

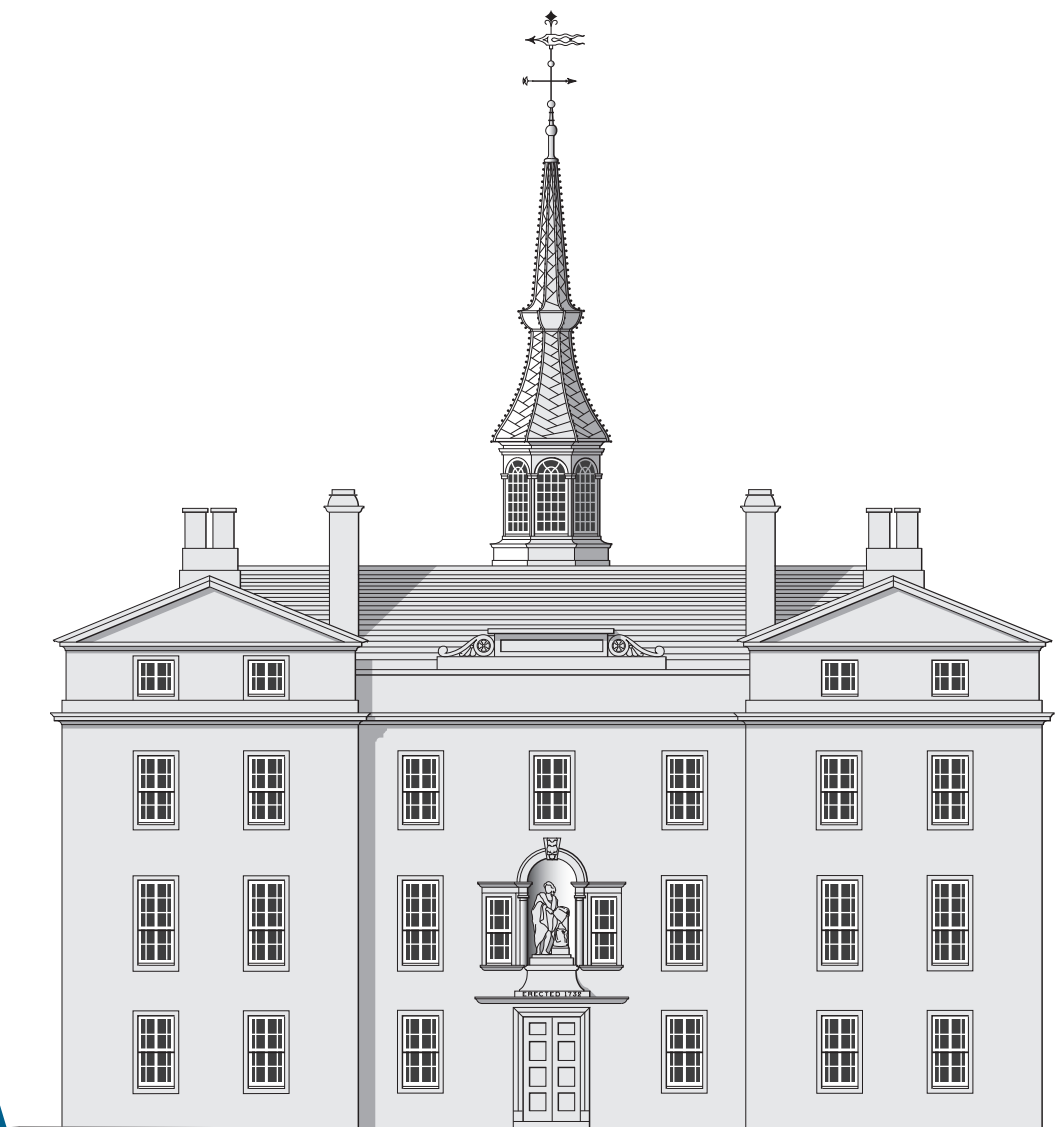


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ROBERT GORDON'S COLLEGE

SCOTLAND'S HISTORIC TOWN SCHOOLS



Diane M Watters

2021



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COVER IMAGE

2001 HES digital drawing of 'Auld House', Robert Gordon College, by Heather Stoddart. Elevation (based on 1998 measured survey).

HES [GV00741Z](#)

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ROBERT GORDON'S COLLEGE

SCHOOLHILL, ABERDEEN



Introduction

The 'Auld House' (the original Robert Gordon's Hospital designed by William Adam 1730–4) forms the core of the northern quarter of a grand granite neo-classical educational courtyard, built predominately in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The tall classical three-storey (with suppressed attic) granite building has advanced two-bay wings and is topped with a timber central cupola. The eighteenth century 'Auld House' is flanked by two large nineteenth century austere neo-classical granite wings, linked by Doric colonnades.

Bequeathed in 1729 and opened in 1750, this is the only surviving eighteenth century endowed hospital building in Scotland, and is a rare example of a William Adam public building. Since opening, it has continued to function for over 260 years as an educational establishment for boys and, since 1989, girls. In its long history it has had three educational 'lives', and these are reflected in its architectural development: firstly, the foundation and expansion from 1729 to the 1830s; secondly, the beginnings of reform and its transformation into Robert Gordon

College 'day' school in 1881, including for the first time secondary education proper; finally, the long period from the 1880s to 1980s of quasi-state support and control, which resulted in a complex web of educational establishments and the formation of Gray's School of Art & Science in 1885 and the Robert Gordon Technical College in 1910. By the early 1980s, it entered its current phase, divorced itself from the technical institute in 1981 (the latter became Robert Gordon's University in 1992), and became an independent fee-paying school in 1985.¹



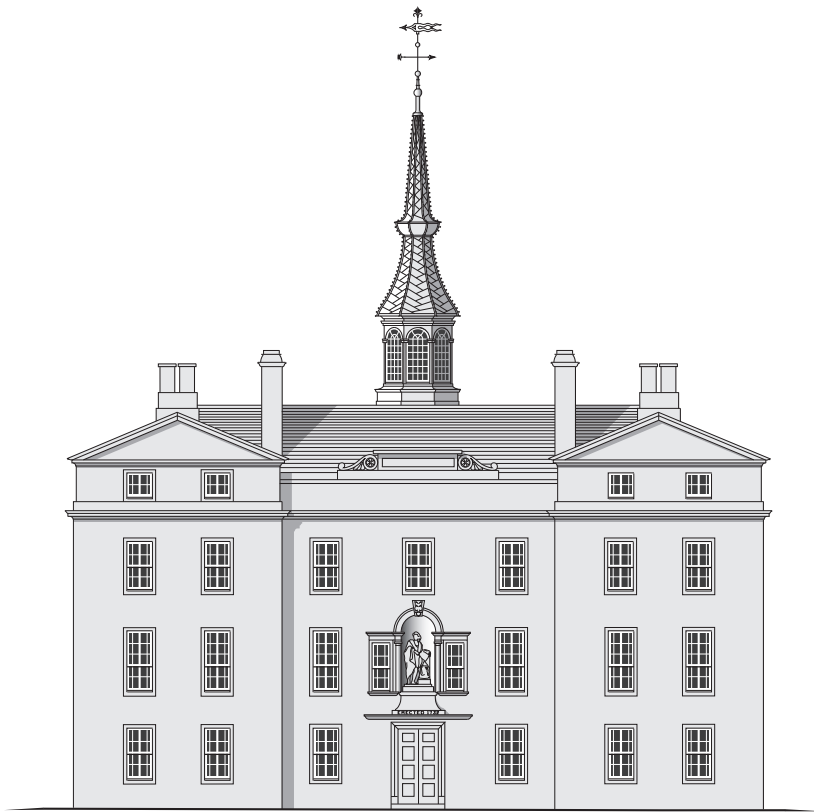
FIGURE 1
1998 view of the 'Auld House', Robert Gordon College, flanked by nineteenth century extensions.

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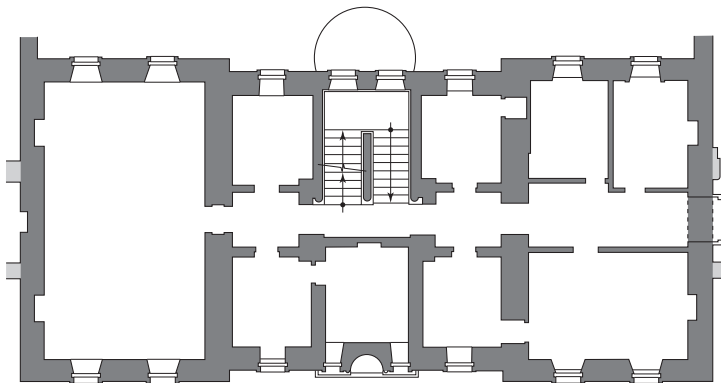


FIGURE 2
1998 view of marble statue of founder (1753, by sculptor J Cheere) set in a venetian window arrangement.

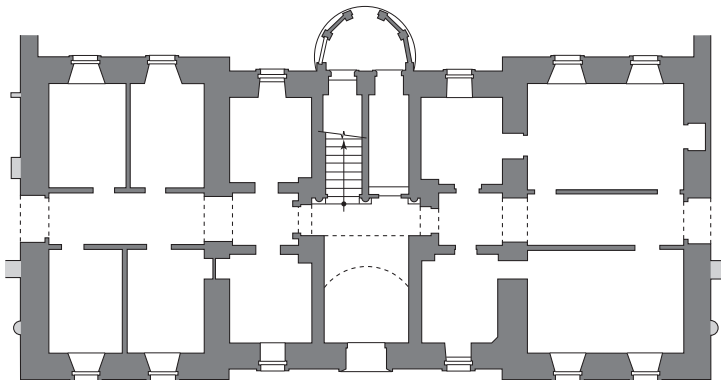
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Elevation



First floor plan



Ground floor plan



FIGURE 3
2001 HES digital drawing of 'Auld House', Robert Gordon College, by Heather Stoddart. Elevation and reconstructed ground floor plan (based on 1998 measured survey).

HES [GVO07417](#)

Foundation and Design

The founder Robert Gordon (1668–1731) was a wealthy protestant merchant from an established Aberdeen family. He spent many years in Danzig, lived frugally to preserve his fortune, and on his retirement endowed a hospital modelled on the seventeenth century George Heriot's. He purchased the site of the former Dominican Friary which adjoined his own land, and on which he liked to stroll with friends speculating on where his hospital would be built.² In 1729–30, he appointed the town council and ministers of Aberdeen as governors, with the Lord Provost as president. His institution was to be a residential school for sons aged 8–11 of 'decayed' merchants and Guild brethren of Aberdeen of the 'true protestant religion'.³ Not intended for the 'common' poor, nor providing a classical grammar education, it originally aimed to prepare boys for trades and merchandising 'according as their genius': in the aftermath of the disastrous Darien scheme, mercantile training was deemed desirable in Scotland.⁴ By the mid eighteenth century Aberdeen was one of the ten largest towns in Scotland and England, with the majority of its seaborne trade focused on the Baltic and the Netherlands. The original 'Statutes' of 1729 (a set of twenty rules) formed the basis of the workings of the charitable hospital for over a century.

William Adam, who previously enlarged Aberdeen Town House in 1729, was known to the governors

and was an acceptable architect for Presbyterian clients. He provided two designs for the hospital in the second half of 1731. The second design was finally approved in February 1732, although Adam supplied 'a new draught of the front part' in 1733.⁵ Adam's first design of June 1731 proposed a tripartite classical country-house-type façade, with pedimented centrepiece carrying a heavy Gibbsian steeple. Adam's design was clearly indebted to Gibbs' *A Book on Architecture* of 1728.⁶ The steeple set it apart from a domestic design, and would have, by the early eighteenth century, imbued it with civic authority. The design 'would far exceed the soume appointed', and Provost Cruickshank (president of the governors) consulted with Adam 'to lessen the Plan and make it decent and near equall the soume allowed'.⁷ In turn, 'Mr (John/William) Baxter, mason' modified the plan, reducing the estimate from £3,200 to £2,000, but Provost Cruickshank was awarded the contract at a slightly lower price.⁸ Adam's new design of 1731 was strikingly different from his first. The three-bay centre was shallowly recessed between two-bay wings, the second floor was extended to provide three equal floors, and above a heavy cornice was the suppressed attic window level. Above the wings sat curvilinear gables which were dome-like in elevation, and a lighter central cupola replaced the imposing frontal stone spire.

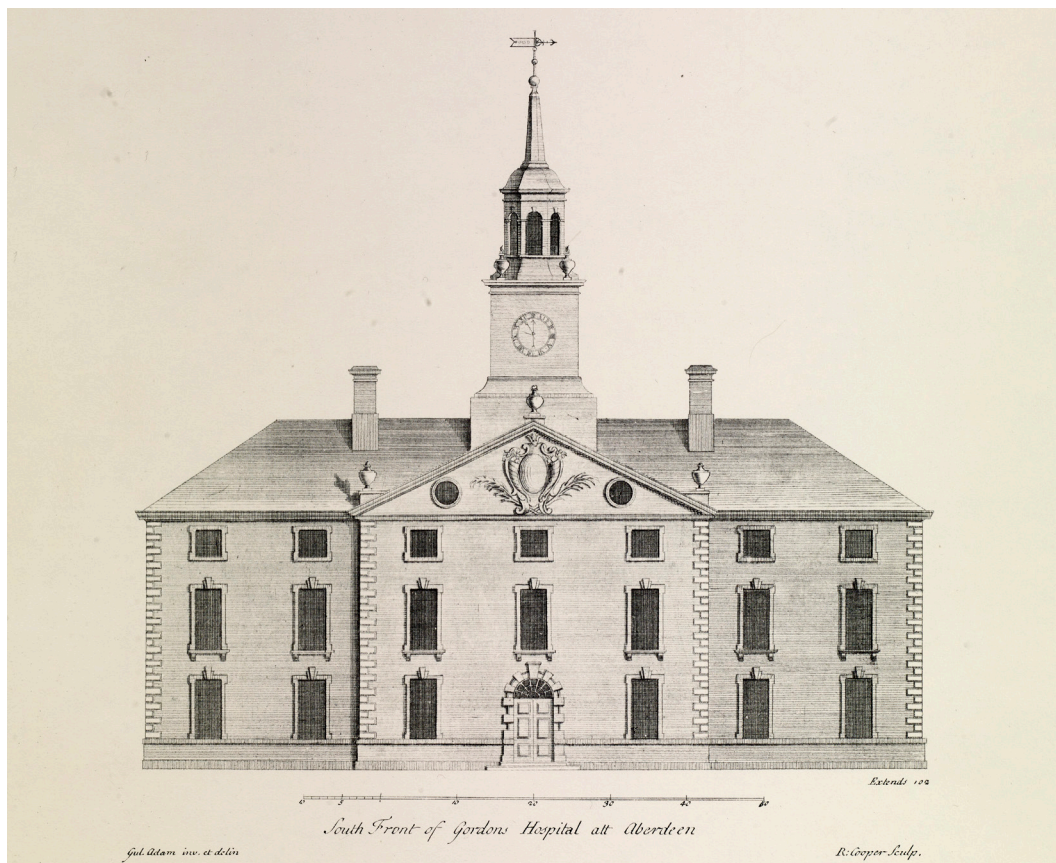


FIGURE 4

June 1731 engraving of elevation (south front) of 'Gordon's Hospital at Aberdeen' (illustrated in William Adam, *Vitruvius Scoticus*, Edinburgh, 1812, p 108). This was Adam's first design.

HES [DP351906](#)

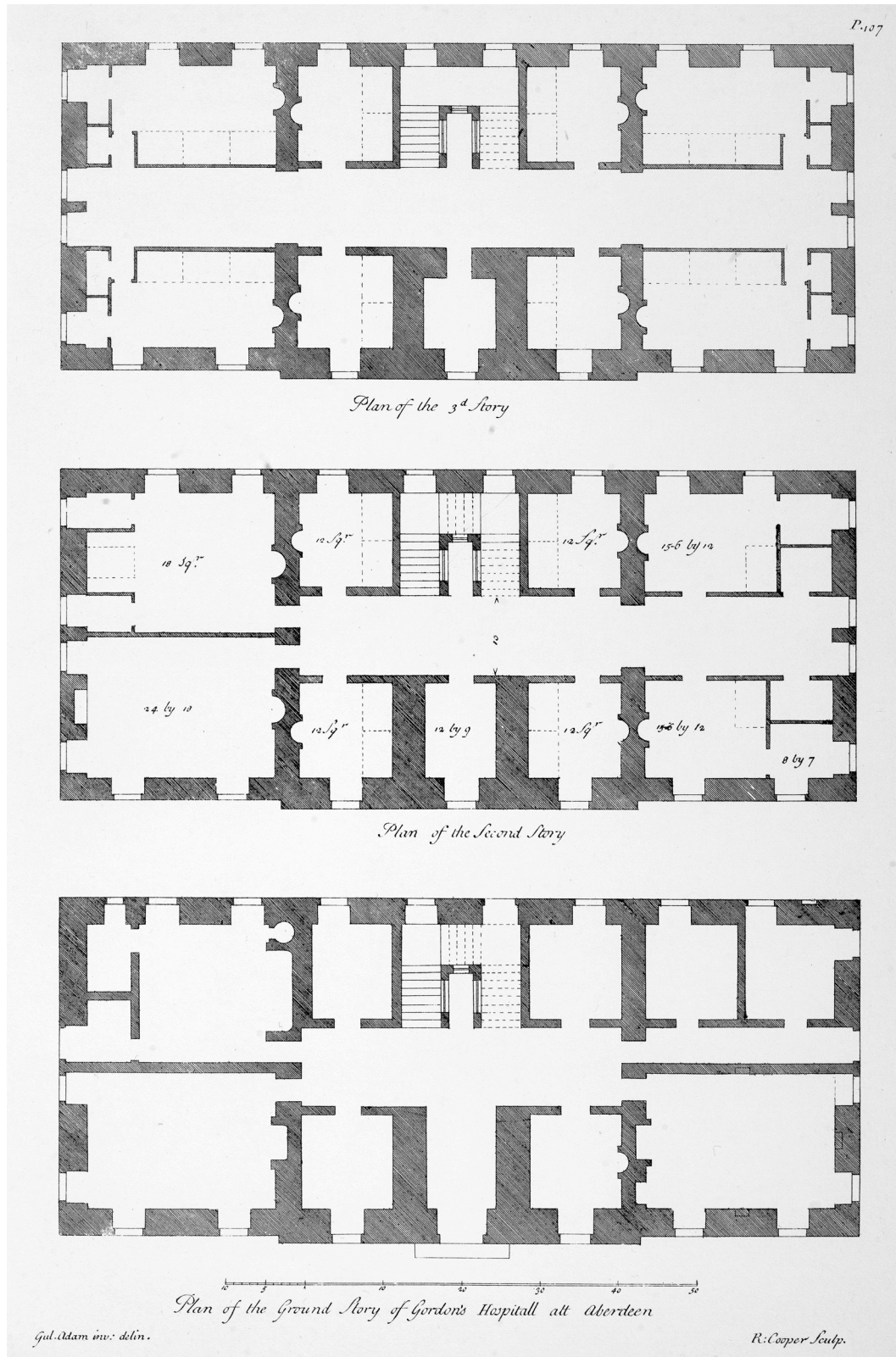


FIGURE 5

June 1731 engraving of ground, first ('second') and second ('3rd') story plans of 'Gordon's Hospital at Aberdeen' (illustrated in William Adam, *Vitruvius Scoticus*, Edinburgh, 1812, p 106). This was Adam's first design.

HES [DP354554](#)

**FIGURE 6**

1998 view of 1761 portrait of Robert Gordon by W Mossman (hanging in the Governors' Room of the 'Auld House'). Gordon places his right hand on Adam's elevation drawing (Adam's second, and built 1731 design).

HES [SC2088508](#)

**FIGURE 7**

Detail of Adam's elevation drawing (Adam's second, and built 1731 design).

HES [SC2088509](#)

The plan was less altered. Adam's report of December 1731 showed that the ground floor was to house the dining room and offices; the first-floor wings now contained the 'Great Room' or 'Governors Room' and the schoolroom (not subdivided as detailed in *Vitruvius Scoticus*), with central rooms for the treasurer and masters and a vaulted charter-room; and the second floor and attics comprised 21 rooms, twin-bedded but with two boys to a bed. The traditional courtyard plan adopted for seventeenth century hospitals was not employed by Adam.⁹ Two low service-wings existed at the rear by 1746. Lengthy discussions with Adam on the room arrangement and garden layout followed, and in February 1732 he staked out the site for the building.¹⁰ The main construction was undertaken that year.

Adam had reportedly advised in 1730 that there should be a spacious site 'for the placement of the building, and for making the avenues large and regular, so as the whole may be decent and orderly'.¹¹ Adam's design achieved a new level of scale and regularity in austere classical granite public buildings in Aberdeen — an eighteenth century trend followed in a more scaled-down version at the new Aberdeen Royal Infirmary of 1739-41 and the Aberdeen Grammar School of 1757-8. By the 1720s, Adam was firmly established, and his design for Robert Gordon's evokes the grand classical legacy of his predecessors James Smith and William Bruce. Its shallow set-forward ends and rusticated quoins (the latter feature was more prominent in his 1731 designs) are reminiscent of Smith's designs for Queensberry House, Edinburgh, and Melville House, Fife, and also similar to the simple clean-fronted houses with rusticated quoins of Inigo Jones's English repertoire. William Bruce's Kinross House, Fife, was evoked in both the austere exterior with its suppressed attic windows and strong cornice, and the interior with its traverse corridor plan. But Robert Gordon's was distinctive both in its material — Loanhead granite — and its public function. As at George Heriot's, the gardens were maintained as a public resort, including a bowling green and Adam-designed gardener's house, opened in 1754.

The debate on whether to build the cupola in stone or timber was resolved in 1734,



FIGURE 8

1998 view of mid eighteenth century timber and lead cupola.

HES [SC2088500](#)

when a timber-and-lead design by local wright William Crystall was approved (not completed until 1760).¹² Crystall's cupola on the roof-ridge appears to copy the Aberdeen Tolbooth spire of a century earlier. A niche above the doorway was designed for a statue of the founder, already discussed in 1736 but provided in marble in 1753 by John Cheere (whose terracotta model is preserved): Robert Gordon leans on a plinth on which a representation of charity — a woman nursing little children — conveys the central object of the founder's original benefaction (now painted).



FIGURE 9

1998 interior view of timber and lead cupola.

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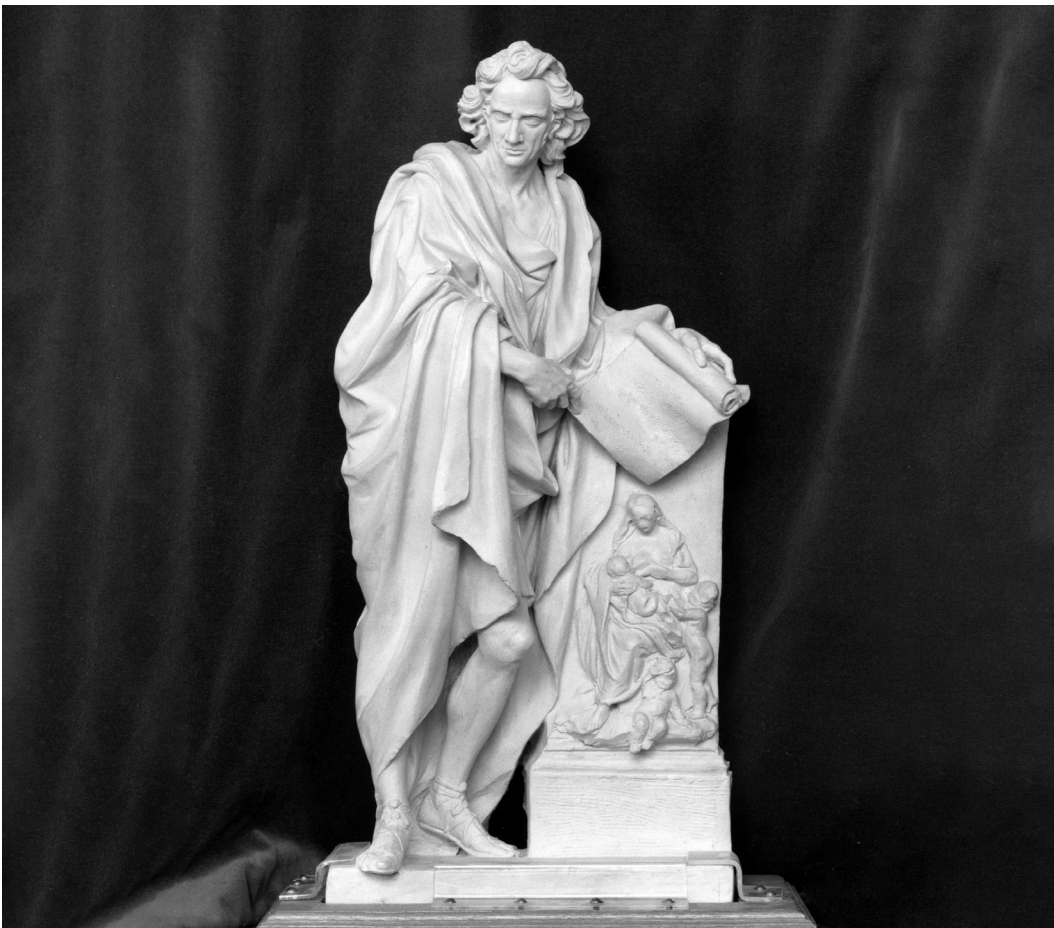


FIGURE 10

1998 view of terracotta model of statue (c1753) of founder Robert Gordon, by sculptor J Cheere.

HES [SC371128](#)

The most notable surviving internal feature is the stone staircase, which rises at full width to the attic, and the elaborate freestone screens at each stair landing. The Governors' Room still retains much of its original character (despite being extensively renewed by Smith in 1833; see below). This was enhanced by the collection of paintings and furniture, including portraits of the founder by William Mossman (completed 1761) and his grandfather, the cartographer Robert Gordon of Straloch, and the hospital drum.

Gordon stipulated that no boys should be admitted until the capital spent on the building was replenished,

and this finally took place in July 1750 with 14 new boys.¹³ The first boys had a schoolmaster, who taught English, writing, arithmetic and bookkeeping.¹⁴ The site had in fact been occupied by government troops in 1746, when the whole town of Aberdeen became a military encampment, and an ordnance drawing of the earthworks of 'Fort Cumberland' includes the first dated plan of the hospital as built.¹⁵ The college minutes record in November 1746 that the 'Hospital House and Gardens now laid waste by the Building of the Fort', and by October 1747 plans for restoring the grounds 'to [its] former state' were being made.¹⁶ The outline of the north bastion is preserved in the oblique alignment of Crooked Lane.



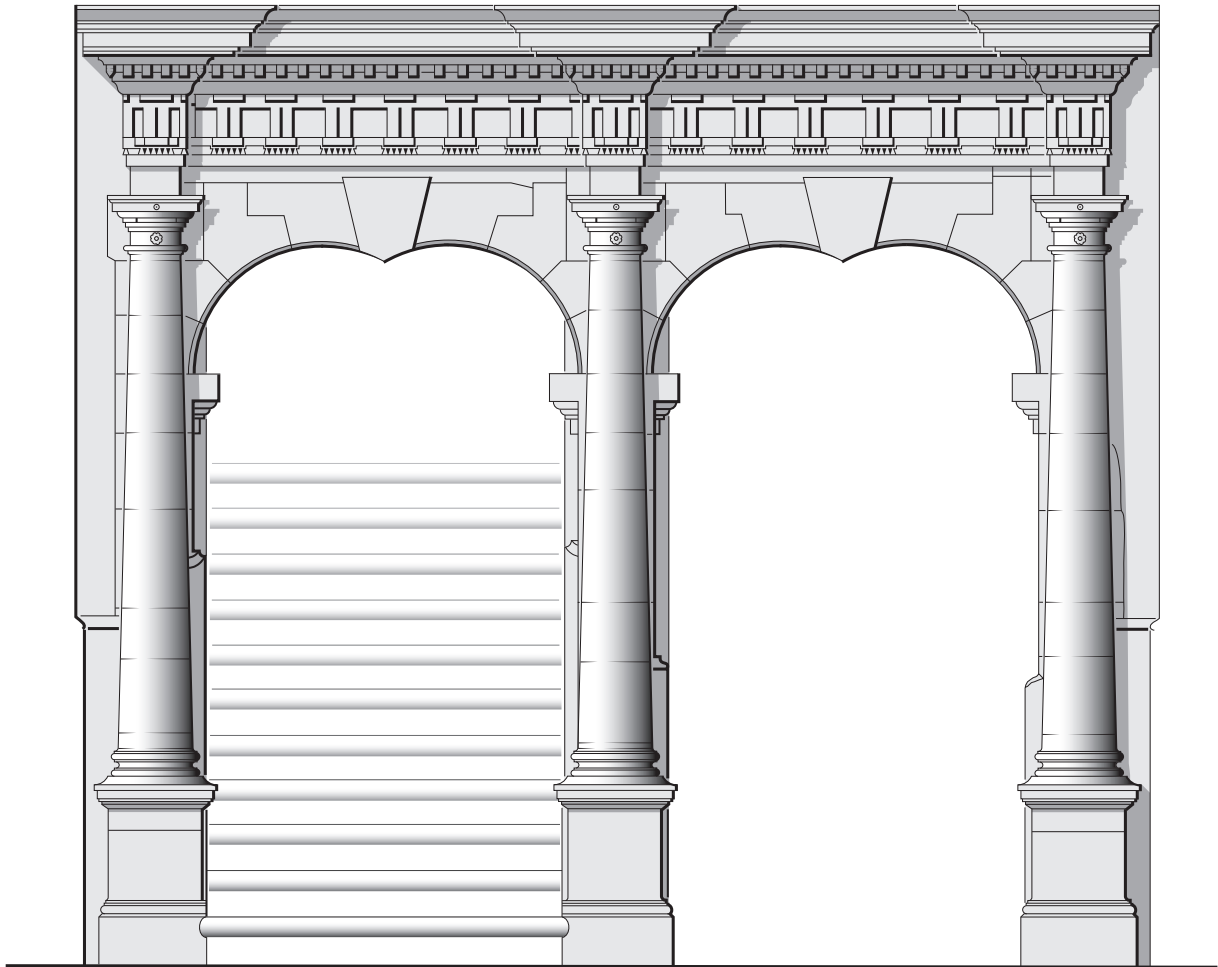
FIGURE 11
1998 view of arch stairwell screen on first floor of 'Auld House'.

HES [SC2088502](#)

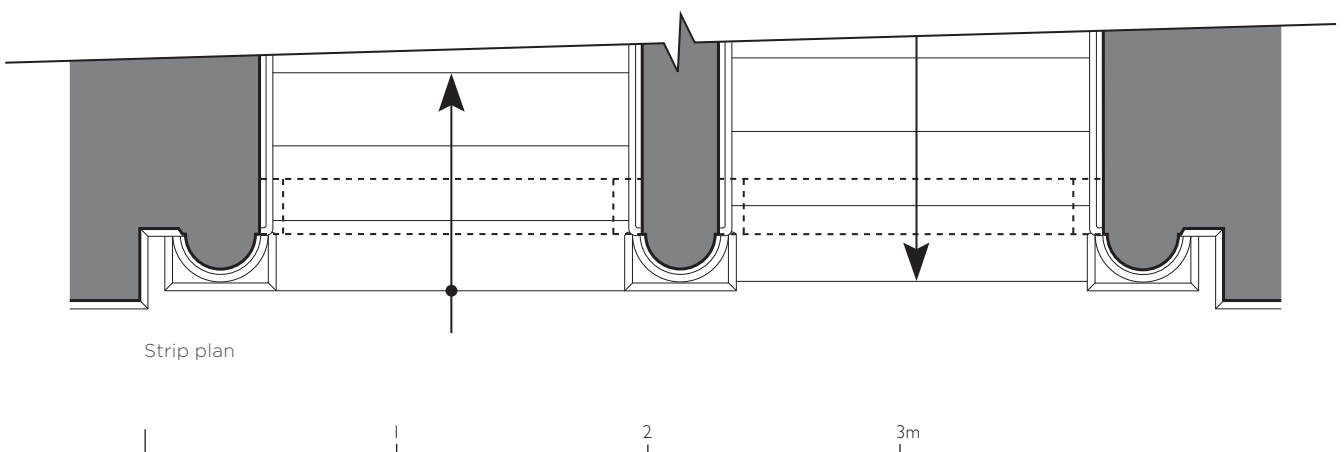


FIGURE 12
1998 view of arch staircase surround on second floor of 'Auld House'.

HES [SC353922](#)



Elevation



Strip plan

FIGURE 13

2001 HES digital drawing of Robert Gordon's College by Heather Stoddart. Elevation and strip plan of cusped arch stairwell screen at first floor of 'Auld House' (based on 1998 measured survey).

HES [GV007431](#)



top left:
FIGURE 14
1998 view of Governors' Room on first floor of 'Auld House'.

HES [SC2088504](#)

top right:
FIGURE 15
1998 view of Governors' Room.

HES [SC2088505](#)

FIGURE 16
1998 view of door and paneling in Governors' Room.

HES [SC2088501](#)



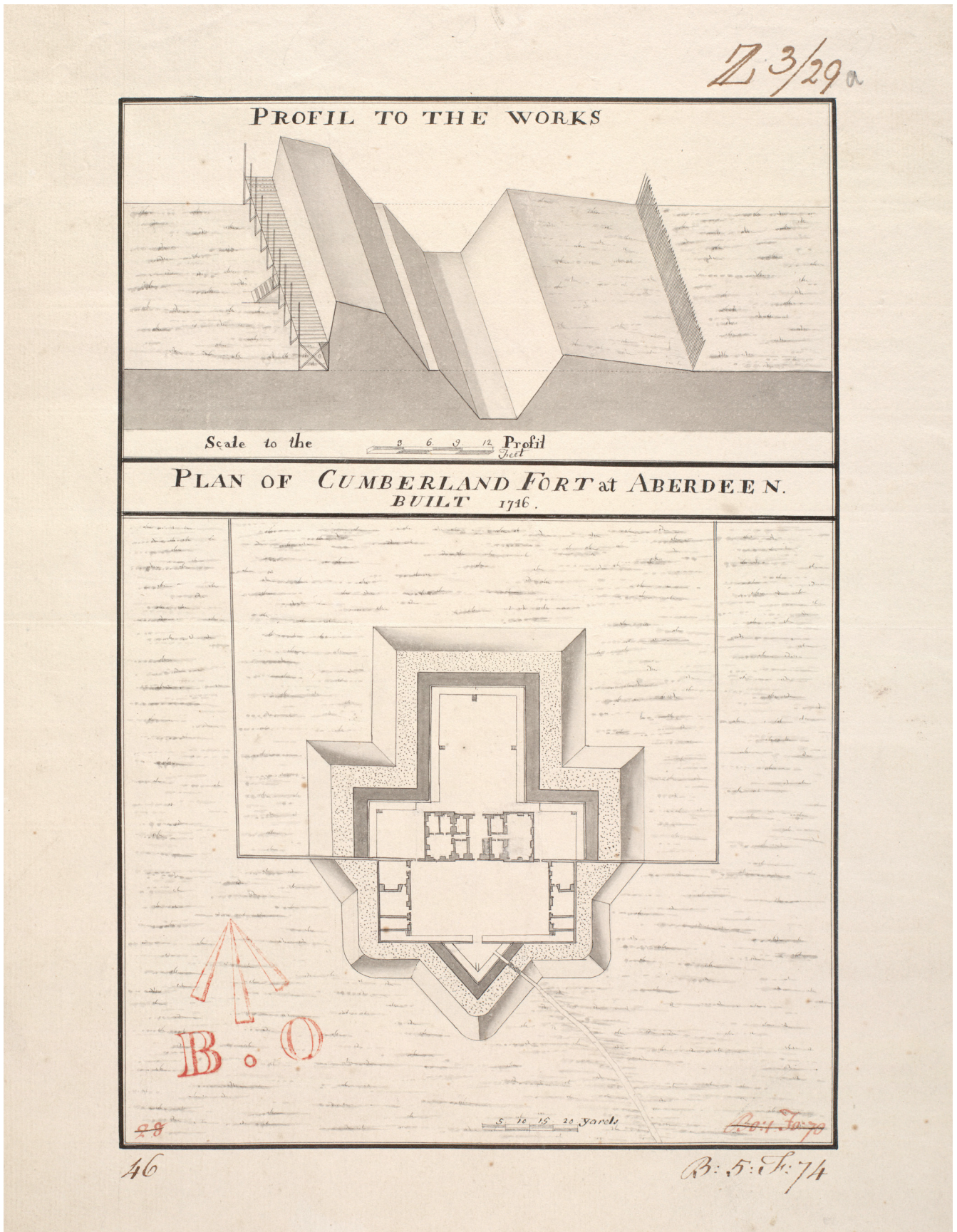


FIGURE 17

1746 military plan of 'Cumberland Fort at Aberdeen' showing the earthworks for the government camp. It shows the first dated plan of the hospital as built.

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FIGURE 18

Detail of 1773 town plan of Aberdeen by George Taylor. It shows Robert Gordon's Hospital and grounds. Aberdeen Grammar School is located at the south-western edge (bottom right), and Aberdeen Royal Infirmary (top left).

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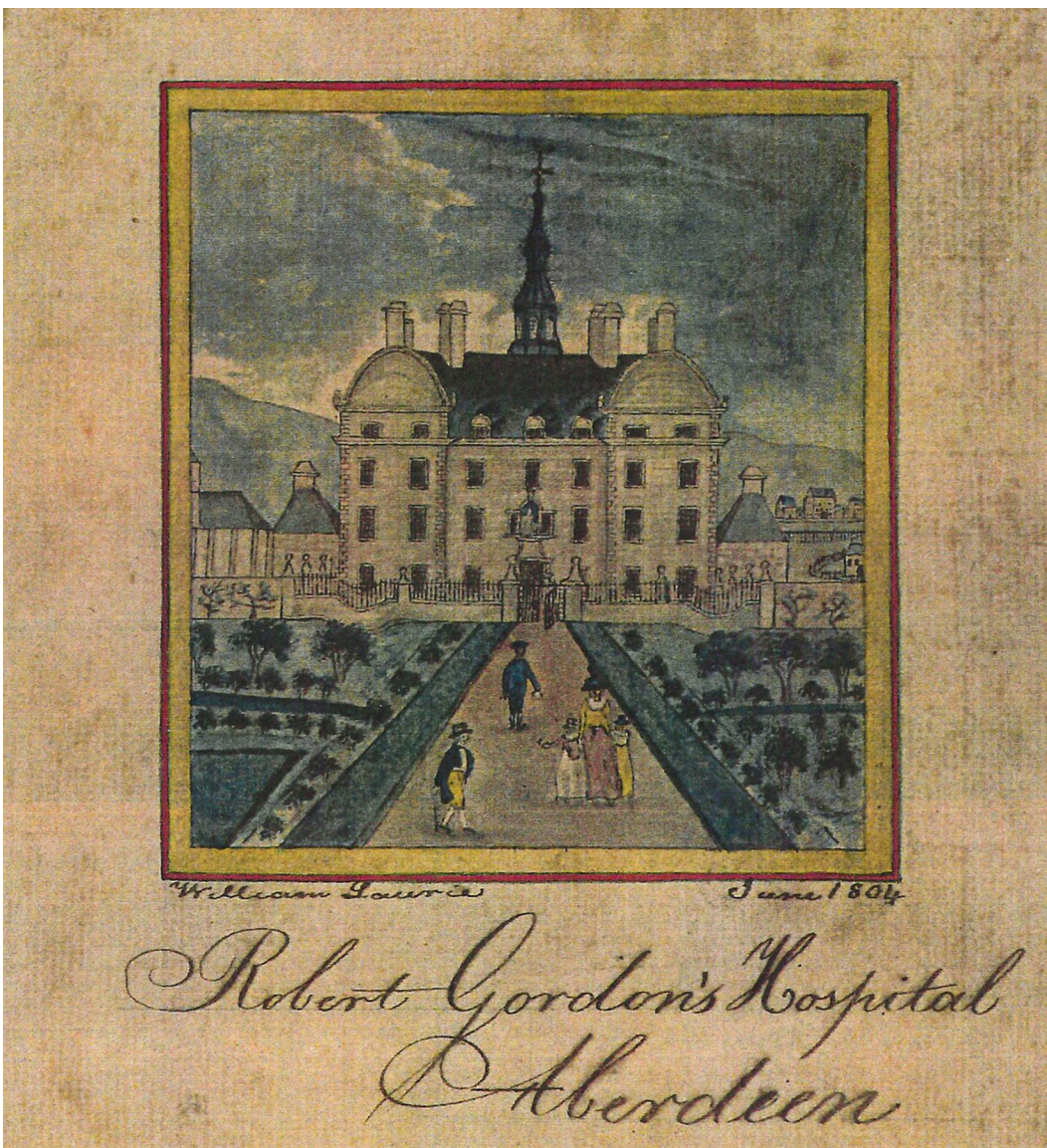


FIGURE 19

June 1804 sketch of 'Robert Gordon's Hospital, Aberdeen' by William Laurie.

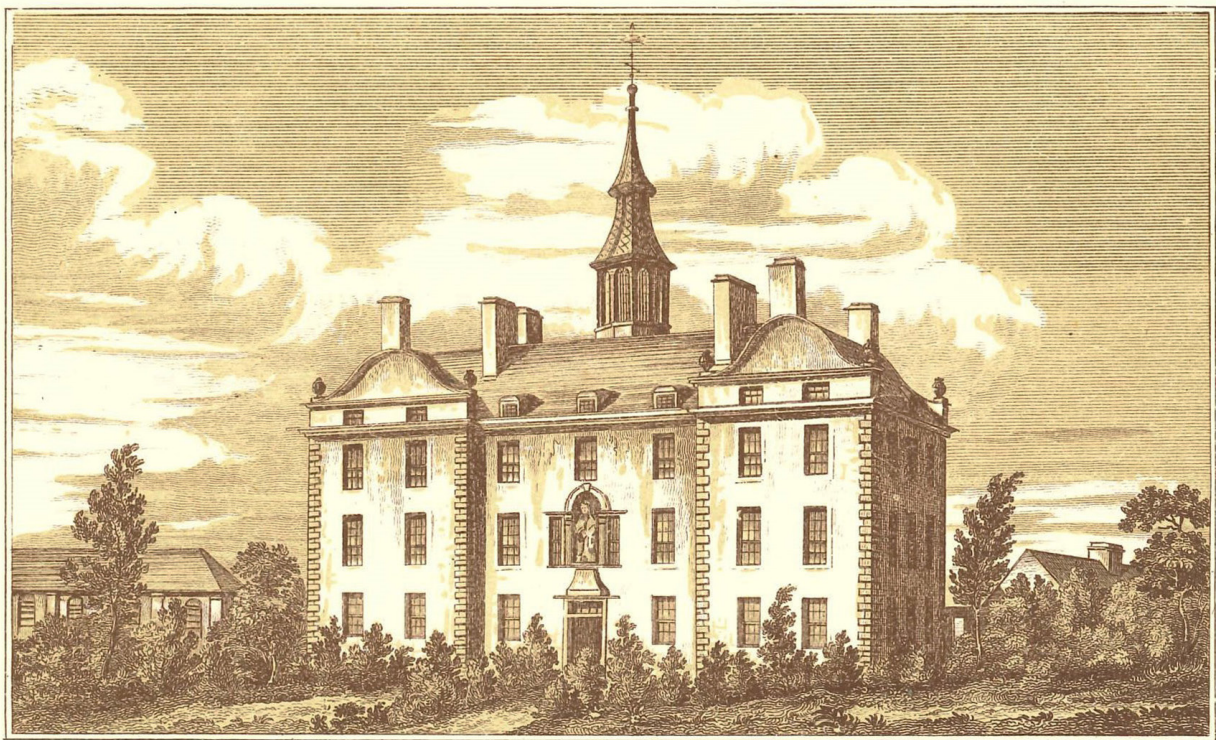
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Early Development

The 'Aberdeen Enlightenment' era of the mid-to-late eighteenth century witnessed a period of growing civic improvement. The new single-storey granite Aberdeen Grammar School of 1758 was built on the south-western edge of Robert Gordon's grounds (demolished c1863), and by the 1790s surrounding sites were slowly being developed. Large-scale street building in Aberdeen began in 1800, and in the early nineteenth century new public buildings were erected to meet the interests of the developing middle classes. This neo-classical granite-built revolution was led by a generation of prestigious young architects, most notably John Smith and Archibald Simpson.

Robert Gordon's 'Auld House' remained little altered until the 1820s, despite an acute need for accommodation for an increasing number of boys.¹⁷

By August 1811, the first-floor schoolroom was 'considerably crowded' because the number of boys has risen to 88. Lockhart records that the governors instructed the drawing master, George Smith (the inclusion of drawing highlights an increasingly sophisticated curriculum of study), to produce designs for two new schoolrooms: the existing schoolroom was to become a dormitory, but the work was not carried out owing to lack of funds.¹⁸ Numbers continued to grow, and the college minutes record that in the winter of 1816 a new schoolroom, designed now by John Smith, would be built by spring 1817. Boys then numbered 92, but again work appears not to have been undertaken: Smith was instructed to consider a rear extension to the east 'to correspond with the drying house on the west side' (two service wings were recorded by the mid eighteenth century).¹⁹



GORDON'S HOSPITAL.

FIGURE 20

1822 engraving of 'Gordon's Hospital' by J Swan, Glasgow.

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Robert Gordon's future architectural development was tied to generous charitable bequests, and typically Aberdeen's important architects of the day were again employed. A bequest of from Alexander Simpson of Collyhill in 1816 for 'indigent male children and male grandchildren of decayed Merchants and Brethren of Guild of the Burgh of Aberdeen', or other Aberdonians 'who cannot maintain themselves' was accepted in 1822, and it allowed a large extension to be considered.²⁰ John Smith and Archibald Simpson produced competing plans in 1826 (Smith was first approached in December 1825), and the former's was preferred, but the governors then decided in January 1827 to approach 'an eminent architect in Edinburgh', and Smith was instructed to prepare a survey of the existing building for his use.²¹ This is probably the drawing that held in HES along with William Burn's grandiose Jacobean scheme, which far exceeded

the available funds.²² William Burn's 1827 scheme proved too expensive to build, and in 1828 Smith was re-employed.²³ The 'in-keeping' extension was finally carried out in 1833 by Smith.²⁴ He straightened the gables of the original building forming triangular pediments, and added two large austere neo-classical wings of polished granite, linked to the 'Auld House' by Doric colonnades. The east wing contained the governor's house and kitchens, and the west wing was devoted to classrooms, with broad corridors forming a wet-weather exercise area. Smith also designed a janitor's lodge, which was removed to the north entrance of St Nicholas's churchyard to make way for the new Aberdeen Art Gallery. The teaching wing housed 115 pupils. In 1841, Smith also created apartments for the headmaster in the south-east wing, and the parlour of the 'Auld House' became a museum.

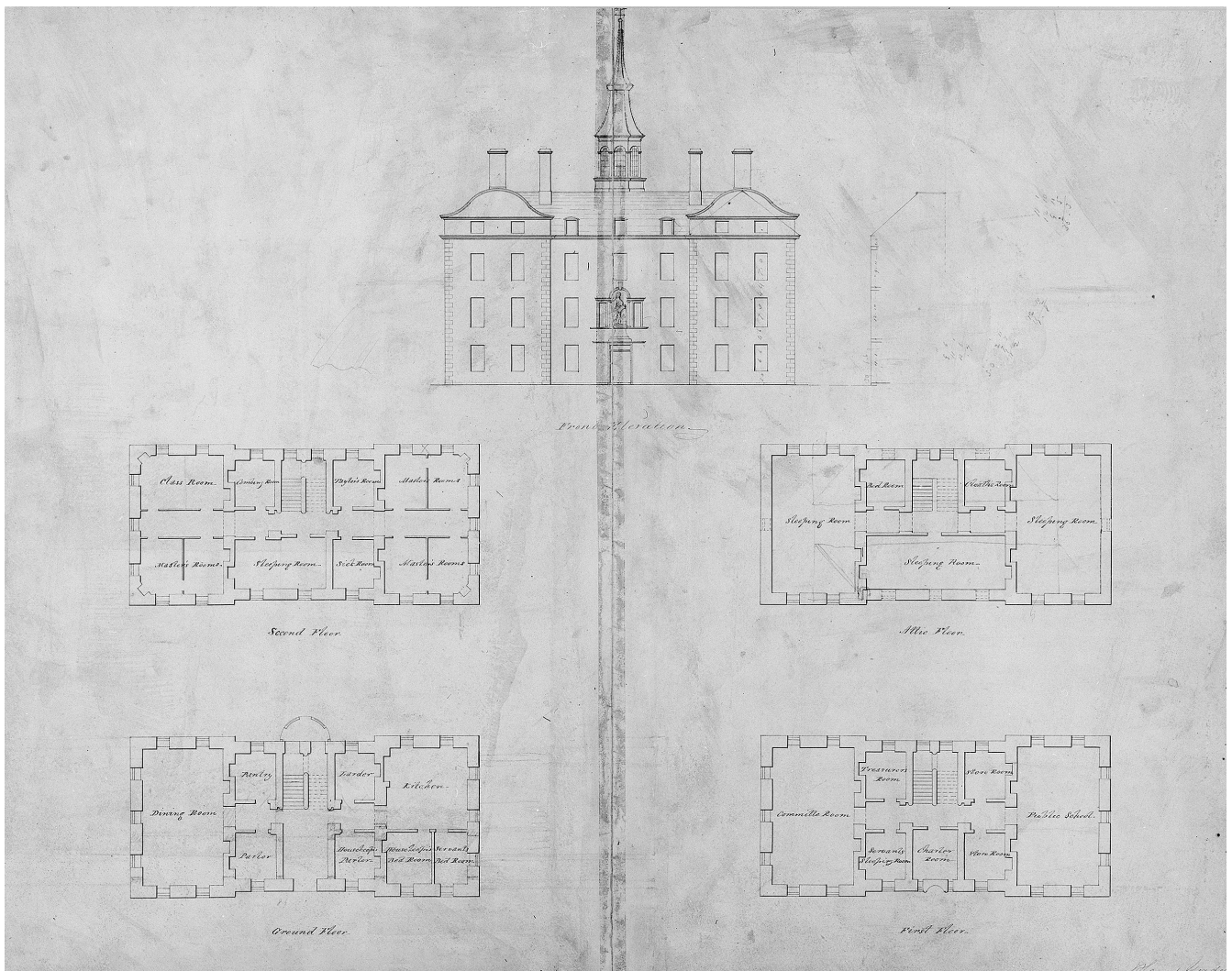


FIGURE 21

c1827 elevation and floor plans (ground, first, second and attic floors) of 'Auld House'. This survey drawing (possibly by J Smith) survives in a collection of William Burn drawings of his unbuilt 1827 extension scheme to the 'Auld House'.

HES [SC354860](#)

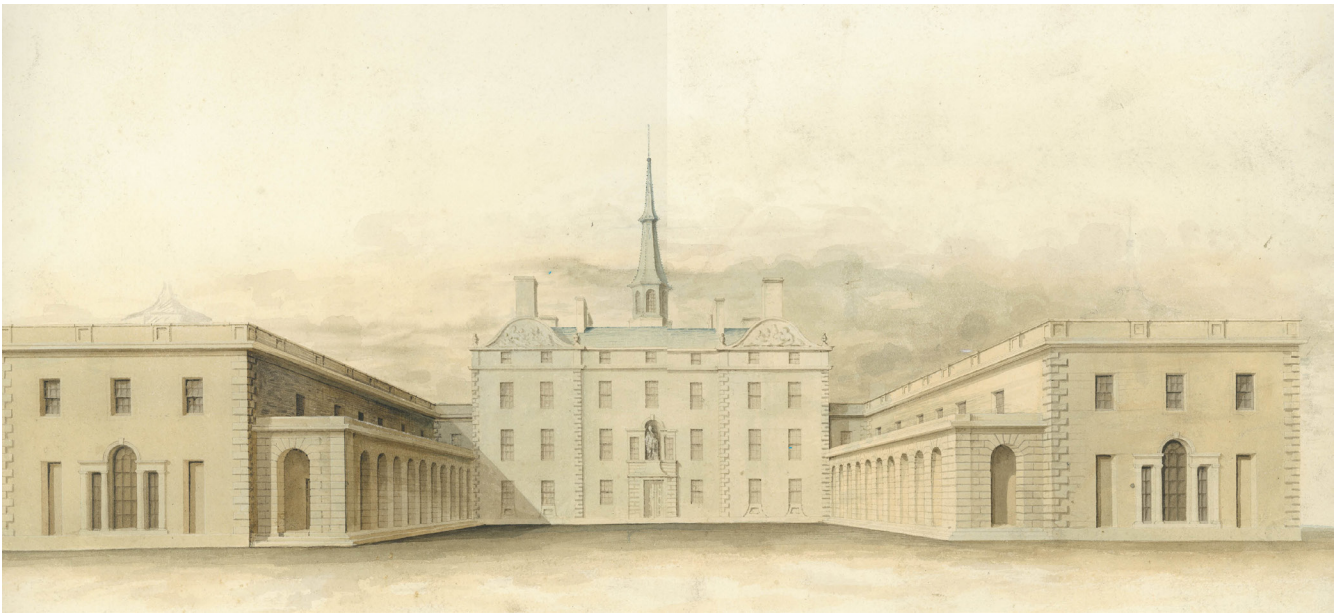


FIGURE 22

1826 elevation drawing of unbuilt extension competition design by Archibald Simpson.

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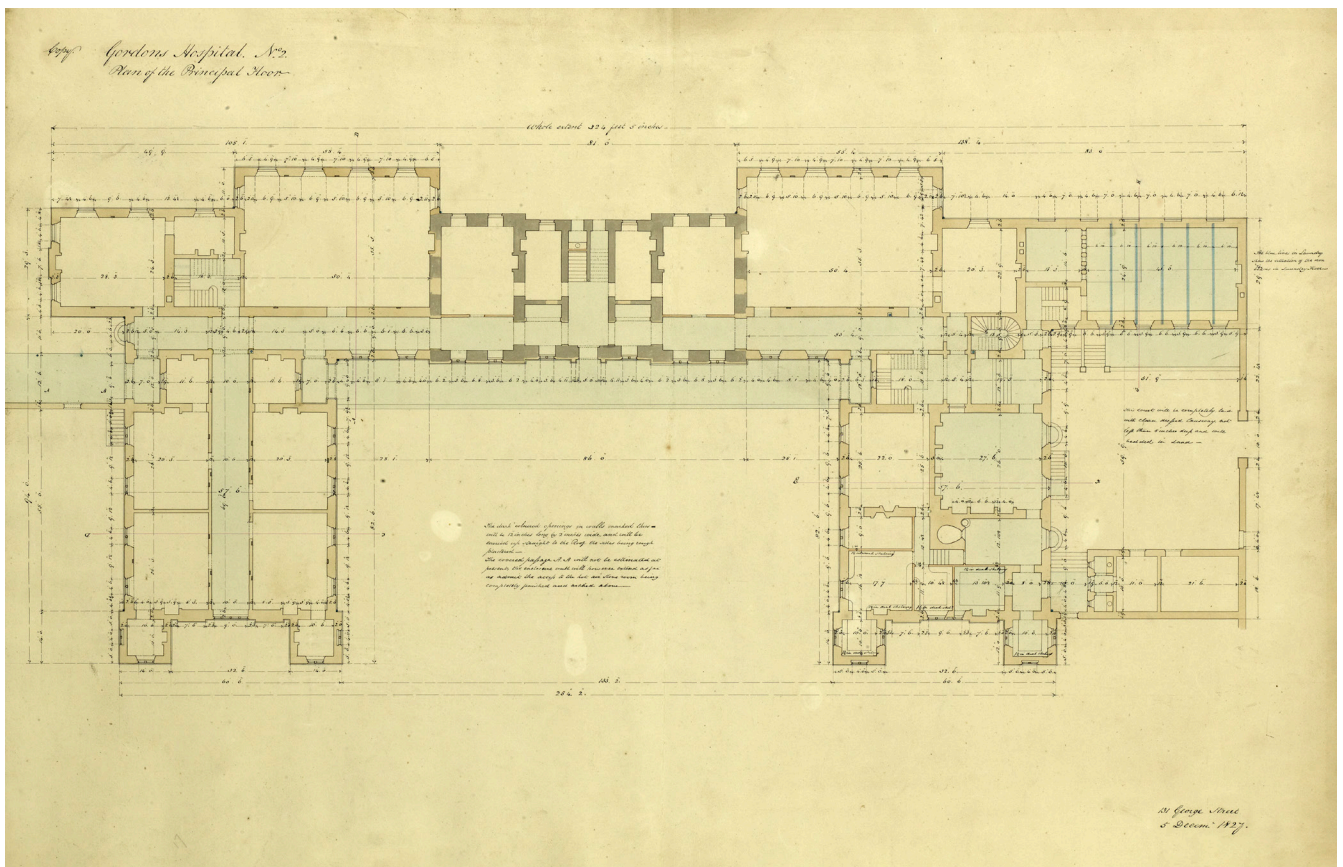
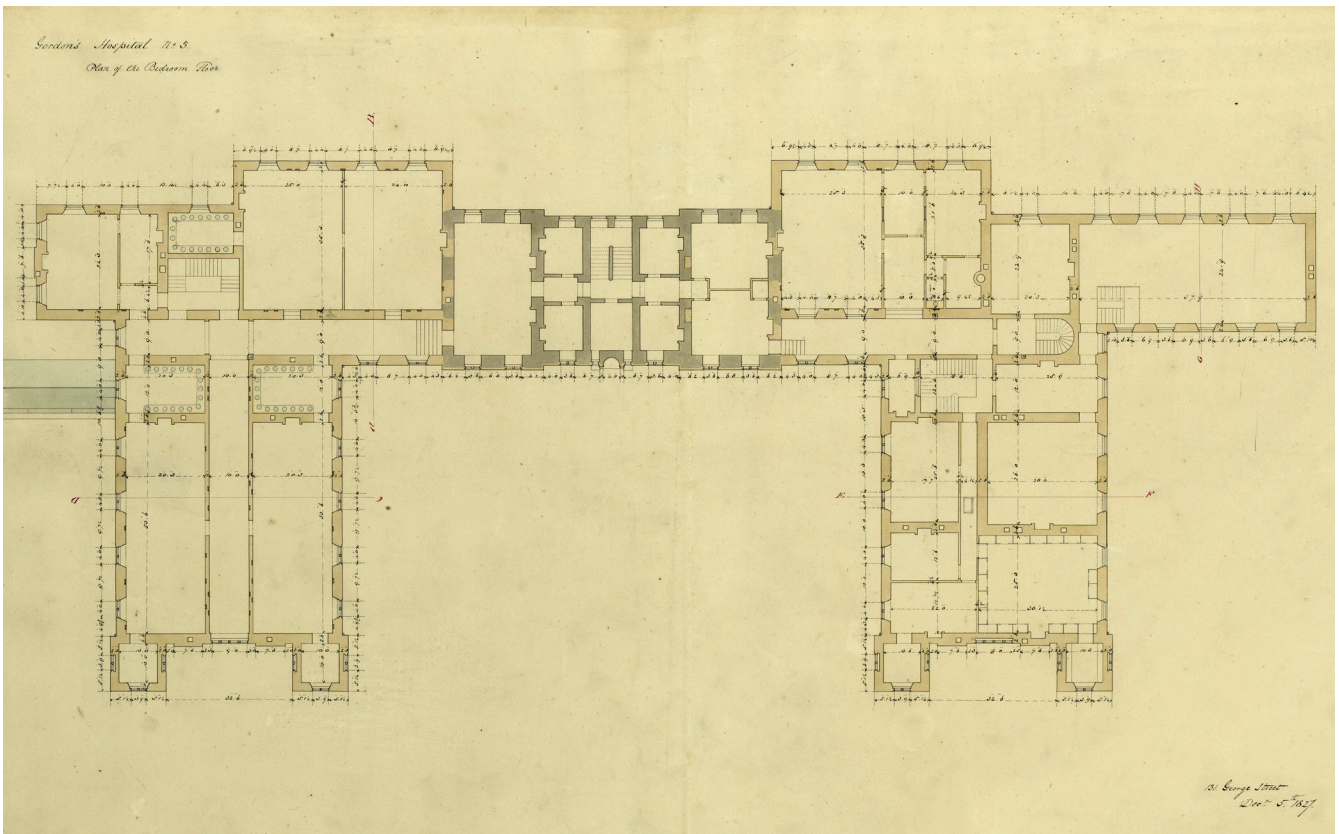


FIGURE 23

December 1827 'principal floor' plan (first floor) of proposed extension to 'Auld House' by W Burn (unbuilt).

HES [DP211351](#)

**FIGURE 24**

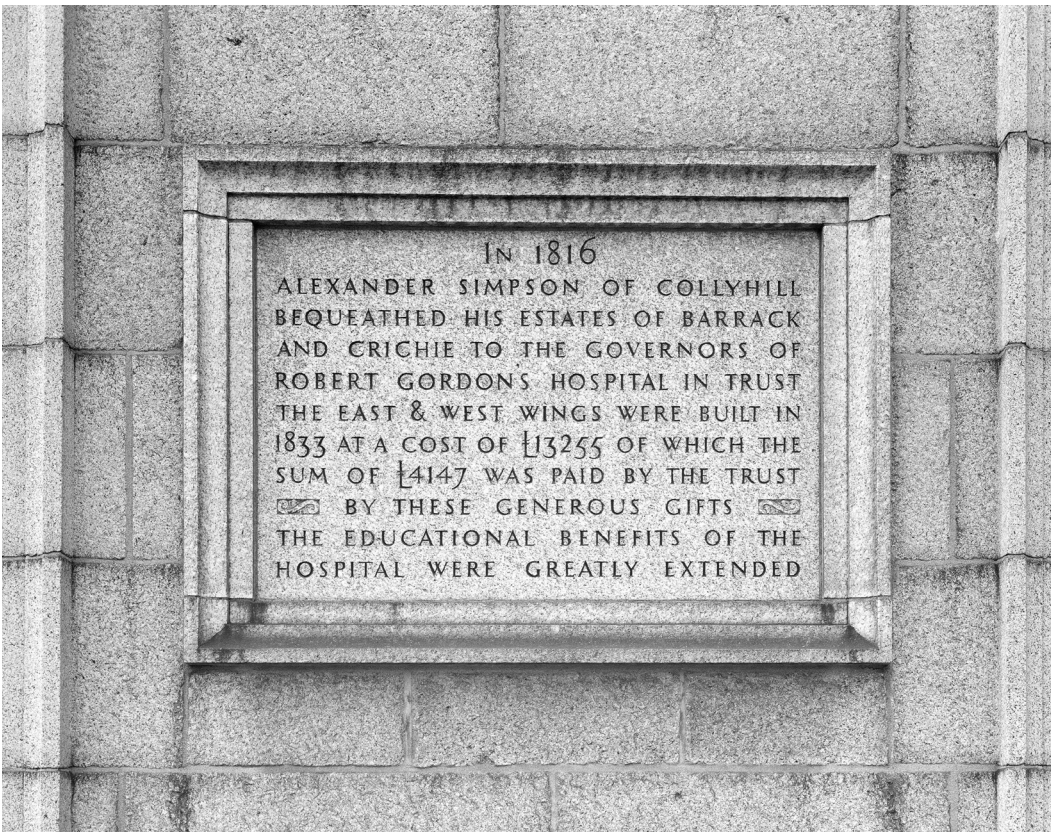
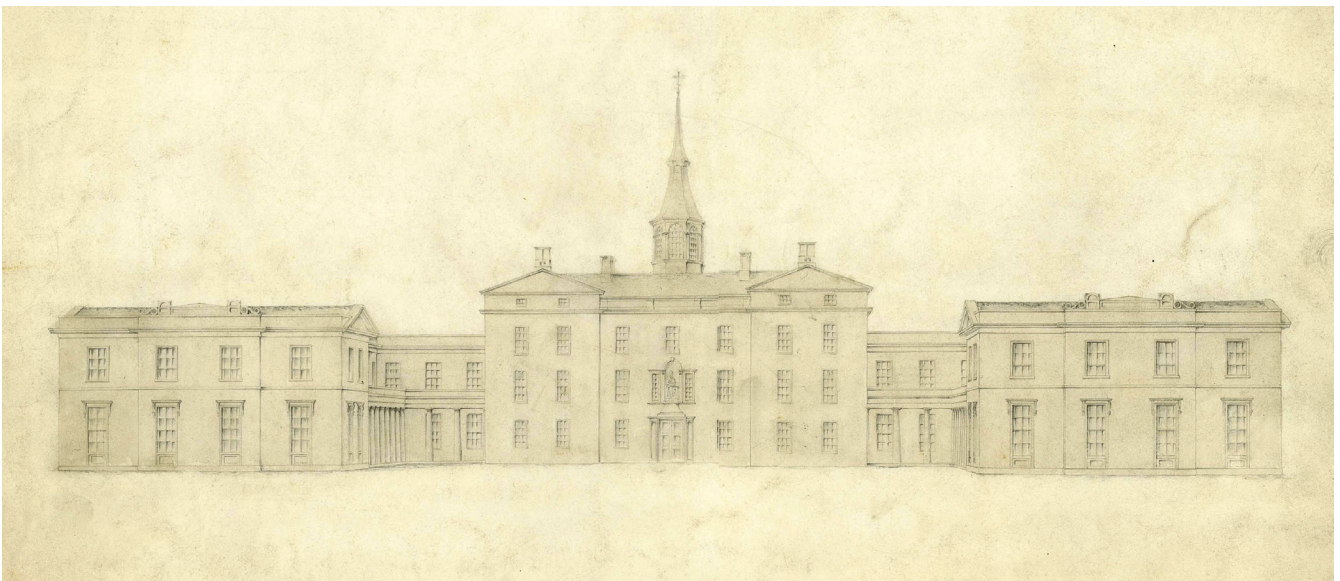
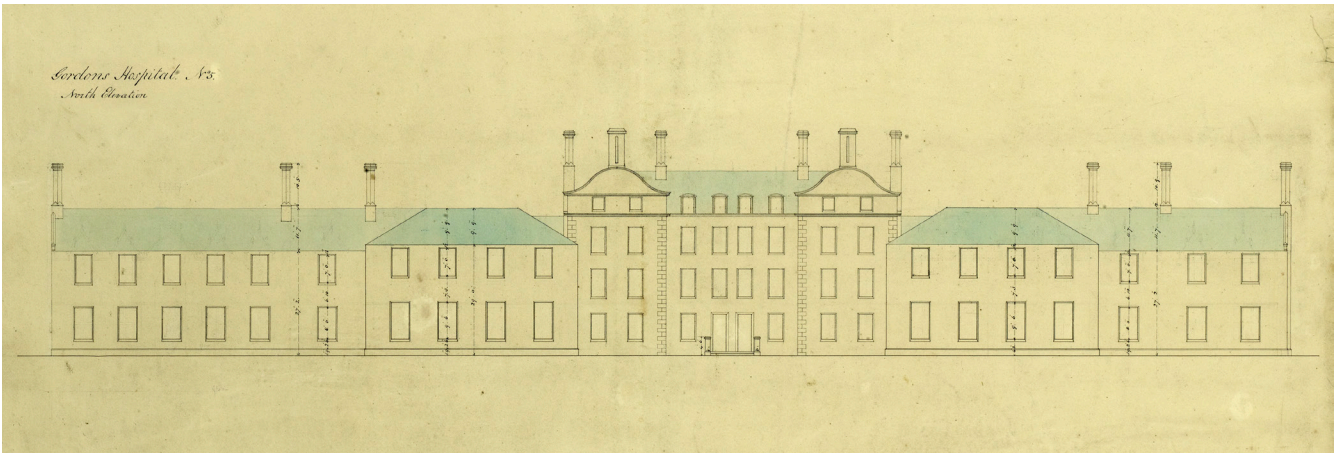
December 1827 'bedroom floor' plan (second floor) of proposed extension to 'Auld House', by W Burn, 1827 (unbuilt).

HES [DP211352](#)

**FIGURE 25**

December 1827 'principal' (south) elevation of proposed extension to 'Auld House', by W Burn, 1827 (unbuilt).

HES [DP029275](#)



top:
FIGURE 26
 December 1827 'north' (rear) elevation of proposed extension to 'Auld House', by W Burn, 1827 (unbuilt).

HES [DP211353](#)

FIGURE 27
 c1828 elevation drawing of built (1831-3) extension design by John Smith.

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left:
FIGURE 28
 1998 view of commemorative plaque of the Alexander Simpson bequest on east wall of west wing of 1830-33 extension.

HES [SC2170976](#)

Reform and Transformation: Robert Gordon's College

In the late nineteenth century Robert Gordon's entered a crucial period which resulted in its transformation from a charitable residential hospital for 180 boys ('foundoners'), to a day school with 800 boys by 1885. The change was not initially characterised by architectural development, but soon resulted in massive late nineteenth and early twentieth century expansion. The hospital was reconstituted as a day school in July 1881, allowing much of the previous residential space to be adapted for classrooms. From the 1840s, Scotland's charitable 'hospital system' had come under increasing attack. Criticism focused on the regimental routines and unfamiliar environment, but also included attacks on the demoralising effect of 'free' education, and the benefactor's peculiarities in pupil selection. Reform was implemented through the Endowed Hospitals (Scotland) Bill 1869, the 1875 Colebrooke Commission and the 1885 Balfour Commission on Educational Endowments (Scotland). Crucially, the 1872 Education

Act, which introduced a national educational system for all 'primary' school aged children, duplicated the efforts of the hospital system.

In response, Robert Gordon's began a 30-year period of reform (often controversial), spear-headed by Lord Provost Peter Esslemont in the 1870s. Like all other Scottish hospitals Robert Gordon's was 'influenced to a greater or lesser extent by events at Heriot's, the oldest and most important Hospital'.²⁵ A raft of reforms included: improved academic standards; the acceptance of non-residential day scholars from 1876; a move into 'fee-paying' secondary schooling proper; the introduction of adult evening classes in 1877, and the creation of Robert Gordon College (RGC) in 1879. In turn, 'foundoners' were reduced in number to 120, with a maximum of 30 residential pupils, and restricted to orphans only.²⁶ Between 1750 and 1881 the hospital had educated and maintained, and supported in their apprenticeships, 2,766 boys.²⁷



FIGURE 29

1867 Ordnance Survey town plan of Aberdeen showing the grounds, with lodge and laundry blocks, and the layout and functions of the extended Robert Gordon's Hospital.

Reproduced with permission of the National Library of Scotland

Following restructuring in 1881, and the abandonment of the building's original residential nature, the perimeter of the former gardens was built up with a series of purely educational buildings that reflect the complexity of educational functions carried out by the college in the next hundred years. In this extended period RGC adopted a dual function as both a 'model secondary school', and a recognised technical college, with the growing school functions built, on the whole, on the western arm of the quadrangle, and those of Robert Gordon Technical College (RGTC) on the eastern quarter.²⁸ The stripped classicism of the earlier twentieth century granite buildings created a harmonious courtyard setting for the 'Auld House'. The headmaster's residence initially remained in the east wing of the Auld House: the wing was destroyed by fire in 1911 and rebuilt by 1913. The Moncrieff Endowments Commission, begun in the late 1870s, envisaged RGC with a technical and science remit for artisans' children and adult classes, and not in competition with the existing grammar school. RGC incorporated the Aberdeen Mechanics' Institute in 1884, and up until the 1950s, it developed its technical remit. But more significantly for its long-term viability, it also developed its fee-paying secondary school ambitions, and became an increasingly middle-class institution. RGC continually battled to retain its independence from school board control.

Building development on the eastern 'technical' quarter began in 1884-5 with Gray's School of Art and Science, built on the site of the former Aberdeen Grammar School. Funded by John Gray in 1833, designed by Matthew and Mackenzie in 1844, opened

in 1885, and under the control of RGC governors until 1909, it had 96 fee-paying pupils enrolled for day classes, and 322 for evening classes in its first year. Aberdeen architects Matthew & Mackenzie also designed the City of Aberdeen's Art Gallery, Industrial Museum and Exhibition Centre built on adjacent ground to the west of the art school on Schoolhill (ground sold by RGC in 1882) at the same time. Gray wanted both buildings connected, and the architects designed a grand linking archway and corridor above in 1885-6 (the iron gates were a gift of the Mechanics' Institute in 1886). New buildings for RGTC eventually came in 1925, with the two-storey granite stripped classical technical buildings (a storey added), and three-storey art school extending eastwards (completed 1930), which formed the eastern arm of the quadrangle. A scheme for the technical college was produced by former Aberdeen School Board architect, and RGC past-pupil, J A Ogg Allan c1907, but it was R Leslie Rollo, who became head of the School of Architecture (architecture had been inaugurated into the RGTC in 1914), that produced the built design. Notable new buildings on the western RGC quarter included the 'English Renaissance' style MacRobert Hall, designed c1928 by R Leslie Rollo, and opened in 1931. The hall accommodated 900, served the school and RGTC, and in 1938 the library interior by Ogg Allan was completed with funds from the Peter Scatterry bequest. Post-war extensions included a new four-storey technical block linked by a first-floor corridor to the 'Auld House', opened in 1965 and designed by Allan, Ross and Allan, and more recently the five-storey Blackfriars Building of 1993. [compiled 2010]



FIGURE 30
1906 view of staff in front of Robert Gordon College.

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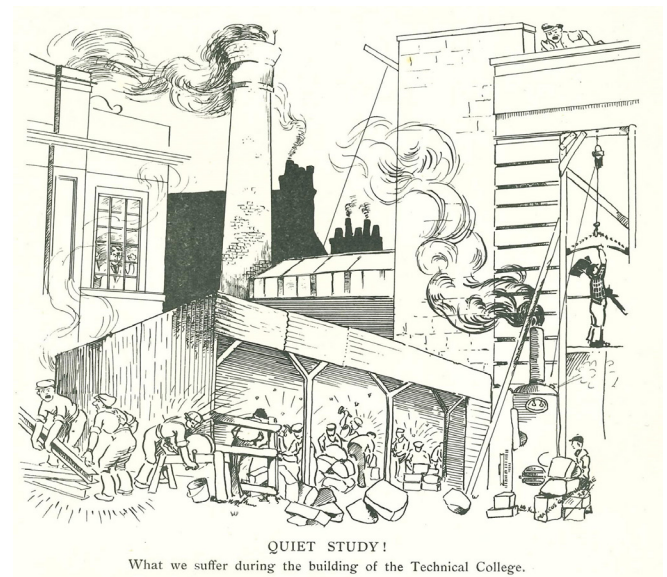


FIGURE 31
1928 student cartoon 'Quiet Study!' illustrated in the student magazine *The Gordonian* (June 1928).

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**FIGURE 32**

1938 aerial view showing early nineteenth century extensions to the 'Auld House' at the north, and the extensive late nineteenth and early twentieth century expansion on the southern perimeter of the site. The new buildings for Gray's School of Art & Science in 1885 and the Robert Gordon Technical College from 1910 were chiefly on the east of the quadrangle.

HES [SC1258284](#)

**FIGURE 33**

1998 view of main front.

HES [SC2170963](#)



FIGURE 34

1998 interior view of assembly hall (originally used by both school and technical college in the 1930s) in the MacRobert building located on the west range of the quadrangle.

HES [SC1496144](#)

Endnotes

- ¹ For a comprehensive history see B R W Lockhart, *Robert Gordon's Legacy: A History of Robert Gordon's Hospital and College*, 2007. This accounts draws upon Brian Lockhart's volume, and HES would like to thank him for generously sharing his knowledge of Robert Gordon's during our researches. See also: A Walker, *Robert Gordon: His Hospital and His College*, 1886; R Anderson, *The History of Robert Gordon's Hospital, Aberdeen*, 1896; J F Wyness, 'Robert Gordon's Hospital: A Sketch of its History and Architecture' in *Gordonian*, Vol 4, December 1930, pp 62-5; 'Minutes and Proceedings of the Governors of Robert Gordon's School, 1937-8', 1938, National Library of Scotland (NL.3.a.25); D Murray, 'Robert Gordon's Hospital and its Relationship to Other Public Buildings of William Adam', unpublished thesis, Scott Sutherland School of Architecture, 1975; and R Richmond, *Robert Gordon's College: A Pictorial History*, 2000.
- ² 21 December 1730: *Aberdeen Town Council Minute Book*, Vol 60, p 171, Aberdeen City Archives.
- ³ 'Statutes and Rules', 1729, in 'Deed of Mortification and Disposition by Robert Gordon merchant in Aberdeen, 1731', Robert Gordon's College Archives (RGA), cited in Lockhart, *Robert Gordon's Legacy*, p 24.
- ⁴ 'Statutes and Rules', 1729.
- ⁵ *Robert Gordon's Hospital Sederunt Books of Minutes, 1731-7*, RGA, 21 May 1733, cited in Lockhart, *Robert Gordon's Legacy*, p 33.
- ⁶ W Adam, *Vitruvius Scoticus; Uses in Scotland: Principally from the Designs of the Late William Adam Esq., Architect*, 1818, pl 106 and 108.
- ⁷ *Robert Gordon's Hospital Minutes, 1731-7*, 28 June 1731, cited in Lockhart, *Robert Gordon's Legacy*, p 31.
- ⁸ *Robert Gordon's Hospital Minutes, 1731-7*, 16 August 1731 and 2 September 1731.
- ⁹ *Robert Gordon's Hospital Minutes, 1731-7*, 17 December 1731. It was recorded that 'the Governors have been for these severall days past in company with Mr William Adam architect ...'
- ¹⁰ *Robert Gordon's Hospital Minutes, 1731-7*, 17 December 1731, 7 February 1732 and 28 February 1732.
- ¹¹ Cited in RCAHMS, *Aberdeen on Record: Images of the Past*, 1997, p 19. The 1997 publication cites Anderson, *History of Robert Gordon's Hospital*, p 72 and Murray 'Robert Gordon's Hospital', p 34, as sources, but the minutes at RGA have no record of Adam prior to 1731.
- ¹² *Robert Gordon's Hospital Minutes, 1731-7*, 23 October 1732, 13 July 1733 and 18 February 1734.
- ¹³ *Robert Gordon's Hospital Sederunt Books of Minutes, 1742-58*, RGA, 3 April 1750.
- ¹⁴ Lockhart, *Robert Gordon's Legacy*, p 42.
- ¹⁵ 'Plan of Cumberland Fort at Aberdeen, Built 1746', NLS MS.1648 Z.03/29a.
- ¹⁶ *Robert Gordon's Hospital Minutes, 1742-58*, 5 August 1746 and 15 October 1747.
- ¹⁷ To remedy overcrowding in 1785, two new wards were created in the attic storey (each ward contained 12 beds): Lockhart, *Robert Gordon's Legacy*, p 58.
- ¹⁸ Lockhart, *Robert Gordon's Legacy*, pp 65-6.
- ¹⁹ *Robert Gordon's Hospital Sederunt Books of Minutes, 1792-1816*, RGA, 11 November 1816 and 10 December 1816.
- ²⁰ Cited in Lockhart, *Robert Gordon's Legacy*, p 68.
- ²¹ *Robert Gordon's Hospital Sederunt Books of Minutes, 1817-1831*, RGA, 3 December 1825, 26 February 1826, 19 October 1826, 30 December 1826, 10 January 1827 and 20 January 1827.
- ²² HES, ABD/26/1-15.
- ²³ *Robert Gordon's Hospital Minutes, 1817-1831*, 29 December 1828.
- ²⁴ The foundation stone for the extension works was laid at the south-west corner of the west wing in March 1830: *Robert Gordon's Hospital Minutes, 1817-1831*, 11 March, 1831.
- ²⁵ Lockhart, *Robert Gordon's Legacy*, p 114. For a detailed account of the reforms see pp 114-32.
- ²⁶ In 1878, twenty Robert Gordon's boys attended the new grammar school with fees paid by the hospital: Lockhart, *Robert Gordon's Legacy*, p 125.
- ²⁷ Lockhart, *Robert Gordon's Legacy*, p 131.
- ²⁸ A J Mundella, Committee of Council in Education, 1880-5, cited in Lockhart, *Robert Gordon's Legacy*, p 136. Lockhart's account covers the history of Robert Gordon's to 2007.

