stories that call for roped enclosures, in exhibitions of modern painting, not the works of true artistry that express some delicate or lofty thought through lovely disposition of tones, subtle interpretation of light and atmosphere, and exquisite handling of the pigment. These qualities are classed under the one brave term "Mere Technique," by those who enthuse over the soulful story-illustration. But there is evidence of improvement in this matter also; and the growing interest in the other crafts is, I think, not without its influence, by reason of its more immediate appeal for appreciation of Technique; that is, by its insist-

ence upon the fact that Technique is a mode of expression, not a mere working device.

A word to the Art Student as distinct from the Apprentice Craftsman. I have already mentioned one objection offered to Craft-School teaching; another is, that the teaching of crafts to Art Students only tends to increase the army of Amateurs. It is undeniable that this danger exists. But does it necessarily do so? The Amateur-Professional will still be with us, whether there are Craft-Schools or not. I should not think that the mere existence of such Schools would tempt people to take up a Craft in place of another line of study for which they were better fitted, simply because a Craft-School opened its door.

In the earlier stages of the Revival there was of necessity a period of half-informed understanding, coupled with its inevitable expression in affected work. There are three factors in the problem—Student, Teacher, and Board of Management. In cases where the latter have advocated a speedy forward rush to a public display, the amateur has, of course, been produced in shoals, because to effect the desired result the teaching has had to be reduced to the exposition of a little group of tricks and mannerisms. But true growth must necessarily be slow; and sound teaching consists not in imposing formulas upon the student, but in endeavouring to discover the personal characteristics of each student, and to guide these, be they slight or powerful, along sane lines to their full expression.

There is another criticism that you will meet with, in conjunction with the foregoing; viz., the impossibility of doing any good unless you have spent ten or fifteen years in a workshop. Now, I am far from decrying the advantages of apprenticeship; they are immense. But as a deterrent, this argument is not only unfair but false. Whether or not a man has profited by ten or twenty years' workshop experience, entirely depends on the type of man. That period may have sufficed to reveal to the craftsman all the possibilities and moods of his particular medium; or it may simply have served to confirm trade-prejudices antagonistic to artistry;—to have reared

up high walls on either side of his narrow groove. More often than not, he who uses the fact of his formal apprenticeship to urge his superiority, does so from some consciousness of artistic inferiority; as when an elder, failing intellectually in argument with a junior, at last beats him to earth by sheer weight of years—by a tale of the length of time that he has lived. There is some truth in both contentions. It certainly takes a man ten years to master his craft; nay, if he has genius it takes him all his life, and death at eighty interrupts him in the midst of his apprenticeship; but the incontestable fact remains, that young men and women do appear in the crafts who seem to have skipped the period of drudgery deemed necessary; who seem to have been born equipped with a peculiar instinct for the possibilities of a medium that they themselves would find it hard to explain. Reasonable men admit that in most cases artistic impetus in the crafts has come from without. Life is full of instances that go to show that the craft mystery, the professional secret, is largely a bogey—a myth created as a weapon of defence. But this does not mean that the student can with any degree of safety sit blowing smoke-wreaths, on the comfortable assurance that to-morrow morning, or next week, he will awake to find himself in mysterious possession of such enviable faculties. These things only happen to the workers, and not always to them. Nor does it mean that mastery comes with instinct; but it does mean that the essential thing is not always the outcome of training, although it requires training or rather guidance.

Someone makes objection: This may be true, yet it leaves my case exactly where it was. Like many others similarly placed, I have to earn my livelihood; and having adopted Design as my calling, have come here to further my studies to that end; but, unlike the decorator whom you have been describing, I shall have clients to deal with, and I have sense enough to perceive that I have not been gifted to a degree that would warrant the hope that I shall ever be able to impose my views upon them. The only limitations that appear to exist in your craftsman's problem are those imposed by his medium.

My case is much more complicated. I shall be called upon to design furniture, plaster-work, metal-work, or embroideries (as the case may be) in the style of this period or that. Clients order it so, and their demands must be met.

I appreciate the difficulty. I grant that these circumstances impose an additional limitation; but, even so, invention is still possible. You will recollect that I said the designer—the pattern weaver—must constantly exercise the most searching personal observation. I also said that pattern is a quality distinct from natural form, like style in writing. The most valuable suggestions come from nature; yet a designer whose mind is constantly on the alert for suggestions from outside may play upon a past style, and while conforming to its characteristics inform it with his own personality. Success will, as I have indicated, depend upon two things—the thoroughness of the craftsman's knowledge and understanding of the period—in conjunction with the inventive faculty, developed in him as a result of personal observation.

I always find it somewhat difficult to realise that Spencer and Shakespeare were contemporaries. To my ear it almost sounds as if Spencer had lived and written the "Faery Queen" a century before Shakespeare. Shakespeare, the intensely modern man, strained forward to new forms of plan and expression; while Spencer in the "Faery Queen" deliberately chose to imitate the methods and manner of a work written about a century earlier. Yet never was a more gorgeous and fantastic pattern woven by the magic of the poet's art than that of the "Faery Queen." It is built upon old forms, but Spencer's imagination soared above these. He made abundant use of the accepted conventions—the conventional forest, and the current methods of allegory and personification, but he touched them all with a magic that gives them new meaning and new vitality.

There are still other students to whom the best advice would be:—Master the technical practice of one craft, in order that you may qualify as good assistants. Your study of design will help you to interpret intelligently; and the capable assistant is in better case

than the half-successful originator. In fact, the mastery of one craft is an attainment I would prescribe for every student; for it gives reality, and justifies his existence by making him a useful citizen, whether he achieve higher performance later, or not. Inform yourself, as far as your strength and capacity will carry you, in any or all of the crafts, if you wish. Real knowledge is never wasted; but be advised to concentrate your work on one medium. The amateur who bungles in half-a-dozen crafts is worse than contemptible; he floods the land with his invertebrate productions, bringing discredit not only on himself but on all attempts at craft development. The scolder says—"That's what comes of teaching crafts in Schools." Believe me, having to earn your livelihood by your craft, far from being a hindrance, is a thing to be desired. For thus is reality conveyed to everything you touch. The sordid grind is a misfortune, for it never benefitted an artist yet. The man of strong character may come through that inferno stronger; but it is apt even with him to give a kink to his nature that cannot be helpful to his work. Therefore master the manipulation of your craft and thereby secure escape from the tragic circle of the Amateur.

Finally, let me remind you that there is a code of moral laws in Design, one item of which is this: That the true workman shall not allow any piece of work to leave his hands until he has satisfied himself that it is the best he can do. This is only *common* honesty. And where there is a code of morality there is an ideal, a faith. We are told that our glorious cathedrals were works of the Ages of Faith, and that our failure to rival the mighty deeds of our Fathers is traceable to our weakened faith. I think rather that their faith was unquestioning belief in the worthiness of their labours, and in the mission of beauty, not as a sensuous luxury, but as a spiritual force. And on this rock alone can a Modern Tradition be founded.

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Royal Scots Fusiliers, was killed on 30 January, as the result of a bombing accident while he was on active service. After being educated at Robert Gordon's College and attending the classes at the Agricultural College, he received an appointment—first, on a rubber plantation in Ceylon, and, later, on a plantation in the Malay States. He returned to this country two years ago and enlisted in the Gordon Highlanders. After six months' active service abroad, he was recommended for a commission, and in June last he was gazetted to the Royal Scots Fusiliers. He had been on service abroad since August. Lieutenant Ross was the youngest son of Mr. Robert R. Ross, 34 Gray Street, Aberdeen, of Barclay, Ross, and Tough, agricultural implement makers; and was twenty-five years of age.

Rev. HUGH PHILIP SKAKLE (M.A., 1911; B.D., 1914), Captain, 4th Gordon Highlanders, fell in action at the capture of Cantaing, near Cambrai, on 21 November. While attending the University he took a prominent part in athletics; he was also a valued member of King's College Chapel Choir for many years, and became well-known in musical circles. On completing his divinity course, he was appointed assistant minister at St. Michael's Church, Dumfries. He enlisted in the 4th Gordon Highlanders in January, 1915, and was gazetted Second Lieutenant in the February following, Lieutenant in June 1916, and Captain in May, 1917. He was severely wounded in July, 1916, and after recovering returned to the front in the spring of last year. Captain Skakle was a son of the late Mr. George Skakle, jeweller, Aberdeen, and was twenty-nine years of age.

JAMES DAVID SUTHERLAND (Student of Agriculture, 1911-14), Pioneer, Royal Engineers, died from gas poisoning while in action in December. He was born at Lybster, Latheron, Caithness, his home address having been latterly The Schoolhouse, Kinbrace, Sutherland, and he was twenty-three years of age.

A slight error crept into our obituary notice of Rev. CECIL BARCLAY SIMPSON (M.A., Hons., 1907) in our last issue (p. 94). He graduated with second-class honours in Classics and first-class honours in Mental Philosophy (not Mathematics, as was stated). The correction is forwarded from France by a graduate, a class-fellow of Mr. Simpson, who writes:—

I met Simpson just a few weeks before he was killed. He was then intensely interested in his work as a soldier, eager to do what was in his power to combat the system of force against which the civilized world is meantime fighting. In his work as a soldier, just as in his work as a student in the old days, the same enthusiasm was manifest. By his death the class 1902-06 has lost a brilliant member.

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Modern Art and the Future.¹



THEORY of Art as expounded by artists is for some reason always more or less suspect: possibly because being themselves engaged in art production, artists are suspected of bias in favour of the school with which they are identified; or they may even be suspected of having evolved their theory to account for and justify their own limitations as artists.

But, while the views I wish to put before you may, or must, be coloured by personal preferences and prejudices, they do not represent the doctrine of any particular group or cult. This is not a time for airing pet theories about detail, but a time for trying to get at the truth of the matter, even if, in the light of the conclusions arrived at, one's own practice and work should stand condemned. For good or evil, change of some sort in our national life is imminent. Reconstruction is the note of to-day: and if art is to play a worthy part in the work of to-morrow it is imperative that artists and public should arrive at a common understanding on the meaning of Art, instead of continuing to drift apart as they have been doing steadily for many years, the ultra-artistic turning in disgust from life and forming themselves into cults which the public very rightly regard with impatience. It is this consideration alone which justifies art talk at a time when such talk is apt to stir recollections of Nero's fiddling.

There is a feeling prevalent among cultured people of to-day that something is amiss with the Art of our time. Compared with the history of former Art periods, the multiplicity of "schools" and theories of Art to-day, of aims and methods mutually exclusive, appears to

¹ An Address to the Aberdeen University Classical Society, February 22, 1918.

justify (especially with those whose affections are already fixed in an earlier period) the charge that as there is no recognizable unity of purpose in our efforts there can be no vital significance in our Art; though opinion differs as to the cause of the present unrest. There are people who hold that for some generations Art has been slowly dying; and who profess to see in the warring ideals at work within it to-day the final death-throes of Art in the dawn of the Age of Science (Science and Art being apparently supposed, for some unknown reason, to be antagonistic one to the other); and they hint that when Peace again returns, it may be found that the world will no longer have need or use for Art. Others again tell us that great artistic periods like the thirteenth century were the outcome of Faith: they write books about the debt Art owes to "the Church," which tend to make one speculate on the debt the Church owes to Art: they declare the modern world to be without Faith, and its Art decadent in consequence. But that view began with the writing of the Garden of Eden story, and it has ever been the cry of the censorious idealist who in all ages has chosen to believe that he has just missed the Golden Age by a century or two, thus exerting on his own time an influence which is surely among the most effective in producing the very state he professes to deplore. And his phrase, like many another, is not without attractiveness to those of the imitative sort: it saves them the trouble of thought, of search for the eternal amid the temporal and corrupt in the present; and it conveys an impression pleasing to the sentimentalist that he is an unwilling dweller in the tents of Kedar. That he should fail to apprehend the Faith of his own time may merely argue a lack of vision strange in one who undoubtedly desires the highest good; but it is difficult to listen with patience to his account of the transcendent merit of the thirteenth century in this particular when one knows that the most rudimentary knowledge of the facts about that period demolishes the whole argument. His thirteenth century never existed save in the imaginations of the poet, the romancer, and the ecclesiastic, who by their very profession are more or less apologists. It is based on the lives of a few great men, and on medieval theories of Church and State. "There never was an age in which theory was more hopelessly divorced from practice than in the thirteenth century."¹

Further, this idealist who fixes his ideal in the past instead of the

¹ Coulton, "St. Francis to Dante".

future has, in condemning the present, a habit of using the word Religion as if it had no application outside the Church and its activities—a habit which is as misleading as the phrase which makes of architecture "the mother of all the arts". Architecture is the *sum* of all the arts—of which Building is one. The great churches of the Middle Ages were largely the work of the people; and thus we find that armorial bearings upon old glass or pedestals of statues are mostly those of the different trade guilds—bakers, butchers, woollen drapers, furriers, shoemakers, and the like: and as anyone who has studied the great medieval churches must know, much of the subject-matter and its treatment is very unecclesiastical. "Being enriched by divers gifts, the churches became receptacles for all kinds of treasures. Guillaume Durand, in his 'Rational des Divins Offices,' speaks of rare things, such as stuffed crocodiles, ostrich eggs, and skeletons of whales, besides gold and silver vessels, intagli, and camei, as attractions for the people, on the principle that he who comes to see may stay to pray. Churches were, in fact, museums, and places in which to transact business: the naves constantly being thus used."¹ Judged as works of Art they were therefore artistic expressions of all that was vital in the life of the community; creations fashioned by their artists for the community: for the extension of its self-realization. Faith? Why, yes: the faith of a race in itself, its aspirations. There must always be that ere there can be great Art: and the ideal Great Period is one wherein all the various sections of the community are informed by one racial ideal, yet each obeying its own impulse and functions unswervingly, the Time-Spirit alone dominating. One feels that the Temple, whatever its nature or form may be, must always call forth a people's noblest artistic effort; but to condemn an age artistically because it does not rear vast cathedrals, or to demand that the expression of its faith shall follow a prescribed form, is sheer nonsense. Misconception of the true function of Art is at the root of the matter: and the persistence of this misconception in what we may term official quarters is accountable for the present unrest in Art aims and bodies. For the artist is now in revolt. He has been lectured for generations: badgered and cajoled into polishing the surface of things instead of digging right down into the heart of them as his instinct bade him. Death-throes? Rather the wriggling, kicking, and raucous squalling of lusty infants. The problem, however, is much more com-

¹ Beale, "Churches of Paris".

plex than that would seem to imply. I have not a single doubt about the future of Art: it will end only when the world ends. To the pessimist who sees in the near future a world that has neither need nor use for Art, I say that, if by "Art" he understands (as many still do) mere pomp and display, then I sincerely hope that his prophecy will be fulfilled—though it seems almost too good to be true; but, if he really means Art in its true sense, then I say our need for it, on the contrary, will be more imperative than ever if our national life is to be saved from degenerating into a mere struggle for existence, bleak and meaningless. Further, I believe that the elements of a Great Artistic Period already exist in our own time; but I do not underestimate the dangers and difficulties ahead. Revolt, however worthy in its origin, tends to attract to its ranks numbers who bring discredit on the movement—nonentities in search of notoriety, decadents who use it as an excuse for the bestial thoughts in which they delight. Again, revolt, however righteous, may be crushed; and until the public realize that Art is as much their affair as it is the artist's, that danger will remain.

Art is the outcome of the expressional need of a people, and the power of the craftsman to fashion a symbol which shall satisfy that need; whereas the public are apt to regard it as something that has no essential connection with their life—as a sort of ornamental flourish on the written record. We all know the poseur who apparently feels that he is achieving something when, by a parrot-like repetition of a few art phrases, he leads his auditors to pronounce him a man of taste and art knowledge; and we also know the unassuming man who with a shrug makes open confession that he knows nothing about it. Both attitudes arise from the same mistake—the belief that Art is a cult. Art is *not* a cult—at least, great Art is not; and an extensive knowledge of "schools" and "periods" is not an essential condition for the appreciation of all that is most vital in Art. Indeed, the mass of literature that has grown up round the questions of styles and periods, with their contradictory theories and methods, has become a hindrance to the natural acceptance of Art; and one doubts whether it is right to add even one's few sentences to the pile. Yet if one's aim is to simplify, it may be worth trying; since amid this babel of tongues there is a truth that is of vital importance to all of us—one which offers a richer perception of true happiness. It is not so much a question of this or that theory of Art as of an attitude of mind. If one were to state that the full significance and joy of life can never become

manifest until the life of a community is informed by one Art-ideal, and until everything we think and do and make is unconsciously governed by that ideal, the Man-in-the-street would probably mutter ominously. He knows "Art-things" and the weedy people who affect them. He would have a horrible vision of his business run on artistic lines—of having to consider literary style in his correspondence. Asked to state his views on a possible Art-informed community, he would probably declare the idea to be the fantastic and ill-balanced notion of a crank, or of an artist belonging to the same category as the cobbler who maintains that there is nothing like leather. He would pronounce the prospect of life under such conditions an appalling one; a thing of strain, affectation, and useless costliness imposed upon a scheme of things with which it has no real connection. To me and many others, the facts are all the other way: it is the present state of things that is appallingly affected and costly. Our towns and houses are restless conglomerations of things of every style from B.C. onwards—that, and factory-made caricatures of the various styles that happen to be in favour at the moment. Ornament (which ought to form an integral part of the object ornamented, giving emphasized expression to the structural function of the part ornamented) spreads over and smothers all surfaces, like some horrid fungus growth; a fatuous craze obtains for deception—the imitative skill that produces, say, a mosaic which deludes the spectator into the belief that it is an oil painting, still evoking a degree of admiration which the work, were it really an oil painting, would not call forth; and even with works which offer no excuse for such treatment people still delight to delude themselves. A lady expressing to me her enthusiastic admiration for a granite tower in this city put what she believed to be the final touch to her praise by saying "It just looks like *lace*"—than which, were it true, no more damning criticism could be framed.

The Man-in-the-street might agree with me in this. He already suffers from too much Art-in-the-home; and my belief is that in reality we both desire the same thing and hate the same thing, and that he endures the conglomeration of meaningless form, colour, and ornamentation with which he finds himself surrounded only because he supposes it to represent Art and does not wish to appear indifferent to Art. The point of difference between us is in reality very simple: it lies in the meaning one reads into the term "Art-informed community". To him, such a community is one where an intensified form of the

present would obtain, with a more and more conscious concern about what is artistically right and wrong; whereas to me it is one where we should cease altogether to think consciously of ART; and turn our thoughts on *Fitness*—of things for their purpose—as the standard of worth. This must, of course, begin in our individual homes: from whence its influence will soon spread to our more public and exalted forms of city life. But not until we each realize that we already possess the faculties necessary for the appreciation of true Art and the right to exercise them; not until our domestic setting becomes a harmonious and natural expression of our lives and tastes; not until we select, say, our chairs because they fulfil in comfort, stability, proportion, colour, and material our idea of what a chair ought to be; not till we purchase and value our more purely decorative possessions—statuettes, pictures, stained glass, and other wall decorations—because in some strange way they do express moods and desires which have haunted and hitherto troubled us by their vagueness, and not because this picture or that was on the line in last year's Academy, and was ardently desired by a celebrated collector who came an hour too late—not till then can Art become again a vital force. Think of the scores of houses one has been in that are all absolutely alike though their various owners bear no resemblance to each other in character. The number on the front door is almost the sole mark of differentiation. They represent the taste of some firm of "artistic furnishers," or conform to advice derived from books on Taste in furnishing. The book-shelf is about the only thing that gives one an inkling of the owner's tastes and preferences, though even there one is not always sure that it does not consist of somebody's Hundred Best Books. It is the same old mistake: the view of Art as a convention imposed on life, and not, as it is, a natural expression of one's own personality reborn in every generation.

Yet, as far as I can see, there is only one real difficulty in the way of the Art-informed community—our self-consciousness as a race—fear of letting ourselves go; our thinly-veiled contempt for those who do. Our dread of being deemed excitable, neurotic, drives us to the other extreme, and we profess adoration of Horse-sense lest we should be thought sentimental. From this proceeds a lack of the true sense of Joy—with the underlying feeling that joy may be but the most cunning of all the devil's baits. One has to go back only a generation or two to come upon a fixed belief that a state of unwonted joy was the

herald of some evil event; and suspicion that the thing which gives joy must have some element of evil in it still persists. We feel that to be emotional is absurd if not contemptible. I well remember the raging shame I felt as a youth on finding tears trickling down my cheeks when hearing for the first time a Beethoven symphony performed by an orchestra. I fancy I should experience the same sense of shame to-day, for when I hear or read of a man shedding tears I cannot suppress an inward squirm; and that feeling is common to the race. Why we should feel thus I do not know; I fancy we are about the only people in Europe who do. Tears, however, have no artistic value. Emotional perception has; and one can have emotional perception without tears. And the man (women have more sense) who from silly self-consciousness suppresses his emotional tendency stands in his own light, for by emotion comes perception of most of the things that really matter.

Up to this point I have been dealing chiefly with the public. Let us now turn to the artist. As I have already said, something is goading him into revolt, maddening him into ever fiercer expression in his work, so that each year witnesses the birth of a new School, which, when it has found a name for itself, laughs to scorn all other schools. It is all very well to say (as, indeed, I myself have said) that this is the anarchy which inevitably precedes the commencement of a new tradition: to point to a resolute figure here and there which holds on its way, seeing, estimating, and learning from the movements that take place around, but following its own light; and to say that those men or their work will one day bring order out of chaos. But meantime superb energy and ability are running to waste (or appear to us to be doing so): anarchy may become a habit and all this volcanic fury end in exhausting our fires and reducing us artistically to a moon-like cinder.

One naturally asks why this should be so, when our day teems with the elements and aspirations which give rise to art expression. Why should our art fail to give adequate expression to those aspirations? One writer says it is because "this man-made world of ours has lost the power of expression and become entirely meaningless". Machinery and Industrialism are blamed. It is true that Machinery's tremendous productive power gives a long start to a bad type, and that the methods of Industrialism tend to establish that type and to reduce almost to *nil* the opportunities which would otherwise have arisen for the con-

tinual exercise of the craftsman's skill and fancy. But one has seen beautiful machine-made things, so that the fault does not lie with machinery but with the types given to it to produce—in other words, with the artist concerned. Another favourite wail is "Unrest". We certainly seem to have fallen on a gap between the end of one age and the beginning of another—a situation not conducive, one would think, to the Art mood; yet art history teems with instances where great art was produced by men who worked with trowel, chisel, or brush in one hand and sword in the other.

The learned student of art history says impatiently (he has been shouting it for a century)—"What you want is Tradition"; but when he proceeds to amplify his statement it becomes manifest that he does not know what Tradition is. In his brain it apparently figures as a continuous cable which in some inexplicable way snapped some centuries ago, and must be joined up at the point of severance before Art can again become vital. No figure could be more misleading or untrue.

One thing is certain and the rest is lies,
The flower that once has blown for ever dies.

The history of any art tradition is just the history of any life—infancy, youth, manhood, decline, and death; and a galvanized corpse as nurse holds scant promise of life for a new tradition in its infancy. We know very well that what we need is Tradition: some spiritual centre or conviction which will make our effort cumulative; the question is how to get it—or rather how to get rid of the influences which meantime frustrate crystallization of the elements we already possess. The past holds invaluable lessons for us; but the history of past Traditions throws no light on the problem of to-day, for the influences to which I refer did not exist in former art periods, since it is those former art periods, or misuse of our knowledge of them, that constitute the handicap to creative expression from which the whole art world of to-day suffers; that retard the emergence of a traditional form symbolic of our own age.

At this point I find myself in a quandary; for to track down the growth of this influence with the thoroughness demanded by the case, it would be necessary to survey the work and theories of the entire nineteenth century; while to leap at one bound straight to what I believe to be the trouble and name it, would explain little and prove less.

It is a curious thing that, whereas one would expect those interested

in the problem to fix their suspicious inquiry on education first, it seems as if they had an insuperable objection to doing so. Yet I hold that our Art education is chiefly, if not solely, responsible for our deadened perception of the meaning of Art. Perhaps I ought to point out that in criticizing our Art education I do not necessarily criticize Art Schools as they are at this moment. I am dealing with our actual art production, since from it we derive our impressions of modern art; and its producers necessarily completed their training some years ago.

We are heirs of all the ages: a privilege which has its drawbacks; for through a confusion of ideas between Archæology and Art, and a century of collecting, cataloguing, and tabulating works of ancient and medieval art in their supposed order of merit, that which might have remained a source of delight and profit has become in many ways an intolerable hindrance. All this was done with the highest intentions: it was to educate the taste of the public, and encourage the growth of an art tradition—although how a heterogeneous collection of objects gathered from every age and clime could ever have been expected to effect that is difficult to understand. Into this temple, however, the raw student is turned to find his soul, in an exhaustive study of the historic styles. Imagine having to find your religion from an exhaustive study of all the religious systems the world has evolved, and it will not then seem surprising that what the student finds is a sort of anæmic art-Pragmatism. Please do not understand this as an attack on Museums: I am at the moment dealing solely with their effect on the immature student. We cannot know too much of the past; and, personally, I cannot imagine a more fascinating pursuit than the History of Art affords. But I would withhold that subject from the student's curriculum until he had given proof of a clearly-defined æsthetic outlook. A work of ancient art, however beautiful, is after all a sort of wondrous mummy. In its day it was a symbol of the aspirations of an age, and as such then fulfilled its highest function as a work of art; but aspirations have changed with the age, and its symbolism has now become largely meaningless to us. To stand in the presence of the very body that was Rameses the Great is an amazing experience; but men do not go to a mummy to learn how the Spirit of Life manifests itself.

The student of strongly-marked character probably rejects the whole thing instinctively—studies the people in the museum and

ignores the exhibits, only discovering the value of museums later; but with the average student it is different. In him the scholar and the artist get mixed. It is a bad mixture: results in paralysis of the faculty of self-expression, giving instead but an imitative technique in paint, and a certain skill in what is known as "designing in periods"—that is, cooking up old styles into designs for factories which use such things: a little tragedy, since it means that his spiritual experience is closed down before it has well begun. The students, having passed out of the schools, have to take their places among the producers; and there they find war—the war of Art Democracy against Art Autocracy. I might define it somewhat more clearly, as War between Expressional Need and Enthroned Professionalism; and refer you to the scaring comments of a great artist (Blake) on the doctrine of one who, though very able, was the quintessence of Professionalism (Reynolds). If you ask what I understand by Professionalism, my reply is, an archæological mentality expressing itself in an art form. There has been Professionalism in all ages—its stamp mere rhetoric, high-sounding phrases copied from earlier masters who created them, which, when strung together by the plagiarist, mean nothing, but make a brave noise which too often succeeds with the public. Few artists entirely escape it. Even the true creative artist has lapses in vision; and despondency, exhaustion, or mere fear of failure drive him back on the professional rhetoric he had pumped into him in the course of his training—ways and means whereby the gap may be made to look quite sound, the texture of the work all of one piece. It is the most cursed of all the temptations that beset the artist—and we have our education to thank for it. Hence the "rebel": and it may help us to understand him if we try to see wherein he differs from the Archæologist and the representative of Professionalism.

The aim of archæology is to supply the material which neither history nor present observation can furnish. It is an intellectual process applied to yesterday. Professionalism I have already defined. Art is the clearest, simplest, most direct expression of a purely emotional experience of to-day. A vast amount of nonsense, I am persuaded, is talked about Inspiration; but there may be a sense in which it is correct to speak of a man as "a born artist"—when he is endowed with an exceptional degree of emotional perception. Most people possess it in some degree; but it almost seems as if not even the greatest could develop or increase the measure of emotional per-

ception with which he was endowed at birth. I am ignorant of the scientific view; but from internal evidence one arrives at a conviction that environment, material conditions, and experience have little or no effect upon it. With the development of the poet's intellect the structure of his work may become more reasoned and secure; but the spirit within the structure remains the same—save when he becomes over-engrossed in the skill displayed in the structure, and the spirit escapes. With an insatiable interest in the movement of life—the never-ending wonder and significance of the rhythmic line, and the evocative magic of colour—he is incessantly observing, experiencing, and noting; but he has another life in addition to the one of observation—the visional life which to him is in some ways more actual, and certainly more complete, than his material existence; and he soon learns that one of the chief functions of his intellect is to act as a guard—a sort of shield-bearer—to the source of all his strength and inspiration—that visional faculty.

There is one type that is rather puzzling—the medievalist. The "medievalizer" of commerce one understands. In his student days he may have been one of the many potential craftsmen who in the process of striving to become artists get crushed in the museum-mill. Anyhow, he has nothing particular to say, has a certain skill in imitating medieval archaisms—and a public ready and eager for his wares. But among medievalists there are men of very great ability. If they have rejected their own time and, as it were, taken out papers of naturalization in an earlier age, they must have some good reason for having done so. It is a curious fact that although the medievalist and the rebel are poles apart (with the representatives of professionalism in between), superficially there is occasionally a startling resemblance between the work of the able medievalist and that of some of the "rebels"; but while medievalist and rebel agree that the rhetoric of professionalism is a spiritual blight, there the resemblance between them ends, for the one is consciously archaistic in his work and the other unconsciously archaic.¹

¹ Berenson, the art critic, says—"No art can hope to become classic that has not been archaic first. The distinction between archaistic imitation and archaic reconstruction, simple as it is, must be clearly borne in mind. An art that is merely adopting the ready-made models handed down from an earlier time is archaistic, while an art that is going through the process of learning to reconstruct the figures and discover the attitudes required for the presentation of tactile values and movement is archaic. An art that has completed this process is classic."

And so it comes about that artists and art lovers may be said to group themselves into two distinct communities, each with its characteristic environment. One group dwells in the lovely old monastery garden, while another is of the Highway—casts in its lot with the roadmakers.

First, then, our two groups differ absolutely on the meaning of the word Beauty. To the men of the Highway the only beauty is Fitness—that which expresses. Concern with the question of whether the objects they find it necessary to depict in their works are, as objects, beautiful in themselves appears to them to betoken an entire misapprehension of the function of Art; and a sensuous, skilfully-balanced colour scheme may be to them utter banality. With them it is not "What does this work of Art represent?" but "What does it make us feel?" All men hunger for some definitely-realized symbol of the vague spiritual impulses they feel within themselves and their age—be it merely a way of looking at and seeing things—its joy, gaiety, longing. To fashion such a symbol is for our men of the Highway—men possessed by the spirit of their own time as distinct from all other times—the sole function of art.

To the other group Art is the "garden enclosed"—a refuge from the sordid turmoil of life; the function of its present-day representatives, to conserve and perpetuate all that is gentle, graciously beautiful, rare and precious in the thoughts and things that man has evolved from the beginning. They claim to carry on Tradition, and to be the guardians of Beauty, which they hold to be the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. The energy of the men of the Highway appears to them brutal in its violence. To the Roadmakers the Garden-dwellers for the most part appear but dilettanti dawdling in a rose garden—men who lack courage to dive into the heart of their own time in search for its spiritual significance, who profess to have a charge which renders them superior to the life buzzing around them outside, but who in reality fear life, and, being too stupid to apprehend its wondrous splendour, become mere archæologues piecing together phrases culled from the past. They admit that the archæologue's work makes a strong appeal to many by its resemblance to some old work already loved; but point out that, despite the beauty it may have inherited from its ancestor, it is still-born. Its ancestor sprang from the heart and brain of one aflame with desire to fashion an image that should symbolize the aspirations of his age: not one consciously concerned

about Beauty. Beauty, they say, is but an emanation from expressional power.

I do not profess to know what determines men in their choice between the two: it may be settled at their birth. As children we all run about over highway, fields, woods, and garden indiscriminately, hunting for adventure; and this goes on until life deals us its first blow. Probably that blow decides the matter. One it shocks, another it angers, a third it excites. The shocked one turns aside into the fields and so through the deep silent wood to the garden gate, where he pulls the bell-rope and obtains admittance. The angered one, blinded by his sense of injustice, loses vision and comes to fisticuffs with life, and continues thus until chance recollection of the monastery garden he happened on one summer afternoon in childhood crosses his mind. The contrast of its dewy silence with the blistering heat and turmoil of the Highway fills him with an overpowering nostalgia—and the gate opens yet again.

Let us also enter the garden; admittedly a place of enchanting loveliness. It is romantically situated in softly undulating land, and itself embraces little wooded hills and valleys, a river and a pool—in fact, all the things one longs for when weary. Possibly it is a trifle too consciously ornamented: hedges all curiously trimmed, the sward perfect, the trees in perpetual blossom—the whole reminiscent of a Van Eyck landscape. It is getting towards late afternoon before we sight the monastery group, a bronze silhouette rising from among trees against the western sky. Romantic, certainly, but curiously conglomerate, recalling that other monastery where (according to the French chronicler) Merlin visited Prester John—a mixture of Cathedral, Mosque, Synagogue, Greek temple, Byzantine and Gothic chapels with domes, spires, turrets, pagodas, minarets, and towers innumerable; and I doubt not that it contains the Vedas and the Koran, in addition to the Bible. Its inhabitants are for the most part highly educated and cultured; though to the non-resident they appear to be, like their garden, "too consciously ornamented". Fervour is permitted; fervour carefully regulated by fixed rules and dates; but passion and impulse are apparently held to be non-existent—though pepperiness is not unknown. Not all the garden dwellers are art producers. One meets here, for instance, the cultured person who has attended courses of art lectures for the purpose of completing his study of some other subject—Ecclesiology, for instance. Now, the acquisition of knowledge is

entirely praiseworthy; but art history is one thing and art is another; and when this student of the former claims, as he constantly does, that his acquired information qualifies him not merely to judge, but to influence and determine the spirit of modern art; when, on the strength of his text-book information, he dares to interfere with and warp Art in its creative moment, he becomes a positive nuisance. One meets him on committees, and has difficulty in deciding whether he ought to be regarded as a joke or as a calamity. He knows all about Ecclesiastical Art—in every century but his own. Naturally, he knows nothing about the latter because it is in the making; and of the creative function of form and colour he has no more perception than an owl; but he can discourse learnedly on periods and styles, has memorized all the phrases, and can, in fact, teach you the whole theory and practice of Ecclesiastical Art in an afternoon. In one sentence, it is “When in doubt, medievalize”. You can’t go wrong: the correct thing is always medieval. There is, in fact, no necessity to think at all: medieval clerics worked it out once for all centuries ago: and the twentieth century has no right to aspirations which cannot be expressed in thirteenth century form. With great unction he quotes to you Cennino Cennini’s beautiful exhortation—“Ye of gentle spirit, who are lovers of this art and devoted to its pursuit, adorn yourselves with the garments of love, of modesty, of obedience, and of perseverance,” but he is not a little exasperated when a non-resident informs him that he also subscribes to that doctrine.

It is said that work progresses at a very leisurely pace in the monastery—that things do not move on. And one hardly wonders that it should be so, for as one stands at evening on the bank of the placid pool as the last level bars of amber light lie behind the monastery; as one hears the occasional plop of little fishes in the pond, the croak of a frog at its edge, and the gentle plaintive note of the evening bell as it echoes amid the innumerable planes of masonry up there—all in the thick muffled sound that denotes trees and little hills in kindly proximity—one wonders what human activity is all about, and retires to rest, I should fancy, in restful mood. Yet I can imagine that if, in a wakeful moment of the night, one lying there were to hear the boom of a distant explosion which he realized to be the work of his fellow-men blasting a passage for the Highway through the rocks, he might feel as some of us feel when, warm in bed, we hear in imagination the thunder of the guns in Flanders.

In conclusion, I would like to say that, if I have appeared to undervalue the past or to argue that it has no legitimate claim over us, I have conveyed a wrong impression, for which I can only plead the limited nature of the time at my disposal, and the fact that my subject is the Present. I have the most profound reverence and love for the past and its great works, but there are limits to the control which they ought to exercise on the present. One can feel that even in Renaissance times the Past was already beginning to claim undue dominion over the then Present; but since then it has steadily increased until in our day it has become monstrous, so that we are not unlike that character of D’Annunzio’s who, believing himself to be a reincarnation of a brilliant ancestor who had been cut off at an early age, and determining that no action of his should be unworthy of that ancestor’s record, arrived at absolute stagnation, his faculties paralysed by his supposed responsibility to the past.

DOUGLAS STRACHAN.

Fat's the Eese?

I tried tae ploo my furrow straucht an' fair,
Though roch the lan', wi' mony a yird-fast steen;
I vrocht an' swat, an' yet, for a' my care,
At hairst my crap was maistly licht an' green.

I howkit peats an' keest them fae the lair,
Syne cam' an onding that wad ne'er deवाल,
An' sae, for a' my tyaavin, lang and sair,
My winter fore-nichts fyles were byous caul'.

I delved my yaird, I planted buss an' floo'r,
I watched the bonny buds an' flourish braw,
But aft they were, in some mischancy 'oor,
A' blaadit by the cranreuch an' the snaw.

I've deen my darg, though ither fowk may tell
O' anterin things I micht hae deen some better;
I've socht tae ser' my neepers as mysel',
Forgi'en their debts an' still been nae man's debtor.

Though a' my life I've warsled up the brae,
O' gear I've nane, my frien's are a' awa';
An' noo my back is boo't, my haffits gray—
I'm spierin' at ye, Fat's the eese o't a'?

J. M. CAIE.

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Art Theory and Stained Glass Practice.¹



WHAT do we understand by the term "A work of Art"? In one form or another that is a question which Man must have been asking himself and attempting to answer ever since he first became aware that in some inexplicable way Form and Colour gave him pleasure; stirred moods and sensations unrelated to his reflections on the nature and use of the objects which seemed to impose these feelings upon him; and despite the multitude of the works on Theory of Art that has resulted from his questioning, and the increasing range and subtlety of his perception, the quest still goes on.

Like all artists, I have heard and indulged in endless talk on Theory. I have also read a little: but as I have generally found myself more keenly interested in the writer's thought-processes than in his thought, it follows that my reading has not been of the searching kind that alone entitles one to compare and pass judgment on the many theories with claims to attention. It may serve, however, as an introduction to what I have to say, if I express an opinion on two theories to which I have given rather more thought: that summed up in Croce's saying "Art is a Being; not a Doing"; and Alexander's essay "Art and the Material"—which might be fairly paraphrased as "Art is a Doing; not a Being." If I understand them aright, the former means that Art is a state of mind, not a performance; an emotional experience which need not find material expression: the other, that Art is a material production which may evoke a state of mind, but has no existence or source of origin outside the material.

¹ This paper was written for the purpose of introducing a subject for discussion at a recent meeting of the Symposium, Edinburgh. It was composed with the writer's fellow-members alone in view, and therefore with something of the unguarded frankness of talk among intimates: the assumption being that it would cease to exist when it had served its immediate purpose. As a published article it should be taken simply as a painter's effort to give a definition of the Art Impulse that accords with his personal experience.

It would seem that there must be something wrong with one or other of these theories; and although averse to passing verdicts in a summary fashion that may seem lacking in respect, I must indicate how I regard the theories named before I can proceed to give my reasons for the view taken. In my opinion then, *both* theories are right—and both wrong; both right, and valuable, as expositions of certain elements in the daily experience of the artist; each wrong as a complete Theory of Art for the same reason—because built upon a foundation that covers only part of the artist's work-experience. There is an old tale of three blind men who each touched an elephant in the hope of acquiring some idea of the animal's structure and being. If I remember aright the man whose hand came in contact with the elephant's side maintained thereafter that the beast is like a mountain; the second man having touched one of its legs combated that view and declared that the elephant must be like a tree; while the third, after handling the creature's trunk pronounced the elephant to be a member of the serpent family. Two of these men were far from being "blind," for "mountainous" would occur to one in searching for an epithet to express Elephant, and one has seen trees that were strikingly like that animal. The first is better than the second in that it covers and images forth a larger proportion of essential truths; and I would associate Croce's theory with it; but Croce's elephant cannot stand, or move and have its being, without the tree-like supports which, as I see it, are Alexander's choice. (As for the third, and only really blind man in the group, he perchance may be a certain kind of critic whose most pressing need is a flexible theory readily adaptable to any shape occasioned by the latest heresy-fad; which, serpentwise, he has a habit of swallowing whole.)

What, then, do we mean by the term "A work of Art"? Stated in its simplest terms a work of art is an arrangement of forms, planes, and colour, that for some unknown reason evokes a given feeling in the beholder. It may teach, or instruct and enlighten, but to do so is not the proper part of its function; and if consciously planned to that end it will almost certainly fail in evocative power. Nature resemblances are not essential; play at most but a minor part in the emotion which gives rise to an art-idea, and in that which the resultant work awakens in the spectator.

If this should seem an extreme statement I might try to justify it by asking you to imagine yourselves on, say, the side of the Thames at sunset or dusk. (Any other place would suit equally well; but I shall

gest that place and time because Turner and Whistler are there to help us.) Whistler accounts for the enchantment experienced in that light by telling us that "the evening mist clothes the riverside with poetry, as with a veil, and the poor buildings lose themselves in the dim sky, and the tall chimneys become campanili, and the warehouses are palaces in the night, and the whole city hangs in the heavens and fairyland is before us." Very charming: though I think that if Whistler had lived to-day, when our poets, composers, and painters no longer hanker after ownership of palaces on the Grand Canal, or their admirers dream of Venice romantically, he would have expressed his thought in a different form; and, seeking now as then to stir a sense of the magical in his hearers, would have scrapped the fairyland form and addressed his audience as adults: told them the plain fact (quite as magical if understood) that the emotion stirred in him was in no way connected or concerned with, or even conscious of, factories or palaces; chimneys or campanili, but was roused by a particular arrangement and balance of silhouette, tone, and colour, which set a mysterious Something within him vibrating in unison with it: with that strange, timeless gladness, as over a priceless something recovered. It may be said that the emotion can be simply explained in one word—Beauty: but that is begging the question, since the word Beauty is just a pretty group of letters which we use to screen a gap in our understanding. The Why remains insistent; and there is no answer to it: or if there is, I don't know it.

I think it is obvious that this moment of perception and emotional exaltation is the seed from which the work of art grows: that all men who respond to the mood of that moment are therefore artists: that while fine examples of skilled craftsmanship may be produced without it, no Work of Art can:—all of which agrees with Croce's phrase as I understand it. There is, however, this difference between the man who has craft skill in a given medium, and the man who has none: that while both may respond with equal intensity to the beauty or significance of the moment, the former also interprets and memorizes it in terms of design. In a second, therefore, two things occur: he feels, and he translates; and at first glance it might seem reasonable to decide that the art-thought originates in the second of these (which is a more or less technical effort); but as he makes this effort in order to fix his recollection of the first, and with little if any thought of material expression, I must leave it to sharper wits than mine to determine the hour of birth, and finish what I have to say on this point by adding that as

I hold that the emotion (the thing that matters) evoked by the scene suggested is not referable to, or in any way dependent on the bricks, water, and clouds that lent themselves for the occasion, I can imagine (theoretically at least) the perfect art-expression of that moment having no recognizable resemblance to any structure on this earth. Art, whether one approaches it from the pictorial or the so-called decorative side, is simply high symbolism; since moods, not things, constitute its chief concern; and you cannot represent moods. The symbols may be based on natural forms, or they may not: it is a matter of no consequence so long as the forms, whether natural or otherwise, do not arrest attention as forms and so destroy the mood they were meant to evoke.

In addition to nature as a source of inspiration there is another from which artists derive emotional experience and imagery—the Visional Faculty. For some reason they are shy of speaking about it, even among themselves: and before scientists there is of course the fear that they may be only giving away the fact that they are the victims of some horrible mental affliction. There would, however, be no danger in speaking of it before the author of “Art and the Material,” for he flatly denies its existence. Using the words Painter, Sculptor, Composer, and Poet so that, in effect, any one covers the others, he says: “In no sense is the poem the translation of his state of mind, for he does not know till he has said it, either what he wants to say or how he shall say it. And he keeps insisting that if anything in the nature of images does exist in the artist’s mind they are “painted images” or stone ones, etc. and therefore but mental efforts in material. These and other arguments which he employs to disprove the existence of Vision as a source of art-imagery seem to show that he does not understand its nature, and that he never gets, or permits himself to go beyond the idea of an Image consciously conjured up; i.e. the kind of time-and-material-saving image that the artist calls up daily as and when he requires it. The Visional Faculty refuses to operate as required or to be conditioned in any way, and it does not work in painted images or art form. It is in effect an actual happening which for the moment blots out the material scene; and usually it has no discoverable connection with the work-thoughts of the man to whom it presents itself; nor with his circumstances at the moment of its coming. It appears to him as something strange, yet revealing; intimate, yet remote; nature clothed in deep significance which he feels but cannot define at the time—it fails to define, to understand at any time, in which case it is lost.

Far from becoming increasingly active with increase in age and technical knowledge, the Visional Faculty is most active before an artist’s professional life commences, and certainly begins to slow down at middle-life—if indeed it did not begin to do so when he reached the age of twenty. Possibly it is simply forgotten nature-impressions coming back; and if so, I think they may be nature moods felt in childhood and early youth; for the figures that move in such visions certainly have the peculiar impressiveness that the adult has in the eyes of a child, and the landscapes something of the magical glamour that pertained to nature in our early experiences. Professor Alexander’s contention that this faculty has no existence as a source of art-imagery is to me—as it must be to many artists—meaningless; but his essay contains many excellent and valuable thoughts on the part played by the material in art-expression: things that required to be said in view of the extravagant lengths to which some of Croce’s admirers seem to carry his doctrine. Croce’s contention that the artistic experience is purely mental and that the actual physical embodiment of the experience is a technical matter concerned with the desire to communicate, seems to me to get nearer the heart of the matter, explain more, than any other; but it is not by any means the whole truth. Material undoubtedly plays an enormous part in all artistic expression—a creative part—in addition to its use as a mere means of communication. It is at once a help and a hindrance to the artist; for until its characteristics are so wrought into the expressional content of the work that they become identified with it, there is always a danger that the material itself may become too proudly or crudely assertive—from over-display of technical cleverness, or too little power of control. This danger is present in a peculiar degree where the material itself has arresting beauty: a fact which makes Early Chinese carvings in jade, lapis, malachite, etc., miracles of artistry; for while their carvers retain all the characteristic beauties of the material, they rarely fail to control and subdue these to their expressional purpose. This purpose, I maintain, originates without the material, not within it; but I am far from asserting that ideas never arise out of the material; in my own experience they are constantly so arising—formal ideas—thus. As one of my quotations from Professor Alexander’s essay states, the artist acquires a constantly increasing store of technical knowledge (which, in some ways, he would be better without), as each undertaking is a new adventure that ought to express itself in a form as new as itself). The artist has his vision, image, idea, or

whatever you choose to call it; and he has perhaps stated its pattern in sketch form. His technical experience suggests that such and such methods or combinations should provide the expressive form for it, and he sets to work on the lines indicated. But the expected does not happen; the material instead of playing its part seems to oppose a mulish obstinacy to his will. He reconsiders his technical plan, stressing here and modifying there: but to no purpose—though as sometimes happens, competent judges may be telling him that what he has done already is excellent and that there appears no reason for his dissatisfaction. And then suddenly one seemingly unimportant piece of the material under his hand seems to look him in the eyes, as if trying to say, "I'm the key to the mystery: develop me." He does, and at last wins through; that is to say, his vision wins through; thanks to the idea provided by the material.

As I have nothing further to say directly concerning the two Theories referred to, it may be as well before passing on, to give you, for what it may be worth, a thought that occurs to me regarding *all* Theories. From Plato's definition of Art down to the latest volume on the subject, there is not one Theory known to me either by reading or hearsay that explains all the facts; and I venture to suggest that all the innumerable works classed under "Theory of Art" are not concerned with theory of art at all, but with Theory of Idiom: which is quite another matter, though a most interesting and important one. It then becomes intelligible why so-called Theory of Art has to be rewritten in every generation; for while the fundamental truths about art may remain the same in all ages, every change in a people's mental outlook necessitates and produces a change in idiom; and I hazard the guess (rashly perhaps, for I have never attempted to test its accuracy) that the production of works on Theory has probably always been most active in times of transition (like the present) when an old idiom is in course of being discarded, and a new one formed.

The present clash of art aims and methods is the inevitable result of the long domination by the purely pictorial, now challenged by Design; the battle between works which illustrate nature, and works which exist solely for and by their organic unity as patterned surfaces or shaped masses; exponents of the latter maintaining that the evocative power of a work of art lies in its design, form, pattern, and not in any interest that may be stirred by the various objects represented in it.

It has just occurred to me that it might be possible to infer from

what I have been saying that in my opinion subject-content is of little or no consequence. This is not the case. Mere illustrative representation is of no consequence, outside a textbook; but I believe subject-content to be a permanent element in all great expression.

As the artist engaged in carrying out commissions has to deal with a problem that differs in some respects from that of the artist free to choose the nature and dimensions of his works, his case may be worth considering for a few minutes before proceeding to put Theory into Practice in one medium. I read recently about one of the less well-known artists of the Renaissance, that he had produced two fine pictures, the remainder of his large output being of second rank. The explanation given was, that all his life (with the exception presumably of the time spent on these two pictures) he had worked on commissions. It seems obvious that untrammelled expression, choice of subject in accord with the mood or image hunting one at the time, and freedom to select the proportions in mass or surface that exactly fit the theme, must be of immense importance: yet despite the fact that artists whose work is executed for definite positions in an architectural scheme have to accept certain fixed conditions—often of subject-matter; always of space-proportions and lighting,—these handicaps are balanced by certain advantages artistically helpful and inspiring: and it would seem to depend largely on the man concerned whether his work gains or loses thereby. It is true that the artist so engaged often feels (when up against what looks like an utterly impossible combination of fixed conditions) that he must break loose and go free: true that the conditions are responsible for much of the world's worst art (highly competent it may be as craftsmanship in a given convention, but bad, expressionless, as art: art furnishings): but, nevertheless, a very large proportion of the world's masterpieces have been called into existence in that way.

It is evident, however, that the direct use of visions and images that suddenly present themselves becomes extremely difficult if not impossible under the conditions indicated: yet that they do somehow find their way in is proved in one's own limited experience by the occasional remark of some keen observer who, ignoring the ostensible subject-matter in a given work, shows by some remark that he has as it were, hit on the cipher—a kind of remark always rather startling, but very gratifying, to the artist. I suppose if the artist constantly engaged on commissions has always a large number of them on hand and is

given considerable freedom of choice in subject-matter, he more or less unconsciously selects the undertaking and theme that affords scope for the images that then seem to him most significant. However, even if this is so with regard to single works—or I had better at once say “windows,” since I am from now onwards thinking of stained glass,—it is obvious that an extensive scheme must be conceived and planned in some other way: and I confess that I am here in a difficulty so far as Theory is concerned: there are elements in the problem that I cannot explain. The point is as follows: When one specially interested in stained glass enters any great building that contains a planned scheme of stained glass windows, and before he has had time to distinguish individual compositions or their special meaning, he receives a definite impression: a feeling is evoked by the whole scheme seen as one work: a particular mood takes possession of him—any mood from exaltation to boredom; and whatever discoveries he may make during the hours or days devoted thereafter to study of the parts, that first impression abides; informs all his subsequent discoveries, and remains vividly fresh and clear after all recollection of the parts may have faded from his mind. It seems in some ways more revealing and evocative than any of the parts taken separately; yet that embracing plan or pattern in the main had to be reasoned out, for there were many fixed conditions to be taken into account.

It has fallen to me at different times over a considerable number of years to plan and carry out a few complete stained glass schemes. I cannot recollect now with certainty how each of these began; but I vividly remember that the three most extensive ones each began in a vision of the work as a whole. I call it a vision, because it presented itself without conscious effort on my part and because I therefore do not know what else to call it: but I was certainly thinking of the undertaking at the time; and (galling confession to have to make to the author of “Art and the Material”) it assuredly *was* a “painted image.”

The mere craft-procedure that goes to the making of stained glass is a simple affair that can be explained in ten minutes and learnt in a day. Its employment as an expressional medium is another matter. I suppose I may assume that you are acquainted with the general facts: that the raw material is of various makes, but chiefly of two known as Antique and Norman: the former being made in sheets about 2½ ft. × 1½ ft. and more or less flat in surface; the latter

the form of square-sided bottles 5 ins. to 8 ins. in height which, when cut down the angles, give four slabs and a bottom of irregular surface and thickness. Both kinds are made in “Pot” and “Flashed”; “Pot” being coloured throughout, while “Flashed” consists of a thin film of colour flashed on a body (sheet or slab) of pure white. Flashed glass originally came about because Ruby “Pot” of the necessary thickness was found to be too dense to give the desired brilliance of colour; but it was soon found that patterns and other details could be removed from the flashed surface (by scratching the colour film with an iron tool in earlier times; by the application of hydrofluoric acid to-day) and still farther enriched (later) by using silver stain which produces yellows of every strength from pale lemon to deepest orange; and flashed glass was then produced in blue and green, and later in practically all colours. The enamel used for shading (that is, blocking out light in varying degrees; not colouring) consists of copper or iron mixed with a soft powdered glass known as Flux. Exposed to the action of fire this flux vitrifies at a lower temperature than would suffice to melt the glass on which it is laid, and so attaches the opaque pigment to the surface of the glass.

I said earlier that the artist-craftsman's aim is, not perhaps to eliminate, but to sublimate his material: to merge its characteristics in the expressional content of the work. This perhaps is easier of attainment—comes about more naturally—in the case of glass than in any other medium, for the fact about stained glass that distinguishes it from every other medium is, that it is simply light itself, and the artist in glass one who modulates its tones with intent to give special significance to the light it emits; I say “emits” because good stained glass gives the impression of being itself the source of light. Each of the possible exposures N., S., E., and W. has a character and qualities peculiar to itself, and each varies with every period of the day. Certain windows above the middle tone—that is, whose general colour-tone is paler than middle strength of colour—may completely change in colour effect with the time of day. The famous west windows at Chartres are of a markedly cold blue all over when viewed in the forenoon: in the late afternoon they become ruddy golden surfaces. If you take a field-glass and examine this blue window against the cool morning light you will find that it is studded all over with small pieces of ruby and other warm-toned colours. Remove the field-glass from your eyes and the rubies practically disappear again; except that if you know

the technique, you now understand the extraordinary subtlety of that pervading blue. The explanation of the complete change of colour is this: take a square-inch of white glass, a square-inch of palish blue, and a piece of rich ruby 2 square inches; hold them at arm's length against a good light, and you will find that the ruby dominates. Place the same pieces among other glass in a west window at a great height, and view them against a cool morning light. The white will expand until it seems several times its actual size; the blue will retain its proper dimensions but appear paler than it is in reality; the ruby will contract and become a dull brown verging on black. Reverse the dimensions of blue and ruby making the blue twice the size of the ruby, and the latter (viewed against a cool light) will disappear into the blue. View the same glass in the afternoon against the western sun and you will find that the ruby has now leapt to life and is burning fiercely, while the warm tone of the light and the ruby's vigour have bleached the blue into a warm silvery-grey. But we are now getting into some of the deeper problems of glass, and though these can be exciting enough in practice to the worker I am afraid they may prove rather boring in mere description. Mention of ruby and the trials it inflicts on the stained glass worker reminds me of another point that throws some light on the general problem. As I have just said, white and pale tones expand in a window set in position at a height; rich colours contract (the ruby and purple end most of all), and complementaries play all sorts of games: with the result that a window viewed at a distance is not only much lighter in general tone than it appears when viewed at close range, but is different in colour value: in the actual colour impression it conveys to the spectator. All these facts may be controlled and used as elements of beauty in the work: but when you remember that the harassed artist who is trying to keep all these things going at once is also struggling with the subject-content of the many parts each of which must be a complete thing in itself, and yet conform to a general scheme, you must judge leniently when you find that at one hour of the day some part of his scheme fails to change over in complete harmony with the rest: some cross-light striking on the inner surface of a window opposite: some miscalculation in the quantities of the colours that change strikingly with the light. That, however, is not my point, for with all its worries the game is so enthralling that he desires nothing better than to go on playing it all the time. But he has one grievance: that certain

supremely beautiful qualities are unattainable save in vast cavernous cathedrals; and that such cathedrals already possess their full complement of stained glass. Purples, for instance: one of the most alluring of colours, yet one cannot get it to "sing" as one knows it ought to do. I wandered into Carcassonne Cathedral one day many years ago, and there in the east window I saw the Perfect Purple: rich yet limpid and light as air. It was at a great height in a deep gloomy apse, and it flickered and swam there as I stood below drinking it in, divided between delight and despair. I then discovered that by great good fortune there was a gossamer-like scaffolding in front of the window running right to the top of it. I noted the point at which the purple occurred and clambered up the ladders, so close to the window surface that my shoulder almost touched it. I reached the point, but could find no purple; looked down to check my position, and found that I was correctly placed. Had I carried a field-glass with me that day I would have saved myself a stiff climb: for the superb purple was simply vast height and refulgent light penetrating into a great dark cavern through a patchwork of tiny pieces of the crudest ruby and the most blatant blue that it is possible to imagine. Viewed at close quarters it set one's teeth on edge.

It was suggested to me that I should take the stained glass scheme in the National War Memorial and use it to illustrate the application of Art Theory to Stained Glass Practice; but I have found it easier to deal with my subject in the more general form adopted. In case, however, that familiarity and daily routine may have caused me to omit any stage in the production of an extensive stained glass scheme, I shall attempt in conclusion to give you a slight sketch of another undertaking I am at present planning which, in addition to presenting the usual problems, will introduce one or two peculiar to itself. The church¹ for which this complete stained glass scheme is required is a late thirteenth and early fourteenth century building; Early English beginning to expand into the Decorated Style: or rather it is what was once the choir of such a great church; for the nave is gone, and the transepts exist only in ruins. The interior is nobly proportioned: designed in a large manner that seems almost too majestic for the actual floor dimensions now that the choir of old has become the entire church, and not part of one nearly three times its present length (which is only 70 feet from west wall to east window). As a matter of fact,

¹ Winchelsea, Sussex.

however, that is the second thought that occurs to the stained glass designer on entering this building for the first time; the first being the startling lightness of the interior: the place is one mass of dazzling windows: three east windows each of five 20 feet lights surmounted by elaborate tracery; and three windows, each of three lights and tracery on both north and south walls—and the church is set upon a hill with clear sky-exposure all round. A very exciting problem—with some rather puzzling elements in it.

First of all the windows are large, and high, and many, but one can never get very far away from any of them. This is the first contradiction: the scale of the windows is large but the scale of the general treatment must be small; however, that does not present any serious difficulty. The next point is not so easily solved: the windows are so many and therefore so close together that the light from some of them impinges on that of others; and at some points one window pours a flood of light on the inner surface of another set closely at right angles to it. That is one of the really serious problems in stained glass. Great depth of colour-tone in the sunny window would help, and could be turned to account in the subject-scheme by being allotted to a theme of some solemnity. But we have already begun to feel the characteristic note of this interior with its many windows and its age-old recumbent stone warriors lying under their canopied recesses: Radiance. Mingling with, and adding a serene dignity to this, is another note: that of Time—immense stretches of time and life; birth, struggle, achievement or failure, death, and birth again. There are churches in which that thought inspires a feeling of awe or even dread, tempting one to take refuge in an artificial serenity by evading thought of suffering; but this one has an exactly opposite effect: inspires courage, assurance. Here, then, is the dominating note and symbol: Light: life with all its sorrows as well as its joys a sacred thing, to be lived bravely; vigorously; gladly. Solemnity therefore should not be stressed: some other solution must be found for the cross-light. Then these canopied tombs, the peaks of which mount half-way to the central light of the windows on the north and south walls, are going to be troublesome because, as they stand well in front of the glass surface of the windows, they do not obscure any fixed quantity (i.e. their positions in relation to the glass behind, varies with the position of the spectator).

its length: with the result that the north and south walls on which the canopied tombs are placed appear to be too short. The decoration of the windows on those walls therefore must be of a nature to add apparent length to the walls: i.e. the form-and-colour masses should be arranged on fixed levels or tiers, so that on entering the west door one's eye will find more-or-less continuous horizontal lines throughout these side-wall windows: figure groups arranged severally on the same level in each window. You can understand that anything fussy in the decoration of these windows—such as irregular levels and masses of subject-matter—would have the effect of shortening the apparent length of the church: whereas a continuous, grave horizontality (not too obvious or insistent however) will have the opposite effect.

These tomb-canopies, blocking out the lower third of the central light in each window, are far from helpful; for they render it necessary to place the main compositions in these lights very high up in the window: and there is a further difficulty in connection with them, in that not only are these canopies of different heights, but that, of the three windows in each wall, one has no canopy obscuring it. Yet for the reason already given, the levels established must be maintained in this wholly exposed window also; with the result that the position of its central composition, tucked away up at the top of the light, looks ridiculous.

Well, these are some of the design problems that have to be solved before the more intimately expressional element can begin to operate in the scheme. The next thing the glass designer does is to note what is seen through the existing white glazing: buildings near or distant; trees; for all these affect the appearance, and therefore the treatment, of stained glass. This church, however, has a clear sky-exposure all round, so it is unnecessary to make careful measured drawings of the silhouette of houses and trees. Trees, by the by, are a great bother; for as light-obstructing masses they are constantly changing in density, and what is worse, in colour. The light passing through a tree in summer before falling on a window, may upset a colour-scheme completely by flushing it with a bilious green. I love trees, but I don't like them in close proximity to my windows.

We will suppose that the characteristic note of the building has been at work in the designer's mind, and that in one or other of the already indicated expressive symbols he has found a way to

beginning of what might be called the intellectual fabric of the work—the selection of subject-matter suited to the symbol or pattern, and itself a reasoned unity. With this settled, the way is now clear, and the work commences with the small-scale colour design—necessary alike to artist, donor, and committee: to the artist in fixing the general image or decorative-form: to donor and committee, as presenting a definite proposal. Had the designer only himself to consider he would execute this small-scale design in minute particles of glass (as indeed he often does in any case): but as such glass sketches are not portable, and anyhow cannot give the various kinds of detailed information that must be understood and agreed upon between client and designer, the preliminary design must needs be executed in water-colour. In executing such drawings, however, the painter is thinking in terms of glass. The design having been approved, templates of zinc, wood, or cardboard of all the window spaces are then made (daylight size); and as you will readily understand, these have to fit into the stone-work exactly, since a mistake of half an inch would render a window useless for the time being. These shapes are then drawn in outline and the cartoons drawn to fit them. The design undergoes much development of course, and, it may be, change, in the course of being worked out full-size. For the designer is now thinking still more intimately of glass and the various problems he is now able to tackle in the actual glass-execution. From the finished cartoon is made another drawing called the Cutline. This determines the size and character of the mosaic pattern; the exact shape of each of the thousand little pieces of glass—and of course the pattern of the leading. In bad stained glass the leading is treated as a necessary evil: in the best glass it constitutes an element of beauty; and the designer expends almost as much care on it as he does on his cartoon, exercising to the utmost his ability in pure pattern-weaving. At this stage a minute necessary structural provision is made. Stained glass by reason of its weight and the flexible nature of pure lead, cannot be made or erected in large pieces; it must be made in sections and the weight of each of these transferred to the stone. These sections are held in position by T irons; the lowest section cemented into the channel-groove at sill and sides, top edge resting against the leaf of the stone which iron being embedded in the stone sides of the window; the weight of the next portion resting on it; and so on. To resist the wind pressure another iron bar called the Saddlebar, is placed

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the inner surface of the stained glass midway between the top and bottom. As these horizontal lines might prove harmful to the design, they are laid down at an early stage, and the design, if need be, modified to suit.

Every little space in the cutline is then numbered, and glass-cutting begins. To my mind this seems in many ways the most important stage in the whole work. It is said that in many stained glass workshops the selection of glass is left to the glass-cutter guided by the small-scale colour design—though I can hardly credit this. In my workshop every piece of glass is selected and numbered in accordance with the cutline by myself, the part of slab or sheet that I want drawn in chalk upon the glass. Half of the beauty of stained glass seems to me to lie (apart from the question of colour) in contrast of texture. I can imagine a window (having all the characteristic beauty of stained glass) executed in white glass alone, if full use is made of contrasting textures.

When all the glass has been cut to the required shapes it is laid out on a plate-glass frame in accordance with the pattern shown in the cutline, and fixed to the plate with wax. The whole frame is then raised into an upright position and the glass painted, that is, shrouded with all the colour—with the exception of the yellow tones to be added in the firing by the application of silver—is already present in the glass. It is sometimes said "Since glass is such a lovely material the aim of the glass-painter is translucence and purity of colour—why smear it with more-or-less opaque paint?" The answer is that a piece of glass held in the hand, and the same piece set against other pieces in a window viewed at say 30 feet distance, are totally different things. All the jewel-like quality that delights when it lay in your hand seems to have gone out of it when seen at a distance; leaving only a very thin tint lacking in any quality. The explanation of this change is that the texture of the glass is largely lost at that distance; and the glass-painter's work is to so treat the glass when seen in position it shall appear to have the kind of beauty that it had when it lay in your hand. There is of course another and more important use for paint: in adding details which are too small in scale to be complicated in form (such as features, fingers, and so on) and which but its greatest value as an element in the beauty of glass is in the emphasizing of textures; and no small part of the difference between what we rank as good glass, and bad, lies in the manner

in which the shading material is used. Anything remotely resembling the brushwork and handling that constitute such an important element in the beauty of picture-painting is utterly wrong in glass. Paint is a pliant, fluid substance, glass is as hard as granite; and although the glass-painter uses brushes, he does well to think of his work in terms of mosaic rather than in terms of paint. Brushwork is as much out of character in glass as chisel marks would be in a watercolour. But even a mosaic treatment is out of character; for glass, as I have already suggested, is simply Light.

All that remains now is the firing, leading, and erecting; and as there is nothing of interest to be said about firing and leading, and as I have already touched on the manner of erection, we have now reached the completion of our stained glass scheme.

DOUGLAS STRACHAN.

Aul' Fernyurs fae Buchan.

III.

KNOWIE, THE VRICHT, LEEBY.

V. Ay, a fine nicht! Ye're sittin' fairly cheekie for chowie at fireside. Knowie gi'en' ye a lesson on the wy ye sid go, Leeby?

K. A doot A've been some lang o' beginnin'. Leeby's nae a chuch tho' she be cheepin', an' I sanna steer 'er wi' ony mair lessons. They nae eese. Foo sid ye learn fin ye're young an ye canna min' o' things fin ye're aul'. A'm rale forgettle growin' noo an' Leeby's li eese tae me. A wiz tryin' ta min' foo Effec'wal Callin' gaed i' Catechis, an' some wordies escapit me an' Leeby cudna help. We've huntit the hoose heich an' laich for a Catechis, but ne a Catechis cud we fin'—brunt lang sin seen, I'se warran'. An' minister wiz in, an' dog on't, tho' he be a Doctor o' Deeveenity Moderahyor o' the Kirk, he wizna a hair better nor Leeby. He a great say-awa about the Westminster Assem'ly an' the great coddoun doctrine 'at ye get i' th' Catechis for a bawbee or twa, bit fin took breath an' A deman't ma Effec'wal Callin', he wiz like a loon a thorn in's thoom' 'at jumps fin ye come neer the bit. An' syne said there wiz a hantle o' dishealth i' th' pairis' e'enoo an' aul' Wic Watson wiz in a dwinin' condition an' 'e wid need t' look in upo' afore the licht gied awa' this short days. An' so ma lad set awa' a great hurry, bit Widda Watson, A'se wahger, wizna sa dwinin' 's knowledge o' th' Catechis. A've been an eyler o' the Kirk for mair fifty year A reckon, an' A dinna ken fat's come o' oor Standarts fin an minister canna tell the answer t' fat's Effec'wal Callin'. A'm annoy't, Vricht, 'at gin ye be stull clamourin' for Disestaiblishment, ye get it for ocht 'at I care.

L. Weel, fader, ye needsna be sa cankert. The Vricht's a No' sud say a member o' th' Unitit Free Kirk—bit A dinna ken 'at I clairer on Effectual Callin' nor yersel' an' th' Minister.

M. Nyod, Leeby, A doot ve're richt. Gin Disestaiblishment de-

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- 78 Detail from Window 1: Adam and Eve, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27
- 79 Detail from Window 6: Christ Resurrected, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27
- 80 Detail from Window 7: the Elders, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27
- 81 Detail from Window 2: Moses and the Ark of the Covenant, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27
- 82 Casket, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Thomas Hadden, 1925-

- 83 Detail from Window 3: Evil Enthroned, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27
- 84 Detail from Window 4: Men Enslaved, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27
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- 86 Cartoons for *Jupiter, Mars, Moon, Sun* and *Saturn* plaques, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27
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- 88 Detail from Window 5: Calgacus and Wallace, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27
- 89 Detail from Window 7: Alexander III and Robert the Bruce, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27
- 90 Bronze relief, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Alice Meredith Williams, 1925-27
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- 99 *St Gobnait of Ballyvourney* window, Honan Chapel, Cork, Harry Clarke, 1916
- 100 Lower detail from *St Gobnait of Ballyvourney* window, Honan Chapel, Cork, Harry Clarke, 1916
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- 102A, B, C, D, E and F Upper panel details from *The Pillar Events of Ecclesiastical History in Angus* window, Lawson Memorial Kirk vestibule, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16
- 103A, B, C, D, E and F Lower panel details from *The Pillar Events of Ecclesiastical History in Angus* window, Lawson Memorial Kirk vestibule, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16
- 104 *Christ walking on the water* window, St Columba's Kirk, Largs, Douglas Strachan, 1919
- 105 Lower left detail from *Christ walking on the water* window, St Columba's Kirk, Largs, Douglas Strachan, 1919
- 106 Left light detail of sailors from *Christ walking on the water* window, St Columba's Kirk, Largs, Douglas Strachan, 1919
- 107 Right light detail from *Christ walking on the water* window, St Columba's Kirk, Largs, Douglas Strachan, 1925
- 108 *Christ Stilling the Storm* window, Skelmorlie and Wemyss Bay Parish Kirk, Douglas Strachan, c.1925
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- 111 Detail from *Good Shepherd* window, Inverchaolin Parish Kirk, Douglas Strachan, c.1914
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- 119 *St Columba* window, Iona Abbey, Douglas Strachan, 1939
- 120 *St Columba in his cell* window, St Columba's Kirk, London, Douglas Strachan, no-longer extant, date unknown. Photograph reproduced courtesy of St Columba's Kirk, London
- 121 *St Brigid* window, Iona Abbey, Douglas Strachan, 1939
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- 123 *St Margaret* window, Iona Abbey, Douglas Strachan, 1940
- 124 Crombie Memorial Window: *Life of St Machar and the founding of the Cathedral*, Cathedral Church of St Machar, Aberdeen, Douglas Strachan, 1908
- 125A, B and C Cartoons for Crombie Memorial Window: *Life of St Machar and the founding of the Cathedral*, Douglas Strachan, c.1907, reproduced courtesy of Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums Collections
- 126 Detail of Bishop William Elphinstone, from the *Bishops' Window*, Cathedral Church of St Machar, Aberdeen, Douglas Strachan, 1913
- 127 Detail from *Christ Stilling the Storm* window, Pittenweem Parish Kirk, Fife, Willie Wilson, 1963
- 128 Detail from *Christ Teaching the Disciples* window, The Old High Kirk, Inverness, Gordon Webster, c.1940
- 129 *The Consecration of St Mel, Bishop of Longford, by St Patrick*, glass panel, Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, Cork, Harry Clarke, 1910
- 130 Detail of St Dymphna from *St Brigid and St Dymphna* window, the Chapel of the Novitiate of the Oblate Fathers of St Mary Immaculate, Dublin, Harry Clarke, 1925
- 131 *Stilling of the Storm* window, Glenapp Parish Kirk, Douglas Strachan, 1933
- 132 Central detail of *The Creation* window, Lawson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16

- 133A, B and C Details from the central section of *The Creation* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16
- 134A and B, Details from first and sixth lights, Youth and Age, from *The Creation* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16
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- 136 Detail from *The Apocalypse* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16
- 137A, B, C, D and E Details of St John, Roman Tyrant, Christ Triumphant, Horsemen of the Apocalypse and Michael slaying the Great Dragon from *The Apocalypse* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16
- 138 *Te Deum* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16
- 139A, B, C and D Details of Nativity, Baptism, Transfiguration and Deposition from *Te Deum* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16
- 140A, B, C and D Details of Prophets, Martyrs, Domination, Sibyls, Cherubim, Principalities and Angels from *Te Deum* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16
- 141 Detail of battle from *The Apocalypse* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16
- 142 *The Pillar Events of Ecclesiastical History in Angus* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1916



Figure 1 Front elevation, Crawford Priory near Cupar, Fife, James Gillespie, 1812



Figure 2 Crawford Priory, Frontispiece, R. Chambers, *A Description of Craufurd Priory*, Edinburgh 1830

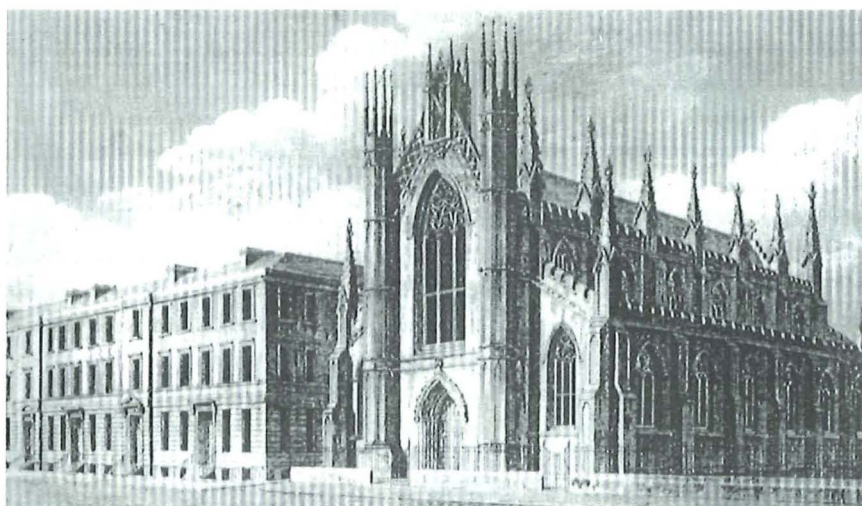


Figure 3 Roman Catholic Chapel, Clyde Street, Glasgow, James Gillespie, from R. Chapman, *Topographical Picture of Glasgow in its Ancient and Modern State*, Glasgow 1820

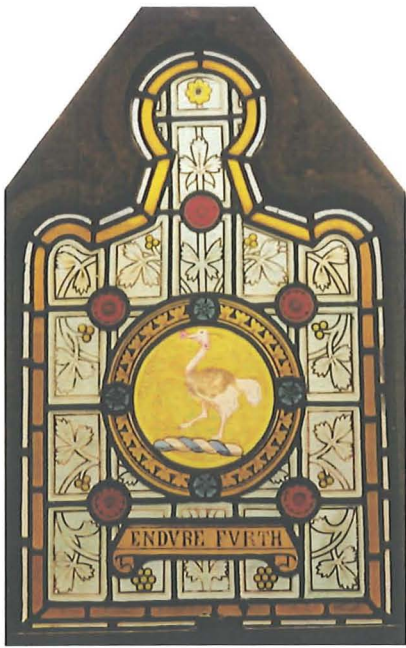


Figure 4 Stained-glass panel from Crawford Priory, artist unknown, mid-19th century

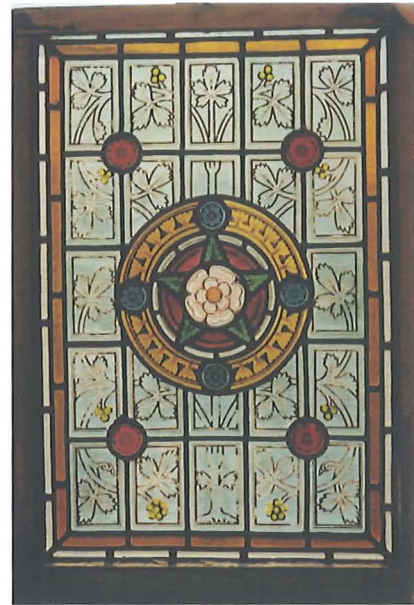


Figure 5 Stained-glass panel from Crawford Priory, artist unknown, mid-19th century



Figure 6 Detail of stained-glass panel from Crawford Priory, mid-19th century



Figure 7 Detail of stained-glass panel from Crawford Priory, mid-19th century



Figure 8 Detail of entrance porch, Crawford Priory, c.1870

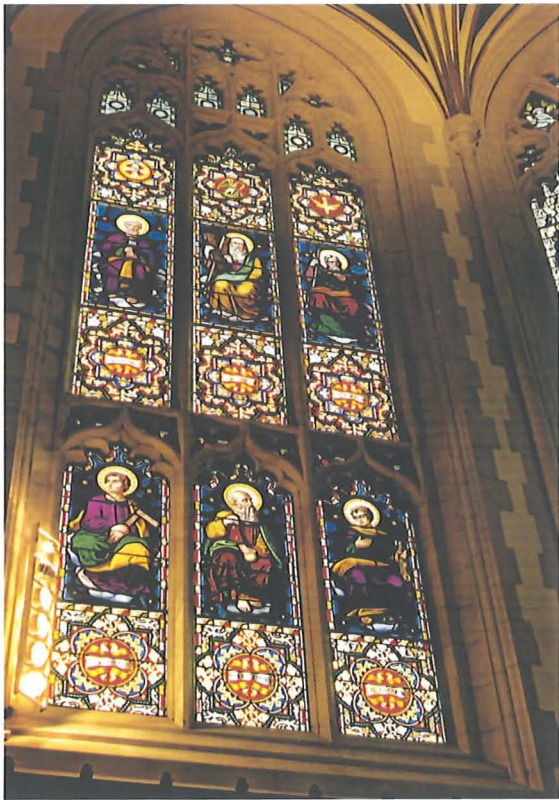


Figure 9 North East apse window, St John the Evangelist, Princes Street, Edinburgh, William Edington. Altered by James Ballantine, 1856

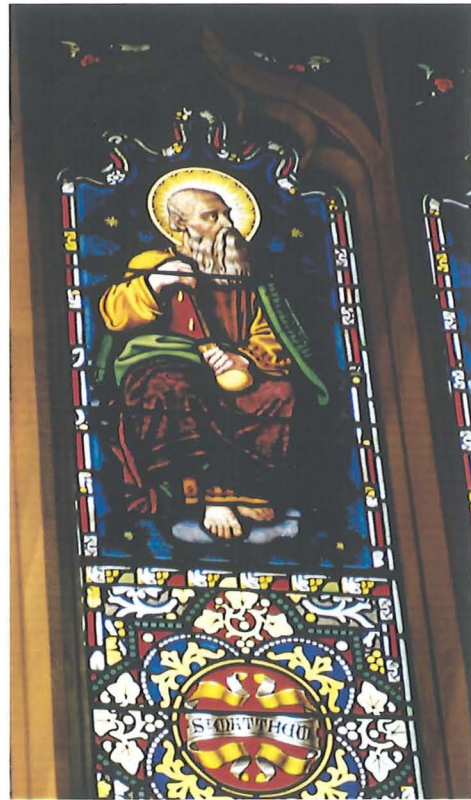


Figure 10 Detail of St Matthew, North East apse window, St John the Evangelist, Princes Street, Edinburgh, William Edington. Altered by James Ballantine, 1856



Figure 11 *Justice* window, Advocates' Hall, Aberdeen, Daniel Cottier, 1872

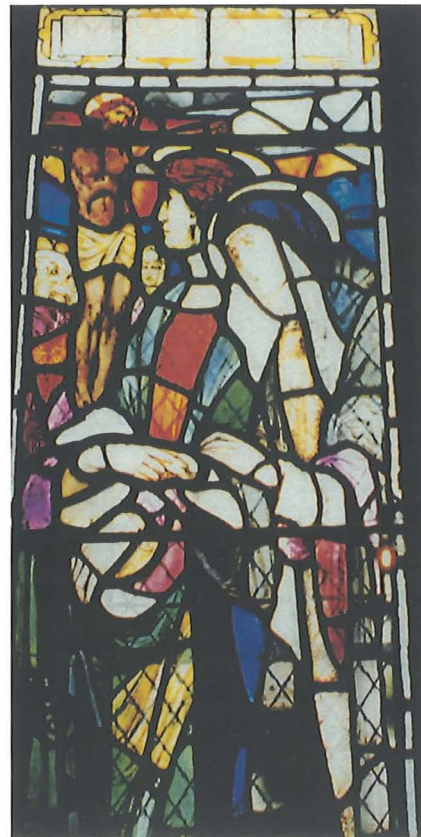


Figure 12 Detail *St Mary and St John at the Crucifixion* window, St Mary's Chapel, St Nicholas Kirk, Union St, Aberdeen, Douglas Strachan, 1899

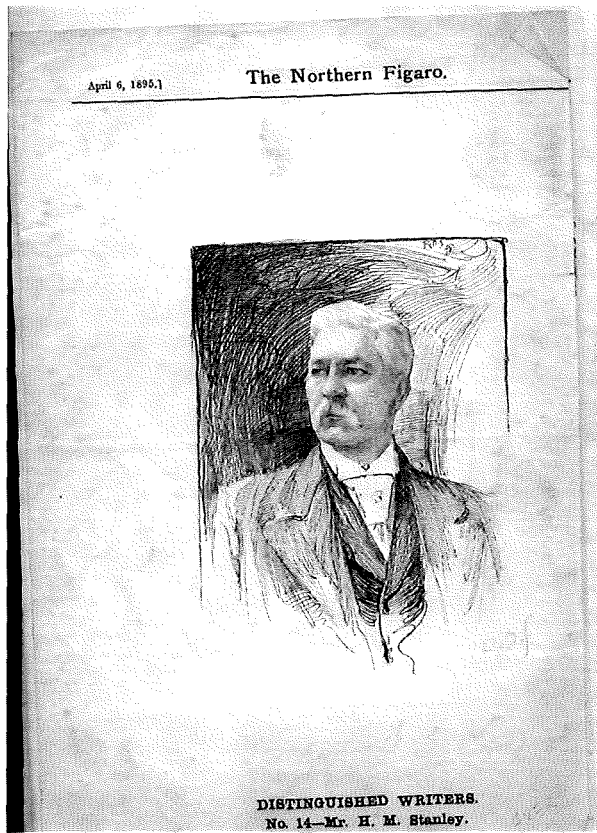


Figure 13 'Mr H M Stanley' in *The Northern Figaro*, Douglas Strachan, April 6 1895, from Newspaper and Other Illustrations Scrapbook, p20



Figure 14 'The Coal Owners' Game' in *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, Douglas Strachan, 1895, from Newspaper and Other Illustrations Scrapbook, p2

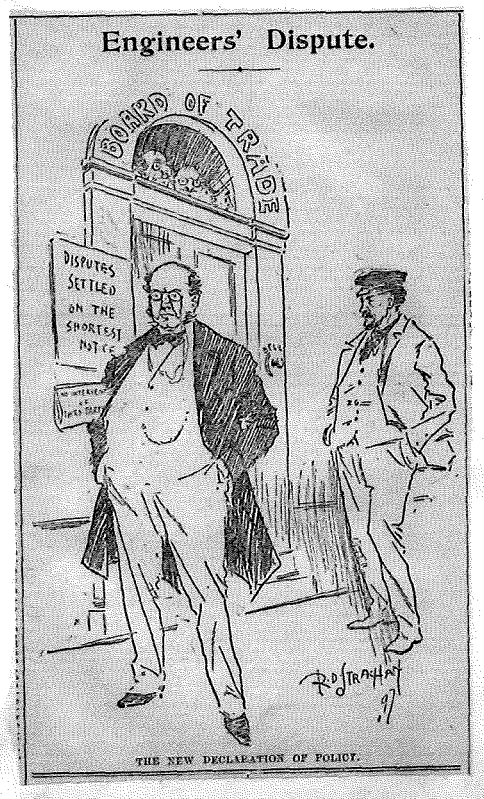


Figure 15 'Engineers' Dispute', in *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, Douglas Strachan, 1897, from Newspaper and Other Illustrations Scrapbook, p135

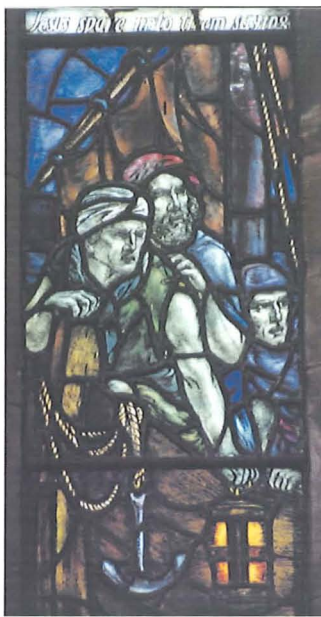


Figure 16 Detail of Peter and John, *Christ Stilling the Storm* window, St Columba's Kirk, Largs, Douglas Strachan, 1919



Figure 17 Untitled, Grand Canal, Venice, oil on canvas, Douglas Strachan, c.1900



Figure 18 Detail of St Mark, East Window: *The Four Evangelists*, St James Episcopal Church, Aberdeen, Douglas Strachan, c.1900

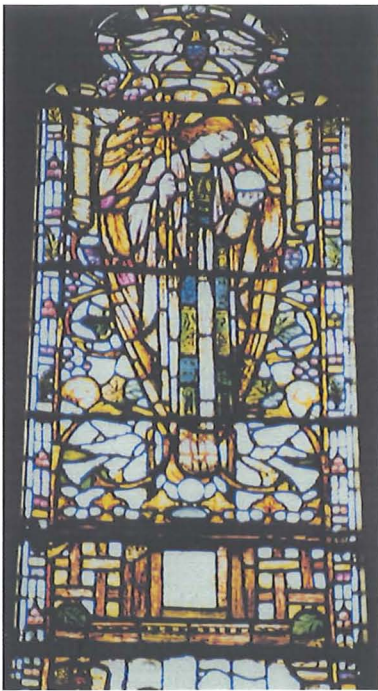


Figure 19 Detail of Angel, *Adoration of the Magi* window, King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, Douglas Strachan, 1904



Figure 20 Detail from *The Benedicite* window, Old Parish Kirk, Fraserburgh, Douglas Strachan, 1906

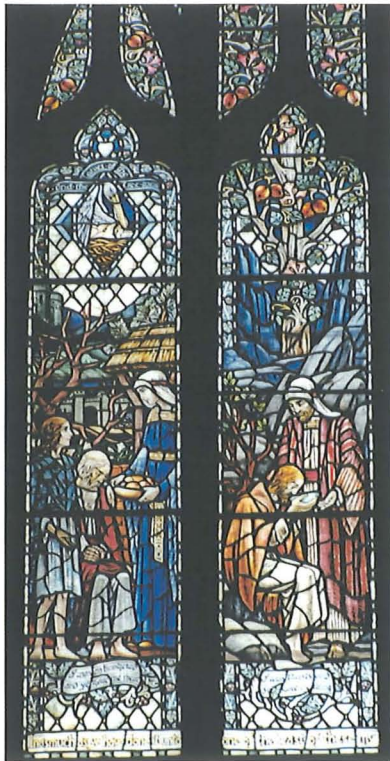


Figure 21 Dunfermline Abbey, *Livingstone Memorial* window, Alexander Strachan, 1937

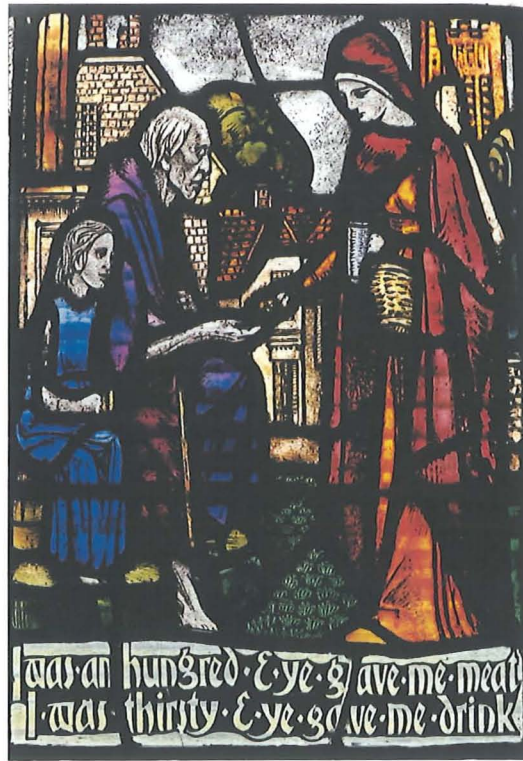


Figure 22 Detail of 'I was hungry' from the *Acts of Mercy* windows, Rannoch School, Perthshire [originally in Canongate Boy's Club, Panmure House, Edinburgh], Douglas Strachan, 1932

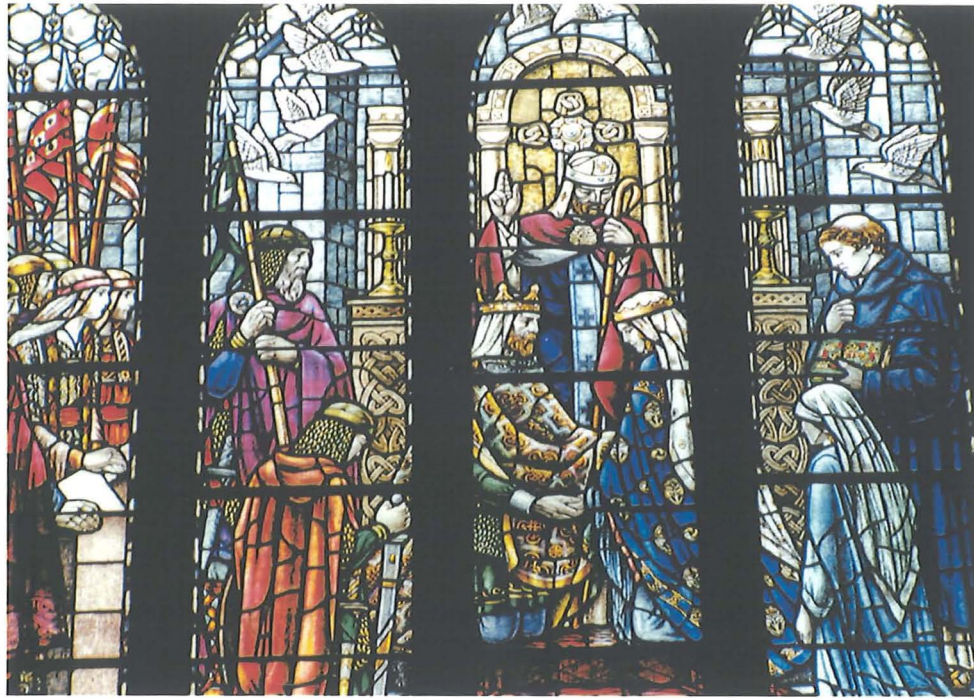


Figure 23 Detail of *St Margaret* window, Dunfermline Abbey, Alexander and Douglas Strachan, 1919



Figure 24 *Humility, Courage, Faith* window, St Leonard's Church, St Leonards, Bucks, attributed to Douglas Strachan, 1922

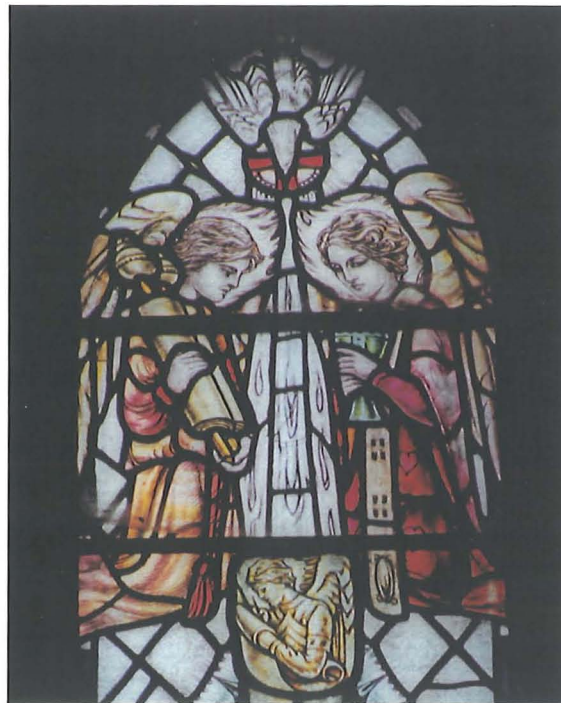


Figure 25 Detail of *Angels*, *Sacrifice* window, Bedrule Parish Kirk, Douglas Strachan, 1922

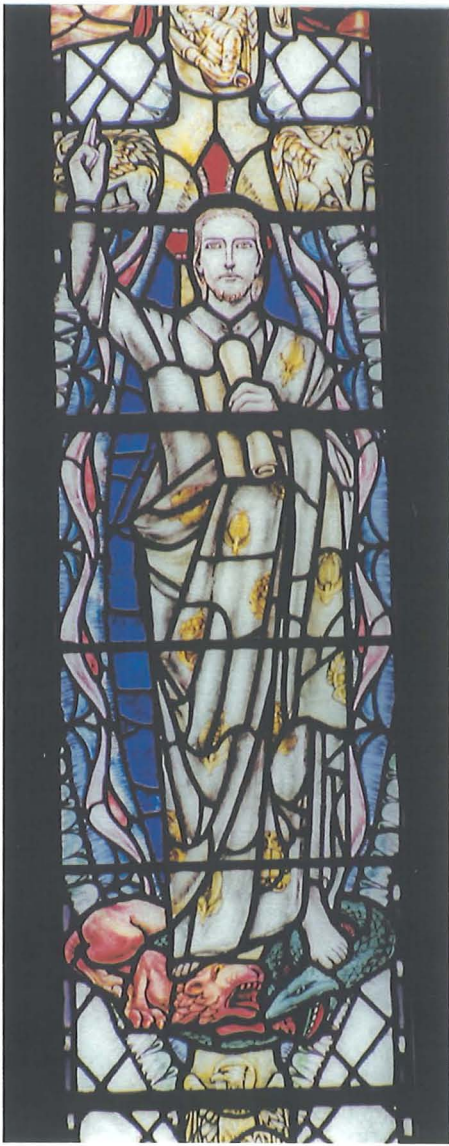


Figure 26 Detail of Resurrected Christ, *Sacrifice* window, Bedrule Parish Kirk, Douglas Strachan, 1922



Figure 27 Detail of Christ from *Humility, Courage, Faith* window, St Leonard's Church, St Leonards, Bucks, attributed to Douglas Strachan, 1922



Figures 28A and B cartoons for *The Royal Scots Fusiliers* and *The Cameron Regiment*, Alexander/Douglas Strachan, c.1920

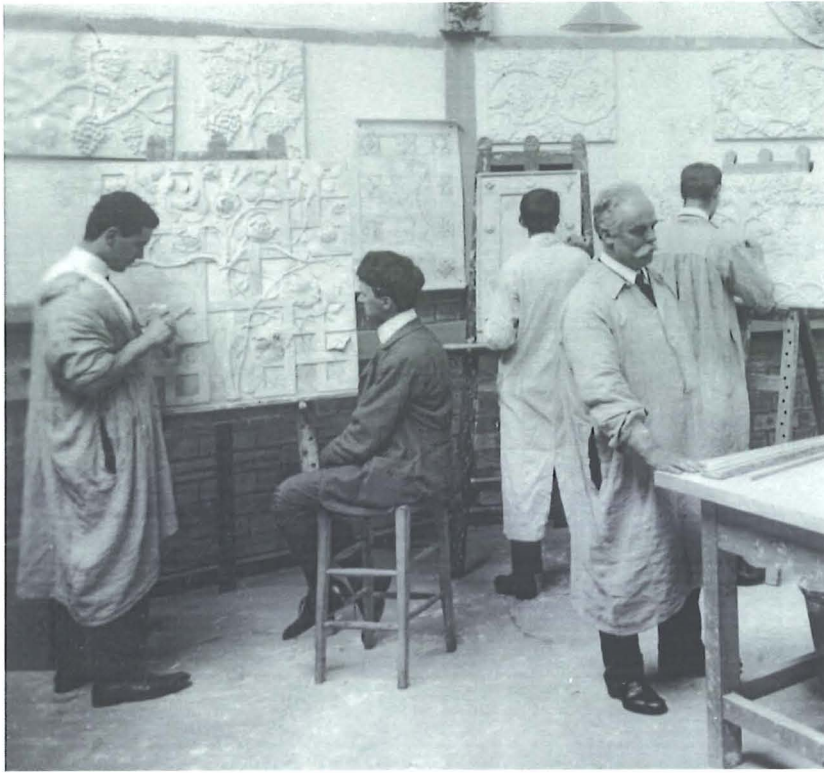


Figure 29 Strachan with an interior decoration class at Edinburgh College of Art, marked 'About 1910'

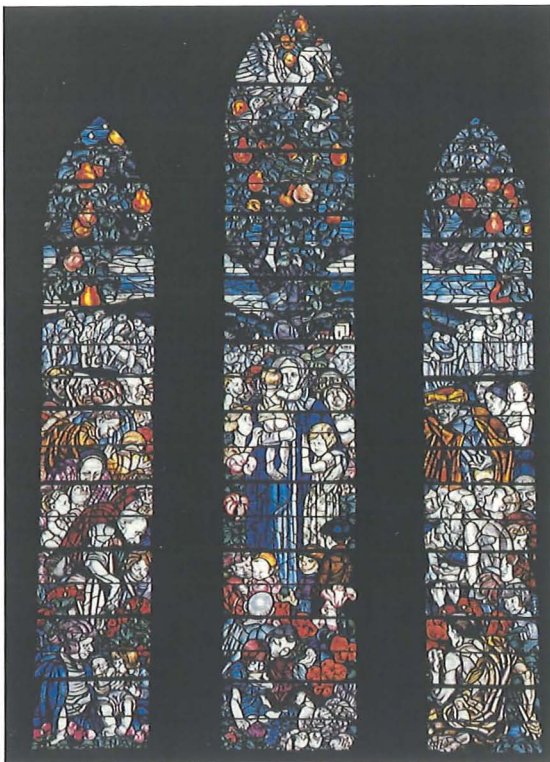


Figure 30 Iveagh Memorial Window: *Mother Church ministering to the needs of humankind*, cartoon F. Brangwyn, executed Alexander Strachan, 1937

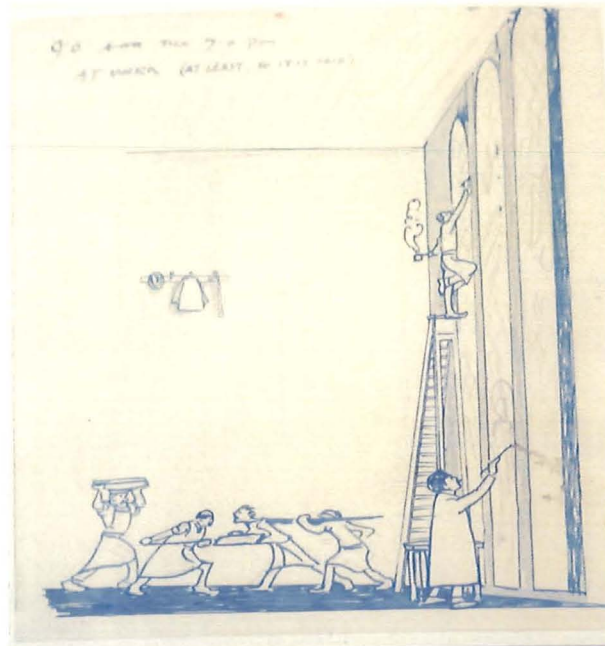


Figure 31 Detail from a cartoon depicting a typical working day at Pittendreich, Douglas Strachan, c.1915

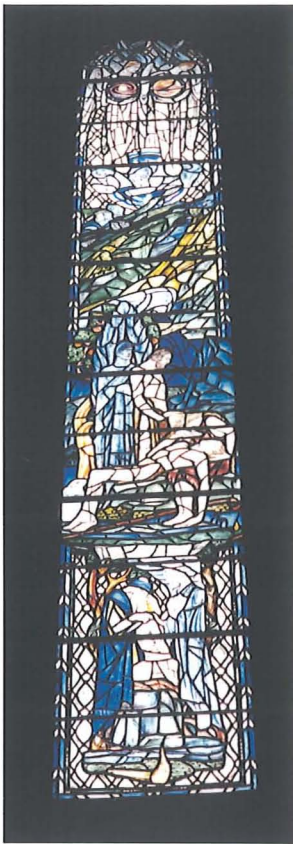


Figure 32 Window 1: the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1924-27

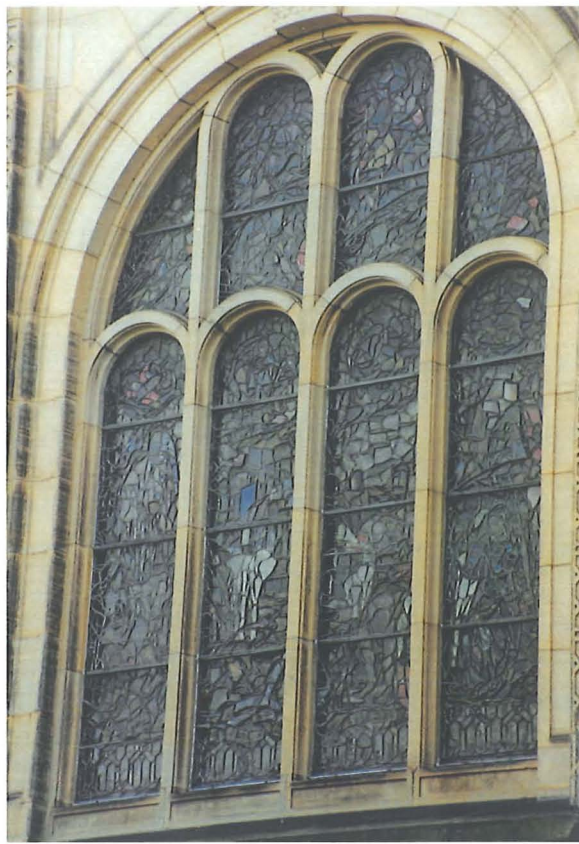
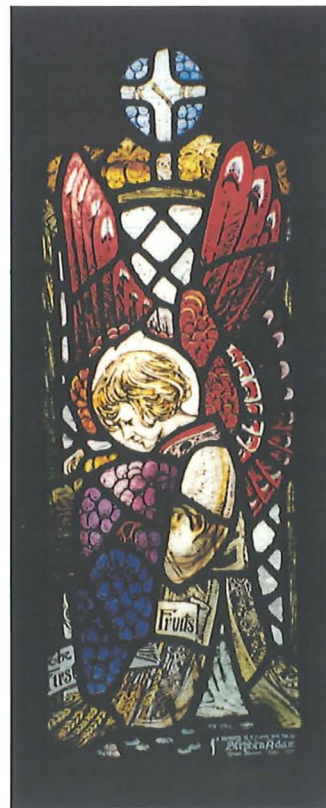


Figure 33 Exterior View of *The Age of Conquest* window, Great Hall of Justice, The Peace Palace, The Hague, Douglas Strachan, 1913



Figures 34A and B Detail of Elma in *Peace Achieved* window, Great Hall of Justice, The Peace Palace, The Hague, Douglas Strachan 1913 and *First Fruits*, New Kilpatrick Kirk, Bearsden, Alfred Webster, 1910-15

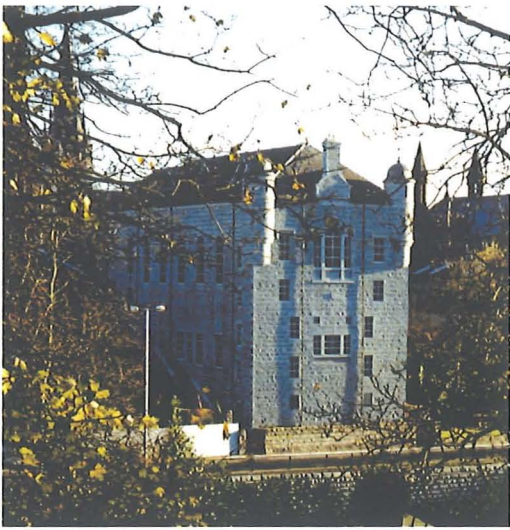


Figure 35 Exterior view of Trades Hall, Lower Denburn Road, Aberdeen, Ellis and Wilson, 1896



Figure 36 Interior, Trades Hall, Aberdeen c.1994



Figure 37 Trades Hall, Aberdeen, *Ancient and Modern Labour* panels, Douglas Strachan, 1898, clipping from *The Scots Pictorial*, Oct 1, 1898, p98

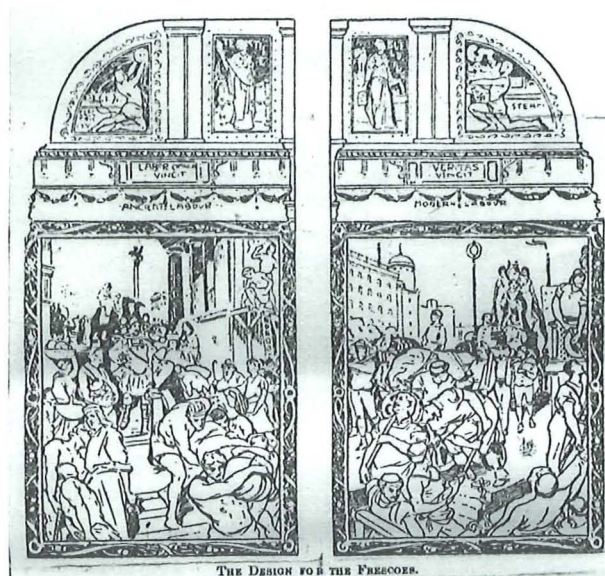


Figure 38 Photo-engraving, Trades Hall, *Ancient and Modern Labour* panels, clipping from *The People's Journal*, Douglas Strachan, undated c.1898

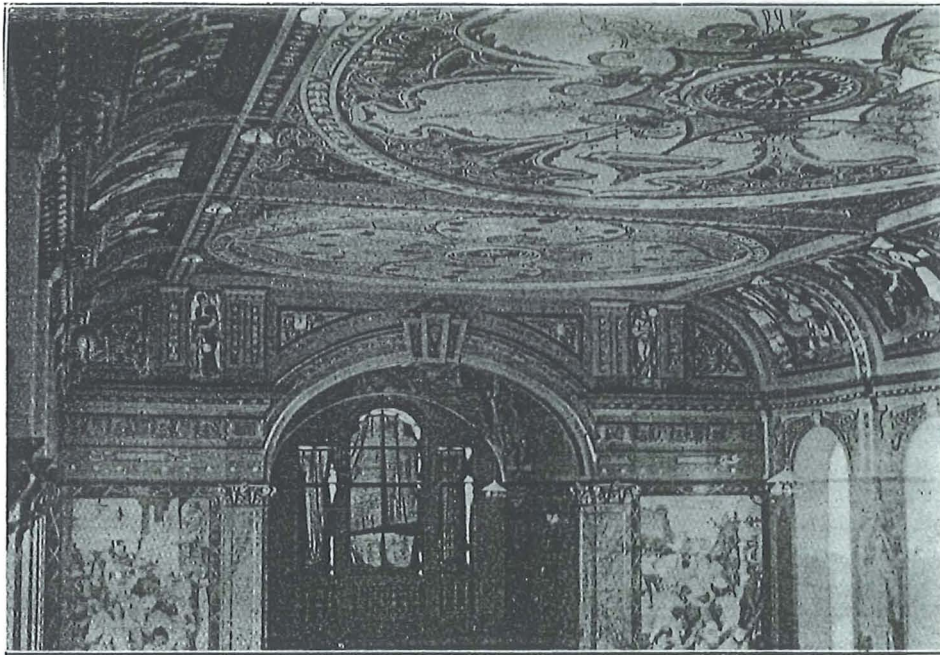


Figure 39 View of interior of Trades Hall, Aberdeen, clipping from *The Scots Pictorial* Oct 1, 1898, p96



Figure 40 Details of main hall ceiling in Trades Hall, Aberdeen, Douglas Strachan, 1898, photograph c. 1994



Figure 41 Four panels from *In Pursuit of Fame*, Trades Hall, Douglas Strachan 1898, clipping from *The Scots Pictorial* Oct 1, 1898, p97



Figure 42 Four panels from *In the Way of Greatness*, Trades Hall, Douglas Strachan, clipping from *The Scots Pictorial* Oct 1, 1898, p97



Figure 43 Detail of Destiny weaving from *Peace Achieved* window, Great Hall of Justice, Peace Palace, The Hague, Douglas Strachan, 1913



Figure 44 Photograph of Douglas Strachan, c.1898



From an Unpublished Sketch by Mr. R. D. Strachan.

Figure 45 Unpublished Sketch from *As You Like It*, Douglas Strachan, newspaper clipping from *Brown's Book-Stall*, No 14, October 1898, p252

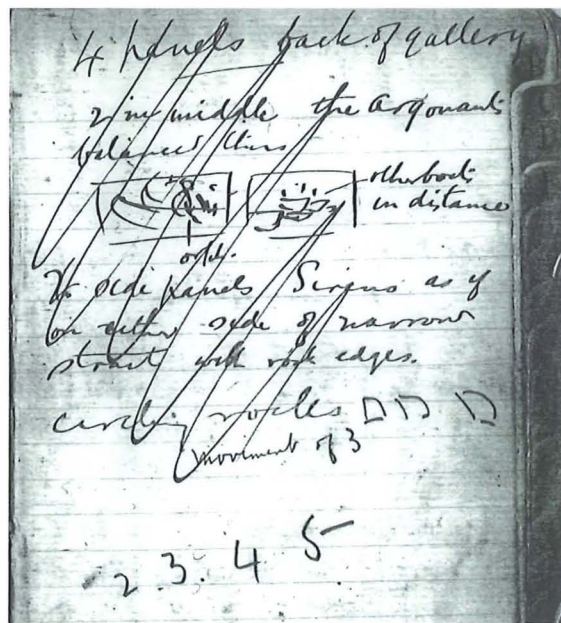


Figure 46 Detail from Douglas Strachan's notebook, c.1900



Figure 47 *Orpheus and the Argonauts* panel, Music Hall, Aberdeen, Douglas Strachan, 1899 - 1909



Figure 48 Details of Sirens from *Orpheus and the Argonauts* panel, Music Hall, Aberdeen, Douglas Strachan, 1899 - 1909



Figure 49 *Orpheus losing Eurydice* panel,
Music Hall, Aberdeen, Douglas Strachan, 1899-1909



Figure 50 Untitled photograph of framed painting of a winged couple,
signed Douglas Strachan and dated 1908, Aberdeen Art Gallery



Figure 51 Detail of ceiling, Music Hall, Aberdeen, 2000



Figures 52A and B Apse and central detail of *Apollo* mural, Music Hall, Aberdeen, Douglas Strachan, 1899-1909



Figure 53 Detail of sailors from *Orpheus and the Argonauts* panel, Music Hall, Aberdeen, Douglas Strachan, 1899 - 1909

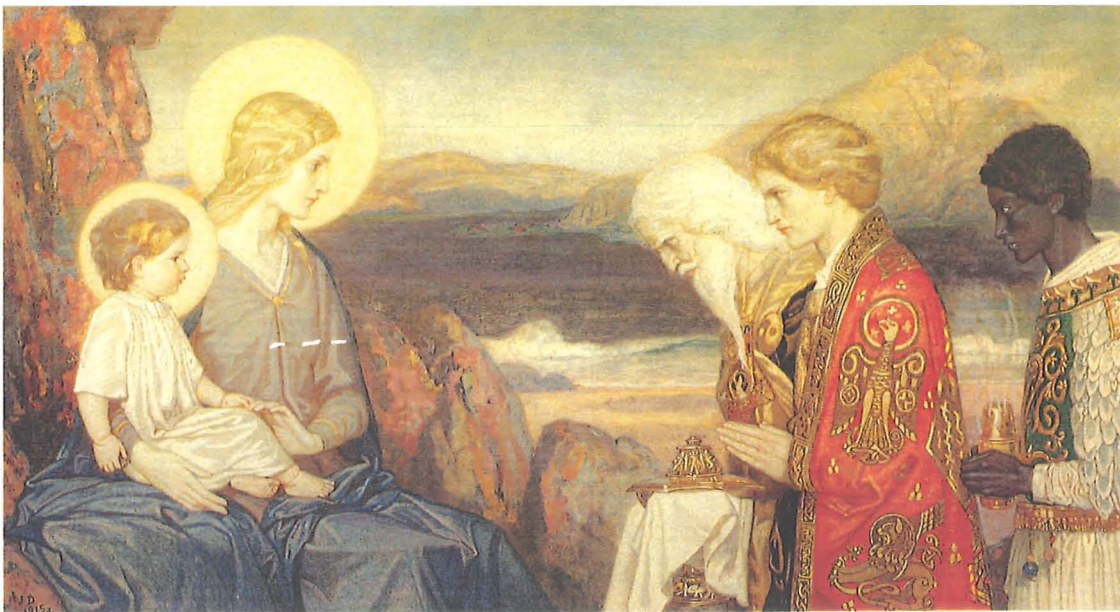


Figure 54 *The Adoration of the Magi*, tempera, John Duncan, 1915

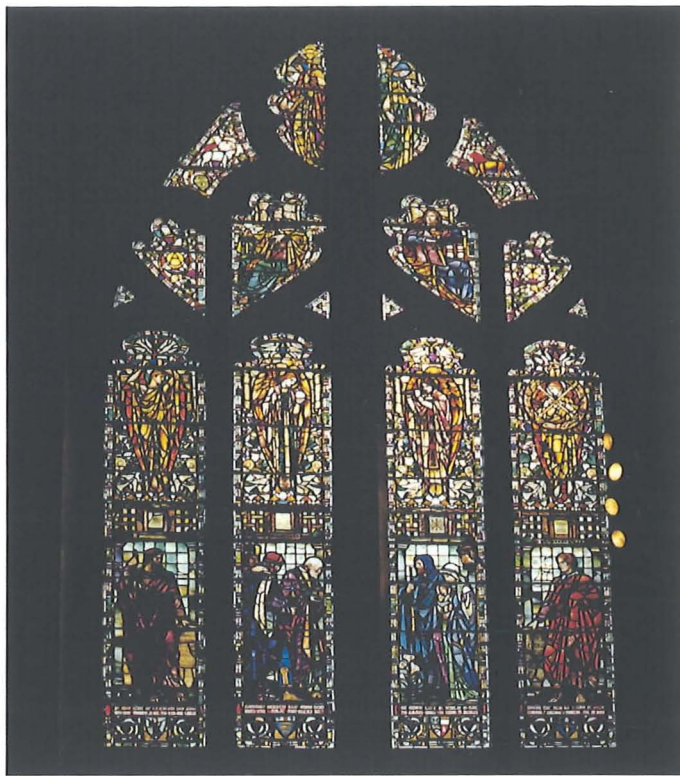
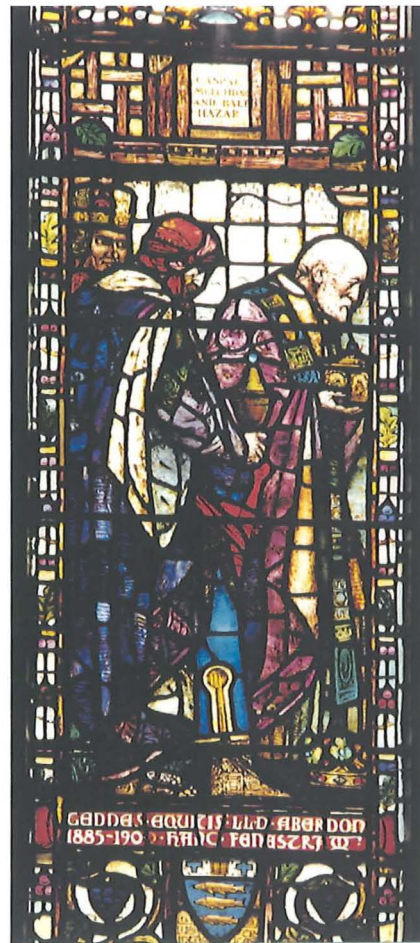


Figure 55 Geddes Memorial Window: *Adoration of the Magi*, King's College Chapel, Aberdeen University, Douglas Strachan, 1903



Figures 56A and B Detail of Geddes from *Adoration of the Magi* cartoon, c.1903 , and detail of Geddes from *Adoration of the Magi* window, King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, Douglas Strachan, 1903



Figure 57 Chapel of the Epiphany, Peplow, Shropshire, Richard Norman Shaw, 1877-79



Figures 58A and B Interior views of the chancel, *Adoration of the Magi* mural, Chapel of the Epiphany, Peplow, Douglas Strachan, 1903



Figures 59A, B and C Details of Herod, Kings, and spectator, *Adoration of the Magi* mural, Chapel of the Epiphany, Peplow, Douglas Strachan, 1903



Figure 60 Detail of Persian Sybil, *Adoration of the Magi* mural, Chapel of the Epiphany, Peplow, Douglas Strachan, 1903

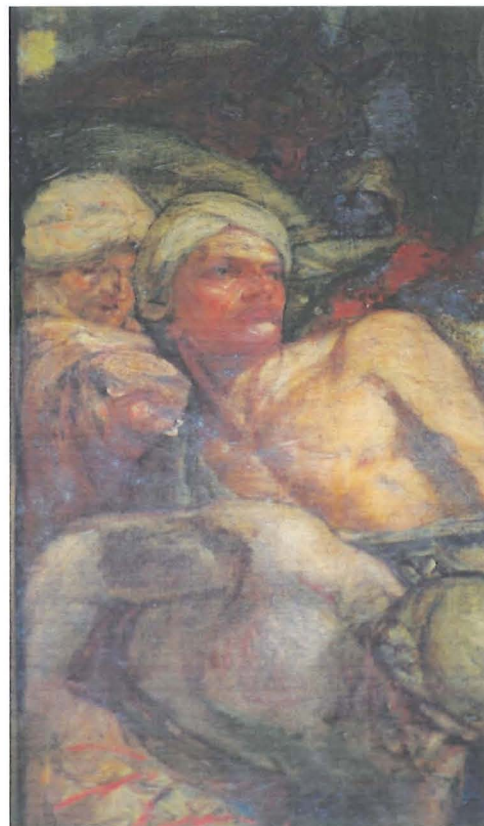


Figure 61 Detail of slaves, *Adoration of the Magi* mural, Chapel of the Epiphany, Peplow, Douglas Strachan, 1903



Figure 62 Details of two kings and their standard, *Adoration of the Magi* mural, Douglas Strachan c.1904



Figure 63 Cartoon for the Cruikshank Memorial Window: *The Faculties of Science*, Marischal College Library, Aberdeen, Douglas Strachan, 1906

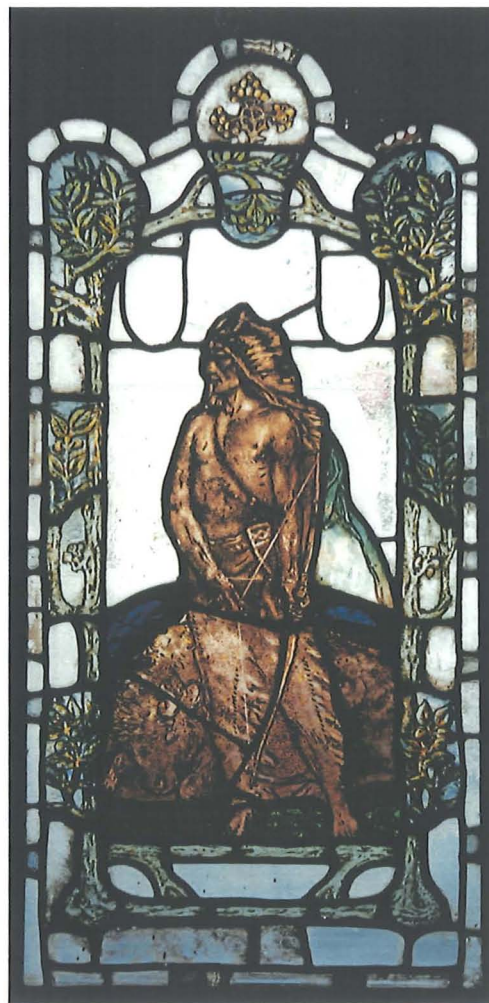
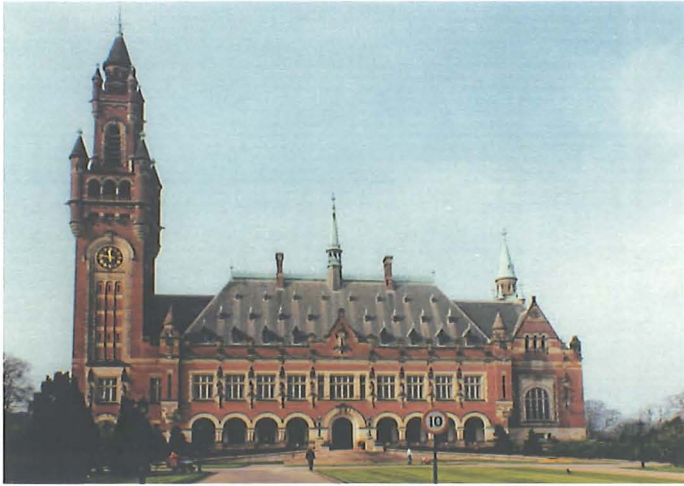


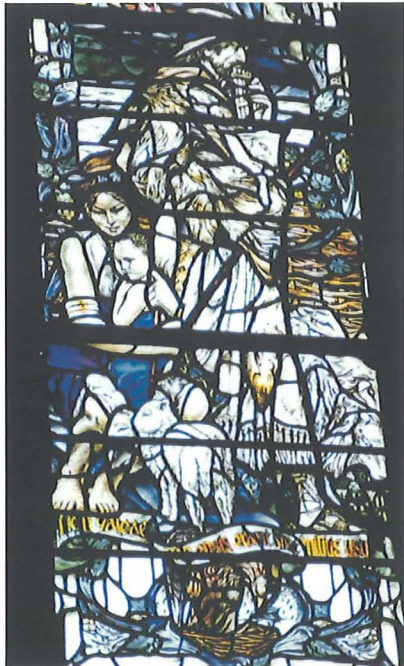
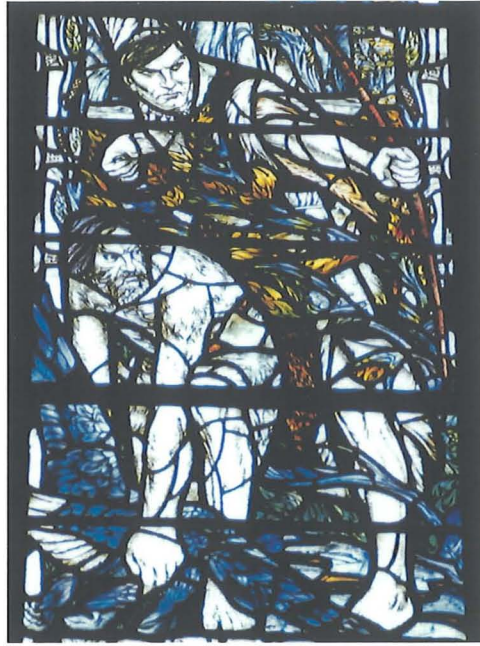
Figure 64 Detail of seventh light, Cruikshank Memorial Window: *The Faculties of Science*, Marischal College Library, Aberdeen, Douglas Strachan, 1906



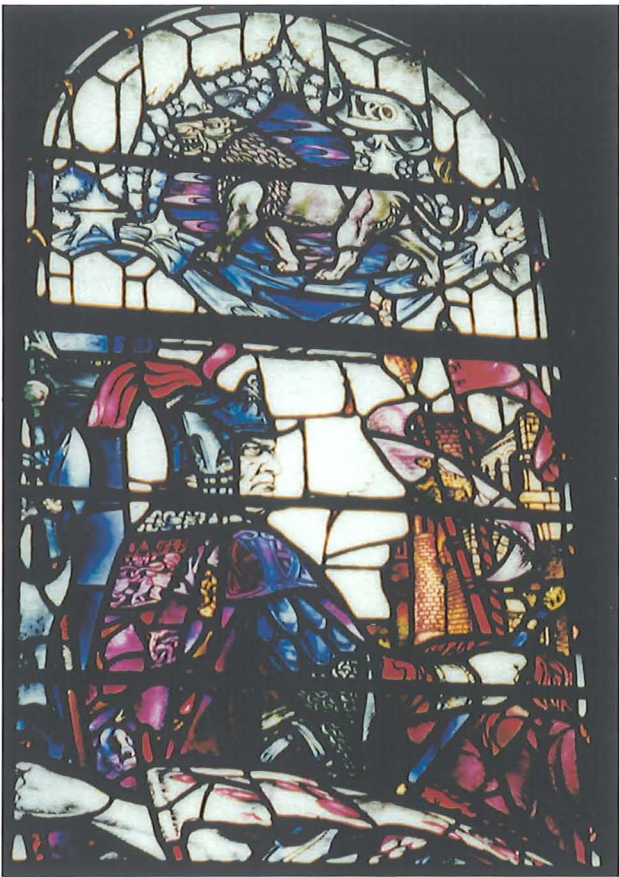
Figures 65A and B Exterior views of front and right side of Peace Palace, The Hague, M. Cordonnier, 1912



Figure 66 Layout of windows in the Great Hall, Peace Palace, The Hague



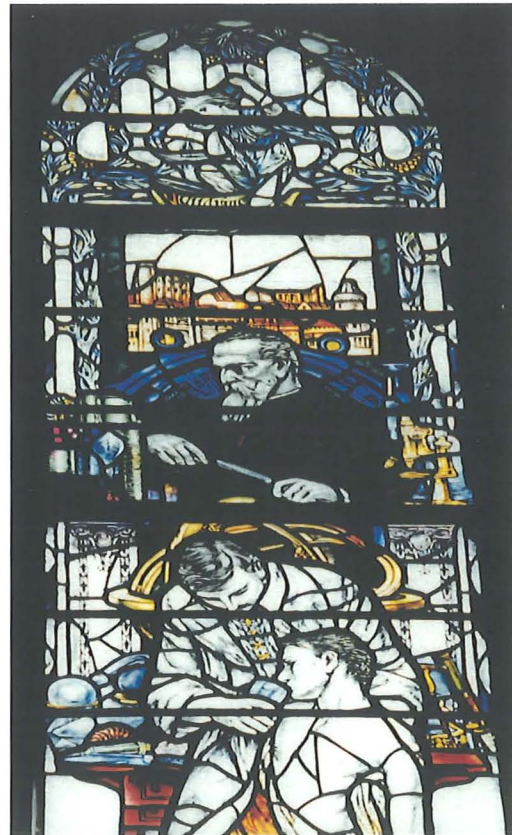
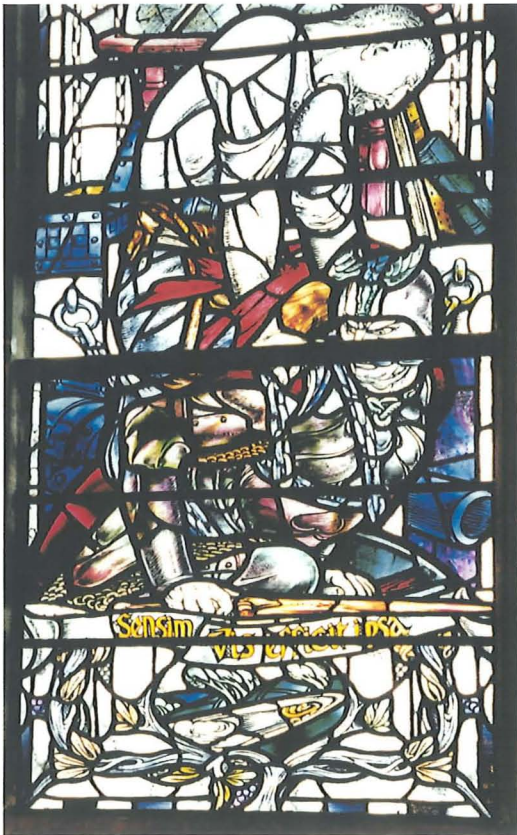
Figures 67A, B, C, D and E Details from *The Primitive Age* window, Great Hall of Justice, Peace Palace, The Hague, Douglas Strachan, 1913



Figures 68A, B and C Details from *The Age of Conquest* window, Great Hall of Justice, Peace Palace, The Hague, Douglas Strachan, 1913



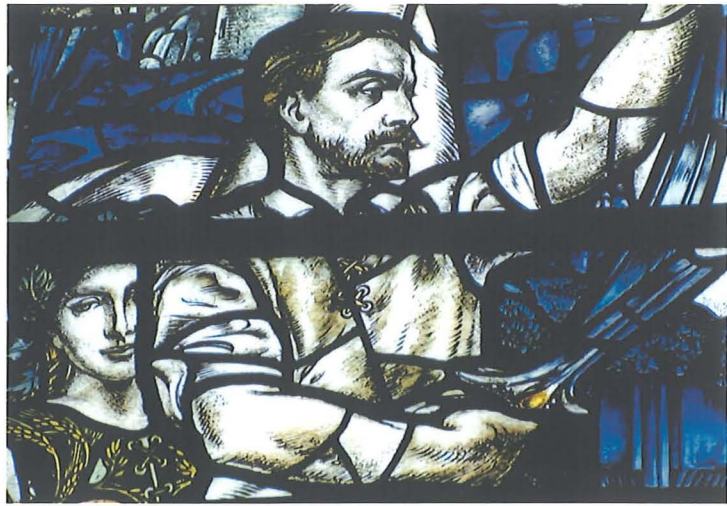
Figures 68D and E Details from *The Age of Conquest* window, Great Hall of Justice, Peace Palace, The Hague, Douglas Strachan, 1913



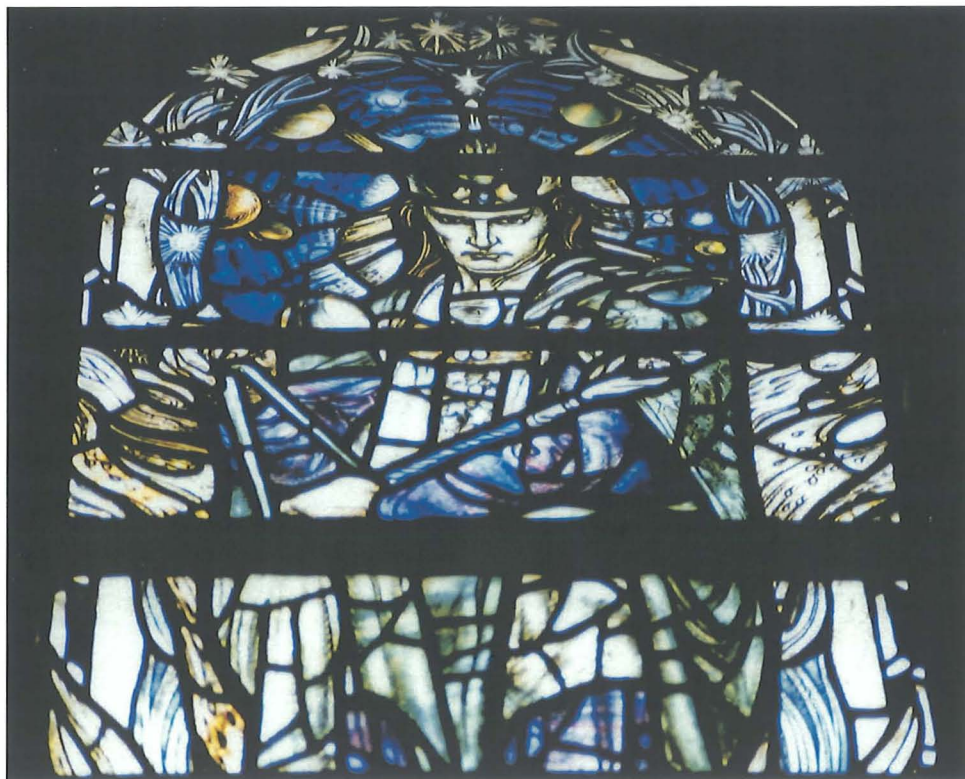
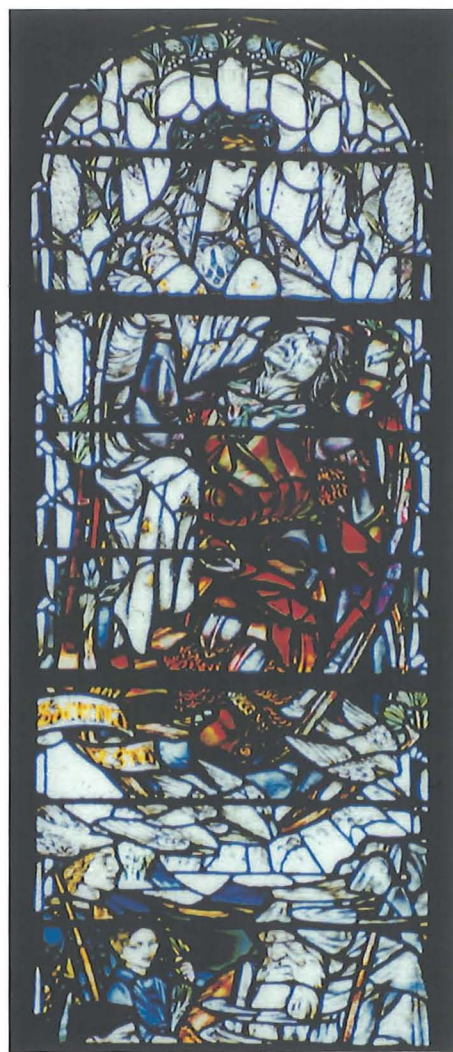
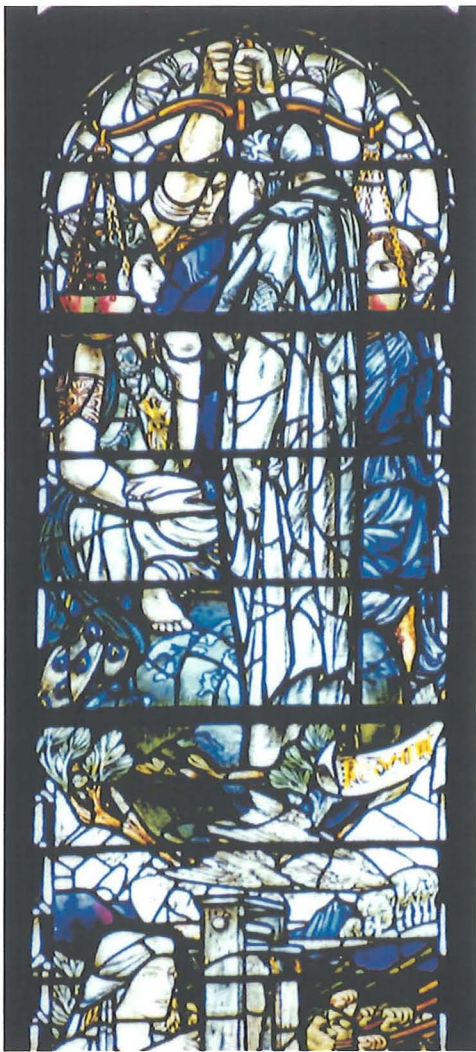
Figures 69A, B, C and D Details from *The Present Age* window, Great Hall of Justice, Peace Palace, The Hague, Douglas Strachan, 1913



Figures 69E, F and G Details from *The Present Age* window,
Great Hall of Justice, Peace Palace, The Hague, Douglas Strachan, 1913



Figures 70A, B and C Details from *Peace Achieved* window, Great Hall of Justice, Peace Palace, The Hague, Douglas Strachan, 1913



Figures 70D, E and F Details from Peace Achieved window, Great Hall of Justice, Peace Palace, The Hague, Douglas Strachan, 1913



Figure 71 North elevation of Scottish National War Memorial, Edinburgh Castle, Robert Lorimer, 1925-27

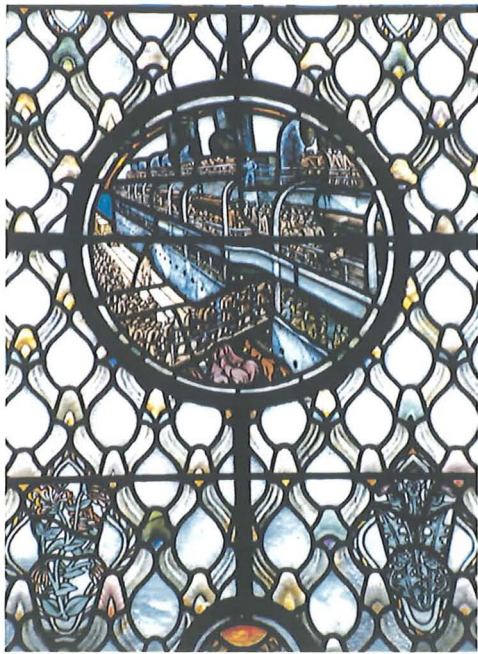


Figure 72 Detail from *Summer* window, Hall of Honour, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27

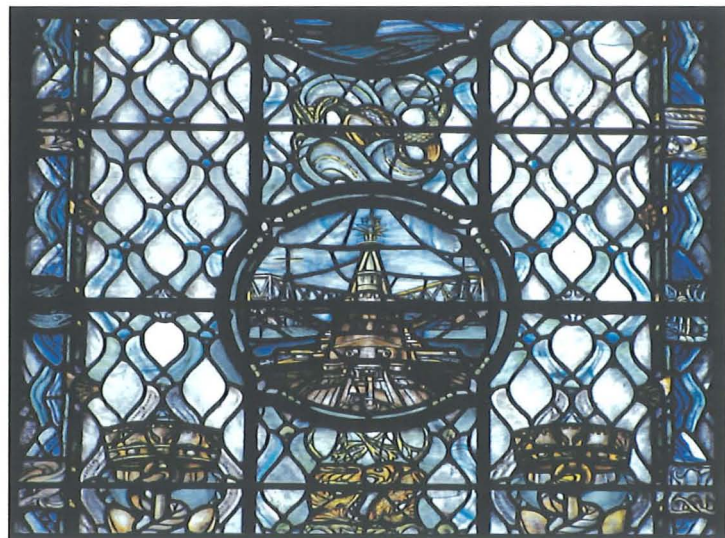


Figure 73 Detail from *Naval* window, Hall of Honour, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27



Figure 74 Lower detail from *Naval* window, Hall of Honour, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27



Figure 75 Detail from *Women's Services* window, Hall of Honour, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27



Figure 76 Detail from Window 2: *Cain and the Land of Nod*, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-1927

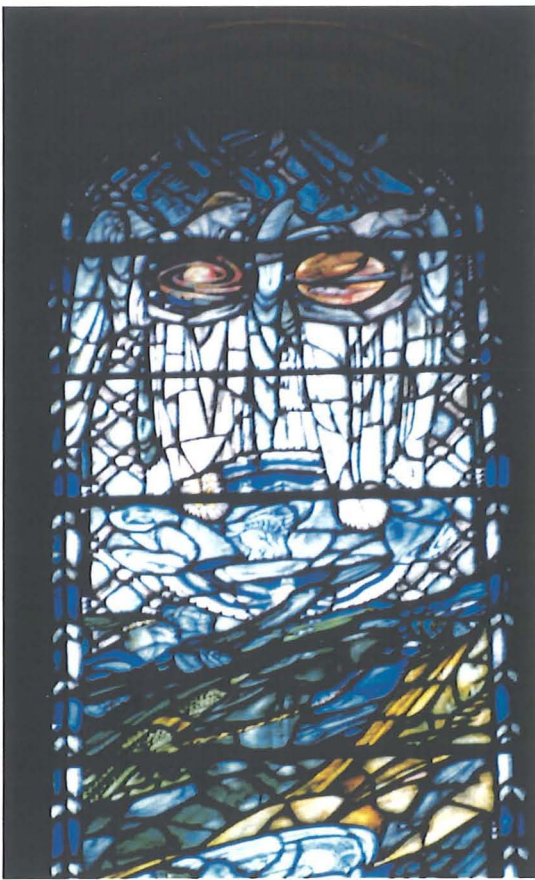


Figure 77 Detail from Window 1: Days of Creation, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27

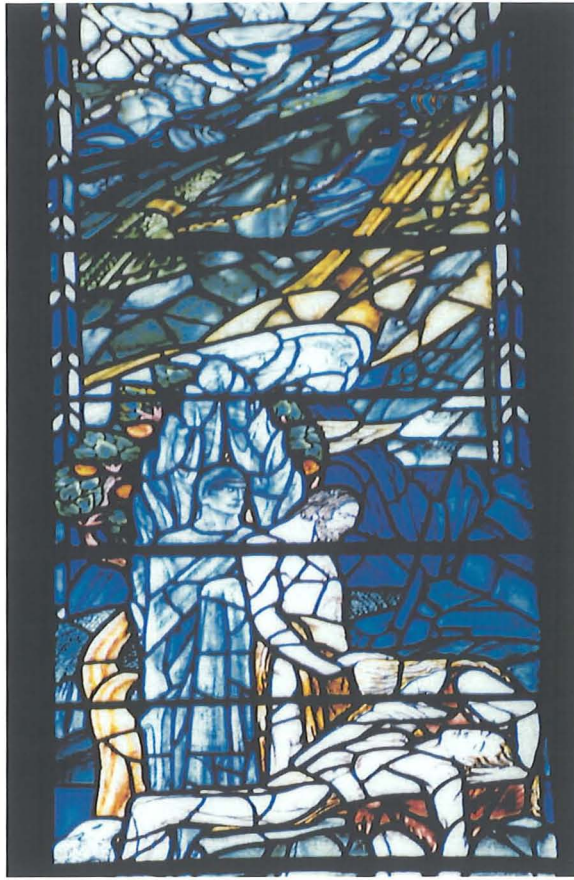


Figure 78 Detail from Window 1: Adam and Eve, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27



Figure 79 Detail from Window 6: Christ Resurrected, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27

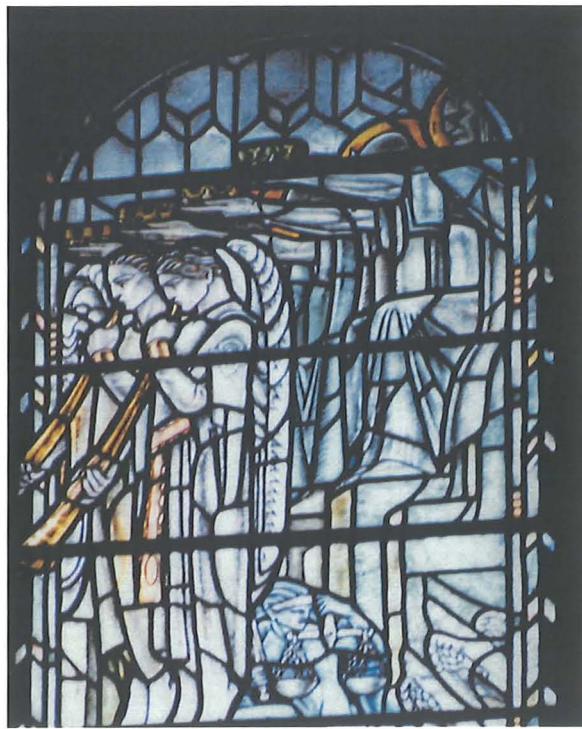


Figure 80 Detail from Window 7: the Elders, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27

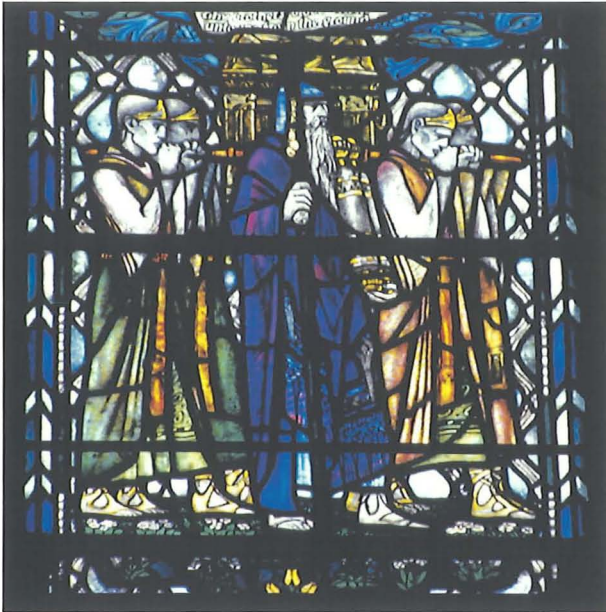


Figure 81 Detail from Window 2: Moses and the Ark of the Covenant, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27

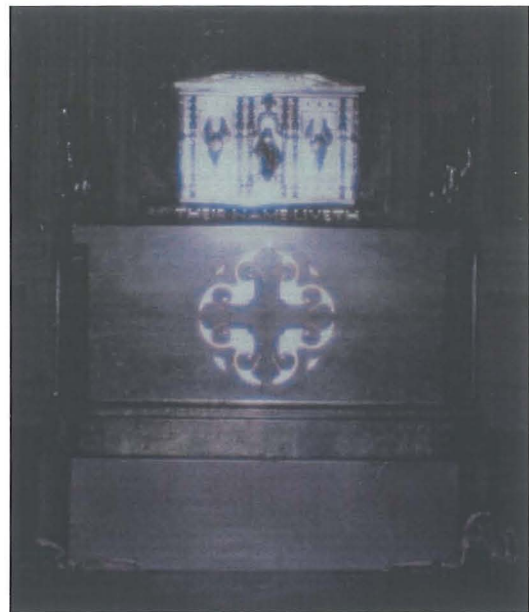


Figure 82 Casket, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Thomas Hadden, 1925-27

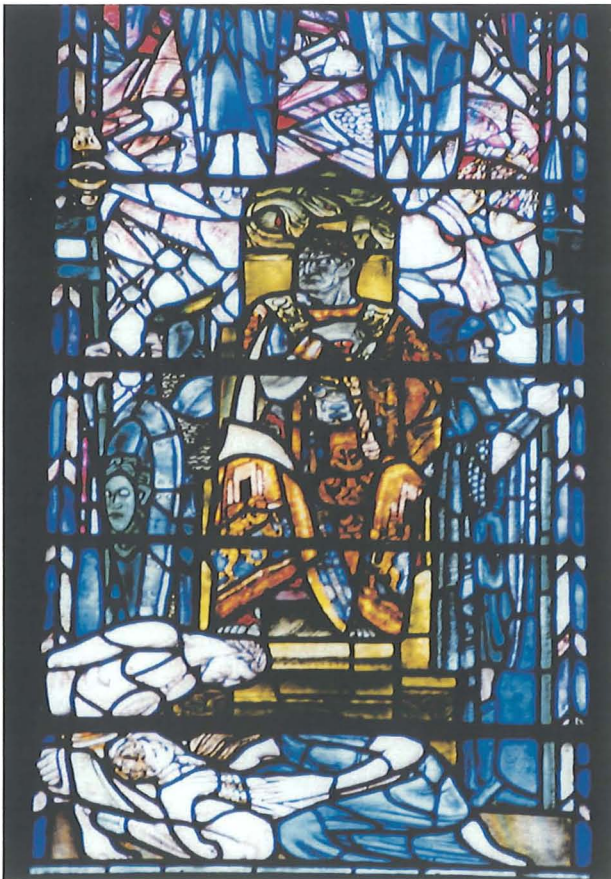


Figure 83 Detail from Window 3: Evil Enthroned, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27

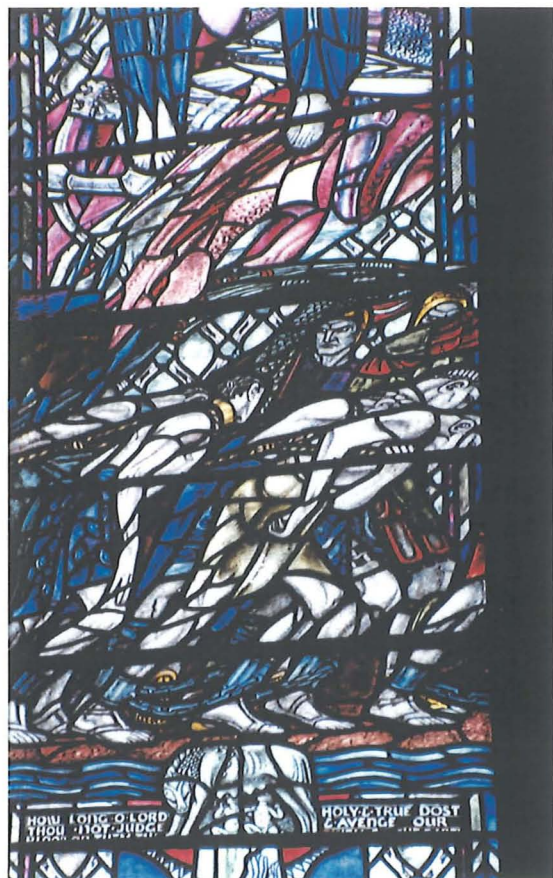


Figure 84 Detail from Window 4: Men Enslaved, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27

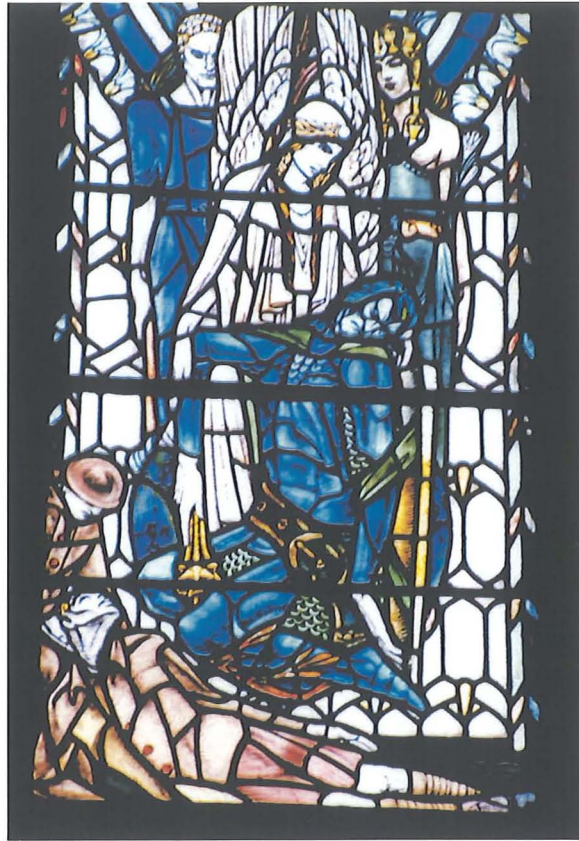
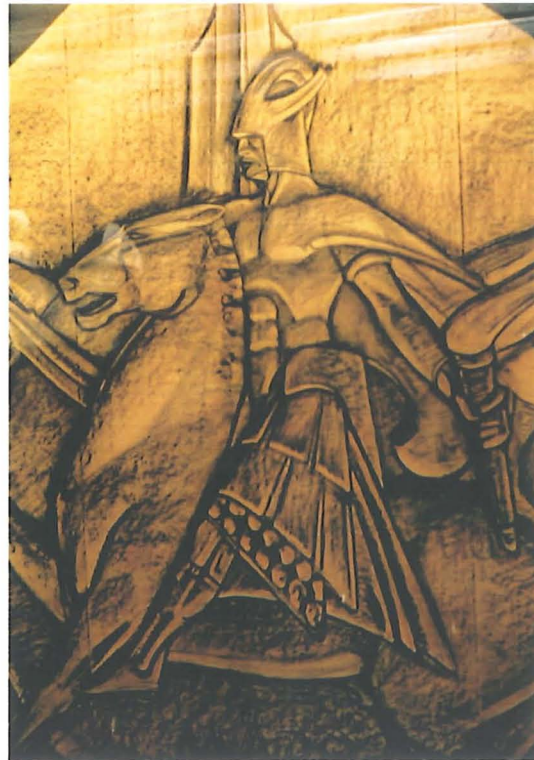
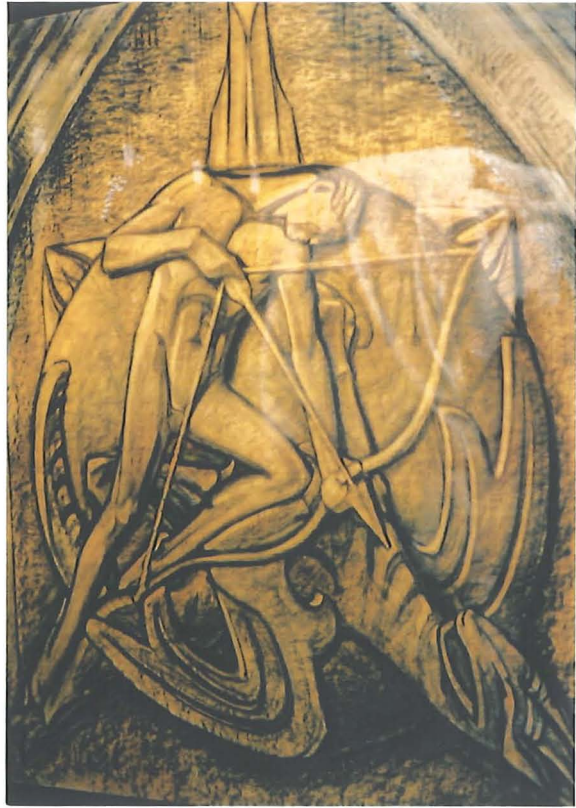


Figure 85 Detail from Window 6: Bellona, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27



Figures 86A and B Cartoons for *Jupiter* and *Mars* plaques, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27



Figures 86C, D and E Cartoons for *Moon*, *Sun* and *Saturn* plaques, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Edinburgh, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27



Figure 87 *Saturn* plaque, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, carved by George Salveson, 1925-27



Figure 88 Detail from Window 5: Calgacus and Wallace, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27



Figure 89 Detail from Window 7: Alexander III and Robert the Bruce, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27

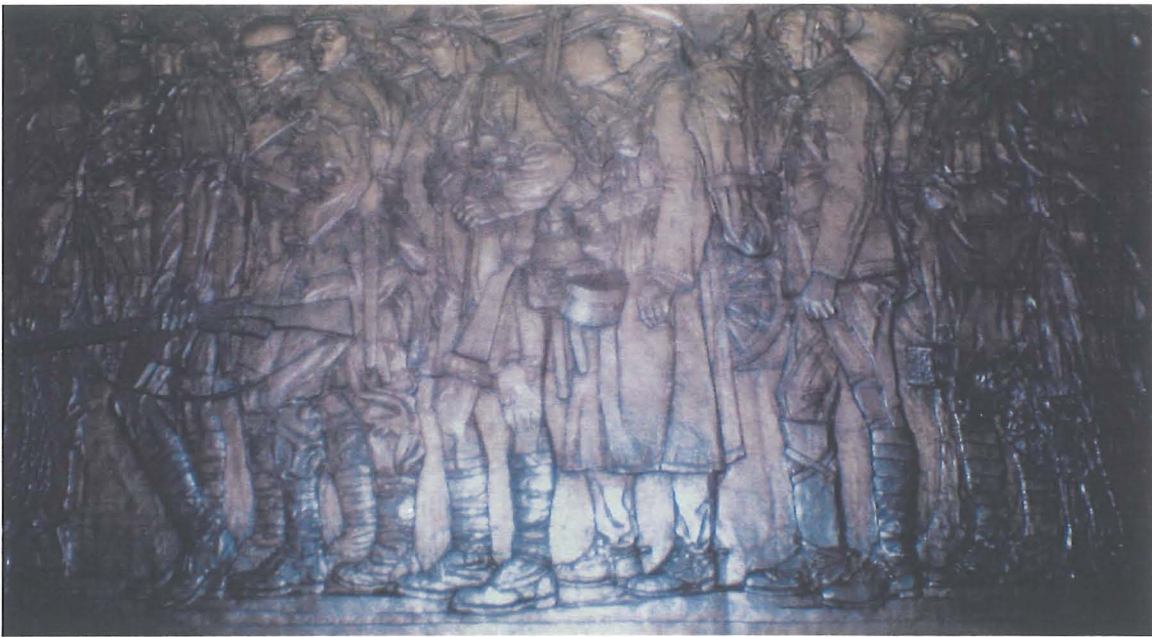


Figure 90 Bronze relief, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Alice Meredith Williams, 1925-27



Figure 91 *Archangel Michael*, sculpture, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Alice Meredith Williams, 1925-27



Figure 92 Chalk sketch for *Archangel Michael*, Douglas Strachan, c.1923

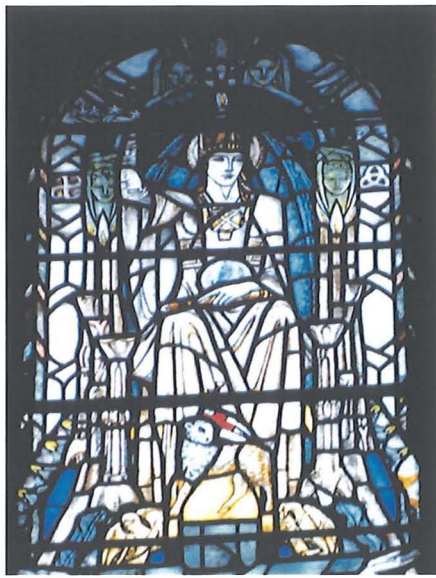


Figure 93 Detail from Window 6: Christ Resurrected and Christ Enthroned, the Shrine, Scottish National War Memorial, Douglas Strachan, 1925-27



Figure 94 Welsh National War Memorial, Sir J. Ninian Comper, 1924-28



Figure 95 Detail of central podium and seating:
Welsh National War Memorial, Sir J. Ninian Comper, 1924-28



Figure 96 Exterior view of St Margaret's Chapel, Edinburgh Castle, c.1100

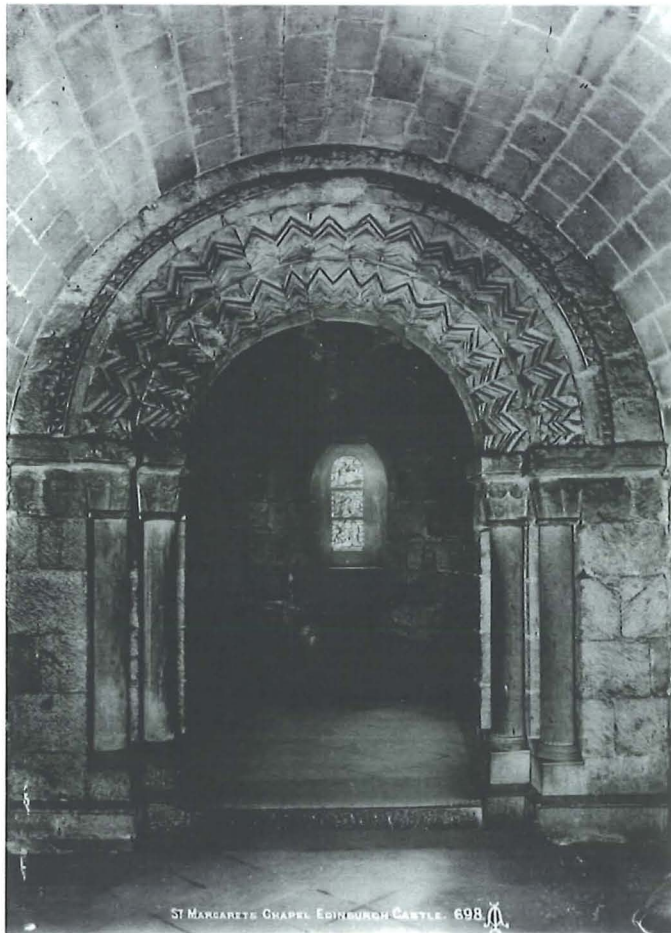
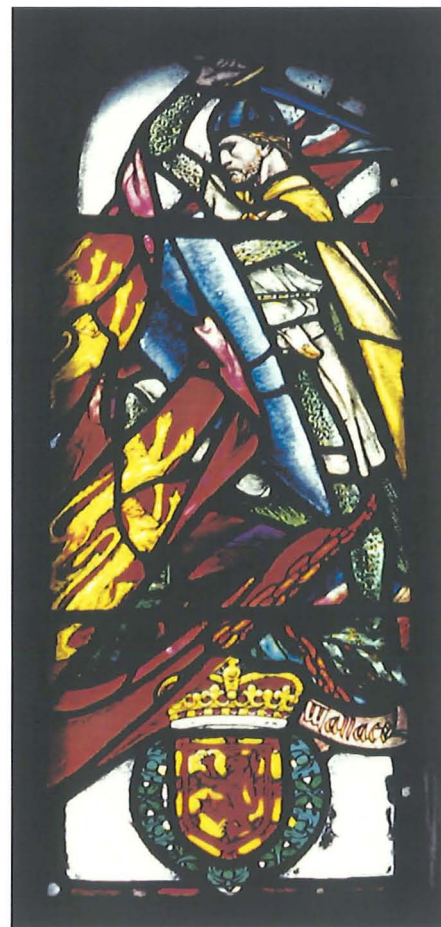
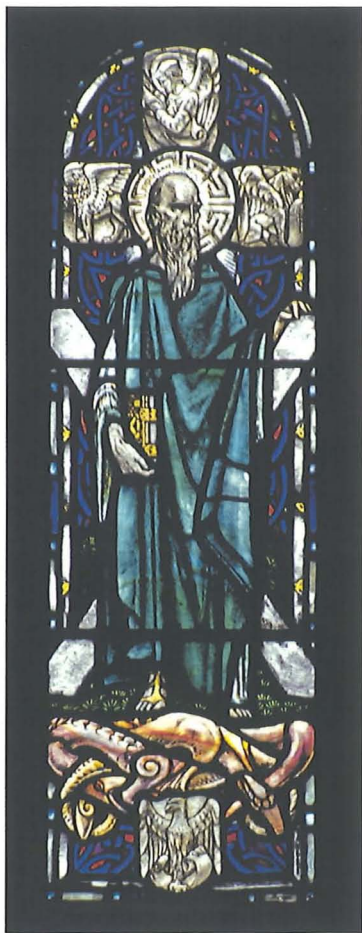


Figure 97 Queen Victoria window, apse, St Margaret's Chapel, maker unknown, c.1912



Figures 98A, B, C and D *St Andrew, St Columba, St Margaret and William Wallace* windows, St Margaret's Chapel, Edinburgh, Douglas Strachan, c.1929

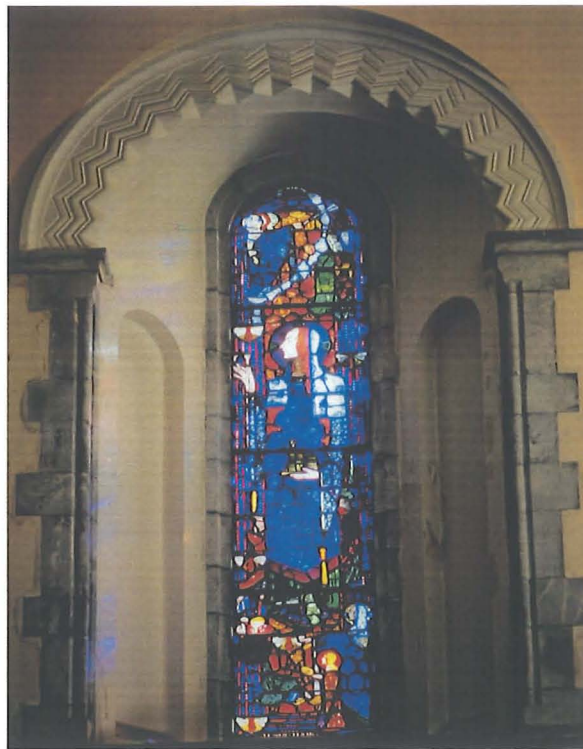
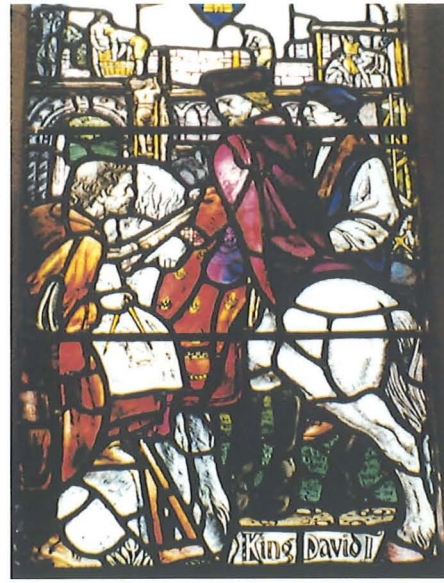
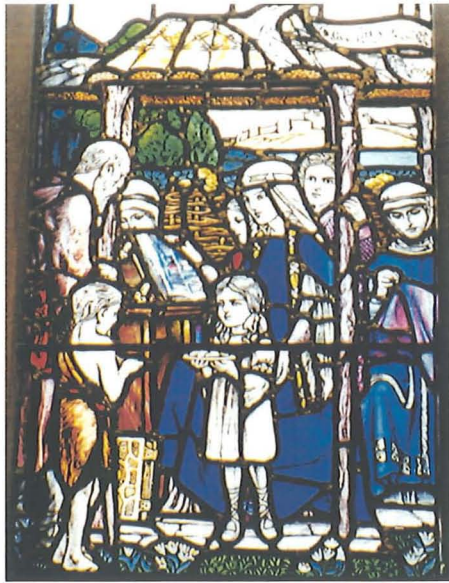
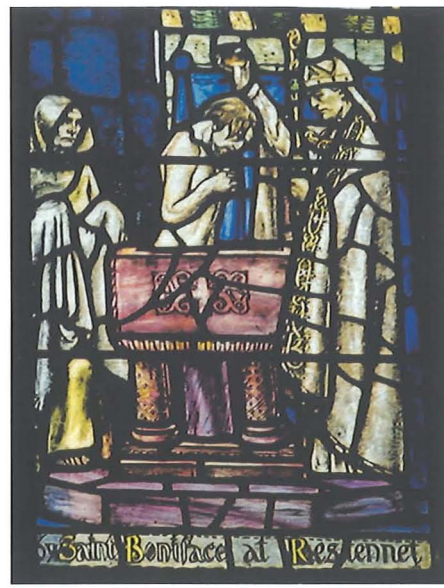
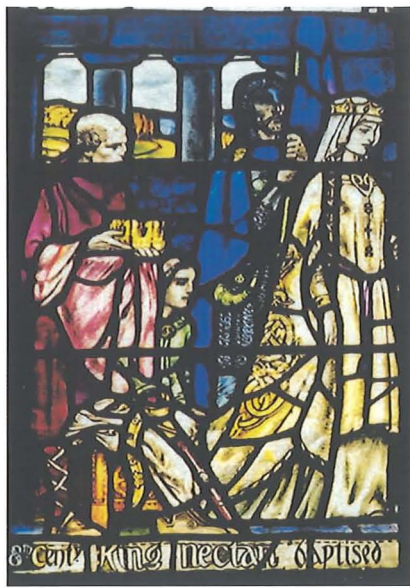


Figure 99 *St Gobnait of Ballyvourney window*, Honan Chapel, Cork, Harry Clarke, 1916



Figures 100 and 101 Lower and upper details from *St Gobnait of Ballyvourney window*, Honan Chapel, Cork, Harry Clarke, 1916



Figures 103A, B, C, D, E and F Lower panel details from *The Pillar Events of Ecclesiastical History in Angus* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk vestibule, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16

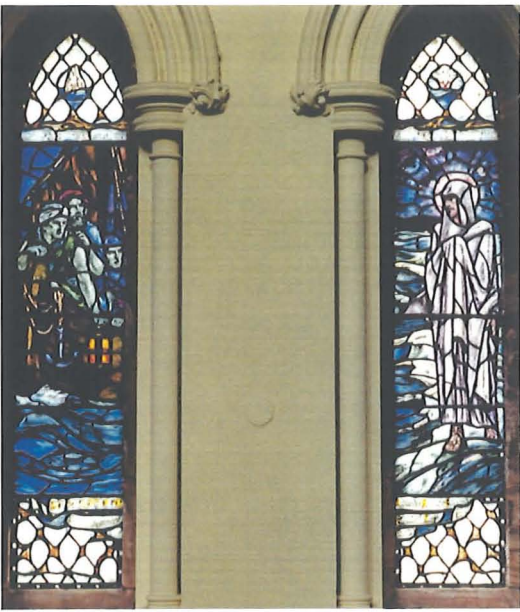


Figure 104 *Christ walking on the water* window, St Columba's Kirk, Largs, Douglas Strachan, 1919

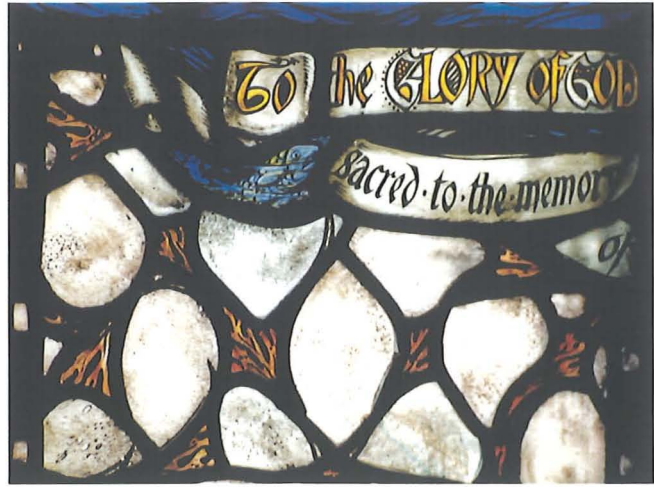


Figure 105 Lower left detail from *Christ walking on the water* window, St Columba's Kirk, Largs, Douglas Strachan, 1919



Figure 106 Left light detail of sailors from *Christ walking on the water* window, St Columba's Kirk, Largs, Douglas Strachan, 1919

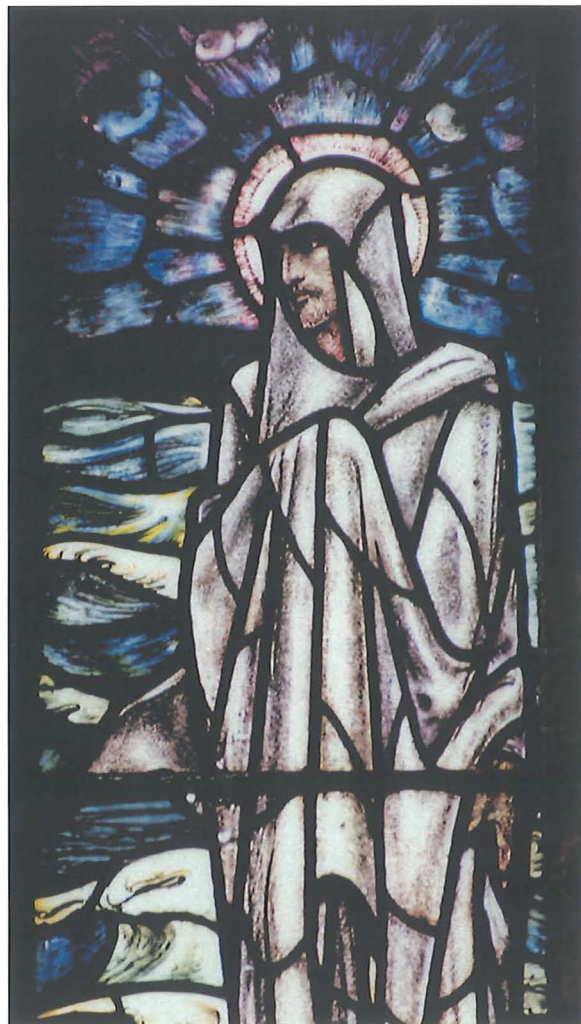


Figure 107 Right light detail from *Christ walking on the water* window, St Columba's Kirk, Largs, Douglas Strachan, 1925

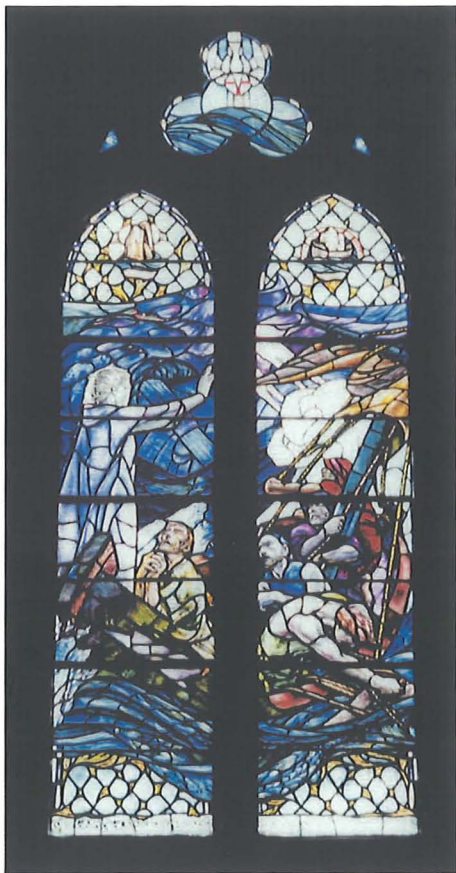


Figure 108 *Christ Stilling the Storm* window, Skelmorlie and Wemyss Bay Parish Kirk, Douglas Strachan, c.1925

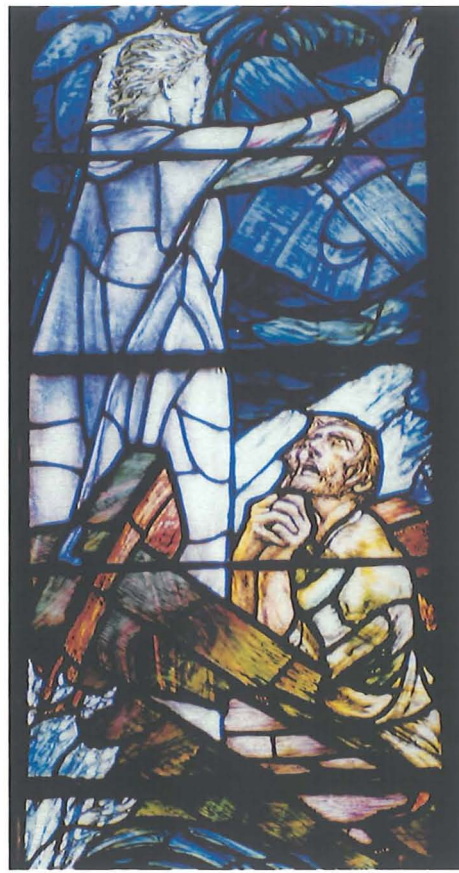


Figure 109 Left light detail from *Christ Stilling the Storm* window, Skelmorlie and Wemyss Bay Parish Kirk, Douglas Strachan, c.1925

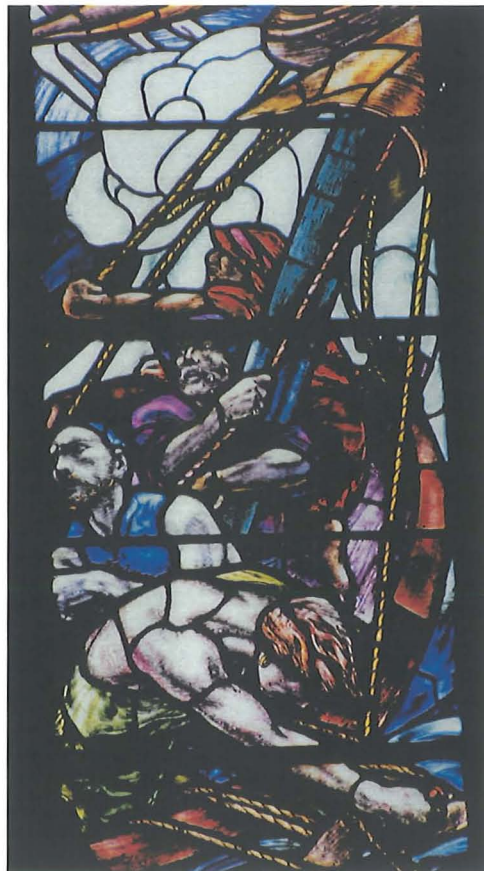
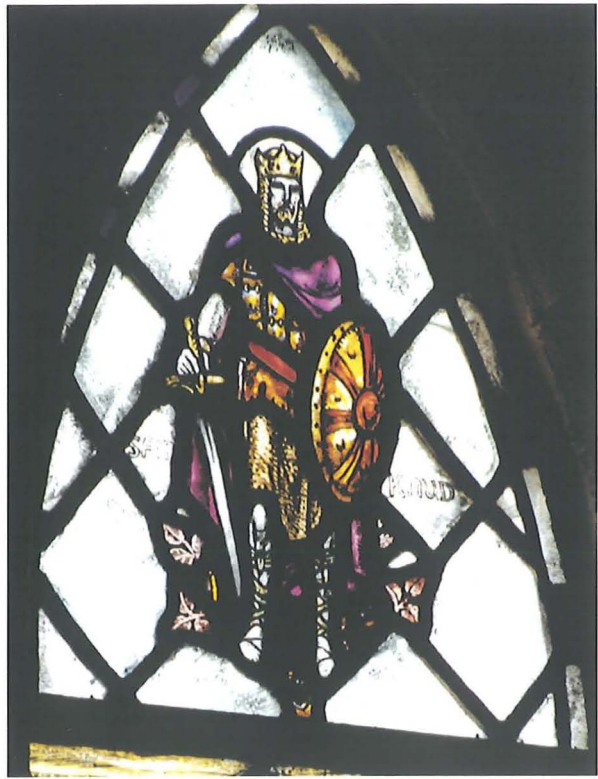
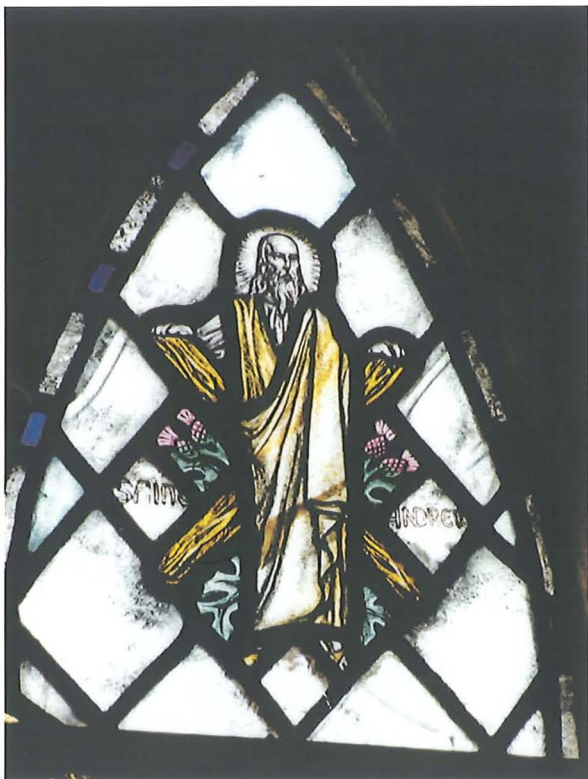


Figure 110 Left light detail from *Christ Stilling the Storm* window, Skelmorlie and Wemyss Bay Parish Kirk, Douglas Strachan, c.1925



Figure 111 Detail from *Good Shepherd* window, Inverchaolin Parish Kirk, Douglas Strachan, c.1914



Figures 112A and B Detail of St Andrew and King Knud from *Good Shepherd* window, Inverchaolin Parish Kirk, Douglas Strachan, c.1914

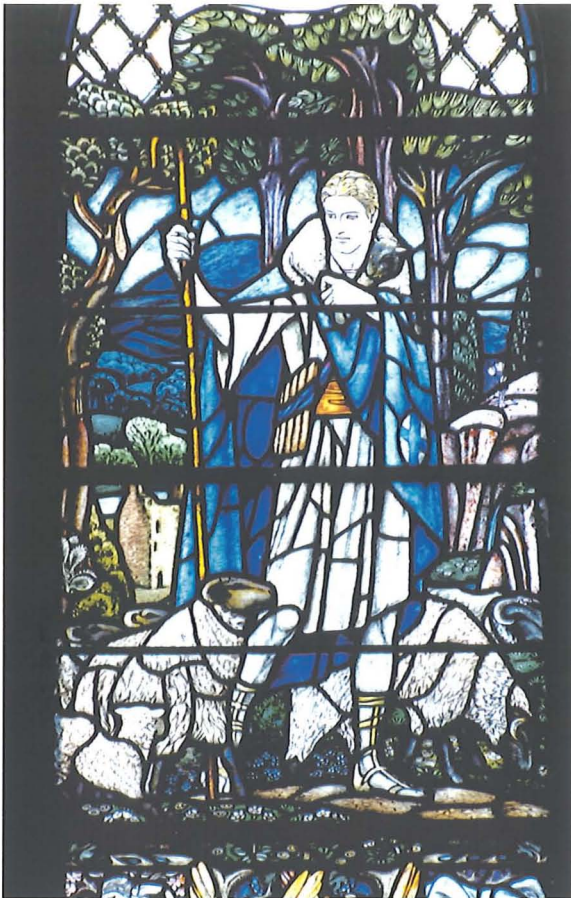


Figure 113 Detail from *Good Shepherd* window, Colmonell Parish Kirk, Douglas Strachan, c.1925



Figure 114 Lower detail from *Good Shepherd* window, Colmonell Parish Kirk, Douglas Strachan, c.1925



Figure 115 View from Inverchaolin Parish Kirk, 1999



Figure 116 View from Colmonell Parish Kirk, 1999

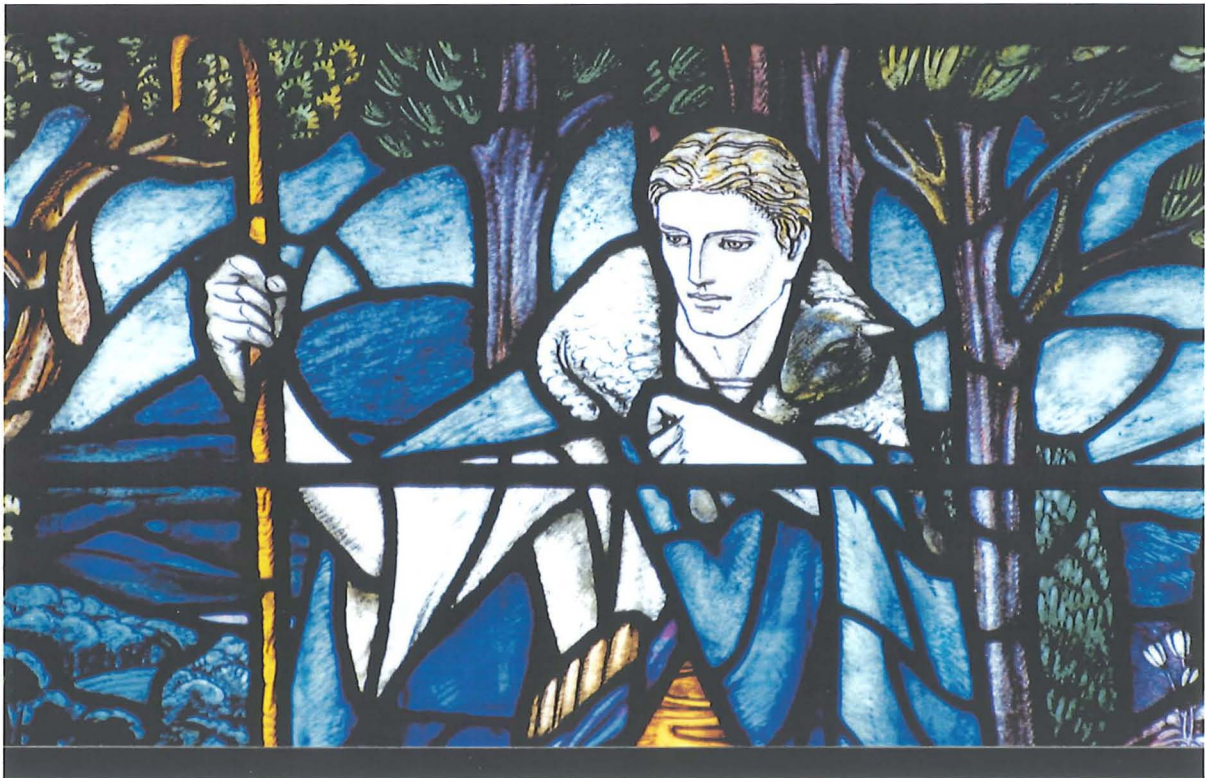
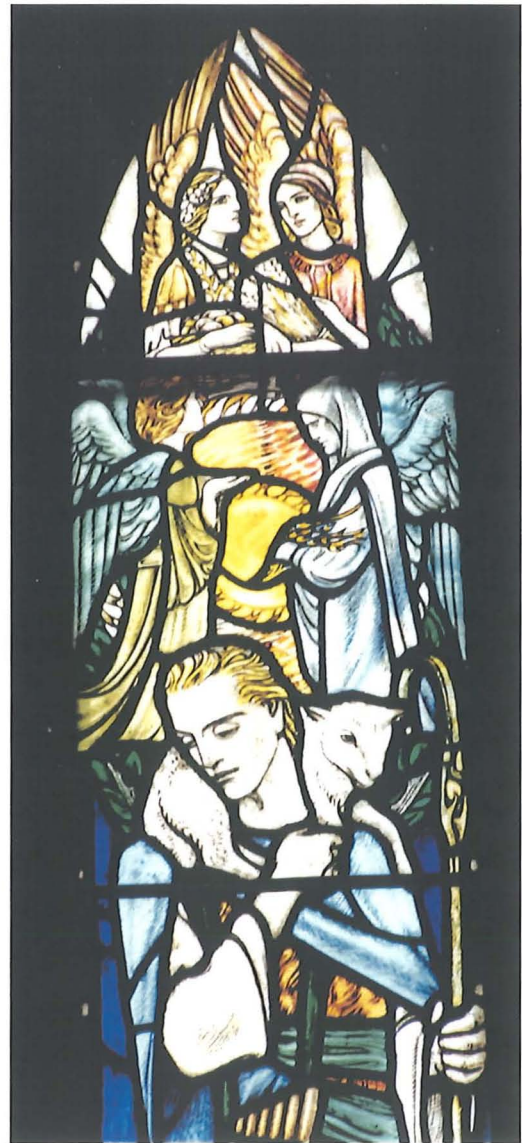
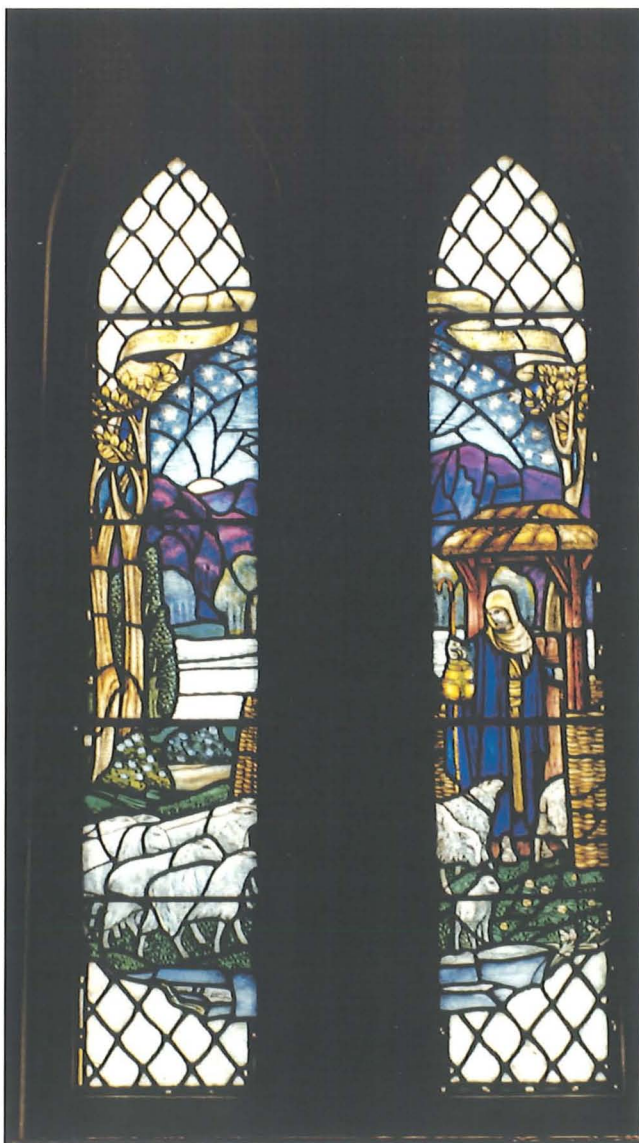
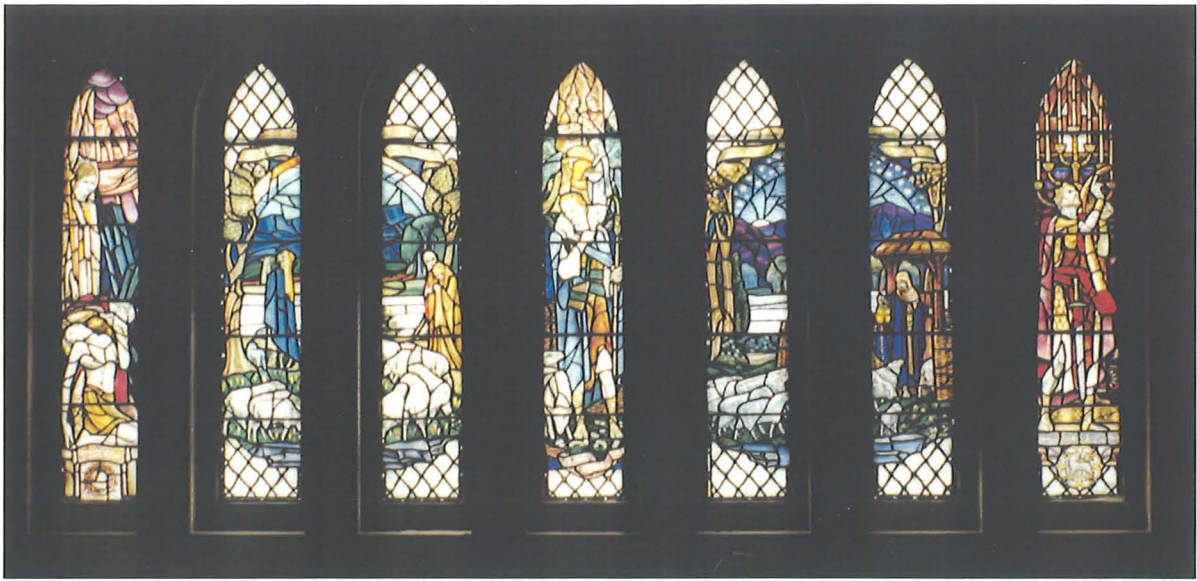


Figure 117 Detail of Christ's face from *Good Shepherd* window, Colmonell Parish Kirk, Douglas Strachan, c.1925



Figures 118A, B and C Whole window and details from *Psalm 23* window, St Columba's Kirk, Largs, Douglas Strachan, 1925



Figure 119 *St Columba* window, Iona Abbey, Douglas Strachan, 1939

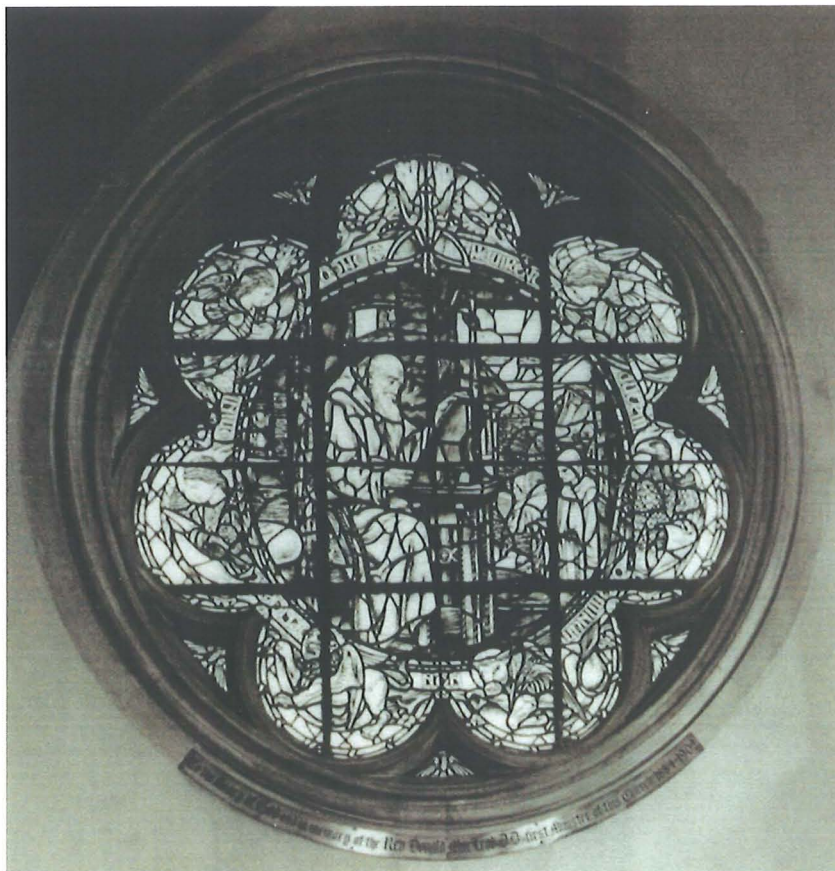


Figure 120 *St Columba in his cell* window, St Columba's Kirk, London, Douglas Strachan, no-longer extant, date unknown



Figure 121 *St Brigid* window,
Iona Abbey,
Douglas Strachan, 1939



Figure 122 *St Patrick* window,
Iona Abbey,
Douglas Strachan, 1939

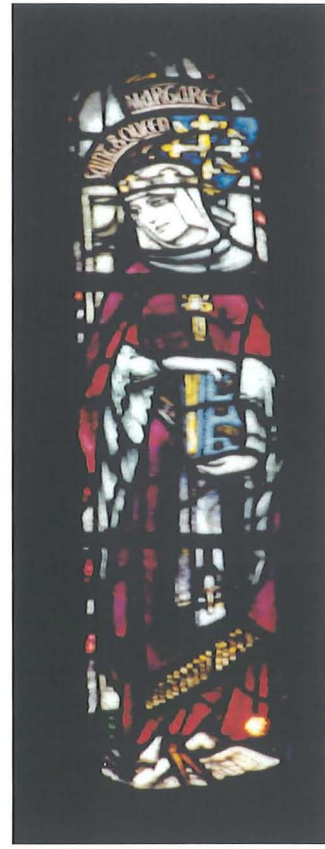


Figure 123 *St Margaret* window,
Iona Abbey,
Douglas Strachan, 1940

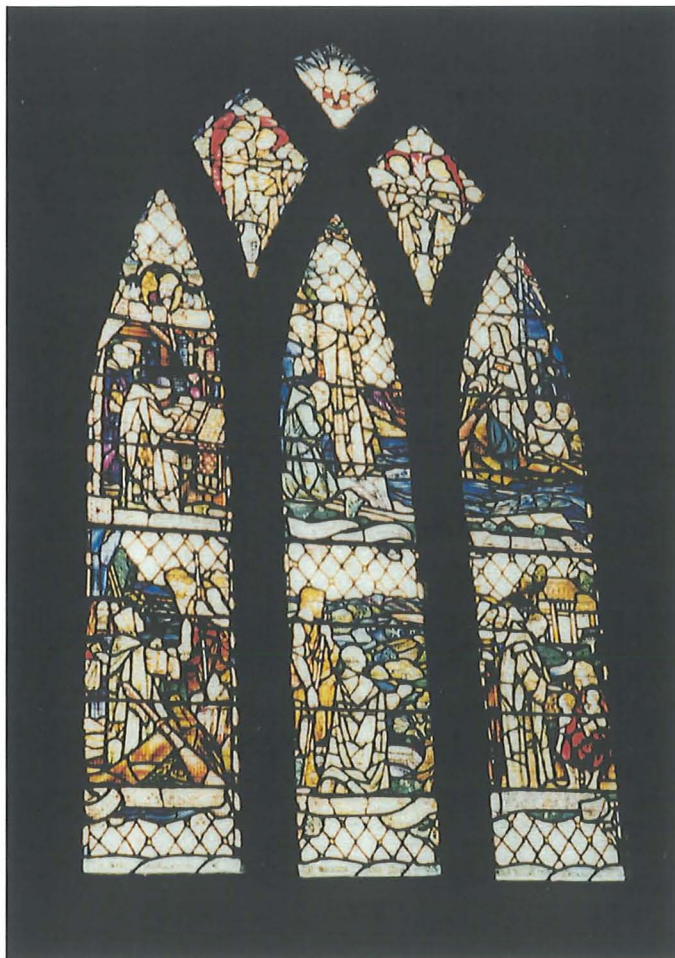


Figure 124 Crombie Memorial Window: *Life of St Machar and the founding of the Cathedral*,
Cathedral Church of St Machar, Aberdeen, Douglas Strachan, 1908



Figures 125A, B and C Cartoons for Crombie Memorial Window:
Life of St Machar and the founding of the Cathedral, Douglas Strachan, c.1907



Figure 126 Detail of Bishop William Elphinstone, from the *Bishops' Window*,
 Cathedral Church of St Machar, Aberdeen, Douglas Strachan, 1913



Figure 127 Detail from *Christ Stilling the Storm* window, Pittenweem Parish Kirk, Fife, Willie Wilson, 1963



Figure 128 Detail from *Christ Teaching the Disciples* window, The Old High Kirk, Inverness, Gordon Webster, c.1940



Figure 129 *The Consecration of St Mel, Bishop of Longford, by St Patrick*, glass panel, Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, Cork, Harry Clarke, 1910



Figure 130 Detail of St Dymphna from *St Brigid and St Dymphna* window, the Chapel of the Novitiate of the Oblate Fathers of St Mary Immaculate, Dublin, Harry Clarke, 1925

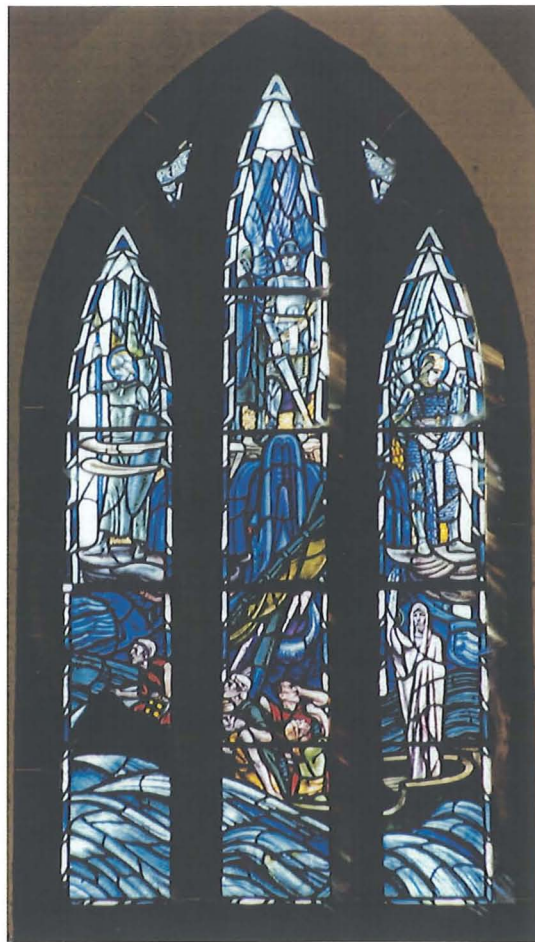


Figure 131 *Stilling of the Storm* window, Glenapp Parish Kirk, Douglas Strachan, 1933

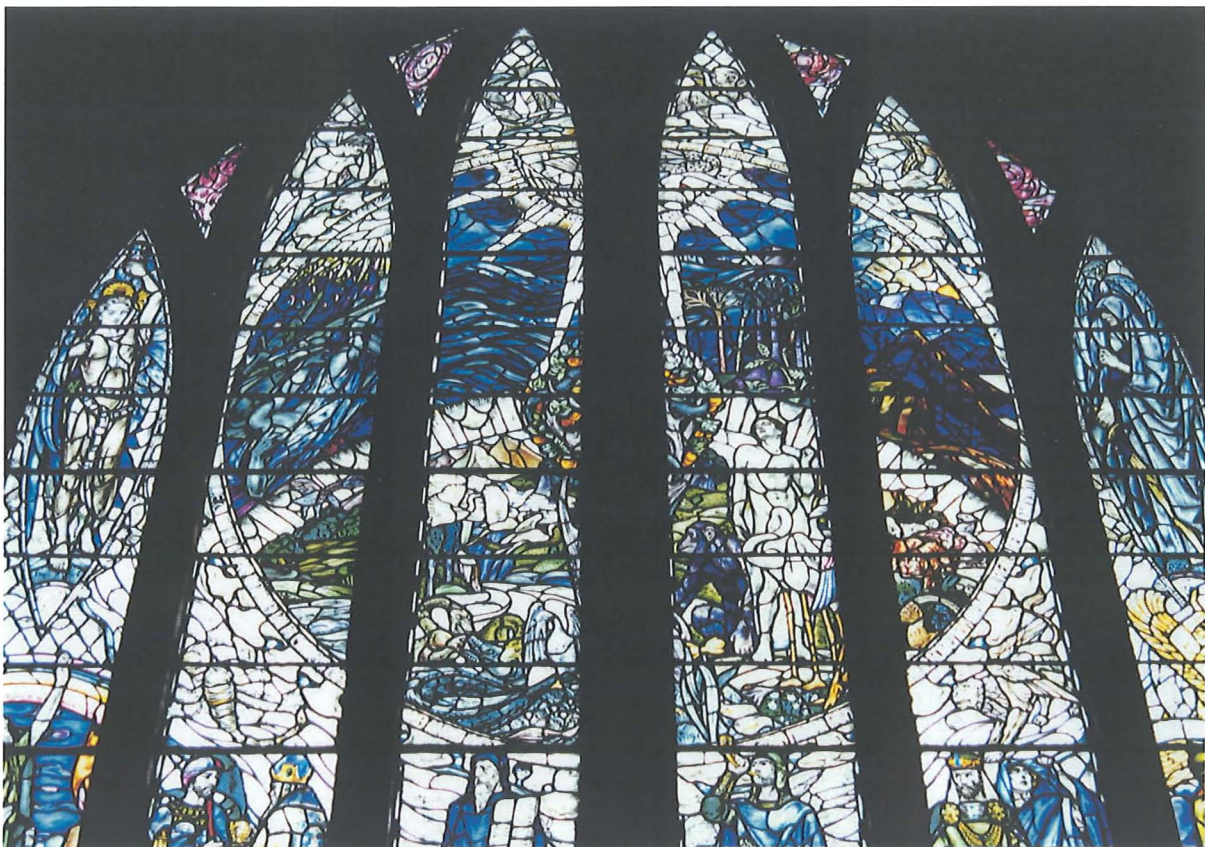


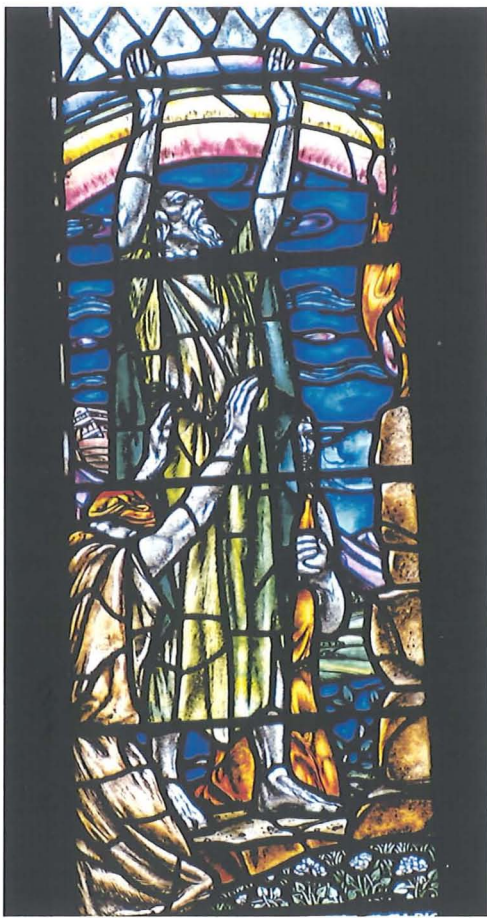
Figure 132 Central detail of *The Creation* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16



Figures 133A, B and C Details from the central section of *The Creation* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16



Figures 134A and B Details from first and sixth lights, *Youth and Age*, from *The Creation* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16



Figures 135A, B, C and D Details of the lower panels: Noah, Abraham and Melchizedek, Moses and Ezekiel from *The Creation* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16

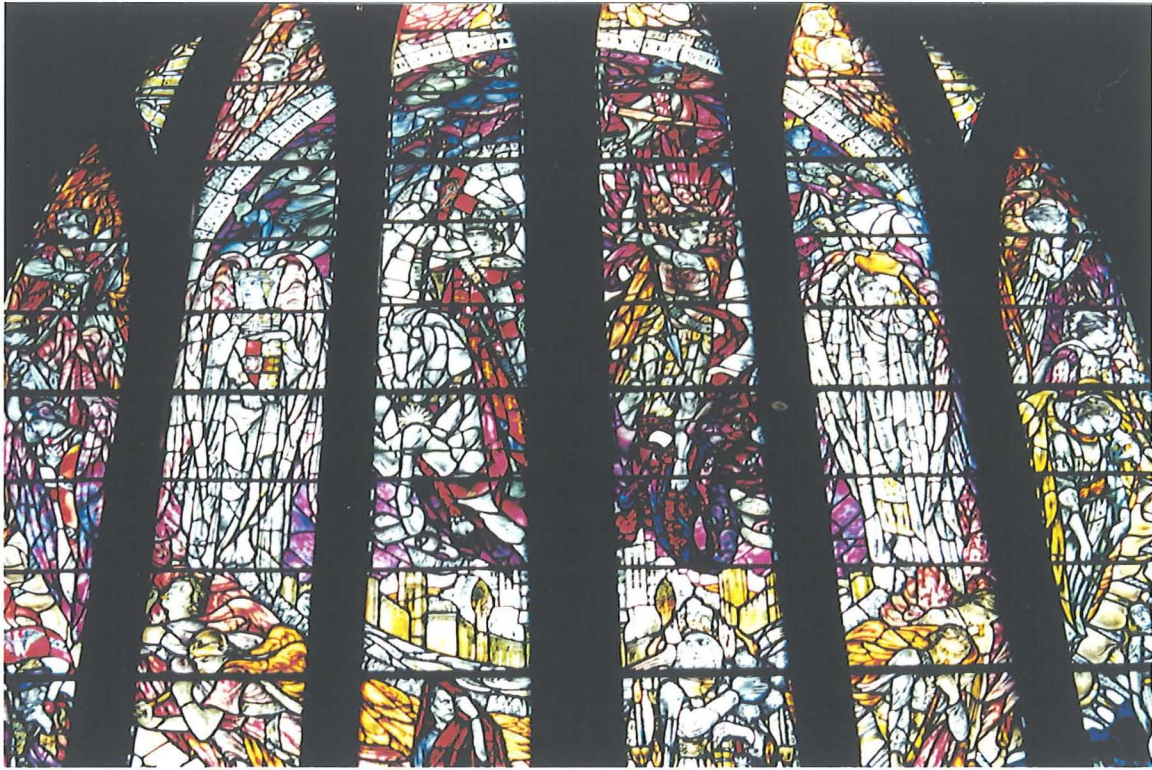
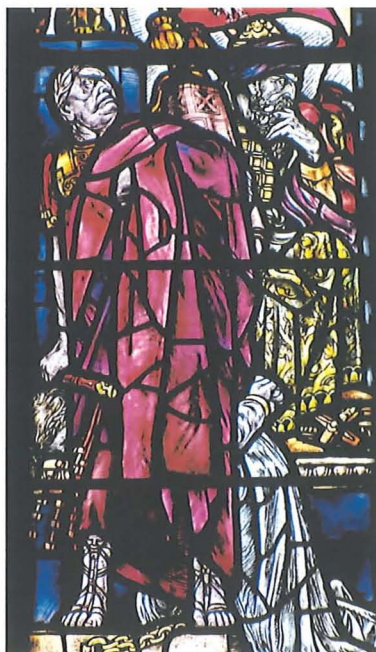


Figure 136 Detail from *The Apocalypse* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16



Figures 137A, B, and C Details of St John, Roman Tyrant and Christ Triumphant from *The Apocalypse* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16



Figures 137D and E Details of Horsemen of the Apocalypse and Michael slaying the Great Dragon from *The Apocalypse* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16

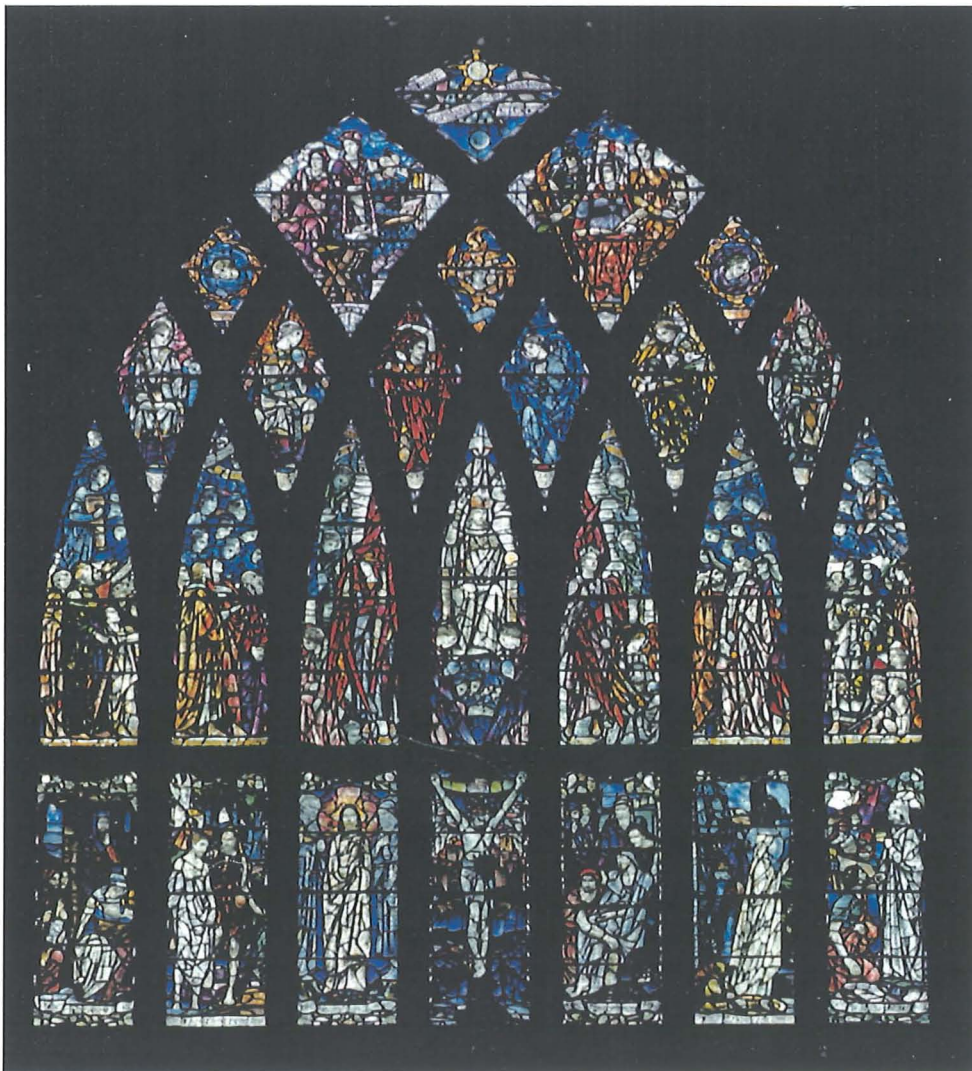
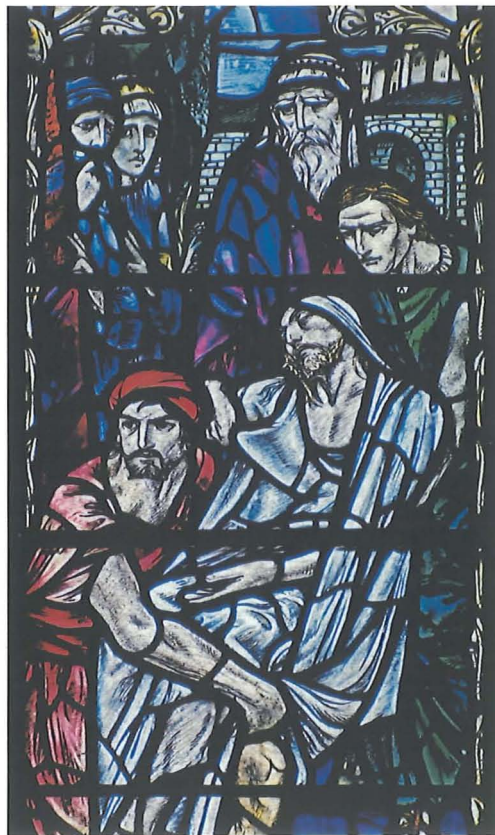
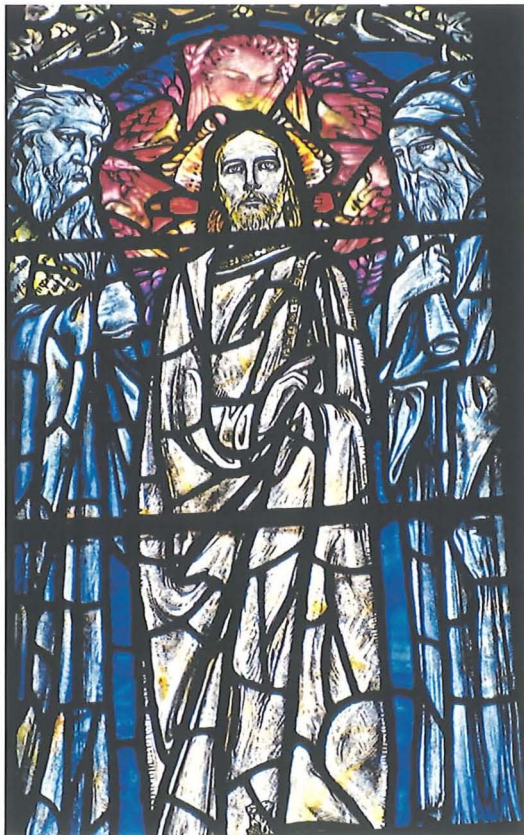
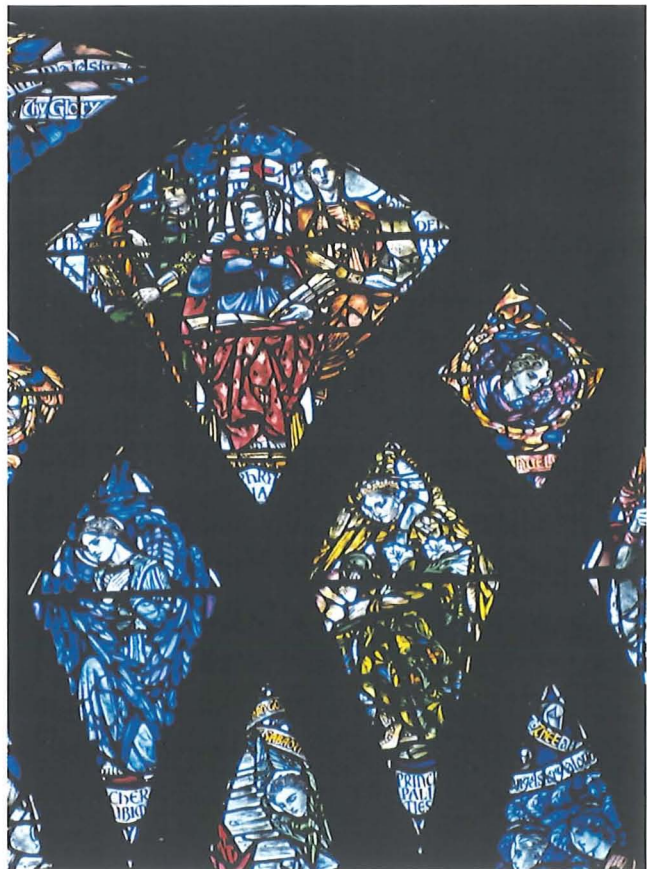
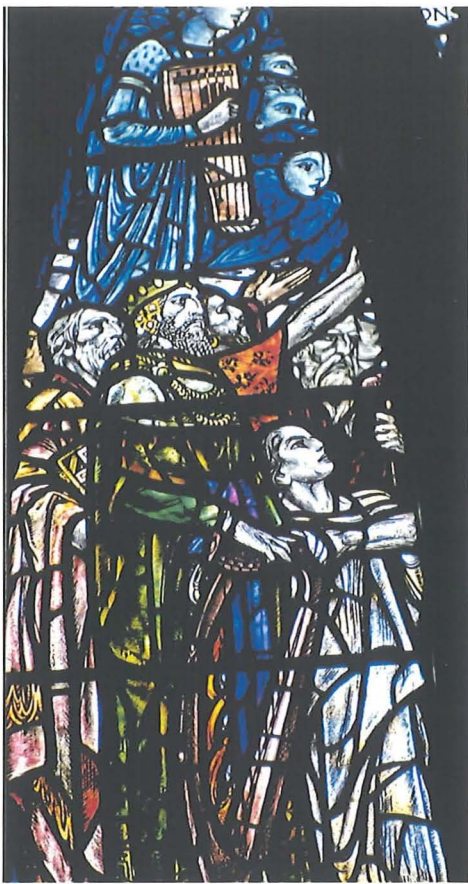


Figure 138 *Te Deum* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16



Figures 139A, B, C and D Details of Nativity, Baptism, Transfiguration and Deposition from *Te Deum* window, Lawson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16



Figures 140A, B, C and D Details of Prophets, Martyrs, Domination, Sibyls, Cherubim, Principalities and Angels from *Te Deum* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16

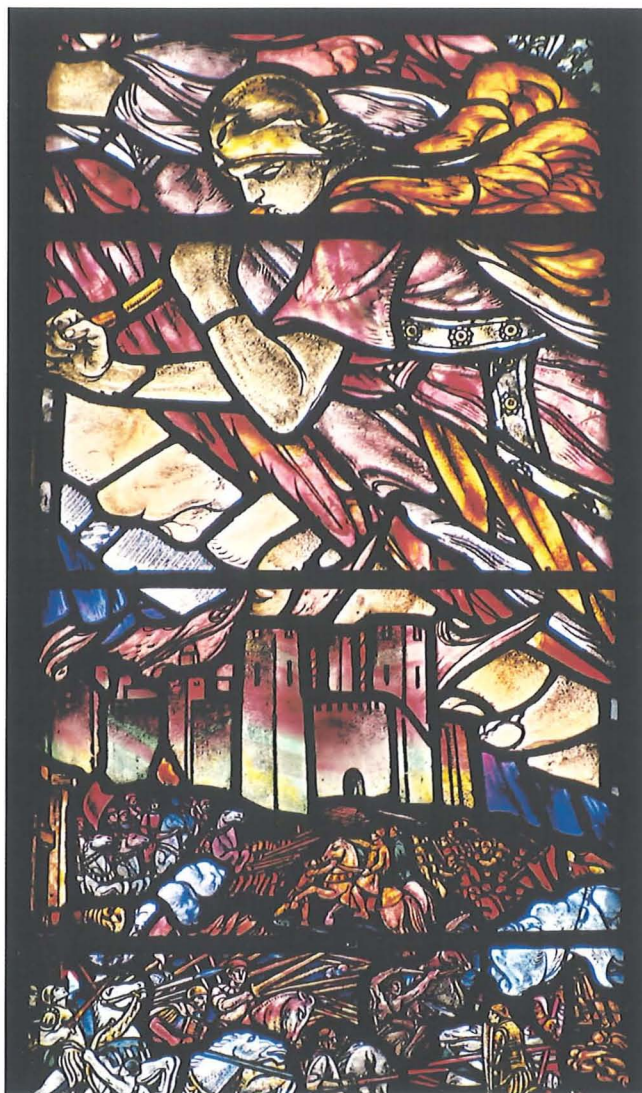


Figure 141 Detail of battle from *The Apocalypse* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1914-16



Figure 142 *The Pillar Events of Ecclesiastical History in Angus* window, Lowson Memorial Kirk, Forfar, Douglas Strachan, 1916