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Lord Mar's Plans, c.1700 to 1732

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A thesis submitted for the degree of M Litt
Department of Art History,
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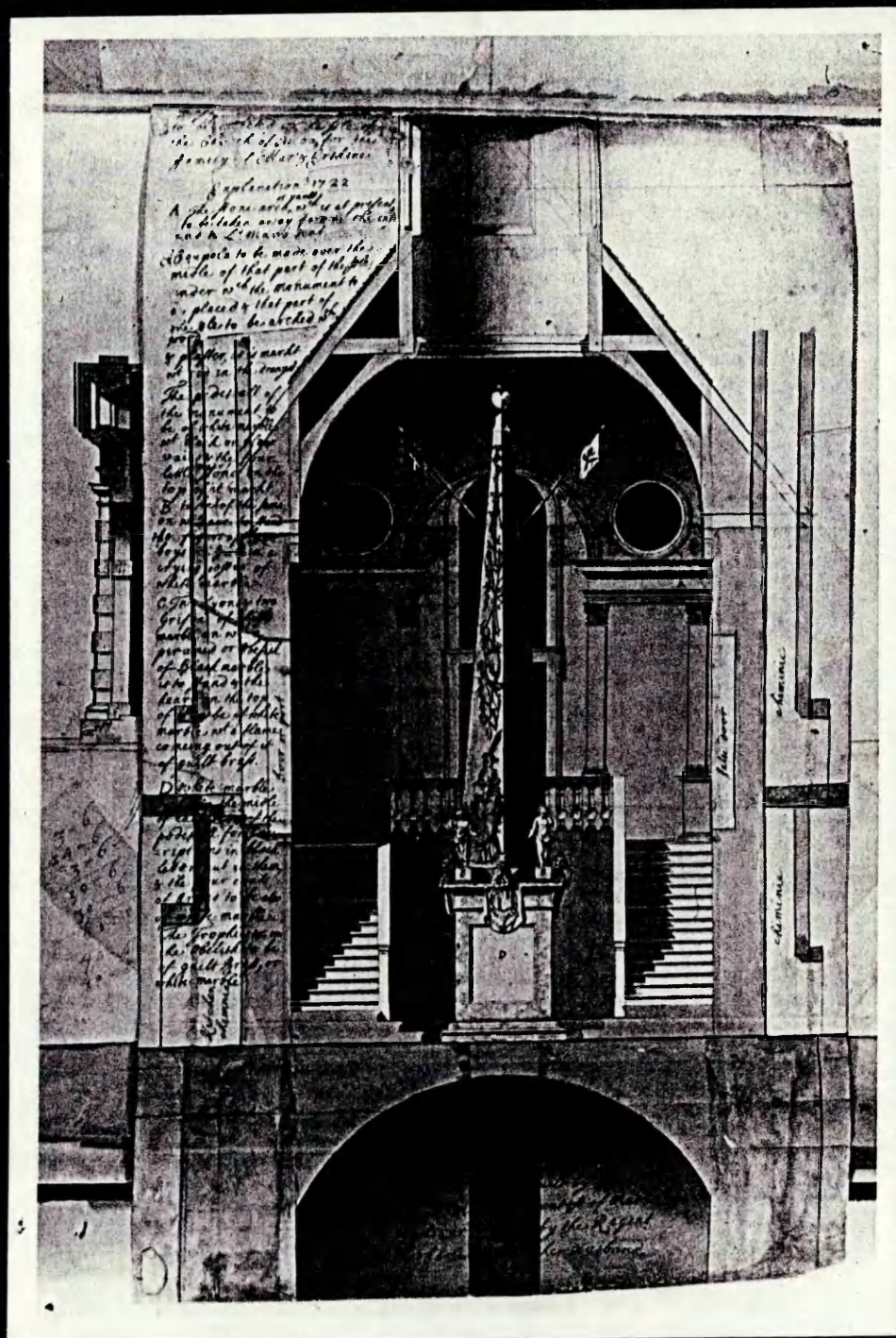
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Frontispiece. Section and elevation, Alloa Church and the Mar and Erskine monument.

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SUMMARY

Chapter 1, Part I describes the cultural and political background to Mar's life; this includes information on his schooling, university studies and draughtsmanship, attitude to antiquities and his *urbanisme*. The roles of Alexander Edward and, in particular, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun and the Scottish civic tradition in the forming of the historical themes in the gardens at Alloa are discussed. Part II presents the documentary evidence of Mar's involvement in houses and gardens in Scotland. These include the House of Nairne, Craigiehall, Hopetoun, those properties of the Earls of Northesk and Wemyss, and the House of Alva. Part II is concerned with similar activities in England. The schemes for Cliveden, Mar's house and those of friends at Twickenham, his friendship with amateur and professional architects: Lord Bingley, James Gibbs, Lord Islay, the Duke of Argyll and others. Finally, Mar's travels in Italy, particularly his opinion of art collections, ancient monuments and some houses in Rome, Tivoli and Frascati, are described.

Chapter 2 describes his early architectural activities on the Continent. The form, plan, context, and stylistic origins of "House A" -the earliest extant set of architectural plans. Documents concerning some lost plans for James VIII's residences in Italy: Castel Gandolfo and the Palazzo Muti. Finally, Mar and James' interest in Bolognese *scenografia* and the survey plans of the Palazzo Albergati and Palazzo Fantuzzi are described.

Chapter 3 is an analysis of a group of six stylistically related projects. The Scottish and Continental sources and features of these are described and they are then contrasted with the Palladian villa and the *maison de plaisance*. The evidence for Mar's authorship of the House of Dun is given, as is the information on the architectural activities of the French Jacobites in Paris. This chapter concludes with some remarks about Mar's theoretical attitude to form and design in small-scale domestic architecture.

Chapter 4, Part 1 is a building history of Alloa House based upon an analysis of correspondence, descriptions and plans. It also includes a discussion of the unexecuted proposals. Part II describes four separate, but interrelated, proposals for a completely new house at Alloa; this entails a consideration of the purpose of these plans, their relationship with the royal palace scheme for London and some comments on their symbolism. This chapter ends with Part III -a description of the executed and unexecuted designs for the gardens, garden buildings and offices at Alloa. This also involves the unexecuted plans for the town and church. The link between the industrial landscape and the historical symbolism of the executed plans is compared with the late fanciful drawings. Lastly there are some concluding remarks based upon a brief description of Mar's designs for French gardens. This involves a discussion of the work of Dufresny and his influence on Mar's garden designs in the later period.

The appendices are as described in the Contents, but Appendix B is an historical account of the plans. The ordering, numbering and watermarks on the Mar and Kellie Plan Books are described and some conclusions drawn regarding them in the light of this. Appendix B ends with some remarks regarding the reason why Mar made architectural plans.

PREFACE

This thesis is based upon a study of the architectural and gardening projects by the Earl of Mar. The majority of these designs are in the Mar and Kellie Plan Books in the Scottish Record Office in Edinburgh. The appendices include a history of the Plan Books, a concordance of numbers and a Handlist of the drawings in that collection. The title of this thesis was chosen because it describes the presence of information that relates to *all* of Lord Mar's designs, and not just to those projects treated in more detail in the main text.

A number of previous publications on Lord Mar's schemes have been of invaluable assistance. The earliest and most important of these is the article on Mar's industrial innovations at Alloa in *Scottish Studies*, 1963 by Professor Christopher Smout. I have relied on this article when describing Mar's aesthetic innovations to the Mar Policy in Chapter 4. The best introduction to the Earl of Mar's architecture is the entry in Howard M. Colvin's *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, London, 1978. Dr Terry Friedman's extensive monograph on James Gibbs and his PhD thesis include important information on Mar's friendship with Gibbs and their mutual acquaintances. More recently Dr Friedman's article in *Architectural History*, 1986 has spared me the trouble of transcribing Mar's manuscripts of the royal palace schemes for London and Paris. This article is discussed in more detail in Part 3 of Chapter 4, because I wish to offer an alternative interpretation of the purpose of these drawings and describe how Mar envisaged their use at Alloa. In addition William Kay's thesis on the House of Dun has dealt with Adam's and Mar's involvement in the designing of that building. These plans are discussed with reference to William Kay's thesis in Chapter 3. In each instance that I have used these works I have given references in the Notes to Chapters. I have discussed the work of others in more detail because I wish to make suggestions about the purpose and stylistic sources of the drawings, which has resulted from my own researches, or because of the importance of these works to the themes described in this thesis, or the interrelationship between various sets of plans.

The Bibliography includes all relevant reading on the subject. However, a small number of works have yielded single references, and these are cited in the Notes to Chapters only and are not repeated in the Bibliography.

~~Extracts from original documents are reproduced in the original spelling and punctuation. Dates of original documents are reproduced in Old Style. The discrepancy between Old Style dating and our calendar is ten to thirteen days, depending on the nationality and circumstances of the 18th-century writer. Letters quoted from other printed editions are reproduced in the chosen Style of the editor. A small number of letters written between England and Scotland between the months of January and March bear two dates. In Scotland from 1660 the first day of the New~~

~~Year began on the 1st of January. In England the New Year was popularly considered to begin on the 1st of January, but the official or regnal year began on the first day of the succession. Hence a letter from Alloa to Whitehall is dated March 1707/8. The earlier date is the English regnal year and the later is the Scottish year; letters written after mid-March bear one date only (Cheyne, C. R., *Handbook of dates for students of English history*, London, 1945).~~

The List of Illustrations and the Handlist of the Plan Books reproduce Mar's titles, dates and places where he made the drawings. His copious annotations are not reproduced, but extracts relating to specific drawings under discussion are given in the text.

INTRODUCTION

John Erskine, the sixth or eleventh Earl of Mar, is better known to us now as the instigator of the 1715 Jacobite Uprising. He was a distinguished statesman who practised architecture as a pastime, although it can hardly, in the light of what follows, be regarded as a purely dilettante pursuit. Indeed political theory and practice, economic improvement and architecture were different expressions of the same form of activity; the improvement of the physical conditions of human life. Such was his success in industrialising the town of Alloa that it was his reputation as an economic improver which preceded his arrival in London to take up his post as Secretary of State for Scotland in 1705.

The themes which have emerged from this study of his architectural drawings are: a classical style modelled on the architecture of France and Italy which incorporates not only traditional Scottish architectural forms and plans, but also those of classical antiquity which are treated with precocious archacological exactitude; the re-combination of old building-types into new types of dwellings; the aesthetic aims of the Scottish civic tradition in contemporary political theory and a new style of gardening -the Scottish historical landscape garden .

The principal subject of this thesis is the plans themselves, so I have grouped those of similar form and purpose together: if I had taken the above themes as chapter headings this would have been too confusing for the reader, never mind the writer, as it would have necessitated breaking down sets of plans into single drawings and re-grouping these in an order which would have no bearing upon the logic of architectural design, or the way in which Mar conceived his projects. The themes, therefore, are threaded through the text so that if the reader ever has the good fortune to examine the originals, I hope that he will find this thesis not too far removed from what he will discover there. However, it has been necessary, given the complexity of Lord Mar's public life and its inseparability from his architectural ideas, to begin with a narrative of his educational and cultural background; this has allowed the opportunity to describe hitherto unknown executed projects and to assess the extent of his influence in Britain before 1715. Chapter 2 describes the earliest set of extant plans from which it is possible to know precisely what his architectural taste was. This introduces the first of the themes described above. This chapter ends with an account of Mar's and James VIII's architectural activities in Italy which reveals an interest in Bolognese design. Chapter 3 describes a set of projects which exemplify the second theme of the thesis. These houses were chosen because they demonstrate Mar's eclecticism and awareness of contemporary interest in the evolving form of small-scale country houses. His solution is a novel alternative to the Palladian villa. The third theme is introduced in Chapter 1 and taken up again in Chapter 4. This is the longest chapter in the thesis and differs from the others in being a description of the executed and unexecuted plans for Alloa. This is included here because there is so much research into this period of Scottish architecture and gardening under way at present that

it is important to know, as far as possible, what Mar's contemporaries saw when they visited his famous and influential improvements at Alloa. This does not in any way isolate this chapter from those preceding; indeed they are in many ways a preparation for it: what we find at Alloa we also find at "House A" or "House J" and *vice versa* -the Alloa schemes cannot be regarded as thematically different, but as projects almost entirely achieved they require a different treatment.

Lastly, a few words concerning why Lord Mar's designs are important over two hundred and fifty years after he made them. It seems to me, and I hope it will to the reader, that Mar has much to tell us about the importance of art as a rich and uplifting expression of ideas. To Mar the aesthetics of architecture were vital to the spiritual well-being of the community. He reminds us that all good art pertains to compassion, peace, physical security, pleasure; it cannot flourish to enrich our lives when we live in poverty, struggle constantly for justice or are enslaved to an alien culture.

Nowadays the arts are devalued to provide mass entertainment, our historical heritage sold off as a tourist attraction, and the Act of Union, that inadequate last bastion of our independence, which states that taxes may not be levied in Scotland which are not previously levied in England, is ignored in order to do just that. We live in an age in which the political pressures are not dissimilar to those which brought us to Union in 1707 and which have followed every attempt to assert our independence ever since. Mar respected the ancient monuments of our own and other cultures because they fix us in time, give us a sense of place and belonging. Moreover, they provide reminders that we must strive for social improvement; move steadily from the warlike past to an harmonious future. Had history taken a different course we might today see these words inscribed, as Mar has them on his drawing, over the portal of Stirling Castle: JUSTITIA ET PATRIA RESTITUTA.

Chapter 1

Lord Mar's life and architectural activities until 1718

Introduction

Lord Mar's approach to architecture differed from that of other European classical architects for two reasons. The first is his Jacobitism and the second is the culture of Scotland which developed an architectural tradition that valued eclecticism and a relative freedom in the use of sources rather than a polemical approach as was favoured, for instance, by the Neo-Palladians. Being more concerned with the practical development of architecture, domestic comfort, pleasing visual surroundings, and economical planning, rather than with archaeological exactitude for its own sake, he drew his sources as freely from Palladio, the Ancients or any other European source. Mar's architecture has a uniquely Scottish character. This character was the result of his antiquarianism, his eclectic use of sources, and a concern for the civic purpose of architecture, a concern which arose from contemporary Scottish political and economic theory. The political element is more than just theoretical; it is partisan in its sentimental allusions to Mar's Scottish patriotism; his designs can be understood as an apology, in the 18th-century sense of the word, for his political career. Political allusions played no part in the work of Mar's architectural contemporaries in Scotland, although this is recognised as an aspect of English Neo-Palladianism. However, Mar, unlike the Palladians, was not concerned with the discovery of a didactic style or the standardisation of architectural form. His designs are marked by a striking individuality: as different, for instance, from those of William Adam and James Smith, as the work of these architects is one from the other. Mar's concern with improved standards of design for domestic buildings, combined with the breadth of sources typical of the Scottish classical architectural tradition sets him apart from the aims of the Palladians. Before proceeding to describe his architecture, his cultural background and political career, as they have such an important bearing upon his architecture, must be described briefly.

Part I. An outline of the cultural and political life of the Earl of Mar

The historical interpretations of Mar's support for, and later withdrawal of agreement from, the Act of Union of 1707, are almost all critical of the sincerity of his motives and the justice of his cause in raising the Standard of the Stuarts in 1715. The account which follows contradicts that given, for instance, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which asserts Mar's duplicity. This thesis cannot offer an extensive analysis of these historical interpretations; it can only present Mar's view of his political conduct which contradicts these accounts, in so far as it is his opinion of his actions and beliefs, and not those of subsequent historians (whichever set of historiographical interpretations they subscribe to), which are manifested in his architectural designs.

This issue is important, as it has considerable bearing upon the style and intention of Mar's designs, which reflect the sincerity of his claim that he was consistently loyal to Scotland. He believed that Scotland's interests could only be served by an autonomous Scottish state, protected from economic and military interference from England. At the time of the Union Scotland, with its different historical, cultural and political biases, posed a threat to the security of England's expansionist policy. As a Scot committed to Scotland's improvement he inevitably ran in the face of the tide of political opinion in England during his service in Queen Anne's government.

Mar's leadership of the 1715 Uprising resulted from the failure of the Union to fulfil its promises to Scotland, but it can also be understood as an act consistent with the history of the Erskine family and their historical role in maintaining Scotland's independence under the protection of the Stuarts.

Mar was born at Alloa in February 1675, the first son of Charles, the fifth or tenth Earl of Mar and Lady Margaret Maule, daughter of the Earl of Panmure. The earldom of Mar was one of the most ancient in Scotland, dating from the 13th century.¹ In Mar's day the Erskines were Episcopalians. The Earls of Mar were hereditary guardians of the royal children and hereditary keepers of Scotland's most strategically important stronghold, Stirling Castle. Mar's awareness of the historical heritage of his family is an important element in his designs for his home, Alloa House. When his father died in 1689 he left him, then fourteen years old, with estates encumbered with debt. These debts were largely the result of his father's military campaigns and a period spent in exile. The fifth Earl died in prison in 1689 whilst under detention on a charge of treason for his loyalty to James VII.

Mar took his seat in the Scottish Parliament in 1696 and from 1704 his political career flourished under the patronage of the first Duke of Queensberry, with whom he joined to effect the Union of 1707. Mar was appointed Joint Secretary of State for Scotland ~~with the first Marquess of Annandale from 1705, and with the Earl of Loudon from 1706.~~²

Throughout his service at Whitehall, still having faith in the Union settlement, he was not actively involved in the threatened Jacobite invasion of 1708. He hoped that on the death of Queen Anne the Stuarts would be declared and restored, and that the return of the native Scottish dynasty to the British throne would ensure a strengthening of Scotland's position within the Union.³ His political position in England from 1705 is difficult to define: he was a Jacobite who supported the Union, a stance which meant that in Parliament he was closer to the Tories than the Whigs.

However, Defoe in commenting that "the Scotch Tories differ from the English in being universally Jacobite," and "all drink to the Pretender's health"⁴ seems to have recognised that there was no such person as a Scottish Tory, only Scottish Jacobites. In Scotland the political situation was further complicated by popular bitterness against the Union. Queensberry and Mar advocated Union in the belief that it would "save our country from ruin."⁵ In 1707 the pro-Unionists believed this was the only solution to Scotland's problems.⁶ Mar's political aim throughout, and following, the passage of the Act of Union, was to obtain the best possible settlement for Scotland; the improvement of Scotland had been ever since he could remember, his "greatest passion."⁷ Because this aim was not always consistent with the political aims of the English Tories, Mar and the other fifteen representative peers for Scotland, were forced to compromise their political position in order to pass legislation favourable to Scotland through parliament. Thus the Scottish peers, whether Jacobite or Hanoverian in their view of the future monarchy, were effectively a sub-group with very limited political powers, and with a very different set of political aims to those of the English peers.⁸

It was Mar's friend Sir Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun who led the opposition to the Act of Union; in effect the entire intellectual debate both for and against it was framed in terms of Saltoun's arguments. Saltoun blamed England's financial 'corruption' on the commercialism of the Whigs. Union would, he claimed, because it involved the loss of Scotland's independent institutions and therefore our ancient liberties, result in a similar corruption of civic virtue and public spiritedness on the part of the wealthy in Scotland. As an alternative to incorporating union he proposed in his *An Account of a Conversation concerning the Right Regulation of Government...* (Edinburgh, 1704) a federative union with England and Ireland; a bond of equal states organised according to the constitutional principals of Roman republicanism or of the Achæan League.⁹ Mar adopted parts of the *The Account...* in his constitutional plan, "The Jewels of Scotland" (1722-7), in particular the idea of federative union with built-in provisions for the protection of the weaker states, that is Scotland and Ireland, by France against the economic and colonial ambitions of England. Mar's political vision differed from Saltoun's in regard to the Highlanders. Mar believed the Highlanders were the last remnants of the old Scots, that their culture should be respected and protected and that they should be assisted to a more prosperous mode of living in keeping with the military nature of their social organisation.¹⁰ Saltoun regarded the entire population north of the Highland Line as vagabonds who should be subjected, for their own welfare, to domestic servitude or mass emigration. Mar celebrates the Highlanders in his designs for Alloa (Chapter 4, Parts II and III). His respect from them arose from their unstinting loyalty to him during the '15 Uprising; an experience which, if shared by the usually humane Saltoun, would undoubtedly have resulted in his recognition of their true worth.

Chapter 1

Mar believed, unlike Saltoun, but with most Scots patriots in the early 18th century, that a Stuart monarchy was the only viable means of achieving Scotland's independent security. From the moment that Mar realised that the Union had failed to provide material benefits for Scotland he withdrew his support from it and began to plead for its abolition.¹¹ In so doing he was being consistent with the beliefs of the majority of the people of Scotland and with his family's traditional role in Scotland's history. The fact that in later years, during exile, he also came to doubt the will of James VIII to effect his own restoration in no way detracted from his loyalty to the Stuart cause.

In exile Mar created his ideal state on paper. These projects were intended, if built, to form the material substance of the "Jewels of Scotland" which, he hoped, one day would be recognised as his most important contribution towards the forming of an autonomous Scottish state, once the Jacobite restoration was secured.¹² We will return to the influence of Saltoun with regard to architecture later in the next part of this chapter.

b) Education and cultural background in Scotland

The Duke of Marr...was bred up to the pen,...had good natural parts but few acquired, and knew so little of some of the commonest parts of sciences, that a gentleman of good credit assured me that he saw him look for the Dutchy of Deux Ponts in a map of Hungary. "Memoir of Field Marischal James Keith written by himself, 1714-1734," The Spalding Club.

Few details of Mar's early life and education have survived. His early years were spent at Alloa and in the Governor's apartments at Stirling Castle, for although the Erskine's owned the 16th-century town house in Stirling, known as Mar's Wark, it had never been completed. However, Mar felt a deep respect for his family's ancient properties. Of Mar's Wark he wrote to his son:

You have a good shell of a house in the town, w^{ch} cost your predecessor the Regent, considerable. It wants to be repaired w^{ch} is necessar to be done w^t some alterations and additions... the house has a fine appearance to the street and out of regard and respect to the builder, it behoves the Family that is to come of him not to part w^t this house... I recommend the preservation of it to you.¹³

When Mar considered his estate in Aberdeenshire should be sold, in order to provide money for the purchase of Alloa from the Forfeited Estates Commission, he wished that,

Whoever gets the ground where the Old Castle of Kildrummy stood, ought to be obliged to leave forever the old foundations of the Castle upon account of its Antiquity.¹⁴

Chapter 1

Mar inherited his estate at the age of fourteen and a good deal of his time thereafter may have been spent with his cousins the Maules, Earls of Panmure.¹⁵ Mar's respect for historical research may have been acquired from the Maules who published an historiographically advanced account of their family history, the *Registrum de Panmure*, in 1733.¹⁶

Mar left no personal account of his early childhood and education. However, two important references have survived which corroborate the Earl Marischal's comments about the erratic state of his educational attainments. The first reference is concerned with schooling and occurs in a letter dated 1719. Mar wrote from prison in Geneva to John Dalrymple, the second Earl of Stair, who, in the capacity of British envoy to the French government, had had Mar arrested to prevent him joining the Jacobite attempt of 1719. Mar gave Stair a poignant reminder of their boyhood friendship: "There is one with me, an old schoolfriend of yours too, Mr S----[Stewart] of I-----[Innerness] who you have seen dance very merrily over a sword."¹⁷ Stair was educated at Kirkwood's school at Linlithgow.¹⁸ However, both Mar and Stair attended classes at Edinburgh University, perhaps as early as 1690, and Mar was certainly there in 1691 as his notebook has survived.¹⁹ Stair could have known Mar at Edinburgh University at this time, as he was in Scotland from 1688 until 1692, but, as Mar would be unlikely to refer to University as schooldays then, it seems certain that he was also a pupil at Kirkwood's school.²⁰

Whilst attending Edinburgh University Mar studied a wide range of subjects. He made notes on philosophy, humanity, natural science, astronomy, hydraulic engineering schemes, geography and mathematics.²¹ Five years later he attained his majority and took his seat in the Scottish parliament. Sometime between this date and 1698 Mar could have toured France and the Netherlands, although in these years he was also undertaking the industrial improvement of Alloa which has been detailed elsewhere.²² He did not visit Italy until his exile in 1716.

The roots of Mar's architectural education can only be pieced together from fragments of information. The most obvious influence, Sir William Bruce, makes no appearance in the extant documents. We are left with only one passing reference to Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun and with a considerable amount of information relating to Alexander Edward. The precise role of neither, nor the date of their earliest architectural influence, is recorded. Despite this important developments can be inferred from the external evidence.

Mar's architecture went further than the conventional boundaries of the professional architect. He could be described as an *urbaniste*; one who conceives of the city as an organic whole, a reflection of the achievements of a civilisation, rather than solely in terms of individual monuments or

buildings within it. Houses such as the Royal Palace scheme and "House A," and the designs for Alloa are all conceived as integral to their setting. Lavedan has described the characteristics of 18th-century *urbanisme*, its French period, as being concerned with beautifying the city by forming fine vistas and urban *places*. Combined with this is an emphasis on utility, health and the free movement of traffic. These ideas are to be found in Mar's descriptions of his plans for Edinburgh, London and Paris.²³ In 1698 Saltoun drew an analogy between the civic virtue of the Ancients and the beauty of their cities. Their private wealth had been used:

to perform those great and stupendous public works, highways, aqueducts, common shores, walls of cities, seaports, bridges, monuments for the dead, temples, amphitheatres, theatres, places for all manner of exercises and education, baths, courts of justice,... for the use and conveniency of the public....²⁴

The economic, and later the aesthetic, improvements which Mar made to Alloa (Chapter 4) are manifestations of Saltoun's plea to the landowners of Scotland to direct their wealth into schemes for the economic and aesthetic improvement of the country.²⁵ Mar and Saltoun were educated within the Scottish cultural tradition which looked to France for its intellectual ideas. The cultural links between France and Scotland, and the antipathy which Mar and Saltoun felt for the "peevish, impudent, and detestable" presbyterians explains their bias in favour of French culture.²⁶ The catalogue of Saltoun's library has survived to demonstrate the extensive study which he made of architectural practise and theory.²⁷

In the search for an architectural mentor for Mar no better qualified candidate for this rewarding task comes to light than Saltoun. Saltoun's library and his skill in draughtsmanship ably qualified him for this.²⁸ Mar mentions his advice to him once only in the description of alterations he recommended to the House of Dun for his cousin Lord Dun, in 1731. Mar almost paraphrases Saltoun in his ideas about heat, wind and light in this description of the portico he designed for the House of Dun:

It was found that the vestibull would be in danger of being dark or have but an obscure light... which would give a disadvantageous, melancholic appearance to the house on first entering. The best expedient.. for remedying of this... was the makeing of the Portico two storey high.²⁹

Many years previously Saltoun had recommended a particular type of fenestration for reducing the ill effects of cold climates and harsh northern light: "That glaring, staring light with which we illuminate our houses which dissipates all thought."³⁰

Saltoun's theory was largely based on his study of Palladio and perhaps Inigo Jones. It is

interesting to compare his interest in the design of ideal villas with that of James Smith who also drew on Palladio for his designs for villas and palaces.³¹ Both had a first-hand knowledge of Italian architecture from their separate visits to Italy late in the 17th century. Smith's drawings were taken to London by Colen Campbell in 1712 and were subsequently an important influence on the development of Neo-Palladianism.³²

In 1699 Saltoun wrote to his brother, that he believed he had discovered rules for domestic architecture "not inferior to what the Greeks had for their Temples."³³ The Greeks as models for modern society seems to have been a current idea in Scottish antiquarian circles at the time. Mar's antiquarianism was an important element in his later architectural schemes. It may have formed a part of earlier ones, now lost, because the earliest reference to this interest, which recalls Saltoun's concern with the Greeks, occurs in a letter addressed to the Lord Treasurer and Tory leader the Earl of Oxford.³⁴ Writing on the advice of the Earl of Pembroke, Mar appealed to Oxford's antiquarian interests, to enquire as to the whereabouts of the old records of Scotland which were removed by Edward II.³⁵ Mar hoped for "mighty discoveries of the Celticks and Druids...", and "some insight into the character that was used in this country, which, J. Caesar speaks of to be something alike the Greek."

Despite the strain which the Union placed on Mar's and Saltoun's friendship they maintained close contact at least until 1708. By 1705 Mar's drawings were sufficiently numerous³⁶ for him to have a special drawer above his cabinet at Alloa for storing them and for him to require Jamie Nickle, the carpenter, to make him a duplicate of the folding table on which he used to draw, and which he wished, perhaps, to take to London with him.³⁷

The other important figure in Mar's early architectural education that must be considered is Alexander Edward.³⁸ His role in the designing of the gardens and house at Alloa is discussed in Chapter 4, Part III, but his influence upon Mar's early architectural education will be discussed here.

Edward's career as draughtsman to Sir William Bruce and his kinship to, and patronage by, the Maule family are described in detail elsewhere. As a result of their mutual association with the Maule family, Mar and Edward were acquainted from an early date. From Edward, Mar would have learned about surveying and garden design. Indeed Edward's design for the Hamilton Parks, in the manner of the lettering and the explanatory legend is very similar to the 1710 engraving of the Mar Policy (Figures 38 and 80). This might suggest Edward as the author of the Alloa scheme, but there are no draught plans in Edward's hand for the gardens. This, of course, does not mean that Edward never made any, only that they might have been lost. However, the positive evidence: Mar's plans

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and instructions for the execution of the project, clearly demonstrate that Mar designed the scheme. Finally, if Mar's draughtsmanship is compared with Edward's only signed work (Kinross House plans, Edinburgh College of Art) it is clear that Mar's technique has little in common with Edward's beyond the point regarding the arrangement of the survey plan.

Edward and Saltoun were keen antiquarians and well read in the humanities.³⁹ Saltoun's antiquarianism was inclined towards the rediscovery of the architecture of the Ancients; a concern which perhaps arose from his higher social status as well as a deeper interest in the humanist literary tradition. Edward was also interested in contemporary developments in mechanics and science, he was much more a 'Modern.' Mar's intellectual attitude and ideas on architecture were formed by the culture of these two remarkable men; traces of their influence constantly emerge in his work.

Part II. Mar's activities in gardening and architecture before 1715

a) Gardens and houses in Scotland

We should at this point discuss Mar's involvement in the houses and gardens of his friends and relatives in Scotland before 1715. There are four major groups: the Maule family who have already been discussed, the Carnegies, the Johnstone/Hopetoun family, and the Erskines and their neighbours in Clackmannanshire. Mar, and members of each of these families, subscribed to Edward's tour of 1701-2.⁴⁰ Mar was also active in assisting some others who are not listed as subscribers: Lord Dupplin, the Earl of Wemyss, the Earl of Orkney (Orkney's brother, the Earl of Arran, did subscribe to Edward's tour), and Mar's friend the professional architect, James Gibbs. All shared links of political loyalty to the Stuart cause, as well as links of kinship; their architectural tastes were an aspect of these bonds.

The diversity of Edward's remit on his continental tour is interesting as it accurately reflects the desire of this group to create aesthetic designs which also had sound economic bases. The idea achieved its finest perfection at Alloa in 1710. These projects occurred simultaneously in their various estates. It is not possible to say whether Mar's role in these developments was that of pupil or teacher; very likely it was both.

The largest and most important scheme which Mar was involved with in Scotland was for his political colleague the first Marquess of Annandale (died 1721) at Craigichall House. Annandale had been involved in the building of Hopetoun House by his son-in-law, Lord Hopetoun,⁴¹ and his

own house had also been built to a Dutch-classicist design of Sir William Bruce's (finished 1699).⁴² Mar also played some part in Hopetoun's gardening activities; in 1703 he obtained a graft of the duke cherry from Hopetoun's (1682-1742) arboretum at Nithrie [Niddrie] for the gardens at Alloa. In 1706 Hopetoun was busy in the grounds at the newly completed Bruce wing of Hopetoun House (1699-1703) and anticipating Mar's approval of his planting scheme on his return to Scotland.⁴³

Annandale was a key figure in the transmission of architectural knowledge in this period. In his youth he befriended the Scottish Secretary and garden enthusiast, James Johnstone of Twickenham.⁴⁴ The Annandales were prominent members of London society and recognised arbiters of taste. Enough of the sumptuous "Baroque interior" of Craigiehall survives to indicate the importance of Italy in forming their taste.⁴⁵

A 'Temple' was erected in the deer park at Craigiehall in 1757 to which was attached a heavy Doric portico supporting a segmental pediment (Figure 81). It has been suggested that this portico may have been the gates designed by Alexander McGill and the Earl of Mar.⁴⁶ Mar did provide plans for Craigiehall; a garden design and a set of plans for new gates, but the 'Temple' portico cannot be identified as part of these schemes.

The correspondence which follows deals with a scheme to provide a set of ornamental metal gates for a pre-existing pair of gate piers. On January 6th, 1708 McGill wrote to Mar at Whitehall complaining that the draughtsman in London had made his drawing to the wrong scale.⁴⁷ The actual piers of the gate were six feet and eight inches from the base of the pedestals to the upper part of the astragals and not ten feet and four inches, as was shown on the London drawing. Annandale was particularly pleased with Mar's design of the middle gate, especially the lower portion. But he wished to have the side gates plainer with only a small flight [? of steps] and one gate, but still having, of course, two in the middle opening. The side gates, according to McGill, were of low height and the finial was to be "in two Like to the Middle gate of one of J. Tijou's plates... to which I refer, seeing you have these comon at London."

Thus the gate piers were *in situ* before the date of this letter. For three reasons it is unlikely that either McGill or Mar designed the gate piers. Firstly, McGill normally made a compliment to Mar on work he had done, as he does in regard to the design of the ironwork, and there is no suggestion of one here. Secondly, McGill does not imply that he himself was their designer. Thirdly, Mar had made a plan for the gardens and the original design for the gateway, both of which Annandale had lost. In order to replicate the lost plan McGill was required to "take it off the life." Whatever was

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standing there then was not by Mar, as if it had been, then we could safely assume that he would have known its proportions and corrected them before sending the second draught to McGill.

However, this does not entirely rule out Mar as designer of the 'Craigiehall Temple' portico. There was another gateway standing in the grounds which formed part of the "fine draught of gardens" which Mar provided at Annandale's request. McGill regretted that Annandale wanted to alter Mar's proposal for the outer court; as this would have broken the axis between the inner court, the gate and the outer court. This gate stood, according to McGill in the same letter quoted above, in the middle walk of Mar's plan. The surviving 'portico' may be this gate.

Mar's draughtsmanship of the garden scheme and design of the the wrought-iron work of the gates is further confirmed by McGill's remarks that he could not draw the irregular shapes nor the figure of the lion as well as Mar had done in his original draught. He goes on to convey Annandale's gratitude for the trouble he has taken over the gates, and for obtaining a set of garden statues for him. McGill encloses with the letter a plan of the grounds in order that Mar can either obtain, or himself make a design for a parterre and wilderness according to "your own fancy which will very much determine him[Annandale]."

Annandale was undoubtedly aware of Mar's achievements at Alloa. Also in the year prior to his design for the Craigiehall gates, Mar had gained some expertise in this medium by designing and erecting a set of wrought-iron gates bearing the Erskine arms.⁴⁸ This and his achievements at Alloa undoubtedly encouraged Annandale to execute Mar's designs.

Mar also made a contribution to the gardens of the Jacobite Earl of Northesk.⁴⁹ Northesk was at work on his properties in 1706, when he wrote to Mar that he "never wanted a consultation of you more than now " about his:

...severall projects at Erroll both about my gardins and planting some ground...one walk which I am sure [you] will approve and I am to do vast things at Ethie⁵⁰ in the bounds of 200 foots, defsinning to have parter, wilderness, fine sloops and noble walks but my court there is what I'm first to go about, and that must be very nice too. I was lateley at Brechin [Panmure's property], which I think a very sweet place and very odd, the house looks very great, and will be mighty convenient. I'm in hopes of er long seeing you in Scotland where for one night the politicks must yield to laughing...⁵¹

Mar's relative and near neighbour, Sir John Erskine of Alva, was also an advanced and ambitious improver. The improvements he made to his estate at Alva in the late 17th and early 18th century were contemporaneous with, and complementary to, Mar's industrial developments at Alloa.⁵²

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The House of Alva stood at the east end of the parish of Alva, on a projection from the base of the Wood-hill and near to the town; a description which corresponds to an untitled plan by Mar.⁵³ Shortly before his death in 1732 Mar sent Alva a design which was intended to answer the criticism that "In the last reparations of the House of Alva It was said there was no Timpan made in the middle of the south or principall front, which was a great ommission..."⁵⁴ Unfortunately Mar does not give the date of the first renovation, but as his letter implies that he felt personally responsible for the "ommission" of the timpan, he may have been involved in the original remodelling. One reference suggests that the gardens aspired to grandeur. An unidentified person, writing from Mar's house in the Privy Garden in Whitehall in 1707, wishes Alva: "...Success in all your works, particularly that you may bring y^r Cascade to its desired perfection...my duty to Lord Marr...and the most obliging promise of ye Draughts of his seat and gardens." The latter reference to the "Draught" of Mar's seat suggests that an engraved plan of Alloa existed before the extant print of 1710 (Figure 80).⁵⁵

Mar's kinsman by marriage, Ramsay of Ochertyre reported that Mar was a kind and good neighbour, and a great "adviser" to his Clackmannanshire neighbours on architectural matters.⁵⁶ Although there is no documentary evidence to support Ochertyre's claim that Mar designed Lord Tillycoultry's house, or that of Lord Abercromby at Tullibody, or James Drummond of Quarrel's house at Blairdrummond, Ochertyre's information gains in reliability in the light of what we know of Mar's involvement at the House of Alva.⁵⁷

Mar's schooling with the second Earl of Stair has already been discussed. The Dalrymples, however, had other links with Mar. Stair's uncle was Sir Hew Dalrymple, Lord President of the Court of Session from 1698.⁵⁸ His title appears on Edward's list of people for whom he is to purchase garden stock for in 1701-2. Sir Hew was a near neighbour of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun in East Lothian and he also had a connection with Alloa as his second daughter was married to Mar's neighbour, Sir John Shaw, the proprietor of Sauchie Tower which terminated an avenue in the Alloa garden scheme.⁵⁹

Sir Hew Dalrymple's brother, Sir David, was a close friend of Mar's. They corresponded on a number of subject related to 'improvements', including brewing methods.⁶⁰ Sir David praised Mar's gardens when he visited Alloa in October 1708 (See Chapter 4, Part III).

Given the prolonged intimacy between Stair and Mar and their appreciation of French culture, gardening and architecture, it is possible that Mar offered assistance to Stair in the plans for his gardens at Newliston and Castle Kennedy. There is no evidence to substantiate this claim except that the schemes resemble closely the Baroque formality which characterises Mar's designs in

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addition features in the locality are used as visual terminations of the avenues. At Newliston (1759) at least two vistas look on Craigiehall House. Whether the conceit here is a survival of a traditional approach to the design of Scottish gardens, or is a conscious revival of it, is uncertain. Le Nôtre and Hardouin-Mansard linked Louis XIV's palaces by networks of rides and avenues over vast areas of territory. Newliston was the work of William Adam. Although he was responsible for the introduction of informality into Scottish gardening he retained, like most Scots in the early 18th century, a strong respect for French architecture and planning.⁶¹ Stair's early education in Scotland and Flanders, like that of Mar, paved the way for a fuller absorption of the culture of France during his stay there.

Mar's advice to, and designs for, other friends and relatives extended beyond the circle of Edward's patrons. One of these was David, the third Earl of Wemyss, who also relied on James Johnstone for advice and supplies for his gardens.⁶² In 1708 Johnstone asked Wemyss to "council with Lord Mar and let me know what level of walls (and their height and other aspects) you have or a[re] like to have and send your letter... to me at Twickenham." Johnstone included with this letter some advice on how to plant the trees, and asked Wemyss to tell Mar that he:

... I protest against all standards of different sortes in his great walks and particularly variegated holly which except the Eylls [that is not beautifull] are either tender or bad growers or both... I am for Pyramid yeux to be kept at 8 foot that is the hight of the stemms of his lymes for they must be headed.⁶³

Johnstone rarely visited Scotland in his later years and he is unlikely to have visited Alloa personally. His letter may be referring to Mar's gardens at Copt Hall which stood very near Johnstone's house at Twickenham; Johnstone may have been looking after the gardens for Mar during his absence in Scotland.

An early visitor to Alloa was Mar's father-in-law, the Earl of Kinnoul, who was there in 1705.⁶⁴ Two years later Mar made a plan, now lost, for Kinnoul's grounds at Dupplin Castle. Kinnoul's son, the Master of Dupplin, wrote to Mar about the:

...plan for the park dykes which your Lop: may remember you marked out when you was here, to wit from the Minister's house west near to the boat fortaviot, and a litle on the east of the boat turns up to the Moor, till it meet with the dyke that comes down to the Mylne of the Moor.⁶⁵

Dupplin's description seems to suggest that the plan was for an enclosure on the estate rather than a landscape garden.

Dupplin and Mar were friends of the Earls of Oxford and Annandale and they moved in the same

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social circle at Twickenham. Dupplin was also an early patron of James Gibbs. Gibbs' grand conception for a new Dupplin Castle, was never executed, but it was engraved, possibly as an advertisement for Gibbs' Italianate Baroque style, rather than as a serious proposal for building. The importance of this design in the Earl of Mar's later drawings will be discussed in Chapter 2.⁶⁶

In 1708 Dupplin received a plan from Lord Nairne which he was to pass on to Mar for his advice.⁶⁷ This plan was very likely for the new House of Nairne which had recently been destroyed by fire. Mar's opinion of the design is not recorded but he certainly allowed Nairne to cut timber in the Forest of Dallmore for the new house.⁶⁸ The final design for the House of Nairne was provided by Sir William Bruce. The House of Nairne is quite unlike any other of Bruce's designs and a lingering suspicion is that the very tall proportions of the building, quoined corners and the segmental pediment might have been suggested by Mar. These are features which occur in the garden elevations of Alloa House (Figures 9 and 10).

Despite the lack of information about Mar's early youth we can assume that his acquaintance with so many men of learning contributed to the description of him as a man "bred up to the pen." Indeed the cultural life of Scotland in the early 18th century, especially amongst the Jacobites, was very rich: "The men who had taste and letters at that early period were Jacobites and Episcopalians for sentiment and humour starved in the cold austerity of the Kirk, which seemed unable to smile."⁶⁹ It is hardly any wonder that Mar and many other Scots found aspects of the cultural life of England sympathetic. Again, as in Scotland, Mar played an important role in the gardening and architectural activities of Scottish friends and political colleagues in England.

b) Gardens and buildings in England

Substantial evidence has survived regarding Mar's garden design for the Earl of Orkney's gardens at Cliveden in Buckinghamshire. James Johnstone's reference to Mar's yews, quoted earlier in this chapter, recalls Edward's advice in the gardens at Alloa. Some of Edward's sketches of topiary have survived on a sheet preserved in the Cliveden Album which compares yews at Alloa with some at Versailles.⁷⁰ The sketch relates to Edward's French tour of 1701-2 and the appearance of the sheet at Cliveden may be due to the Earl of Orkney's brother, the Earl of Arran. This drawing may have been one of the three promised draughts given to Arran by Edward as part of his contract. This would give the drawings an earlier date than that previously suggested, and if they are as early as 1701-2 then Edward was probably not involved at Cliveden. However, Edward had already planned and laid out the Hamilton Parks for Orkney's and Arran's mother, Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, which might have meant he was an obvious choice for the work at Cliveden.

The first campaign of planting in the gardens was by the Earl of Orkney in 1706.⁷¹ In the

following year Mar became involved when he provided a garden plan during a brief visit to Cliveden; this plan may be the unattributed drawing illustrated in Figure 71.

Orkney rapidly set about executing Mar's plan but soon ran into difficulties. Mar's proposal was to have the great avenue from the house terminate in a very broad flat circular parterre of grass. From the circle, and adjoining it at a right angle, there was to be another avenue which linked the circle with the gate to the common. When Orkney attempted to mark this out on the ground he found that if he maintained the right angle at its junction with the new avenue it would not run into the common but into the adjacent woodland; Orkney owned only the first hundred yards of the wood and his avenue would have had to end abruptly in a dead end. The alternative was to shift the circle one hundred yards nearer to the house, but as this would shorten the great avenue by seventy yards, and "as it was so short already" Orkney was not willing to do this. "We are resolved," he continued to Mar, "according to our understandings not to have it [the avenue] in right angles." Rather ambiguously he also suggested that they should not have the circle wider than the breadth of the house, as Mar had it on the plan, but that by making it smaller the avenue would intersect the circle at right angles and still be aligned with the gate to the common. The situation was further complicated by the cross-walks which were thirty feet broad. One walk ran by the garden walls, and another enclosed the square area which had been set aside to be planted as a wilderness. According to Mar's plan these walks would have intersected the great avenue in such a way that the trees of the great avenue, which were to be planted twenty feet apart, would not be "all at equall distance on[e] from an other than all the rest." Orkney had a number of other queries for Mar, which were to wait until the next time he saw him in town, but he asked Mar to reply to the problem of the avenues and circle as soon as possible.⁷²

A solution to the problem was finally achieved, though whether this was with Mar's assistance, or not, is uncertain. The avenue at Cliveden is raised on terraces and planted with a double row of elms. It leads from the house and terminates at a very broad circle of turf, described in 1849 as a "circus of turf at the end of the lawn, where in old Lord Orkney's time horses were exercised -an open air *manège*." An account for the planting of the raised circus and terraces, the turf, and the grass slopes survives in the Cliveden Album. The account is undated but probably relates to the execution of Mar's design, although other correspondence suggests that Orkney laid out the circus in 1723, during Bridgeman's time at Cliveden, when he was constructing an amphitheatre to the northeast of the house overlooking the Thames.⁷³ Mar's important role in these ambitious schemes, which Orkney claimed cost him "...13 and 14 livres sterline a day ever since I began," is tantalising, but without other plans there is insufficient evidence to attribute all the complicated embellishments executed to him. It is tempting to guess that Bridgeman, using Mar's design,

adapted it to the topography and setting at Cliveden. Mar at least was the originator of the turf circus, terraces and the avenues described above; one of his few surviving works.

A scheme of such ambitious and complex scope, despite some errors, was well within Mar's capabilities at this date. He was certainly able to produce a design which satisfied Orkney enough for him to undertake its execution. Orkney was fastidious about such matters; for the design of the extensions to the house he consulted "severall of the chiefe men of England." His willingness to persist with Mar's plan, despite the difficulties he encountered, testifies to Mar's ability and to his reputation as a garden designer at this period.

Mar's knowledge of the latest innovations in English gardens was in part due to his friendship with Richard Jones, the Earl of Ranelagh.⁷⁴ Ranelagh had greatly enriched himself from several lucrative offices, the final one of which, before his dismissal on a charge of peculation, was "Sur-intendant" of the Kings Works, a position which awarded him powers equal to that of a French minister of the arts.⁷⁵ Whilst at the Works Ranelagh was principally concerned with the alterations to Hampton Court Palace. In connection with this he sent Sir Christopher Wren a new design for the Palace. Given Ranelagh's friendship with Mar it is specially interesting to note that Mar also made plans for Hampton Court and Kensington Palaces. These are known from his letter to Gibbs in 1716 in which he asked Gibbs to send them over to him at Avignon.⁷⁶ Through his office at the Works, Ranelagh built a small exquisitely decorated house in the grounds of the Chelsea Hospital, of which he was the Treasurer.⁷⁷ The attractions in the gardens at Ranelagh included such novelties as a five-sided structure called a 'Dutch Barn,' a large greenhouse, a bathing-house and an aviary. The house (1688-c.1691) was later taken as a model for the Earl of Rochester's house, Petersham Lodge, and it bears a very close resemblance to Colen Campbell's Shawfield Mansion (1712);⁷⁸ Campbell would have known Petersham, as it stood near Sudbrook House, the property of his patron the Duke of Argyll. Ranelagh added "all his unusual improvements" to his country house, Cranbourne Lodge in Windsor Park.⁷⁹

No information about the sort of ideas which Mar and Ranelagh exchanged on architecture and gardens has survived. Although we know that it was Ranelagh who paid Thomas Robinson for the wrought-iron gates which Mar had had made for Alloa House.⁸⁰ Their association must have been close because shortly before Ranelagh's death Mar wrote to the Earl of Oxford: "Poor old Ran- is some better," and he asked Oxford to attend to some affairs of Ranelagh.⁸¹ Ranelagh died in 1712 and left "two drawers of mathematical instruments, rulers, and perspective glasses" to his "dear friend, John, Earl of Mar."⁸²

According to Macky Ranelagh "spent more money, built more fine houses, and laid out more on household-furniture and gardening than any other nobleman in England." Conspicuous expenditure was not uncommon in the period; apart from Ranelagh's there was the example of the Annandales, and also Mar's expenditure on his house in the Privy Garden at Whitehall. The house stood next to the Duke of Richmond's house. It was built by Wren and divided into two by James Gibbs⁸³ for Mar and his co-Secretary for Scotland, the Earl of Loudon.⁸³ The interior can be partially reconstructed from an account for the refurbishments made to the house in 1728. There were over seventy-six feet of plain painted modillion cornice with a varnished plaster filling beneath, twelve gilded pilasters (eight of which were of the Corinthian order), and twenty-four gilded heads with ornaments.⁸⁴

Mar's complaint that his house had nearly undone him is hardly surprising, although his financial situation was no doubt aggravated by expenses incurred in the improvement of Copt Hall at Twickenham. In 1732 Macky described it as: "A little house which belong'd formerly to Sir Thomas Skipwith, and was improved and inhabited by that great architect the late Earl of Mar, with its hanging gardens to the River, is well worth the curiosity of the traveller..."⁸⁵

Although Mar did not start to pay rates for his house until 1709, Twickenham was well known to him several years before; it was there in 1703 that he married his first wife Lady Margaret Hay, the daughter of the Earl of Kinnoul.⁸⁶ The Countess of Mar was a close friend of the Duchess of Queensberry, whose father was the Earl of Rochester. Through this connection Mar would have known Rochester's house, Petersham Lodge, the gardens of which were described in 1713 as small and ornate with tiny *bosquets*, arbours, running water and views to the river. It contained seats, statues and basins of water.⁸⁷ Mar had other important neighbours nearby; John, second Duke of Argyll and his brother, Lord Archibald Campbell (later Lord Islay and third Duke) who was a close friend of Mar's brother, Lord Grange.⁸⁸ Following his service in the war Argyll had fallen out with Marlborough and around 1710 he struck up a friendship with Mar. It could have been through this friendship that Gibbs became associated with their buildings at Whitton (Islay's) and at Sudbrook House (Argyll's).⁸⁹

Whilst in England Mar befriended another talented amateur architect, Robert Benson, first Lord Bingley (1676-1731).⁹⁰ Mar's first mention of Bingley is in a letter dated 1713 in which he described him as an admirer of Gibbs' work; Mar's letter was a request that Lord Oxford should appoint Gibbs to the vacant post of Surveyor for the Fifty New Churches.⁹¹ In April 1716, shortly after his arrival in Avignon with the Jacobite Court, Mar wrote to Gibbs as follows:

....He[Mar] fancies his old brothers of the brush [fellow artists or painters, *Oxford English*

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Dictionary] will not care for receiving compliments from one so much out of fashion... There is one though he thinks you may adventure on that is Benjamin Bing in Westminster who now ought to build the lodge for himself or someone else, and it may serve for a pattern some time hence when it may yet come to be built upon the bank where it was designed... ere now I suppose his canals are finished and that he is thinking of improving some other place... he will think of going to a warmer one[climate]... to improve his knowledge in architecture....⁹²

Gibbs replied in the following January saying he would "remember" Mar "to Ben, who is very fond of his lusthouse."⁹³ In 1718 Gibbs wrote:

... I saw Ben yesterday, to whom I paid your compliments... he gave his service to you... I have not heard from Alexander M[cGill] this long time. I have no news. What news we wish for is expected from your quarter. I hope your landlady [the Pretender] is in good health. ⁹⁴

Gibbs and Bingley were friends of Matthew Prior, and Bingley assisted Prior in designing Down in 1720.⁹⁵ Bingley's own house Bramham Park, which contained a famous double-cube room, was built to his own design.⁹⁶ Despite Bolingbroke's remark that Bingley was "a new man" and of no extraction," he was a popular member of Mar's circle and received a visit at Bramham from Oxford in 1717.⁹⁷ Mar's remarks about Bingley's lodge and his canals probably refers to some later additions to the gardens, as the house was built between 1705 and 1710,⁹⁸ although it could refer to Bingley's advice to Strafford in the building of Stainborough Hall, Yorkshire, which was under way from 1713.⁹⁹

The story of Mar's assistance to James Gibbs in Scotland and England between 1708 and 1715, and Gibbs' subsequent gratitude to Mar, is recounted elsewhere and need not be repeated here.¹⁰⁰ Suffice it to say that Gibbs, from the evidence quoted here, must have found in Mar a patron of highly developed tastes and considerable skills as an architect and garden designer. Gibbs' Italian education and taste for late Roman Baroque classicism were entirely sympathetic to Mar's circle in Scotland and London in this period. The failure of the Tory party in 1714 and of the Jacobite cause in 1715 brought an abrupt halt to the development of an 18th-century English or Scottish Baroque style. Gibbs deferred to the prevailing political mood and skilfully adapted his style, retaining enough of his earlier manner to distinguish his work from the austerity of the Palladians.

Part III. Early years in exile

The failure of the '15 Uprising separated Mar from his drawings as well as from his architectural friends; most sadly from James Gibbs. Initially, on their arrival in France, the Jacobites hoped that they would be permitted to remain near Paris, but one of the conditions of the alliance between the Hanoverians and the Regent of France was that the Jacobites should be forbidden to settle in French territory. Reluctantly they accepted asylum from Pope Clement XI Albani; first at Avignon and

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later at Urbino.

Shortly after his arrival at Avignon in April 1716 Mar wrote to Gibbs in London requesting that he should take all his drawings into his custody. Mar also wanted Gibbs to have printed a dozen sheets of the copperplate of the garden design¹⁰¹ which Gibbs sent over to Mar, along with Mar's plans for the palaces of Hampton Court and Kensington, in August 1716.¹⁰² Thus began Mar's collection of prints and drawings on the Continent.

Mar's stay in France does not appear to have been a period for making drawings but for visiting the sites and studying French architecture. In November 1716 he spent two days at Nîmes where he was "seeing the curiosities...which are indeed well worth while..."¹⁰³ By Spring of the following year, as James departed for Urbino, Mar departed for Paris where he joined Lady Mar and, with the assistance of Lady Mar's friends, they visited, incognito, Versailles and Marly. Mar reported to James: "Lewis le Grand had a great thought and good taste... I could not help... turning it in my head to suit and accomodate such a design for [James] service in another place..."¹⁰⁴ In June he visited "three fine palaces.... I believe you have seen nothing so fine in that way," he wrote to James.¹⁰⁵ Before returning to Avignon he also saw Chantilly: "with which he [Mar] was extremely charmed."¹⁰⁶ Anticipating the isolation of a winter at Urbino, Mar was thinking once more of working on draughts; he wrote to Gibbs asking him to send over his instruments and for information about architects in Rome, which he planned to visit.¹⁰⁷

By November 1717 Mar had arrived at Urbino. There he received the disappointing news that Gibbs would not after all be coming over to join him to make a visit to Rome: "He [Mar] fancies he would not have been so kind as to make so long a journey, if it had not some further reason than a bare visit."¹⁰⁸ Gibbs' decision not to join the Cause and the loss of a stimulating architectural companion was a double blow to Mar: they exchanged a few more letters, but it was, in effect, the end of their close and affectionate friendship.

The long tedious winter at Urbino was broken by the opportunity to visit Venice. This was achieved by the English Resident being good enough to overlook Mar's illegal presence there, which Mar claimed was only "to see the places and hear the musick." ¹⁰⁹

Despite the pleasure of walking through the vast airy rooms of the royal palace at Urbino (property of the Albani family at this date), Mar complained that he would "die of the spleen were it not for building castles in the air of several kinds:"¹¹⁰ he had begun work on draughts shortly before Gibbs despatched his instruments from London.¹¹¹ These drawings are as follows: the first ideas for "Houses J," and a variant on it without lead roof or portico; "House A" and a palace

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scheme based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly for James. The elevations of the first two schemes were amongst the first Mar had made; having previously only made plans, they were not as good as he wished, he complained, as he had no architectural books by him to check the proportions of the columns.¹¹² These schemes are known from letters Mar wrote to Colonel Stewart of Innernytie, then in Rome. Innernytie found a Roman architect to redraught and rectify any errors in the plans and then returned the new draughts to Mar at Urbino. Innernytie claimed that the architect was a man of high repute and employed by the College of Cardinals. He passed on to him Mar's instructions regarding the "situation of the gallery and the number of windows in the front, and also what you speak of as the house for a town ["House A"].... The first design is almost finished and, if not too far done, the alterations may yet be made."¹¹³ Mar received the new draughts on the 17th March; his comments on them are worth repeating here as they disclose a good deal of information about his architectural taste:

...I was never so disappointed in anything....He has made a goosepie of my plan and on it raised a modern Gothic superstructure of an order of his own invention...he has lost the spirit of the whole thing and it cannot but make one regret the degeneracy of the present Romans from the old in their architecture, ...and leave the example which 'tis impossible to better in all its noble simplicity for gimcrack insignificant ornaments, worthy of nobody but Vanbruge, and, when a bungler of a Scotch architect, who has in a mannner seen nor read nothing in that way....this scrub great architect [...and so on].

Yet, with characteristic fair-mindedness, Mar insists that the architect should be paid extra for the large number of draughts that he has done: "bad designs take as much trouble and time as good."¹¹⁴

In late March Mar finally persuaded James, who relied on Mar for cheerful company and good counsel, to let him go to Rome. From his lodgings, which he shared with his old friends Southesk and Innernytie, he wrote enthusiastically to James:

....The remains of the old Roman greatness, which all in these ages comes far short of, St. Peter's excepted. I have now got an antiquary to conduct me...with whom I propose to be very busy, but all the pictures in the churches will be covered during Lent...so that will be a new pleasure after Easter.¹¹⁵

Mar had the additional advice of the renowned epigraphist and scientist Signor Francesco Bianchini. Mar was invited to witness demonstrations of his scientific experiments and to visit a room which Bianchini had had constructed to house his vast collection of Roman inscriptions.¹¹⁶

In his letters to James Mar mentioned that the Baths of Caracalla and the Roman Forum had impressed him most. He spent three days at Frascati: "its natural as well as its artificial beauties, and by its putting me so much in mind of Richmond, a favourite place to me, and not unlike

Chapter 1

another I am more nearly concerned in [?Alloa]."¹¹⁷ However, Tivoli was a disappointment and he stayed for only one day. In Rome he visited the Barberini Palace, the Villas Pamphili and Borghese, the collections of Cardinal Gualtiero and "Don Livio" [Olivio Odescalchi]: "which in pictures I think is the finest I have yet seen, and some charming statues and columns are in it too...."¹¹⁸ He visited the studios of Trevisani, who painted his portrait in miniature,¹¹⁹ and was often at the studio of the Scottish history painter, John Alexander, who acted as his agent for painting commissions and executed some works of his own for him.¹²⁰

Equally important for his architecture was the purchase of architectural engravings, to which end he asked James to provide him with a list of the books of prints which the Pope had presented to James on his arrival in Italy; thus, he would not duplicate their collections: "which otherwise my curiosity may lead me to do...."¹²¹

The only drawback to this tour was the tiresome obligation of attending ecclesiastical ceremonies,¹²² "when I might be seeing what gives me a great deal." He did, however, appreciate his presentation to Clement XI who spoke to Mar about his interest in architecture and then gave him a copy of the "Book of St Peter's" (Carlo Fontana's *Templum Vaticanum*, Rome, 1694) for which Mar returned to him "the best Scot's compliments."¹²³ Mar was so impressed by Rome that he thought he: "...would be more desirous of being in this place again than I was before I saw it, and one who...has a taste of the things to be seen here, ...could not pass his time more agreeably anywhere."¹²⁴

This chapter serves to demonstrate how little of Mar's work in this productive period before 1715 has survived. Some of these drawings may yet come to light, but we must now discuss a series of designs which were begun during his stay in Italy. Many of these drawings are now lost but from those that have survived, and from descriptions of some others, we can obtain a picture of his architectural tastes and activities in this period.

Four architectural projects in Italy

We have seen in the previous chapter that Lord Mar's journey through France and Italy provided the opportunity to see Continental architecture and the monuments of antiquity at first hand. The ways in which his attitude to architectural planning, style and the function of domestic architecture was affected by these new experiences is exemplified by the designs for "House A" which were begun at Urbino. This project demonstrates the rapidity with which he absorbed features of ancient Roman buildings and Parisian *hôtel* plans, and combined these with aspects of contemporary Scottish architecture.

Whilst in Italy Mar was also kept busy on another scheme, this was to convert the Papal summer palace at Castel Gandolfo for use as the official royal residence in Italy of King James. When this scheme failed, and James agreed to accept, in place of it, the Palazzo Muti, Mar was consulted about the necessary alterations. James finally settled there and it remained the principal residence of the Stuarts until the late 18th century.

Related to these last two projects was James' and Mar's general interest in Bolognese palaces to which end both visited the palace of the Marchese Albergati and the Palazzo Fantuzzi during their brief residences in the Papal State of Bologna. The designs for "House A," Castel Gandolfo, the Palazzo Muti; and the plans after two Bolognese houses are the subject of this chapter.

a) "House A"

"House A" (Figures 1 to 7) forms a small part of an ambitious scheme for London conceived by Mar and described in plans and documents deposited in the Royal Academy in Paris in 1727.¹ In the plan "House A" is given an important and formal relationship to the new royal palace Mar designed for Kensington: it was probably intended as the official residence of an important person in the government, perhaps the Lord Chancellor of Scotland. The palace and the house are integrated into an extensive and radical proposal for improving London; the entire scheme is the most complete surviving example of Mar's *urbaniste* vision of the integration of architecture with the aims of the civil state. The siting of the palace in London is described by Dr Friedman² and need not be elaborated here, except to comment that Mar's proposal for London was a vast Versailles-like scheme which conjures associations with Divine Right monarchy and would hardly have been welcomed by the Whig property developers whose projects were rapidly advancing westwards along the north side of Piccadilly.³ Despite this his intentions are, in a similar way to Wren's and William Talman's post-Fire schemes, concerned with improving communication, facilitating trade, widening the streets and generally improving the well-being of the citizens.⁴ According to Mar the citizens, provided the King respected their rights and liberties, would welcome a plan which provides them with public gardens, theatres and academies. Thus

the people of London would, and again he echoes Wren, benefit from an increased pride in their new city and its fine buildings which reflect the nation's, not to mention its monarch's, great achievements. Contemporaneously, Mar devised another scheme, of very similar ideal intentions, for a royal palace for the city of Paris. The "Jewels of Scotland," described in Part I of Chapter 1, may be the key to Mar's idea. We should recall here that according to Mar's constitution France was to act as 'protector' of the federated 'celtic' states; thus Paris and London, in their newly constituted relationship, would become equal but independent allies of Scotland and Ireland. Thus their royal palaces and city plans would be a formal expression of their interdependence.⁵

An unusual feature of "House A" is the rotundas set into the corners of the colonnaded quadrant wings. These circular motives are echoed by circular mounts at each corner on the street side of the courtyard (Figure 7). The rotundas, private galleries, and the importance of the library in the plan, recall the function of the Palladian Villa as a literary retreat; while the main block and belvedere closely resemble the Villa Doria Pamphilij which Mar had visited and admired whilst in Rome in 1718 (see Chapter 1, Part III). The circular lodges guarding the bridge to the doorway of the house are to be found in French châteaux and in the barmkins of ancient fortified houses in Scotland. The form endured as an historical mannerism in French architecture until the 18th century. It can be seen in a drawing from the office of Hardouin-Mansard for the royal palace of Meudon which is almost identical to the gate lodges of "House A."⁶ "House A" is surrounded on three sides by high planting. Seen across Hyde Park the complex and varied outline of its domes and roofline would have been both scenic and yet private; much of the building would not have been immediately visible from any single viewpoint. Thus the apparent scale of the building is reduced, an aim very different from that found in the design of a Palladian house, such as Colen Campbell's Houghton of 1725, where the long low spread of the buildings across the horizon delineates all the parts with absolute clarity. "House A" gives an impression of intimate scale and a feeling that a walk around its rooftop would have produced great variety and many surprises for the visitor.

"House A" retains and develops features associated with Baroque architecture, a manner which, after the Whigs consolidated their political supremacy following the death of Queen Anne, James Gibbs purged from his style and which by the time he built Wimpole Hall in 1717 is barely discernible in its severe astylar monotonous façade.⁷ It may be that Mar sought to create a type of house which reflected the political and architectural ideals which exile prevented him achieving. His model for "House A" may have been the Fifth Design illustrated by Antoine Le Pautre in his *Desseins de plusieurs palais* published in 1653:⁸ a compendium of six ideal houses. Whether Mar ever owned a copy of this treatise is not known but James Gibbs did, and if it was in his library

before 1715 then Mar would certainly have known it.

The most curious feature of "House A" is the placing of the rotundas in the angles of the wings. Wren's Whitehall Palace scheme has domed pavilions attached to either side of the Banqueting Hall by short corridors. Mar may have adopted this idea from Wren, but in "House A" the rotundas are set into the quadrants in such a way as to emphasise their independence of form and function; in Wren's scheme they are engaged into the main wall of the building. I wish to propose that these rotundas have a Scottish origin and confer a uniquely Scottish character on Mar's design.

In 1716 Mar wrote to Gibbs from Avignon asking him to pass on his compliments to "your acquaintance of last year for whom the convener [Mar] made you a sketch with a round room in the middle and that I believe you are executing since with some improvements of your own."⁹ The work was the Octagon at Twickenham for James Johnstone.¹⁰ The Octagon, as is the case with "House A," was attached to the main block of the house by a gallery and another projected from its opposite side. The similarities between the designs may have a common source in the ideal drawings of James Smith, which are for a number of centrally planned domed buildings and free-standing rotundas.¹¹ Campbell's octagons and rotundas were always, as they were in Gibbs' and Mar's later designs, contained within the body of the building and expressed at roof level in domes.

Smith's drawings were influenced by his study of Serlio and Vignola. Serlio's treatise was the source for the plan of Wallace and Ayton's Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh, and later for Drumlanrig which Smith built for Mar's first political patron the first Duke of Queensberry. High up on the courtyard front of Drumlanrig the roofline is decorated with a ducal coronet set on a domed polygonal pavilion. The only free-standing centrally planned building which Smith executed is the Mackenzie of Rosehaugh monument (1691) in Greyfriars Kirkyard, Edinburgh.¹² The source is Bramante's Tempietto, illustrated in Serlio's treatise of 1611.¹³ The Tempietto is a plain cylinder with an detached peristyle, features repeated by Mar in his rotundas. The sanction for this form is even older as it is found in illustrated reconstructions of Vitruvius' treatise; Perrault's edition of 1684 shows a domed and colonnaded cylinder of even greater severity than Bramante's design and in this respect it is closer to Mar's.¹⁴

Gibbs, like Mar, designed the Octagon for use as a garden pavilion for musical entertainments and dinners. Mar reserves one rotunda of "House A" for the more traditional function of a chapel, while the other is a dining room, the latter has an ancient origin in the early Christian circular tombs of Rome, which were designed for use also as banqueting halls for funerary feasts.

Colen Campbell interpreted Smith's drawings according to the criteria of emergent Neo-Palladianism, while Gibbs and Mar may have interpreted Smith according to the criteria of Baroque classicism. Smith's rather old-fashioned Scottish taste for the architecture of Serlio may have found echoes in Gibbs' Italian education. For instance, Gibbs' plan for Dupplin Castle in Perthshire - which bears a close resemblance to Pietro da Cortona's sketch for the Louvre of 1664 - demonstrates Gibbs' manner shortly after his return from Italy in 1708.¹⁵ The shallow crowned dome placed at the centre of the wings in which the historical symbol is expressed in the entire building is very similar to the ideal plans produced by Gibbs' fellow students in Fontana's studio: architects such as Fischer von Erlach, de Sanctis, Juvarra and Galilei. Juvarra's prize-winning submission for the Corso Clementino of 1705 of a royal palace for three important people pursues similar themes which Mar took up in his concern for royal palaces as well as the idea of a great centrally planned building.¹⁶ While detained in Geneva Mar also made a plan for a "Hunt Hall K" (Figures 67 and 68); a rotunda with attached wings which like the Dupplin Castle scheme is very close to Juvarra's great hunting lodge at Stupinigi built some ten years after Mar made his design.¹⁷ The affinity between these two designs is most striking and the common denominator between them must be Fontana's teachings. Juvarra's work was also known to Lord Annandale who recommended that Lord Hope should study his works at Turin. This suggests that Mar and Annandale shared the same taste in architecture, particularly as they both wished to obtain plans of the Palazzo Albergati. Although no documentary evidence of a dialogue on these topics has survived, the connections are implied by their earlier acquaintance and shared interest in garden designs, as already described in Part II of the previous chapter.

The foundation stone of the Radcliffe Library, Gibbs' masterpiece, was laid the year after Mar designed "House A." In the 18th century its form was compared to that of the great Hellenistic library at Alexandria although we see that it had a closer neighbour in Mar's domed libraries.¹⁷

i) The monuments of antiquity

The variety of forms and sources used in "House A" make it difficult to analyse according to the accepted stylistic categories by which we assess 18th-century architecture. We have seen that the rotundas may have a Scottish origin given a new lease of life in late-Baroque antiquarianism. Mar's antiquarianism is of particular interest in his placing an engaged giant-order portico on the garden façade of "House A" (Figures 2 and 3). Mar's respect for ancient monuments, whether they were classical or not, had an important influence on his architecture; his Scottish antiquarianism underwent a further stage of development following his meeting with Gibbs, who had absorbed a respect for antiquities whilst in Fontana's studio at Rome. When Mar writes about antiquities it is always in terms of their monumental qualities. He used them to memorialise the achievements and historical heritage of his family or, as in the case of "House A," to designate the status of the proprietor. He believed that the study of ancient architecture could improve the work of present-day

architects; to this end he recommended that they copy from the antique, one of the criteria for Neoclassicism. Mar was aware of, and admired, the aims of Burlington and Kent.¹⁸ Perhaps realising that his classicism was of a different brand to that of the Palladians, he did not go so far as to propound a dogmatic architectural programme in the way that they did. Had he abandoned his eclecticism he might have gained the distinction of being one of the first Neoclassicists. His architecture would certainly have suffered, as his few exercises in Palladianism show.¹⁹ Mar's Scottish architectural education was too deeply ingrained to allow him to adopt any other theoretical attitude in the making of good architecture -he believed this to be a combination of beauty and utility- than that of eclecticism.

Mar's particular interest in the ancient monuments at Nîmes has already been mentioned in Chapter 1, Part III. Mar may have anticipated this visit for some years as Gibbs owned a copy of Poldo D'Albenas's *Discours historial de l'antique et illustre Cité de Nismes* (1560) which would have been known to Mar. Although the poor woodcuts hardly convey the scale of the monuments, D'Albenas's allusions to freemasonry and the buildings of the Ancients would have been sympathetic to Mar and Gibbs.²⁰ In March 1718 Mar wrote from Urbino to Colonel Stewart of Innernytie that he had finished the elevations of the house: "...I venture to say they can bide the test having the Maison Carrée as my pattern."²¹ The distinction of Mar's choice of the Maison as an example of Roman architecture has another precedent in Palladio's illustration of it in his treatise. Inigo Jones annotated his copy of 'Palladio' with praise for its true and graceful proportions, and Laugier much later described it as the most perfect building of antiquity. A comparison between Mar's alternative schemes for the façade of "House A" with the Maison Carrée shows that these are the designs mentioned in the letter to Innernytie. The façades are drawn to different scales, and the scale is not given in the more severe of the two (Figure 3). However, it would appear to be similarly proportioned to that of the more decorated façade (Figure 2) which, if one discounts the rusticated basement, has column pedestals of the same height as the podium of the Maison, that is eleven feet. The columns from their bases to the top of their capitals are, in both buildings, thirty-two feet high.²² All three orders are Corinthian, and both garden façades have hexastyle porticoes -although Mar continues the colonnade beyond the pediment - as it is on the Maison, and the façade in Figure 2 has a Maison Carrée dentil around the pediment. In all three the columns stand on attic bases. Mar's columns are more broadly spaced, those of the Maison being four feet and a quarter foot apart and Mar's being eleven feet and one half foot apart. The Maison Carrée provided Mar with a model for the correct application of a classical order to a façade. To this must be added a rider: the more severe of the two designs is an almost identical copy of the corps-de-logis of the Palace of St Cloud. The borrowing from Le Pautre may be Mar's rather than that of his draughtsman, as St Cloud may have been one of the three royal palaces he visited in 1717.²³

Chapter 2

The giant order portico on the garden façade of "House A" has no precedents in domestic architecture in Britain. Attached porticoes had been used previously in England by Inigo Jones on the Covent Garden Church in 1631 and by Wren on the façade of St. Paul's and at the Chelsea Hospital. In these instances the intention was to dignify the exteriors, and although they represent the beginning of the rational application of classical architecture to institutional public buildings in Britain, they do not stress the structural purpose of the colonnade and portico, nor claim archaeological exactitude as the justification for its use, as Mar does in his comments on "House A" and the buildings of the Ancients. Mar's use of domes and circular rooms in domestic architecture carries the same didactic and reformatory message, although his concept of the house as a monument to its owner has its origins in modern buildings such as Versailles and Blenheim Palace. Gibbs expressed himself in a similar way in 1717 when he suggested that the portico of Witham Park should be modelled on the portico of the temple of Septimius Severus at Rome.²⁴ Free-standing porticoes attached to the façades of Palladian houses demonstrate similar Neoclassical tendencies after 1720. However, attached colonnades in the manner that Mar used them are rare until later in the 18th century.

The decoration of these two façades shows that Mar did not slavishly copy the sources he took from antiquity. He understood that when the potent symbol of the temple front was applied to domestic architecture it conferred a learned and universally understood authority to the building. The decorative additions to the two façades soften the severity of the porticoes to a lighter mode better suited to the private function of "House A." The lightness and playfulness of French decoration, although only Rococo in embryo on this period, was the best in Europe and rapidly developing in new directions. This is well demonstrated in these two façades with their cast-iron window balconies, C-scrolls and grotesque heads. The window hoods of the portico break into the entablature in a manner which came fully into fashion in France in the 1740s; "House A" is a rare and early example of *Régence* decoration associated with Oppenord's interiors for the Duc d'Orléans at the Palais Royal in 1717 and 1723.²⁵ The debt in this instance may be to a French draughtsman who copied Mar's draughts, in 1721 and 1722 after his arrival in Paris, from the originals he had made at Urbino.

"House A" represents the continuation of late Baroque themes present in British architecture before Mar went into exile in 1715 and which, excepting a few isolated cases such as the architecture of Nicholas Hawksmoor who continued to work up until his death in 1736 and in James Gibbs' muted but essentially Fontanesque adaptations to the tastes and political preferences of his Whig clients, rapidly ceased to exist.

Mar's approach to architecture, government and town-planning is characterised by an ability to rethink the basic assumptions which determine these disciplines. His remarks on the palace for the

King of France characterise his attitude:

Notwithstanding of the Palace being so near the town, yet it would be attended with non of those inconveniencys to the King which some of his predecessors found on liveing at the Louver, and the Palace of the Thuillaries or the Palais Royall, they being quite enclavied with the town and besides stand very low and have no advantageous prospect whereas this new situation proposed would be quite free from the town and Domine over it like a Citadele, and have fine extended prospects on all sides, yet the situation not overhigh. As it would not be embarase with the town, it would have more the air of the King's palace in the Country, than his town house, yet ther are few palaces of the toun which could not be gone to from it, or could not be Comed from to it, in half one hour or three quarters, so it could very well and properly be called the King's town house and also his Country house by its standing in the middle of Gardens and parks entirely detached from town, and haveing free passages to any palace of the Country for the Chase or otherwise without going through any part of the towm.²⁶

The plans for both palaces are now lost but the written descriptions of them given in the "Royal Palaces" document gives a vivid idea of the way Mar combined historical symbols, scientific rationalism, the concepts of liberty and utilitarianism and so created his vision of a new social order guided by a benevolent monarchy. The new palace subsumes all previously independent types of domestic dwelling into a new absolute. The same is true of "House A" which has the plan of a French *hôtel*, a late 17th-century London town house, or of a villa, but the leaded walks on roofs and formal gardens of old-fashioned country houses such as Audley End or Drumlanrig. The realisation of this scheme depended upon a Stuart Restoration which never came. In this respect they share a similar intention with the architectural style associated with the Restoration of Charles II; a style which also consciously introduced Continental motives, and which we now understand in terms of the Stuart court taste which characterises that period in the history of British art. Mar's designs suggest that he may have been attempting to form a Jacobite aesthetic in architecture and the arts which he patronised within the financial constraints of his exile. Combined with these intentions is an emphasis on "convenience;" a preoccupation which has much more the flavour of the later 18th, or even the 19th century, about it. "House A" marks the earliest evidence of Mar's interest in classicism. Henceforth, this is a constant element in his designs; we will see it re-emerge in the "House J" plans and in some of the Alloa House drawings. Meanwhile, we must examine Mar's studies of, and proposals for, existing Italian buildings.

b) A Jacobite palace in Italy: Plans for Castel Gandolfo and Palazzo Muti; and plans after the Palazzo Albergati and the Palazzo Fantuzzi.

Following his visit to Rome, Mar was back in Urbino by July 1718 having visiting Caprarola and Perugia on the way.²⁷ Shortly after his return to Urbino, as Secretary of State to the exiled court, he became involved in James' plans to have an official home in Italy. This soon engaged his architectural knowledge, and he appears to have acted in the capacity of consultant to the project to alter the papal summer palace at Castel Gandolfo to an all-year residence.²⁸

James' decision to take a residence in Italy involved a lengthy correspondence regarding the alterations necessary for the proposed occupation of the palace by November 1718. By September Mar, in consultation with James, had produced a plan based on a pre-existing survey, on which his proposed alterations were shown. He sent this to Don Carlo Albani, the Pope's brother, for his approval. The description is preserved but the present location of the plan is not known. The document is entitled '*Descrizione fatta con il Ministro del Maestà del Rè d'Inghilterra della cose da farsi nel Palazzo Pontificio di Castel Gandolfo*' (Appendix A).²⁹

The alterations offered little in the way of architectural invention of the sort we have noted in regard to the designs for "House A;" they were only intended to allow extra accommodation, provisions for formal court etiquette and warmth during the winter months. The *loggia* between Cardinal Paulucci's apartments and the inner courtyard of the palace was to be closed to make two new rooms. Next to these rooms a grand staircase was to be constructed. The original spiral staircase was, by some unspecified means, to be divided into two. A floor was to be inserted in another of the rooms in Paulucci's apartments, in order to provide small cabinets to serve the adjacent suite near the gallery. The small room leading from these apartments to the gardens was also to be divided into two. The Pope's apartments, facing the lake were allocated for James' use, so that the formal arrangement of three antechambers and a state bedchamber with the bed clearly visible at the end of the *enfilade* was required.³⁰ The suite of rooms beneath Cardinal Paulucci's apartments were adapted to include another two state bedrooms, and a new door was to be made from them to the staircase. Cardinal Alessandro Albani's apartments required fewer alterations, excepting the addition of new chimneypieces which were necessary in most of the rooms of the palace. Included with the description are details regarding furnishings, the placing of damask hangings, the types of bed required and buffets in the anterooms. The large and small grottoes in the gardens (the Rocca and Rocchetta) were to be white-washed inside, and the kitchens improved to provide for the larger number of people expected to be resident in the palace.

Two weeks after sending these plans to Rome Mar received them back with a reply containing a new set draughted by the Roman architect Massei and a letter from the Pope's agent in Rome.³¹ In his comments on Massei's plans, Mar complained that the new wall enclosing the *loggia* had been given no windows. However, he and James acceded to the request that far fewer chimneys should be made, particularly as the placing of them in the corners of rooms caused the Pope some anxiety about the damaging effects to the appearance of the palace.³² James and Mar also abandoned the idea of a new grand staircase on the same grounds.

Mar's involvement in the plans ended when he left Rome in October for Turin where he planned

to meet Lady Mar coming south to join the Court.³³ Mar stopped briefly at Bologna, and perhaps at the suggestion of James, he met the Marchese Albergati and visited his country house, the Palazzo Albergati at Zola Predosa. James had been entertained there as a guest of the Bolognese Senate early in October 1718. This magnificent villa of palatial scale was the work of several architects: Martini, Barelli, Rainaldi, Saccioli and particularly Giangiacomo Monti who designed the cupola and lantern over the great hall which was under construction from 1659 until 1694. James may have considered the Palazzo a suitable model for a royal palace, as Mar arranged to have detailed plans of it drawn; these being either for his own use on the project, or for James'.³⁴

To begin with Mar received only seven plans of the Palazzo Albergati; the eighth could not be made until March or April when the weather was less severe as the architect was required to go on to the roof to survey it. The two plans of the Fantuzzi staircase were made by an architect friend of the Conte Isolani, whose beautiful house, the Palazzo Pepoli Nuovo,³⁵ James and Mar might have visited.³⁶ What is most interesting about this episode is the level of sophistication that Mar's taste had achieved by this date. The Bolognese architects in this period were producing some of the most novel architecture in Italy. Their interest in the effects of light, dramatic settings for grand ceremonial occasions and the development of staircases is described as scenographic. The Bibiena family later transmitted *scenografia* to Piranesi, and thence it passed to Robert Adam whose architectural eclecticism has much in common with Mar's. These Bolognese influences are evident in Mar's later plans, most notably in the large-scale houses based on Marly. Other aspects of these schemes will be discussed in Part II of Chapter 4.

Meanwhile, in Rome work continued at the Castel Gandolfo and by November one fireplace had been made in a servant's room, and the architects -who now included the Pope's architect Mattei - had made another on the Pope's instructions to see the effect on the building.³⁷ This proved acceptable to Clement and he agreed to continue the work, but little progress was made and by the 22nd of December James, alarmed by rumours of the presence of *banditti* and the Emperor's troops in the area, was persuaded to postpone his removal to Castello until the following Spring.³⁸ However, as James was unwilling to return to Urbino the Apostolic Chamber leased the Palazzo Muti in Rome, from Marchese Giovanni Muti, on his behalf and James took up immediate residence.³⁹

Within three months James and Mar left Rome; James bound for Spain to join Alberoni's fleet, and Mar and the Duke of Perth northwards in hopes of raising the Standard in Scotland. Mar was arrested at Milan and imprisoned in Milan Castle for the month of March, where he succeeded in making a few drawings.⁴⁰ On release he returned briefly to Rome but was re-arrested, on his way north once more, by the Genevan authorities acting on the instructions of the Earl of Stair. This time he was detained for eleven months. In October James received from Lady Mar a set of Mar's

plans for the Palazzo Muti, and James returned an earlier set to Mar.⁴¹

None of the plans for the projects for, and after, palaces in Italy, nor any of the drawings and engravings which Gibbs had sent to Mar in 1716 has survived. They are not amongst the Albani Drawings or the Stuart Papers at Windsor, or the Fondo Albani in the Vatican.⁴² However, all the plans Mar made whilst under detention, including the Milan Castle drawings, are preserved in the Mar and Kellie Plan Books. When Mar was released from Geneva he went straight to France taking these drawings with him; the contents of his house in Rome travelled to France with Lady Mar who joined him soon after. In December 1721 Mar wrote from Paris to Colonel Hay at Rome:⁴³

...I lost all my draughts and prints comeing from Italy which I pickt up in Rome, I wish you could find a way of sending me a few of planns and elivations of the best Palaices and particularly that of Barberini, but pray get the plann of it helpt it being I remember false in some places. Thers a book or two of Architectur I want w^{ch} I shall tel you of afterwards....⁴⁴

Fortunately Mar was able to redraw many of these designs and they have survived. Particularly important are the sets of plans for a series of houses, devised in France before Mar saw Italy, which tackle the problems of form, function and style of small-scale domestic country dwellings. They also offer us the first opportunity to examine a major, and apparently inexhaustible, source of inspiration to Mar, the Royal Pavilion of Marly.

Chapter 3

House J: its variants and related projects

During his detention at Geneva Mar made the first set of plans for "House J," a project which generated a number of variants. The origin of this scheme and some points of comparison between it, the English Palladian villa, and the French *maison de plaisance* highlight the uniqueness of "House J," its variants and related projects. "House J" continues the themes of Scottish eclecticism and antiquarianism, discussed in relation to "House A" in the previous chapter. In this chapter it will be seen that Mar's eclecticism is used differently: Sir William Bruce and James Smith retained or duplicated parts of medieval buildings in their renovations; an antiquarian attitude which we shall see Mar imitated in his scheme for Alloa Tower. However, neither Bruce nor Smith reinvented aspects of medieval buildings in a modern idiom in the way that Mar did in the designs for "House J."

In Chapter 2 some aspects of the influence of Italian architecture were discussed. This chapter takes us back in time to the winter of 1717/18 which Mar passed at Urbino, and shows that the short period of time which he had previously spent in France was equally, if not more important to the development of his ideas. The designs for "House J" and its variants represent a completely new type of house in terms of design and function. These houses are small-scale masterpieces of planning and domestic convenience.

a) "House J"

"House J" and the other projects related to it in scale and type must first be described. Figure 50 shows the drawing inscribed in Mar's hand "House J" which was made by him whilst in Geneva in 1719; another version of this house is known from a portrait of Mar (Figure 49), painted in the same year by an unidentified artist.¹ Mar later gave the portrait to a Swiss banker and diplomat called D. A. Saladin, in gratitude for Saladin's assistance in obtaining his release from detention. The portrait shows a window behind the sitter through which can be seen parterres with a fountain and basin with a small house of tall proportions at the rear. The house has three bays, a tall rusticated basement, a pitched roof and the façade is encased by giant-order pilasters. It can be assumed that the house in the garden is an imaginary reconstruction of a house designed by Lord Mar.²

The origin of the design for "House J" may in fact be earlier. The letter of January 1718, mentioned previously in Chapter I, Part III, addressed to Colonel John Stewart of Innernytie in Rome includes information on the draughts for "House J."³ Enclosed with the letter was a set of drawings which Mar had made during his "idle hours last summer for a little house or villa for

myself which "tho' it be very probable it will never be further built than you see it here on paper."

In the letter Mar goes on with characteristic enthusiasm :

....The first thought of it was only to be a large room or sallon with two or three little bedrooms and closetts of it for myself and three or four friends, when we should have a mind to retire for some dayis from the town (as london or so) to be entertain'd with musick dancing &c: Together with some rooms for those necessary incumbrances; Servants and a kitchen and other useful offices. From one thing to another it swell'd to a bigger house than I at first intended it, and yet you'l see it is not very big in cicumference, but there are a good many stories of it. The whole design is new I believe and pretty singular and I fancie it would have no bad effect wire it put in execution at least I was pleas'd with it which is pretty natural for us Architects to be with our own productions.

Later in the same letter Mar explains that he was "not much us'd to Elevations, these I send you being almost the first I ever did," having previously drawn only plans. The problem was further compounded by his having no architectural books by him, so that the architect who was to make the draughts was "to pardon and rectify any fault in the proportions of the pillars and other ornaments," in case they were not "nicely to the rules." It is probable that the portraitist used one of these Roman draughts to illustrate the house in the painting.

Whilst at Urbino Mar says that he made a very large number of sketches for this house, as well as using it as the basis for a larger design which would make a "pretty Villa or a Marlys." This design, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, Part II, was intended for King James and he, Mar tells us, "seemed not to dislike it." Apart from "House J," and its royal variant, there was also a set of plans, now lost, for a house "smaller than the least of these two." This was in the same manner, but would be cheaper to build having neither a lead roof nor pillars.⁴

An interesting footnote to this information is that Mar asked Innernytie not to show his drawings to anyone in Rome except perhaps Lord Southesk, who Mar thought could help Innernytie to find a draughtsman. Mar valued Southesk's opinion in architecture; unlike that of Lord Perth in whose judgement he had no faith, although he numbered Perth, along with Innernytie and Southesk, as a "brother of the brush;" that is, an architect.⁵ In France after 1720 the Jacobite "brothers of the brush"⁶ swelled in number to include: Sir John Erskine of Alva; Colonel John Hay, the son of James Gibbs's patron the amateur architect the first Earl of Kinnoul; a "Sir Sams," perhaps Lord Bolingbroke⁷; and Lord Falkland, a signatory to Gibbs's plan for the Great George Street church in 1711.⁸ The architectural activities of this group in exile, as dilettanti or as practitioners, remain at this time obscure.

To return to "House J:" the earliest mention of the idea for a house of this scale occurs in a letter dated April 1717 at St Maundé near Paris. Mar wrote to his friend John Law of Lauriston, the

financier, asking for his assistance in finding a small house to rent or buy; a place where he can settle, until the restoration, when he will return home. The description which follows can be understood as that of Mar's ideal house:

I propose to have but a very little family, so I do not want a large house. If it be neat, one little good apartment and a spare room or two for a friend who may stay a night on occasion, and other conveniences for servants is all I would wish. If the house be new, so much the better but I would have it regular, and should be glad of one tolerable large room in it where one can breath freely indoors. The gardens I am more concerned about. I do not want them very large, though not little. Some high wood in them for shade I would wish mightily and also water, but all things in the situation, which I would like on a dry rising ground with a prospect rather than a flat, and near some river and a village. If in the neighbourhood of some large park, where one could have the liberty of taking the air, it would be a great advantage, and the neighbourhood of fine places would be an amusement to one of my taste. It must not want great repairs, for I should undo myself in that.

I propose to keep but two horses and a coach and chair, and two for the saddle, few servants, a very small table, good wine, though moderately taken, save when a friend comes. It is but seldom I would see Paris, but I could have the distance such that my two horses could carry a chaise thither and back at night with ease.⁹

It would, therefore, appear that the designs for the small house made by Mar after 1717 are a graphic manifestation of the sort of house he wished to live in in France but which in effect he hoped one day to build in Britain; perhaps intended to replace his house, Copt Hall at Twickenham.¹⁰

b) Other projects related to "House J:"

(i) M. Roëttier's House

The drawings for "House J" in the Mar and Kellie Plan Books are the earliest surviving drawings for this series of projects for a small house. The next in date are the unfinished drawings for a house for M. Norbert Roëttier (Figure 52) which are dated at Clichy in 1721.

Roëttier was a member of the wealthy Anglo-Flemish family of medallists and engravers who had been living in France since 1689 when Roëttier's father had fled Britain in protest at the accession of William and Mary of Orange. The Roëttiers coined the Jacobite money and struck commemorative medallions for James VIII and III, and the French royal family. Mar's earliest encounter with Roëttier was in 1716 when, in his capacity of Secretary of State to the exiled court, he provided him with a description of, and design for, the Seals of Scotland.¹¹ The drawing for Roëttier's house relates to his acquisition in 1716 of a property near Choisy-sur-Seine (now Choisy-le-Roi) from his patron the Princesse de Bourbon: the mother of Mar's friend, the Prince de Conti.¹² M. Roëttier's house is longer on the sides than is "House J" and the swags and putti in place of the somber triglyphs on the frieze of "House J" suggest a lighter decorative treatment.

(ii) James Johnstone's House

The drawings for Roëttier bear the same date and are stylistically related to Mar's design for the façade of the house of the Scottish Secretary James Johnstone (Figure 51). The pilasters in the Johnstone house are contrived as part of the ornamentation to give a rich, almost mannerist, decorative effect.¹³ In "House J" (Figure 50) the distribution of the pilasters suggests a more sober treatment in which they appear to support the entablature. Johnstone's house was built for him by John James in 1711. Mar's design may have been intended as a stylistic improvement to the house which would complement Gibbs's new garden pavilion, the Octagon.¹⁴

(iii) Dun A

The last project in this series of unexecuted plans for small houses is a set of plans dated 1723 for a house for Mar's cousin, the Scottish jurist, Lord Dun (Figures 53-58).¹⁵ These plans were intended for building on Dun's property near Brechin, although the house as it now stands was built by William Adam to a different design supplied by Mar in the 1730s. (As there are two different schemes, both by Mar, for the House of Dun they are best distinguished by calling the earlier set of 1723 Dun A, and the later set of 1731 Dun B.) The elevation (Figure 53) resembles "House J" in having equally spaced giant-order pilasters encasing the house on all sides. The order on Dun A is Ionic rather than Roman Doric, and the decoration incorporates the Erskine of Dun coat of arms between two swags in the segmental pediment. The interior of the House of Dun, as built, contains an elaborate stucco decoration allegorizing the Jacobites hopes for a restoration.¹⁶

In contrast to "House J," which was apparently intended for a sloping site, the Dun A drawings were for the flat site chosen by Dun and surveyed for him by Alexander McGill. The survey, and McGill's own designs, for the house were sent over to Paris for Mar's scrutiny in 1723. They were returned with praise for the quality of the survey plan but criticism of the design of the house.¹⁷ Enclosed with the reply was a set of eight plans, six of which are illustrated here (Figures 53-58). The idea was that the ground around the house should be embanked on all four sides to form a terrace and a dry ditch excavated out to light the basement. Access to the entrance was to be by a short flight of steps and across a bridge (Figure 53 and 57); an idea which Mar may have taken from fortified entrances such as that at the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola which he visited in 1719 or from French châteaux such as Chenonceau; we have already seen this feature used in "House A."¹⁸ The frontispiece of Dun A breaks forward slightly to give depth to the monumental niche beneath, a feature which is repeated later in Dun B as built. In "House J" the middle is not recessed but the columns at the entrance are more widely spaced to emphasize the doorway. The proportions of the two houses are approximately the same, both being very tall in relation to their width. The façade of Dun A is seventy-four feet across and eighty-four feet high from the base of the column pedestals

to the chimney-tops. The Palladian preference, evident for instance, at Marble Hill House (1724-1727), for inscribing the entire elevation either within a square, or for giving it a clearly horizontal emphasis in the proportions, is not a factor in Mar's design, which in section (Figure 57), bears comparison with a Scottish tower-house, or a tenement.¹⁹ This comparison is further underlined by the absence of corridors in Dun A; communication being by staircases. The ground- and first-floor plans of the set are missing. The plan of the entresol (Figure 54) shows music galleries over the voids of the ground-floor rooms and at the the bottom right can be seen two rooms and a turnpike staircase. On this floor these rooms have no access to the remainder of the house but are intended as service apartments for the cabinets on the ground floor below. An arrangement like this was used in the tiny pavilions of the nobility at Marly and again by Louis XV in the compact planning of the *Petits Cabinets* at Versailles in 1727.²⁰

On the roof is a belvedere, a favourite feature in Mar's houses. In this instance it is thirty feet across with four rooms each of ten feet, one of which contains the staircase to the garret. At the centre is a cupola to light the garret, the floor of which has a circular opening through which, usefully, "any bulkie object can be lifted." The roof plan, cupola light and floor oculus in this house can be understood as the vestiges of the great domed centrally planned buildings with which Mar was so preoccupied. However, the idea may have been inspired by Mar's ancient curtain-wall fortalice in Aberdeenshire, Kildrummy Castle. The Erskine family's lodgings in the Castle were in the Snow Tower. It was still sufficiently intact in 1724 for the six floors still to be visible. Each of the floors was pierced by oculi at their centres to allow water to be draw from the ground-floor well up to the roof.²¹

c) The French *Maison de Plaisance* as an Inspiration

This masterpiece of miniature domestic planning may have been inspired by the small pavilions at Marly. Mar suggests this when he describes Dun A as little but spacious and having "so many good rooms to be in it w^{ch} is only a Pavilion." ²² Marly was conceived in a spirit of reaction to the vast formal grandeur of Versailles as it had been in the middle years of Louis XIV's reign. In France in the late 1600s the exquisite, small-scale, private residence became fashionable; a sort of flight into bourgeois, or bohemian, domesticity. Mar discloses something of this spirit when writing from Paris in 1722. He has asked Colonel Hay at Rome to seek out certain prints of ornamental columns and obelisks and have them made into "pastel aquas" so that he can hang them in frames around his room with his own designs for gardens and buildings.²³ Lady Mar is to have her room decorated with old gowns and petticoats patched up into furnishings, and his little daughter is to have her room decorated with pictures of cats and dogs and babies.²⁴

As early as 1699 the poet Regnard purchased a little house of brick and stone in which he

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entertained small groups of friends and to which he retired to write poetry, in rather the same way Alexander Pope did twenty years later at Twickenham.²⁵ In France other houses were soon built in imitation and the fashion was catered for, and encouraged, by the publication in 1713 by Liger of the *Nouveau théâtre d'agriculture*, the frontispiece of which was an engraving of 'Une nouvelle maison rustique' - a sort of toy rustic farm. The publication in 1737, five years after Mar's death, by Blondel of *De la distribution des maisons de plaisance* was the manifesto of the new type of small country house, and many of the ideas in it were current in France during Mar's residence there in the 1720s. Blondel tells us that these houses were intended for retirement from the cares of state which the proprietor could forget in contemplation of life and the passage of the seasons, in the cultivation of his property, in the exercise of rustic domestic economy and in the pleasures of family life. It was not until slightly later in the century that France, perhaps catching the Palladian's infection with the villas of the Veneto, began to refer to their *maisons de plaisance* as *vignes*.²⁶ The *maison rustique* or the *maison de plaisance* later diversified into hermitages, *chartreuses*, hunting lodges and pavilions of various picturesque sorts. The villa, or *maison de campagne*, remained the more sober and classical version of this type of house and achieved its apotheosis in Gabriel's Petit Trianon (1763-64).

The Palladian villa in England and the *maison de plaisance* in France developed contemporaneously in response to similar changing social needs. The difference was that in France domestic economy and family intimacy, rather than the collecting, display and study of *virtù* - a function, for instance, of Lord Burlington's villa at Chiswick - was the principal aim of the small country house. According to Mar "the whole design ["House J"] is new I believe, and pretty singular." In this fluid and uncertain period in the development of the villa, "House J" and its variants were Mar's solution to the demand for a new smaller type of country house. The solid block-like quality, vertical planning and Mar's rather old-fashioned reliance on French models, gives the whole design a distinctly Scottish flavour.

d) The Royal Pavilion at Marly

The giant order which encases "House J" and its variants is worth further analysis as it is not found on either the Palladian villa or the *maison de plaisance*. It is found, however, on country houses, including those by Mar, which were modelled on the Royal Pavilion at Marly: William Talman's block at Chatsworth, Vanbrugh's south front at Castle Howard, and Hawksmoor's Easton Neston are the best known examples in England. In Scotland, Sir William Bruce used giant-order pilasters at Kinross House. However, at Kinross the pilasters do not encase the façade; the classical motive is used decoratively in place of quoins or dressings to articulate the corners of the building. In the case of houses inspired by Marly the giant order is used more rigorously; the pilasters are

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equally distributed along each of the façades and give the impression that they actually support the entablature. On the Continent the hunting lodge of the Duc de Navarre and Princess Lewis of Baden's Favorita were both inspired by Marly and were known to, if not actually seen by, Mar.²⁷ We have already seen that Mar knew the plan and appearance of Marly from Alexander Edward's sketches brought back from France in 1702, and he returned to it often for inspiration in his royal palaces and other schemes in paper campaigns in 1718, 1728 and 1730. News of the destruction of Marly prompted Mar to write that it was:

...a lively image of the vanity of the world, but is it real and can it be so straitened as to do so poor and mean a thing? We gardeners and architects must be forgiven to be so scandalis'd at it, but which is worse I am afraid, since they make these retrenchments; it may go further.²⁸

In the letter to Innernytie quoted above Mar states that the little house for himself "after that manner or stile a little enlarg'd would make a pretty Villa or Marlys for the King so to work I fell with it..." Marly then was the inspiration for "House J" and its variants.

(c) Dun B or The House of Dun and the monumental niche

To move on to Dun B (Figures 59-62). Another commonly shared feature of "House J" and its variants is the insertion of a monumental niche in the centre bay to form a covered entrance. In the House of Dun as built by William Adam, and in the engraving in *Vitruvius Scoticus*, the centrepiece is a three-bayed arch. Mar used the recessed bay motif in his design for Alloa B (Chapter 4, Part II) in which all three centre bays are recessed and the elliptical arch is a support for a magnificent, but inconsequential, piece of Rococo decoration (Figure 33).²⁹ Mar's drawing for Dun B (Figure 60) has a single-bayed niche like that on Dun A (Figure 53). As Mar never designed a three-bayed triumphal arch on any of his houses its presence on the House of Dun is probably the responsibility of William Adam. Vanbrugh used monumental niche motifs on his design for the Bertie family (c.1710) and in the unbuilt 'new design' for Eastbury (1716).³⁰ In both examples the arch is used to confound the the scale of the parts of the building and to confuse one as to the location of the entrance. Mar's earliest use of it post-dates the publication of Eastbury in *Vitruvius Britannicus* Volume II in 1717. In the examples discussed here Mar is more decorous than Vanbrugh in his placing the arch over the doorway to signify the grand entrance and the location of the principal rooms. He recommended it as ornament for Dun B, and also because it would light the vestibule on the ground floor and the room above. On the House of Dun this niche is on the northern façade where Mar thought that the rooms behind it would be sheltered from wind and the house made warmer.³¹

Dun B (Figures 59-62) has seven bays, two floors, a basement and an attic storey. This type of

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elevation is unique amongst Mar's plans, which suggests that he may have been following the specifications laid down by William Adam or Lord Dun. However, an alternative interpretation may have to be considered when Dun B and the executed plans for the House of Dun are compared with the Château d'Issy. This house, which lay three miles southeast of Paris, would have been known to Mar, if not from the engraving of it published by Mariette, then through his acquaintance the Prince de Conti, whose mother built the house to the designs of Pierre Bullet (1686).³² Blondel published the Château d'Issy in his *Cours d'architecture* (Amsterdam, 1698), and his remarks about it sum up the importance of this design for the development of architecture in France in the 18th century:

un chef-d'oeuvre d'architecture, et de sculpture, son ordonnance est du meilleur style... Bullet sentit en grand homme, que cet édifice étant destiné à la résidence d'une princesse du sang, devoit quoiqu'il fut en lui-même peu considérable, s'annoncer dès ses dehors tout autrement que la maison d'une riche particulier.

There is no documentary evidence to support the claim that this house is a source for the House of Dun, and the internal arrangements are not identical to those at Issy, but the fact that both houses are eighty-four feet across their fronts and sixty feet on their shorter ends, and also that both are of seven bays and have projecting three-bayed centres, is perhaps sufficient evidence for attributing the design of the House of Dun, with some alterations by Adam, to Lord Mar.³³

Pierre Bullet was patronised by the Prince de Conti's mother and by her cousin the Marquis de la Vallière. Bullet may also have been the architect of John Law's house and his other properties in the Place Vendôme, he certainly repaired Law's bank in the Hôtel des Mesmes in the Rue du Temple and Law contributed large sums towards the building of Bullet's church of St Roche.³⁴ This close network of friends and relations, who were associated with the French Jacobite party at court during the Regency of the Duc d'Orléans were, it appears, patronising particular architects and a particular style of building which is reflected in Mar's drawings.³⁵

"House J," its variants and related projects, demonstrate Mar's preference for Continental designs and decoration. His inventive adaptations of the obsolete grandeur of Marly resulted in a modern solution to the early 18th-century problem of how, and what, the small country house was to be. The design of these delightful houses draws upon what was near at hand and what was most fashionable in Mar's circle. If we take all these points into consideration, and then compare Mar's designs with those of the English Whigs, with their preference for the villas of Palladio and Scamozzi, then his intention was clearly to create a Scottish Jacobite architectural style which has analogies with the 17th-century Stuart Restoration style.

This chapter, and the section on "House A" in the previous chapter, have provided some

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discussion on how Lord Mar addressed the problems of style, convenience and contemporary innovations in building types in domestic architecture. These theoretical exercises are an important process in the architect's development; the House of Dun could not have existed without it, and the plans for Alloa House, which we will now move on to discuss, would not have been half so inventive.

The town, house, church and gardens of Alloa

Introduction

The theoretical background to Mar's economic and aesthetic improvements at Alloa in terms of the civic tradition and the ideas of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun have been discussed in Part I of Chapter 1. This chapter will describe the stylistic origins of the executed and unexecuted plans for the house and gardens at Alloa. By the late 17th century, when Lord Mar inherited the estate at Alloa, the property consisted of some four square miles of policy. The house, which was an irregularly shaped H-plan, consisted of a 15th-century tower house, with a traditional Scottish 17th-century mansion attached to it.¹ Slezer's view in *Theatrum Scotiae* (1693) shows the cluster of various irregular small towers and service buildings which correspond to what little is known of the appearance of Alloa House before Mar set about the renovations. In Slezer's illustration, Alloa Tower is shown, as it stands today, tucked in behind the town of Alloa.

The purpose of Mar's renovations was to convert the antiquated fortified residence into an elegant convenient modern house by unifying its haphazard and disparate elements in terms of modern classicism. The house and the natural landscape were then integrated by means of an extensive landscape design which encompassed the entire Mar policy and the town of Alloa.

Mar's achievement at Alloa was the result of his exploitation of two elements in the surrounding area. The first of these was the industrial innovations he undertook shortly after 1689; an artificial creation that transformed Alloa from a small barony into a town on the verge of economic take-off by the beginning of the new century.² The second element in his scheme was the rugged natural landscape; the sort of landscape which in the early 18th century aroused feelings of distaste and fear in the gentle onlooker. For Mar, however, this historical setting, with its numerous ancient monuments, aroused his antiquarian sensibilities, especially as the entire area had been in the possession of the Erskine family since the 13th century. Thus these two elements, the industrial present and the heritage of his forebears, were the substance upon which Mar's inventive imagination worked to produce a plan which can best be described as a Scottish historical landscape garden with an industrial base.

Despite the fact that the landscape at Alloa did not contain the ingredients considered ideal for aesthetic improvement, Mar's design was wholly in accord with the aesthetic intentions of other improvers in this period. Thus, he set about modelling untamed nature, and the elements that comprised the cultivated areas and buildings, by means of art, into a harmonious whole. The town, house, woodland, open parks and hills were unified according to the criteria of modern taste. His

design for the Mar Policy attained a brilliant fusion of three aims; strict formality according to the French taste, symbolic association with its past and yet fulfilling the traditional Scottish emphasis on utility. Praise for, and contemplation of, the visible evidence of man's hand on nature has always been part of the European humanist tradition, particularly in poetry. John Evelyn, in imitation of the Latin agronomists, equated the idea of plentifulness, health and well-being with the sight of tilled fields and pastureland.³ Kip's *Britannia Illustrata* (1707) presents with comforting monotony a series of country houses and their estates which are virtually indistinguishable one from the other; the great houses, symbols of aristocratic order, stand at the centre of cultivated landscapes just like those described by Evelyn. The motive which inspired these creations was the same one which inspired Mar to undertake the improvement of the Mar Policy. However, we shall see that his approach here was as novel as that which we have already witnessed in the designing of "House J" and "House A."

Mar's task at Alloa was a good deal more complex than that of most improvers in the period. The wild natural landscape he had discovered, to his profit, lent itself more readily to industrial improvement. In the hands of a designer of different sensibilities these features would have been banished, or at least disguised. The topography of the area, which plays such an important part in the scheme for house and gardens, is as follows. To the north-east of Alloa the Ochils rise up steeply to form a magnificent natural backdrop to the town. In their foothills, and on the lower promintories around Alloa, stand the medieval fortalices of the families of Erskine and Bruce and their feudal dependencies. The town sits on a low plateau above the flood plain of the Firth of Forth and Alloa Tower stands at the edge of the town at the topographical centre of this area. The westward extension of the Forth flood plain is continuous from Alloa to beyond the ancient royal burgh of Stirling. At Stirling the Castle stands high on a rocky outcrop overlooking Bannockburn, Torwood, Old Stirling Bridge and the medieval ruins of Cambuskenneth Abbey. The characteristic which most distinguishes Scottish landscapes from those anywhere else is the inseparability of the natural features from the historical remains. In Scotland the wildness of the terrain and the climate have produced a rugged architecture which was a necessary requirement during our turbulent past. One of the finest examples of these historical landscapes, and the one which is the most enduring symbol of Scotland's independence, is that of Stirling. Alloa Tower stands, like Stirling Castle, at the visual and symbolic centre of its historical landscape. Mar's inspiration was the great Scottish historical landscape at Stirling which he re-invented at Alloa, by means of art, to emphasis the innate topography and history of the area.

Mar's programme was not without precedents in Scotland, although none equalled it for scale and complexity. Sir William Bruce had the vistas at Kinross House pointing on the Bass Rock and

Loch Leven Castle, and Alexander Edward had a vista at Hamilton Palace terminated by the spire of Glasgow Cathedral; a subtle reference to the Hamilton's patronage of the Cathedral. In Mar's plan features of this sort were the guiding principal of the whole, rather than just secondary accidentals within the total scheme. By transforming the function of Alloa Tower and the 'satellite' fortalices within its visual sphere he altered these artifacts of war into symbols of the benefits of peace and its inevitable consequences for human social progress. The scheme also alluded to the personal ambitions and pride of Lord Mar; it acknowledged the historical destiny of his family and the altruism of his economic innovations. The bold legend SIC DOMINUS VETERUM COLUIT MONUMENTA PARENTUM painted beneath the parapet of Alloa Tower (Figure 8) endorses the view that this indeed was Mar's intention; and the lady with a parasol standing in the bartizan represents the Tower's new function. With such a "most uncommonly fine rich prospect"⁴ Mar, like Pliny the Younger, could stand on the topmost turret of his Tower and admire the landscape which by his own efforts was filled with plenty and moulded by art.

This chapter will examine the improvements carried out on the house, and the three other schemes which Mar designed for it, should the family ever have had enough money to afford the building of an entirely new house. Lord Mar's garden designs, and the plans for the church of St Mungo and the monument to the Family of Mar and Erskine, will also be discussed here. Although these projects were more or less under way simultaneously, for clarity, it is more convenient to discuss them separately.

Part 1. Alloa House

a) The building campaign at Alloa from 1700 to 1710.

Writing from exile at Chillon in 1726, Mar had time to take stock of his life and to speculate on the future of his family. Alloa House formed part of his thoughts and of it he wrote as follows:

I was to blame... for going about repairing the old House of Alloa, w^{ch} was more fitt to be made a quarry, but we were both led into it by degrees for present convenience and never being rich enough to undertake the building of a new house all at once... The house is now in such a way to be made a tolerable good and agreeable one within, tho not very beautiful and regular without, with no great charge, so that it is not quite to be despised, and I would not advise you to pull it down, unless you come to be more opulent... By the latest Draughts and designs for it you will see that it can be made, by degrees and a little at a time, convenient and agreeable wth a great deal of Lodging, and not a bad figur of an irregular one, not pretending to Architectur, and such a one as any subject may live handsomely in... There is something in the old Tower, espesially if made conforme to the new designe, wch is venenrable for its antiquity and makes not a bad appearance, and would make one regrait the being oblig'd to pull it down, w^{ch} must be done were there a new house to be built, the gardens, avenues and courts

and the whole designe of all about it, being so farr made to answer to the old house.⁵

The earliest surviving record of the renovations to the house, which includes a reference to a garden design as well as a floor plan, is dated 1703. At this time some old out-buildings and towers were demolished and new windows inserted.⁶ The earliest extant plan of the house is dated 1710 and is by Alexander McGill (Figure 12). The drawing is unfinished, but it shows that a good deal of new work had been completed by this date. The areas coloured light gray were the parts of the building which were standing at the time this drawing was made. The eleven-foot-thick ground-floor walls of the Tower are clearly visible to the left of the plan. The irregular outline of the early 17th-century south wing is lightly pencilled in on the right. The plan proposes a new kitchen wing to be built onto the east wall of the Tower (top left) and a new extension within the courtyard on the east side of the mansion (lower centre).⁷ A long passageway and a new staircase were to be made along the south wall of the Tower to allow access to the "Garden Parlour" and "Waiting Hall" situated in the central portion of the house.

In the summer of 1706 Alexander Edward was at Alloa directing the building work which included re-roofing the house, inserting sash windows and new doors and a gable on the new west wing and alterations to staircases and the roof of "the hall."⁸ There are few written reports of the work at Alloa between 1706 and 1711, largely because Mar was probably able to supervise the building there himself. In 1711 he wrote from Whitehall instructing that Sandy McGill and James Smith should be told to prepare for the arrival of stone from the quarry at Craigie so that they might begin work on the "stair and... new front [perhaps the new range facing the east court] that I designe should be built one storie high this year...." At the end of the following month Mar sent a plan (now lost) to McGill of what he wished done at Alloa. He described it in the following terms to his brother Lord Grange:

...it makes the house very convenient & the chapest way I ever had of it. I do not designe there shou'd be much of it done this season as I wrote to him[McGill] some posts ago.⁹

What was actually built may have followed Mar's lost design of 1711. If we compare McGill's 1710 proposal for the new kitchen wing with the 1727 plan (Figure 14) we can see that McGill's scheme was either later altered or else abandoned in favour of what Mar shows as built in his drawing.

To return to McGill's plan (Figure 12) we can see what Alloa House actually consisted of in 1710. The Tower was entered by its original doorway in the middle of the north front. This was flanked by pilasters. There were three windows, two on the north front, and one on the west. On the south front of the Tower two openings were made at the time of the building of the mansion or to

give access to it from the Tower. In order to give the Tower a more symmetrical appearance a number of false windows were made and a new window was cut into the west wall so that the new fenestration was continued on the shorter side of the Tower. These alterations may be the window design which Mar referred to in his letter of 1703.¹⁰ The most striking feature of McGill's plan is the great circular staircase in the east end. According to McGill's drawing it was complete by 1710, although a note on the plan states that the mural passages, running down the side of the "Grand Sall" on the first floor, had not yet been finished. This plan of the Tower, but with the mural passages completed, is precisely what stands at Alloa today.¹¹

The purpose of the 1710 plan was to reorientate the principal entrance from the north side, facing the town, to a new inner court on the east side of the mansion. The new kitchen wing at the upper left of the plan was intended to answer the projection of the old wing on the right. The depth of the court between the two wings was reduced by the addition of the new range at the rear of the "Garden Parlour." This arrangement formed a new entrance court which was bisected by the axis of the avenue running east to west in the garden design. The new alignment gave a continuous parade from the entrance court to the mid-portion of the old "garden parlour" and a doorway to the gardens facing the Firth of Forth. McGill has projected two deep wings of three bays deep on their shorter ends with a courtyard between; a similar arrangement to James Smith's Dutch classicist façades at the palaces of Hamilton and Dalkeith.

McGill's shallow free-standing hexastyle portico, which covered the three doorways to the gardens, gave a classical note to the old house. Thus the focal point of the garden façade, which maintained the axis of the avenues in the landscape design, was shifted to the left, leaving the south end of the old mansion house longer than the north end adjoining the Tower. Mar's elevation of the garden front (Figures 9 and 10) shows that the old manor house was retained: its pitched slate roof, dormers and projecting turnpike staircase are visible on the right of his drawing.

The mansion was destroyed by fire in 1800, but the Tower was left intact. Its rubble walls have lost the white harl visible on the house at the rear of David Allan's portrait of the Erskine Family (1783).¹² In the letter of 1703, quoted from above, concerning the repairs to the house, Mar also mentioned a draught which he had made of the "gate on the tour, it must be done as you'll see by it as I left orders for tho' it does not open to the top yet it will seem as it did, now since the outer gate is down that must be quickly put up."¹³ The present doorway (Figure 76) corresponds to Mar's description of it as not opening right to the top. Mar's brief description is inconclusive when it comes to attributing the design of the masonry to him. However, the doorpieces on Mar's drawing of 1727 (Figure 8) are either faithful replicas of the doorpiece put there by Mar in 1703, or else the

present doorpiece was later reconstructed using Mar's design.¹⁴ Whichever is the case the present doorway, excepting the addition of the Erskine arms, is the sixth Earl's design. The doorway will be discussed in more detail later in Part 1 of this chapter.

Unfortunately the great circular well-staircase in the tower is even more difficult to attribute to Mar. It certainly dates from his lifetime. Several staircases are mentioned in letters from 1703 to 1710 but none distinguishes this staircase in particular. Firstly, it must be said that the fifth Earl had not the money, time, or inclination to fashion such an ambitious structure in his house. Secondly, we know that Mar favoured this type of centralised plan although it might seem surprising to find him employing it at such an early date. However, the existence of a design for a staircase, although of a different type, for the Royal Palace block at Stirling Castle dated 1709 confirms that even at this date, long before he had seen Italy or France, Mar's taste and knowledge were inclined towards the Continental grand manner. Dating is assisted by the survival of the ornamental iron-work of the musicians' gallery attached to the inner curve facing the "Great Stair." It is a foliage and bats' wings composition of very fine craftsmanship. Its style is certainly contemporary with Mar's period and may have been part of one of the orders he placed in London for ornamental iron-work at this time. Lastly we should remember that Mar made a special detour to visit the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola in 1719. Could he have known the structure of Vignola's circular staircase there from engravings long before he went to Italy? The evidence suggests this may be so, as the staircase at Alloa is thirty feet in diameter with ten-foot treads and a ten-foot well; the scale and proportions are identical to those of the *Scala Grande* at Caprarola.¹⁵

The curtain wall between the staircase and the "Grand Sall" has been cut away so that these two parts now read as one continuous space. The inner apartment is lit from the staircase and arcaded along its inner wall to allow light to enter from the external windows of the Tower.¹⁶ The "Grand Sall" was not part of the ancient structure; it was inserted at a later date. The range of its new windows can be seen squeezed in between the lower and upper ranges in the elevation (Figure 8). The frieze of this room is an elegant *rinseau* of 17th or 18th-century date.¹⁷ If it is earlier in date then it could be concluded that the insertion of this floor precedes Mar's work on the house. This is very unlikely because the regular distribution of the aedicules, real and false, suggests that the present fenestration is a single unified conception. The windows of the first floor apartment are an integral part of the 18th-century 'improvement' and cannot be earlier.

b) Floor plans for Alloa House, 1725-1732.¹⁸

If we compare McGill's drawing (Figure 12) with Mar's later plans for the house (Figures 13 to

17), we see that Mar made a number of alterations to the 1710 scheme. Figure 13 is Mar's plan for the ground floor, conveniently coloured to show the stages of construction. Firstly, the central portion was made into a double-pile structure by further extending the east 'wing' by a few feet into the area of the inner court. This allowed a convenient corridor to be made between the "Waiting Hall" and the old "Garden Parlour," now re-named the "Drawing Room" and "Dining Room." The second advantage of having a few extra feet was that if the ceiling of the "Waiting Hall" was removed, leaving enough of it to form galleries where the ceiling had once been, then the proportions of the room would be almost those of the fashionable double-cube.¹⁹

The new "Waiting Hall" is now on the same level as the ground floor of the Tower and is entered by a flat passageway from the foot of the "Great Stair." The northern end was to have a solid screen, to reduce draughts from the Tower doorway, and this would be answered by the order engaged to the opposite wall. Mar designed a similar hall for Lord Falkland's house at Mezières à Cléry (Figure 70), the "Corintian Hall;" here the order was used, as it was at Alloa, to accent the proportions of the room and give it a formal grandeur. The "Garden Parlour" was at a slightly higher level than the "Waiting Hall." McGill had provided a straight flight of steps on the east side, Mar wished to replace this with a more economical and elegant arrangement; a small "Lobie" with a turnpike staircase opening into it. On the inner court side the new apartments were reached by two oval service stairs extruded into the re-entrant angle of the court -a common feature of French Renaissance courtyard-plan houses and one which endured in contemporary *hôtel* designs. The staircases communicated with domestic accommodation to the left and right of the public apartments. They are not shown on the 1710 engraved plan (Figure 80) but the brown wash on Figure 13 indicates that the new wall facing the inner court and the extruded staircases were built. The outlines of the staircases also appears on the garden plan in Figure 40. We can deduce that the staircase towers were constructed some time between 1710 and 1715. On Figure 13 the columns in the "Waiting Hall" are shown in purple; indicating that although their bases were *in situ* they remained unfinished. Figures 11 and 13 show that the inner court was formed by the construction of two new wings of two storeys plus a basement; the wing has a servants' hall and kitchens, and formed an addition to the Tower, and that on the right is a modification of the old irregularly shaped 17th century wing -its original form is visible on Figures 12 and 13. The green wash on Mar's plan (Figure 13) indicates that these wings were never completed. In 1731 Mar had the Aachen architect, and designer of Rococo interiors, Johan Josef Couven, design a single-storey arcaded passageway to close the inner court at ground level (Figure 11). This elegant screen of channelled masonry is slightly curved in plan with depressed arches and has an iron-balustraded walkway above it connecting the domestic and service wings on either side of the inner court.²⁰

Mar states on the upper flap of this plan (Figure 13) that it had the more general purpose of making the Tower "exactly in the middle of the Great Avenue" running north-south in the gardens and this idea is further improved by the more radical alteration suggested in Figures 8 and 14. Here the basic form and proportions of the new inner court are retained but the kitchen wing is remodelled into a ground-to-wall head extension, of equal breadth to the shorter end of the Tower. These plans also have the advantage of re-aligning the principal entry to the north facing the town, that is, the front of the Tower towards the town; the arrangement before McGill's 1710 proposal.

In addition the Tower extension provided more domestic accommodation. The mansion house would then be sufficiently spacious to allow the principal floor of the southeast wing (Figure 14) to contain the winter apartments from which there would be a fine view of the snow-capped Ochils. The "master's" apartments are to the left and face onto the inner court, and the "Lady's" are on the right facing the Hawkhill. In the summer the "Lady's apartments" would be on the gardens side facing the Firth of Forth and the "Master's" on the ground floor beneath them. The area in the centre of the plan facing the gardens, coloured red, is a new extension for a drawing-room twenty-nine by twenty-five feet. Above it the "waiting hall," shown on the ground floor plan, is a galleried "Great Sallon" which has features in common with Kent and Campbell's Stone Hall at Houghton (1722-31), or Lord Bingley's hall at Bramham Park (See Chapter 1, Part II).

This plan adapts the old apartments in the Tower to the function of formal reception rooms. Carriages would enter the Tower, halt at the foot of the "Great Stair" and visitors would, by a slow broad ascent beneath a brilliant cupola, perhaps with an allegorical painting of the Jacobite dukedom of Mar, enter the galleried saloon leading into the double-height "Grand Sall."²¹ An organ placed in one of the openings between the two apartments would have been audible in both.

The first floor (Figure 14) on the opposite side of the house contained the "Great Dining Room" which faced out onto the "Great Avenue." A more elaborate alternative to the plain staircase which led down from the dining-room into the avenue is shown on the flap pasted onto the right in Figures 14 and 15. The drawing is unsigned but of similar date and draughtsmanship to Couven's courtyard screen. The staircase runs round the three walls of the court, its shape and proportions cleverly moulded to disguise the oblique inward projection of the old wing at the top right. At ground level the court was to be closed by an iron *grille* supported on a low stone pedestal.²²

Contemporary manners required a great dining-room and a great drawing-room and Mar's plans provided larger rooms more suitable for these purposes. In the Tower (Figure 14) the ceiling of the ground floor was to be cut back so that it no longer obscured the top of the staircase - as it does

at present. Two columns (Figure 13) would have supported the balcony and tribunes at the far end and small music galleries would augment the limited seating in the staircase balcony.

Other modern conveniences were a pulley-chair, which would run up to the upper floor of the Tower; billiards table and shuffleboard in the "Waiting Hall (Figure 13);" a small chapel in the well of the staircase in the Tower; bathrooms; stoves to heat the draughty Tower (Figure 14) and small balconies at the windows from which the gardens and vistas could be viewed. There are also discreet routes for servants, and grand entrances to the public rooms for formal occasions. Each suite of private apartments consisted of a bedchamber with a balcony, guardrobe, antechamber and servant's room. On the second floor overlooking the gardens is the children's accommodation; a large bedroom lined with bookcases, a nursery and servants' room (Figure 16). The servants' needs were also considered; hot running water for the "lavaire" -for washing dishes- was supplied from two reservoirs fed by a pump from two wells above the kitchens; a larder, buttery, bathroom and a servants' hall: "with two tables in it so that they may all dine & sup in the same room" (Figure 13) completed the domestic improvements.²³ Mar's design did not provide the progression of apartments and *enfilades* found in many grand houses and palaces of the period, and which are an important consideration in the designs he made for King James. His aim, as it had been in the planning of "House J" and its variants, was comfort achieved by the introduction of French ideas on domestic convenience, including the most up-to-date sorts of machines and gadgetry then being invented in France.

c) Elevations for Alloa House, 1725-32.

Lord Mar's ideas for improving the exterior of the house are shown in three surviving drawings of the four fronts of the house.²⁴ Figure 8 shows the front of the Tower facing the town. The original, and present, form of the Tower is shown to the right of the fine dotted line between the second and third bay on the left of the drawing. The extension would have served to buttress the east wall previously weakened by the cutting of the "Great Stair." By altering the proportions of the Tower from its present cliff-like verticality the disparity in height between it and the mansion would have been reduced to a more fashionable horizontal presentation. This was to be achieved by adding two bays to the Tower, reducing the crenellations of the parapet and constructing two more or less symmetrical wings of lower height on either side of the mansion. In the drawing old and new are unified by the plain Roman wall heads on the new wings, simple string courses and the windows on the mansion being left unadorned to match those on the Tower. The wall head statuary on either side acts as a visual conductor between the higher parapet of the Tower and the lower wings of the house. The decorative treatment of the Tower, with its matching doors and handsome

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Part I

iron-work balcony resting on seven sturdy stone consoles, enhances the horizontality of the façade. These French and Italianate ornaments are used by Mar with restraint and in deference to the Tower's fortified structure.

The present dilapidation of the Tower is quite unlike the sparkling white harled surface which Mar knew. His drawing (Figure 8) proposed to enhance it further by painting the letters of the legend beneath the parapet in black on a ground of orpiment. White, black and yellow are the colours of the Erskine arms.²⁵ Thus the Tower's expression was changed from that of a grim and brooding fortalice to that of a bedighted banner.²⁶

Scottish architects, as a result of the "pride and poverty" of their clients, had often, when extending houses, constructed duplicates of the existing ancient tower. Late in the 17th century, when fortified architecture became obsolete and the country house came into vogue, the older structures were not abandoned but incorporated into the new building. The latter was McGill's solution for Alloa, but as this failed to achieve a harmonious integration of Tower and mansion then Mar revised it. Mar's plan successfully reduces the Tower's looming proportions while enhancing its "venerable antiquity." This design was made on the brink of the Picturesque and its self-conscious antiquarianism could be interpreted in terms of that movement. However, it is more accurate to say that the only aspect of Mar's approach which resembles the Picturesque is that he willingly admits the age of the building and the use of quotations from an earlier style are undeniably revivalist in intention. Whilst recognising this, it is perhaps more important to realise that his aim in these designs was to reduce, rather than exaggerate, the irregularity of the building, also there is no hint in Mar's writings to suggest that his conception was indebted to the mainsprings of the Picturesque; poetry and landscape painting. Rather we can think of this scheme as a revival which was concerned with historical fact, which intrigued Mar, rather than mythical fantasy. This type of conversion of ancient fortified architecture falls within the Scottish antiquarian tradition, it is historical rather than literary, monumental rather than sentimental and is concerned with arousing thought and reason, rather than irrationality. Mar's approach is an extension of the normal practice of other Scottish classical architects who drew widely from the architecture of Europe. In order to better understand the Alloa plans we must search for their sources over a broad range of European architecture.

Earlier in this chapter we saw that the existing single doorpiece on the Tower (Figure 76) may have been designed as early as 1703. The left-hand entrance shown in Figure 8 was a false door intended, like the false windows, to give symmetry to the widened Tower. By the time Mar made his brief visit to Venice in 1718 Baldassare Longhena had completed the renovations of several

palace façades on important squares and the Grand Canal at Venice. Longhena succeeded in transforming the style and the plans of these merchant palaces from Byzantine Gothic to monumental classicism. His renovations included the insertion of new floors and ranges of windows and monumental entrance vestibules. The *palazzo* which most closely resembles the drawing for Alloo Tower is the Palazzo Morosini (Figure 77). The alterations to this building, which are attributed to Longhena, were intended to give it a more horizontal presentation and to increase the amount of domestic accommodation. This was achieved by the construction of a two-bayed ground-to-wallhead extension, the addition of a long balcony on the *piano nobile* and the construction of a false doorpiece to the right of the true entrance. Longhena used the double-doorpiece motive again on the façade of the Palazzo Pesaro between which he inserted a niche -just as Mar does on his drawing of Alloo Tower. Even the blocked pilasters of Mar's doorpieces may have come from Longhena rather than De L'Orme, who has been suggested as their source, as they are so similar to those on the inner court entrance of the Palazzo Pesaro.²⁷

Of course Mar need not have gone to Venice to know Longhena's works as his palaces were published by Carlevarlijs in his *Le Fabriche et Vedute di Venezia* in 1703. However, two facts reinforce the choice of the Venetian palaces as the source for the façade of Alloo Tower. We have seen in the case of Mar's other projects for houses that, almost without exception, his ideas on architecture gained impetus from buildings which he new personally. He would have seen these palaces during his stay in the city in 1718. Also the problems of planning, style and form which Longhena tackled in the renovation of Palazzo Morosini, in particular, must have immediately struck Mar as very similar to those of Alloo Tower.

The improvements to the mansion were to be completed by some alterations to the roof (Figure 17). Mar intended to raise the wall head over the eight bays of the mansion nearest to the Tower. The ceiling of the second floor, beneath the roof, was to be raised and the pitched roof removed and replaced by shallow valleys. The charter room, and the librarian's room next to it, were to have vaulted ceilings.²⁸ Over these a lead-lined tank had the dual function of providing fish and fowl and, ironically, water for fire-fighting. The small area over the new wing was reserved for nesting birds and ducklings. Bizarre as this may seem there was a precedent for this in the renovations that the proprietor of Buckenham Hall in Norfolk made to the roof of his house. ^{Glomefield} Samuel Vincent described these:

on the summit whereof is a lofty lantern or turret, and on the top of this house he (being a great humourist), erected a fish-pond, with a bason of lead to contain the water, and had pipes of lead which brought water by an engine from a canal in the gardens, into every room (it is said) of the house.²⁹

We have already noted Mar's use of Le Pautre's designs in relation to "House A" and of Bullet's in relation to the House of Dun; these sources are also relevant to the designs for a frontispiece on the garden front of Alloa House. Beneath the flap on Figure 10 (not illustrated) there is a simple frontispiece with quoined corners and a segmental pediment of a type frequently found in French architecture.³⁰ The doorway, its plan is shown on the main sheet in Figure 13, is approached by six steps up from the garden, and is covered by a small portico supported by two columns. The flap, shown in Figure 10 and dated Spa 1730, shows a more elaborate frontispiece with a Venetian window at first floor and circular and round-headed niches for statuary. The pediment is broken so that the fountain in the upper floor can be seen from the gardens. The drawing of the interior of the bow window (Figure 19) is inscribed: "Mr Bouchet Sculptor at Antwerpe computed one of these columns of the marble of Dinan, wthout Base or capitale, deliver'd at Antwerpe to cost thertien guinias & a half." The marble and gilded columns within and the sculptural treatment of the exterior are more Italianate than the first frontispiece. It resembles the bays of the Villa Doria-Pamphili, while the fountain and basin on the upper floor recalls the fountain in the Loggia of the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola.

However, the plan of the "Portico," as Mar named it, is modelled, as is the House of Dun, on the work of Pierre Bullet. The large-scale drawing made in 1731 (Figure 18) shows the distribution of the columns in the "Low Dining Room" situated on the ground floor. When the flap is open it shows that the dining-room and drawing-room have been shortened to accommodate the "Portico." These rooms would have replaced the original arrangement shown on the main sheet below the flap. Mar has imitated Bullet's design of the saloon and bow on the garden front of Champs, both in the interior arrangement of paired and engaged columns and by embedding the flattened curve of the bow in a shallow forward break from the plane of the wall. Bullet's design was based on the garden front of Vaux-le-Vicomte which in turn had been inspired by the oval saloon overlooking the gardens of the Palazzo Barberini. Mar's desire to obtain an accurate engraving of the Palazzo from Italy may have been prompted by contemporary interest in France in *salons à l'Italienne*.³¹

Another alternative is shown in Figure 9. Here the garden façade has the wall head raised to cover the pitch of the roof (plan in Figure 16). Beneath the flap (not illustrated) a sober, but elegant, five-bayed frontispiece with Palazzo Farnese window hoods forms the focal point. The flap shown here is yet another alternative; a scheme with a segmental pediment which offers an opportunity for the addition of a colourful painting illustrating Mar's design for the Royal Palace of Versailles. On the opposite side of the house (Figure 11) is another painted pediment, the bucolic mood in this is appropriate as this front faces the Hawkhill, which shows the Royal Palace for London set within a lush woodland where boys play with goats.³² Painted pediments like these, and the

kermesse in Figure 41, are unknown in Scotland. The idea may have its origin in the full size *trompe l'oeil* architecture which was painted on a blank wall at Marly. The *Perspective*, as it was called, was a painted decoration which conveyed the illusion of continuous architecture. The exteriors of some of Palladio's villas, for instance a pavilion at the Villa Badoer had a coat of arms painted in the flat pediment (Puppi, L., *Andrea Palladio*, London, 1975, Pl. 131.). However, Mar's paintings differ from fictive masonry in being essentially architectural illustrations in which the pediment's cornice is used as a picture frame, although they fall within the traditional purpose of pedimental decoration, that is, they have a symbolic purpose. The juxtaposition of the pediment paintings is significant; the palace schemes for London and Paris had a constitutional relationship, they represented a new balance of power between the crowns of France and Britain, as set forth in the "Jewels of Scotland." These are paintings of Mar's drawings for these schemes, they are not primarily intended to display Mar's designs for these projects or to show the appearance of the palaces if built. Their true purpose is as memorials to Mar's other great paper achievement, his constitutional plan for the federation of France and the countries of the British Isles. By extension we could say that they embody the unity of artistic and utilitarian invention; the civic tradition which united the concepts of political thought with economic improvement, the profits of which the wealthy citizen directed towards the public good in the form of fine buildings and great cities in which the people will enjoy the benefits of a secure peace, prosperity and political liberty.

d) Alloa House after 1732

David Allan's paintings, and late 18th-century engravings in the National Monuments Record of Scotland, show that Alloa House was further altered later in the century. If the recommendations Mar made during his exile were carried out they appear to have been altered later in the century. Allan's painting of the Erskine family (1783) shows that a bow window projected from the garden front further east than the "Portico" on Mar's plans. Also the turnpike stair tower and the small porch shown on the right of Mar's drawing (Figure 9) were later removed and the wall built up to the level of the rest of the house. There is no sign of the small staircases from the dining-room and the first floor of the Tower shown in Mar's drawing, although the outline of the Tower staircase is still visible today. These alterations to the house signify the changing taste in house and garden design. The *Statistical Account* reported that by 1791 the gardens had been "considerably modernised" since Mar had laid them out in "the old-fashioned style." These changes are confirmed by a late 18th-century watercolour which shows stone statuary on pedestals forming an avenue across flat turf towards the shore of the Firth of Forth. There are also two views of Alloa from the Firth of Forth by David Allan. One faces northeast and shows Clackmannan Tower in the distance and a small polygonal garden building with a domed roof, which does not appear on Mar's plans,

stands on the foreshore and the faint outline of an avenue runs over flat turf in the direction of Alloa House -all that remained of Mar's formal scheme by this date.³³ Allan's other painting is a view of the harbour. The sea-gate of Alloa House is marked by white crenellated towers and not the pyramidal gates which stood there earlier in the century. Once the radiating avenues, ornate parterres and basins, which provided the axes upon which the house was organised, were gone the house and gardens were remodelled according to the mid-18th-century principles of the beautiful landscape; a style which involved a good deal less complicated planning and expense. All that was required was a refinement of the architecture according the late 18th-century taste for simple uncluttered façades. Thus Mar's careful symmetry of house and avenues was no longer necessary and the mansion was given an ineffectual garden front in the baronial style which aspired to nothing but flatness and tidiness; in the hope perhaps that, having no distinctive or distinguished features, its awkward outline would attract less critical attention.

The comfort, privacy, grandeur and elegance which Mar's plans offered would have combined to alter its description, in Scottish terms at least, from that of a house to a palace. The draughts for the elevations aspired to a similar status but with one very important additional concern; the transformation of the house into a memorial to his family and to his own role in Scotland's history. This was to be achieved with all the attendant historical and contemporary associations described earlier in connection with the gardens.

Alloa A, Alloa B and Alloa C: unexecuted designs for a new house at Alloa

Despite the radical alterations, executed and unexecuted, which Mar made to the old house at Alloa his "natural genius running much after things of this kind" carried him on to produce three alternative proposals for a new house.³⁴ For the sake of clarity in the discussion of these projects I have renamed them Alloa A, Alloa B and Alloa C. These new plans, like those for the old house, were "made to answer" to the garden design which he had laid out many years previously.³⁵ The destruction of the "venerable" Tower, which the building of a new house required, would have been a considerable loss, especially as Mar's designs for it had promised that its restoration would be so evocative and colourful. However, the alternatives were, if less sympathetic to the natural setting, houses worthy to bear the monumental symbolism he conceived for Alloa.

Alloa A and Alloa B were based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly by Hardouin-Mansard (begun 1679). The architecture of some of these houses has been discussed by Dr Friedman in his article in *Architectural History*, 1986 so this chapter will be concerned with the aspects of these schemes which were specific to Alloa, that is, with their symbolic decoration. The purpose of these drawings will be discussed in terms of their style and presentation. The remainder of Part II is concerned with the designs for Alloa C and the way in which it was adapted for Sir Horatio Walpole's house, Wolterton. This house, has an entirely different stylistic source. It will be described with more attention to the details of the architecture.

a) A description of the arrangement and extent of the plans made for large-scale houses based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly

Mar made a very large number of drawings for houses based on Marly; the smallest of these is "House J" and its variants discussed in Chapter 3. The drawings for the larger projects for houses which resembled Marly are as follows:

i) "House L;" "A House for the King in the Paddock at Kensington"(1721) and a "House after the manner... of the Royal Pavilion at Marly (1728); a "Gingate" for the King; a Royal Palace by a person of quality published in *Vitruvius Scoticus*.

These houses are square in plan with octagons at their centres, have the giant order carried round each of their fronts, five bays -Marly had nine -and are unmistakably derived from Marly. Mar's distinctive addition to the plan of Marly is that the octagon at the centre of the plan is carried up through the roof of the house and finished either with a dome or a flat roof.³⁶

The projects differ from one another in scale and purpose. The earliest of the schemes was for James to build in the paddock at Kensington (eight plans; the elevation is missing, Figure 30 and

Architectural History, 1986, Figs 16, 17 and 18). Another 'Marly' scheme, described as a "Gingate," is described in this letter of 1722 to Colonel Hay at Rome:

I have reformed the Royall Pavillion at Marly too, but I thought one of them was enough to put in print, so I have not a copie of it to send you, tho perhaps I may have one drawn for you. It is not proposed to alter that Pavillion by it, but it is a project for a Gingate for our King of the same largeness w^t that of Marly & I hope to see the time when he'll put it in execution and shame the architectur of France. The House is higher than that of Marly, much more conveniencies, by haveing two story of mezanines another story almost underground. It has a noble fine stair, a large Gallary & chaple all within the Pavillion w^{ch} Marly has not & a fine Bibliothek on the tope w^t three little rooms off it & a tarrass walk quit round on the roof & a belvider on the top of the Bibliothek w^t a good stair to it. Ther's a finer sall in the Midle than that of Marly w^t a balconie quitt round itt, leavel w^t the floor of the 2d story where the Gallary is & a fine appartement for the Queen & abundance of Rooms for her Ladys & the Prince while young.³⁷

This project is slightly smaller than the Kensington scheme and is finished with a belvedere, rather than a cupola.³⁸ Despite these differences the exteriors were probably similarly articulated with a giant order. The print of the "Gingate" ³⁹ which Mar mentions in his letter cannot be the same as the "Royal Palace by a person of Quality" illustrated in *Vitruvius Scoticus* (1813), Plates 109 and 110. Neither the "Gingate" nor the Kensington scheme correspond in size to the *Vitruvius Scoticus* house which is smaller than both, although like the Kensington scheme the *Vitruvius Scoticus* house has a cupola, rather than a belvedere.⁴⁰ In 1722, one year after the Kensington plans were drawn, Mar decided to adopt the Kensington project for Alloa (Alloa A). This proposal will be discussed in further detail later, but first the discussion of the plans for King James must be completed by an examination of the palace described by Mar in 1726.

Apart from the "Gingate" Mar described a palace for King James. It is known from a description which Mar wrote in 1726; two years after he was relieved of his post as Secretary of State and one year before he finally broke with James. Mar's description of the scheme is reproduced in full in *Architectural History*, 1986. The palace was to be four hundred feet square with a gallery three hundred and six feet long and an octagon eighty-three feet in diameter. These vast dimensions do not correspond to any of the extant plans in Edinburgh.⁴¹ It is possible that the draughtsman who prepared the drawings that Mar wished to deposit in the *Académie Royale* scaled-up the rough plans of the Kensington scheme to make the palace of monumental proportions described by Mar. However, this is unlikely as Mar would never have entrusted the alterations necessary to the articulation and decoration to a draughtsman. We can assume therefore that there was a separate set of working drawings for this project, and that these are, along with the fine draughts, now lost. It should also be noted that Mar does not say that the palace was modelled on Marly, although indeed this may be inferred from the description of its plan. It stood, he tells us, on a rusticated basement and was articulated by a deep hexastyle Ionic portico. Beneath the portico the thirty-three-foot high

basement was arcaded in order to allow the King's coach to enter the rotunda at the centre, just as coaches could drive into the basement of the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola, or indeed into Alloo Tower. Mar pasted a flap showing a hexastyle portico on to the Kensington scheme in 1724, and the same feature appears on the *Vitruvius Scoticus* house. However, neither has a carriage entrance nor a tall rusticated basement. Hence, the King's house at Kensington and the "gingate" were modest in scale and different in design and function to the only palace Mar designed for James, although all were to varying degrees modelled on Marly.

ii) Alloo A

To return to the Kensington scheme. In 1722, one year after the date of the original plans, Mar indicated its suitability for Alloo.⁴² In the context of the discussion of the Alloo houses the Kensington scheme will be referred to as Alloo A. Alloo A was not strictly speaking an independent design but the Kensington house transposed to that site. Mar drew its square outline on to the 1722 garden plan. It was never really a serious proposal and was soon abandoned in favour of Alloo B, or C, and ultimately both were abandoned in favour of the designs for old Alloo House. Mar continued to work on the Kensington scheme until he was relieved of his post as Secretary of State in 1724; there is a section dated 1723 (*Architectural History*, 1986, Fig.17), and in January 1724 he sent a set of plans, perhaps this project completed, or the monumental palace in the "Description....," to James in Rome.⁴³

The futility of providing further plans for the King after 1727 would suggest that the isolated drawing made in 1728, also inscribed "L," (Figure 29 and *Architectural History*, 1986, Fig.15) which has a similar elevation to the three royal projects, was not a palace scheme. Mar entitled it "A House after the Mannner... of the Royal Pavillion at Marly."⁴⁴ It is slightly larger being one hundred and fifty feet across compared to the Kensington scheme which is one hundred and thirty-eight feet across. The similarity between the style of the lettering, and the presentation of this particular drawing and the Alloo House elevations suggests that it, and perhaps the rest of the set, formed a group which may have been displayed in Mar's room as projects for Alloo. If this is so then the drawing illustrated in Figure 29 is the only extant elevation of Alloo A.⁴⁵

iii) Alloo B

Alloo B, a large rectangular-plan country house, was designed in 1730.⁴⁶ It bears the Erskine family heraldic insignia and coat of arms (*Architectural History*, 1986, Fig. 22-26) and the rooms are assigned for the use of the lord and lady of the house.⁴⁷ Its block-like proportions, astylar walls and the emphatic centrepiece have some similarity to the Palazzo Albergati at Zola Predosa. However, Alloo B has an attic storey in the French manner and is lighter and more decorative; its only similarity to Marly is that it has nine bays on its two principal fronts, although only seven on

its shorter ends. The longer fronts have the three centre bays recessed.

Little further need be said about the architecture of this project except to that it has the monumental niche which is an important feature of Mar's designs for other houses such as Dun A and the House of Dun. Its reappearance on Alloa B prompts the suggestion that Mar adopted this motive as an emblem of an Erskine property.

Thus although Mar suggested four different schemes, and provided plans for three of these, for a new house at Alloa his repeated re-workings of the Alloa House plans demonstrates that the house, as it stood, was the only project he considered viable. This calls into question the true purpose of the unexecuted plans. There is reason to suggest that these drawings were not intended as building projects; although, true to his utilitarian principles, Mar provides all the detailed planning required should anyone ever wish to build them either at Alloa, or elsewhere. It seems, therefore, that Alloa A and Alloa B may have been drawn with as much concern for their pictorial and decorative qualities as for the practical exigencies of the scheme. Before discussing this in more detail Alloa C should be examined.

b) Alloa C

Alloa C (Figure 36 and 37) was the smallest of the speculative schemes for Alloa. It is one hundred and ten feet across with seven bays, three storeys, a basement and an attic with a lantern on the pitched roof. It is a modest practical house by comparison with Alloa A. The windows have no mouldings; it seems therefore that the drawings were left unfinished. The reason Mar abandoned it may be related to the news that Sir Horatio Walpole's house, Wolterton, had burnt to the ground three months previously.⁴⁸ Mar was anxious to engage Walpole's support, in his capacity as British representative at Paris, in gaining a pardon from the British government. In gratitude to him Mar prepared the Alloa C designs as the basis for a new Wolterton which he perhaps presented to Walpole (Figures 65).⁴⁹ Only one of the Wolterton designs is in the Mar and Kellie albums, but a plan of the house has survived (Figure 66).⁵⁰

Alloa C is the same size as the Wolterton project, differing slightly in the internal planning. Both have plain elevations and heavy oversailing cornices beneath the attic storey and tetrastyle Ionic columned porticoes over the entrances on their principal fronts. Alloa C differs from Wolterton in having giant-order tetrastyle pedimented porticoes engaged to its shorter sides. In addition both houses have, like the House of Dun (Figure 59), the pitches of their roofs flattened to form belvederes. In this respect they bear comparison with the Château d'Issy; the quoined corners and centrepieces and the segmental pediments are also distinctively features of late 17th-century

French architecture. The same curious mixture of motives is found in other Mar houses: roof-top lanterns are a common feature of Pratt's and Bruce's houses and others of the Restoration period. The French element may be a deliberate reference to Walpole's posting in Paris, as well as to his francophilism, while the Restoration motive may allude to Walpole's sympathy for the Stuarts; an accusation which was levelled at him in his lifetime.

The design of the courts and offices of the two houses is quite different. Alloa A has compact curved quadrants well suited to the limited area of flat ground to the north of Alloa House. These partly cover the façade (Figure 36) as do the quadrants of Palladio's Villa Trissino. The lower quarter of their height is sunk below ground to allow for a double-height passageway. Two staircases lead to and from the terminal pavilions and the basement beneath the main block of the house. The right-hand pavilion in Figure 37 is a chapel; square in plan with a pyramidal roof and a pointed pediment similar to the church in the town of Marly by Hardouin-Mansard.⁵¹ The courts for Wolterton are adapted to its flat site; they run directly into the main wall of the house. Mar proposed placing the house at the end of a long rectangular raised terrace similar to the arrangement at Cliveden.

c) Ornamental and pictorial qualities in the elevation drawings for Alloa B

We have already noted that the surviving Alloa A drawing may have formed part of a set that were pendants to the designs for Alloa House. The drawings for Alloa B may have also been made with a similar intention, that is, in order to display them.

The allusive and complicated decorative programme of Alloa B deserves examination. "Front D" (Figure 33) has a fluted Ionic portico which at attic level is covered by a transparent arch. On the apex of the arch stands the figure of an proclaiming angel. Beneath this, the Erskine eagle, with its wings outspread, holds a drapery in its beak. On either side of the arch, resting on the cornice, are the Erskine lion and griffin which hold the drapery open to display the wreath of honour descending onto the house of Mar. Thus the triumphs of the house of Mar are honoured by God's decree.⁵²

The opposite façade (*Architectural History*, 1986, Fig. 24), Front "E," which was intended to face east along the "Great Avenue," is more severely classical. The order is Roman Doric, and the pointed pediment has the Erskine supporters bearing coats of arms. Two reclining figures, one pensive and the other reading, lie on the gable of the pediment, and standing on either side of them are the figures of Justice and Mars. The metopes are filled with helmets, breastplates and weapons of war. The theme here, no doubt Mar brooded long on the rightness of his "greatest tryal" the '15 Uprising, is the philosophical contemplation of the Just War in History.

Peace and fruitfulness are the theme of the south front, "Front F" (*Architectural History*, 1986, Fig. 25). The vertiginous fluted Corinthian order with an open flowery frieze between statues of two female figures bearing symbols of plenty, perhaps Ceres and Persephone to represent the reasons of growth and fruitfulness, are appropriate decoration for the front of the house facing the parterre. Within the three centre bays on the first floor and on the attic storey reappear Mar's ubiquitous fountain balconies; a characteristic feature of the Italian Renaissance villa, which is intended to make the house seem as if it partakes of the natural and contrived elements in the garden and to blur the distinction between the interior and the exterior of the building. Two elaborate Venetian windows with balconies, roundels and busts -in the manner of the Villa Doria Pamfili -and the Perron staircase complete the ornamentation of this front.

"Front G" (Figure 34), on the opposite side from "Front F," is in complete contrast to it; the figures of two Highlanders in full battle-dress stand on the cornice. "The true remains of the old Scots," as Mar described them, appropriately face the mountainous landscape of the Ochils. They commemorate the debt Mar acknowledged to them for their generosity to him during the '15 Uprising and his description of their future role in Scotland's history as being to assist in "relieving our country" from the Union.⁵³ The remainder of the decoration on this façade is simpler than that on the other fronts. There is no pediment, and the portrait roundels and shell and foliage decoration used freely on the garden and principal fronts are omitted. Mar seems to draw an analogy between the most robust and 'primitive' of all the orders, the rusticated blocked Tuscan Doric, and the nature of Highland life.

Despite the different orders used, the proportions (height of shaft to diameter) of each are identical on all the fronts. Mar's use of the orders on Alloa B is wilful in the extreme. The Maison Carrée façade of "House A" demonstrates that he clearly understood the rules of architecture; even anticipated the academism of the later 18th century. Using a different order on each of front of Alloa B would be an abuse of the rules if we judged this in terms of the comparative laxity of the 17th century, never mind the rigours of the 18th century. This can be interpreted in two, mutually compatible, ways: firstly as partaking of a fanciful type of architectural illustration; secondly as designs for a building within a formal garden which contained several structures of a decorative and theatrical character (see Part III of this Chapter). Mar's designs can be explained in terms of these conceits rather than in terms of the large formal country-house type of architecture. Another analogy might be made between these drawings and the narrative and symbolic content of history painting. In these drawings Mar used the orders to arouse different emotional responses; the emotive and intellectual qualities of the different orders induce thought and feeling in the onlooker. Although it must be said that this could equally well have arisen from a subtle interpretation of the way in which Mannerist architects used the orders, not for any particular structural purpose but to tease the

cultured onlooker by baffling the logic of architectural form and construction. The Mannerist tendency can be extended to the discussion of the relationship between the garden and the buildings standing within it. Playing with the vocabulary of the monumental in this way was typical of Mannerist architecture and it endured longer in the designing of garden buildings than in large 'serious' public buildings. During the Italian Renaissance, the garden and its buildings were conceived as theatre sets for ballet and opera performances. Mar was a great lover of gardens and opera; it is possible that he recognised a commonality of aesthetic purpose between these activities and the art of architecture, especially when the architecture was for a house to stand at the centre of his great garden at Alloa for which he designed so many other fanciful buildings. His belief that the house was an extension of the garden, rather than D  zallier's view that the garden was an extension of the house (*La Th  orie et la pratique du jardinage...*, 1709), seems to be the determining factor in these drawings.⁵⁴

This point leads to the discussion of Mar's greatest achievement, his gardens at Alloa.

The gardens at Alloa. The history of the plans and the later unexecuted drawings:

"everything that nature and art can do, brought to perfection," Daniel Defoe's description of the gardens at Alloa in *A tour through the whole island of Great Britain...*, 1724-27.

a) The 1710 survey plan

Shortly before his death in 1722 Alexander Raitt, the baillie at Alloa, submitted a description of the gardens to Macfarlane for inclusion in his *Geographical Collections*.⁵⁵ Alloa, he wrote, has:

...fine gardins... very much commented throw the Kingdom and by all strangers that see them, for their situation, fine work and regularitie, on the East side of the house lyes a large wood through which are cut severall fine vistues terminating on these objects viz. to the south the shore of Elphinston on the other side of the Forth, on the S.E. the shore of Clackmanan on the E. a water engine for draining the heughs of Clackmanan on the N.E. very handsom tarose walks cut out of rising ground within the wood where is designed a fine summer house.

Raitt says that the entire scheme covered forty-two acres. This, and other descriptions by Macky and Defoe, confirm the accuracy of the 1710 engraved survey plan (Figure 80). According to the inscription, the plan was engraved by John Sturt after a drawing "Survey'd & done on the place" by Bernard Lens. Another colour-wash survey plan (Figure 38) shows a larger area of land to the northeast and east of Alloa. This plan is also an engraving and, although it is undated, it is of similar date to the 1710 plan. These sources provide an accurate and detailed account of the completed scheme. One map of the Firth of Forth drawn by the geographer John Adair c.1703 shows a rectangular enclosure with subdivisions of planting and one long avenue extending from the house southeastwards. This may be the southern arm of the "Great Avenue" marked "E" on Figure 80. There are no earlier detailed plans and very little information regarding the evolution of the plan, although a good deal about this and the work on the gardens can be inferred from extant letters.⁵⁶

The earliest mention of the gardens at Alloa occurs in Edward's letter to Mar dated July 1702 when he was nearing the end of his Continental tour. He reported that he had purchased two hundred livres worth of plans ranging from gardens and houses, to churches and perspectives. He had also obtained, or made, copies of some draughts of houses and "diverse choise gardens for your Lop which exceed far all thats to be gott at Lunden & I have purchased some [o]riginal draughts illuminant & drawn by the choisest designers of gardens." He then goes on to compare French gardens with the English; the French exceeding the English in fineness and surprising variety, they use fewer flowers in the parterres but use them in broad borders: "and within that thronged bordur a verge of 30 inches of grass & some in some plots lyk the little triangs in your Lps parter...." He

also purchased many specimen plants, a case of instruments and a "plang of Wersaill gardens or rather pairk for y^r Lp." Edward thought that Mar could imitate the waterworks at Versailles for little expense and so have his better than any other in Scotland. He was undoubtedly pleased to report that the courts at Marly were grassed in the manner he had recommended at Panmure and the cross walks for hunting were also like those at Panmure. Thinking of Mar's industrial plans for Alloa, Edward made special mention of the construction of harbour sluices. Finally he tells Mar that he is returning home with several quires of tracing paper for copying draughts.⁵⁷ According to Adair's map there was some sort of formal garden at Alloa before 1701 and Edward mentioned the triangles in the parterre which are visible near the southwest front of the house on the 1710 plan (Figure 80). However, the tracing paper, instruments and garden plans suggest that these purchases were intended to assist Mar in the designing of a much more ambitious scheme.

The renovations at Alloa, we have seen in Part I of this chapter, began in January 1703 with the demolition of old out-buildings to make the inner court to the east of the house. The programme of new building was calculated according to the viability of the garden draught -also mentioned in this letter, and this must have been tested out 'on the ground' by the master gardener. Adapting the garden lay out to the architecture was critical in this type of formal plan; it must have been extensively drawn out on the basis of a sound survey of the property before Edward's departure for France and in preparation for his return in the autumn of 1702. Thus the gardens, as they are shown in the 1710 survey plan, were designed between the date of Edward's return to Scotland, in the autumn of 1702, and January 1703. There is very little information in other letters between then and 1705, when Mar went to London.⁵⁸ Then in August 1706 we hear that the main lines of the wilderness were marked out, but it had still to be levelled for the planting and was only partly complete when Lord Dupplin visited Alloa in the following month.⁵⁹

During Mar's absence in London in July 1706 William Hutton, the mine's manager, was making carriageways through the Parks.⁶⁰ The bridge at Park Mill was laid out in order to continue the vista to the east, but Hutton suggested moving it further eastwards to avoid the horse pool and the low-lying muddy ground between the house and Park Miln -this is the centre arm of the "Great Avenue," marked "E" on the 1710 survey plan which runs through the parks five degrees south of the angle than one would ideally expect on a geometrically determined garden plan (centre left, Figure 80). The "Stirling Walk," which ran beneath the bowling-green terrace to the west of the house, was also difficult to level due to the boggy ground. This must have been effectively solved as it appears marked "f" on the plan. This and the avenue "e" are described by Macky in his tour of Scotland (1723) as terminated on Stirling Castle at one end and by Clackmannan House at the other. Other walks established around 1706 are the avenue "a"

pointing to Elphinstone on the farther shore of the Firth of Forth; "b" to Old Stirling Bridge; "c" to Alloa Ferry; "d" to Carnock; also many rides were cut through the woodland and deer parks to the northeast of the house.

Tom Harlaw, Mar's gardener, levelled and firmed the walks in the gardens and wilderness, marked "K," which lay within the kite-shaped boundary that separated the gardens from the parks.⁶¹ By midsummer of 1706 the gardeners had completed planting the wilderness and proceeded to be busy with the "High Wilderness" which lay between the edge of the gardens and the Forth. It is marked "h" on the survey plan (Figure 80). Harlaw says too that the "Grand Allée," the avenue to the house from the Edinburgh road which runs northeast from the house, was well advanced. The "Coalgate," or John's Street (now Lime Tree Walk), which forms the western boundary of the gardens, was laid out sometime after the spring of 1705 when Mar paid compensation to the citizens of Alloa for a tenement and yard at the west end of the town which he cleared to make way for the new street.⁶² The avenue remains much as it was when first designed, but it survived in its original form until 1791 when it was described as ending in a fine gravelled walk.⁶³ It was designed by Mar as a route to the the harbour, but also added greatly to the beauty and health of the town.⁶⁴ Early in 1706, one year after its completion, Harlaw planted a hedge along one side to protect the gardens from the commotion of coal carts passing to and fro between the town and the harbour.

With the letter of 1706, Harlaw enclosed a diary of work done in the first three weeks of June. The gardeners had mowed the meadows, weeded and dug the kitchen ground - "I" on the plan - which lay on the flat ground beneath the bowling-green terrace on the south side of the "Stirling Walk," the hedges were all sheared, the nursery, parterre and its flower borders were all attended to. A narrow strip separates the parterre from the walls of the house which might have been filled with flowers or gravelled. In Figure 38 the compartments are shown to be turfed with narrow flower borders and sanded walks. In the centre of each is a pedestal. According to Macky the pedestals supported an assortment of vases and statues. These may have been some of the statues which Mar sent from London to Alloa in April 1708.⁶⁵ Sir David Dalrymple described the statues in the gardens when he visited Alloa in October that year. Dalrymple offered a compliment to Mar on his achievement when he later described Alloa as "no small republic." He wrote to Mar in the following terms:

I am no otherwise a judge of the bewty of Gardens. I designe them by feeling a pleasure of which I can give no reason & that I felt hartly upon looking from the Tower to the Enclosure the gardens and avenues. I had under my command a squadron of pretty women that were no fools and they spoke with delight of every thing but the filthy naked statues yet I think they must have seen them so near as to know they were naked tho on my conscience they tasted no forbidden fruit.⁶⁶

In the same month, July 1706, the gardeners had also dug and taken sand to the garden water tables. Two diamond shaped-ponds, each over one hundred feet across, lay on either side of the avenue to the harbour. According to Macky a sculpture group of Cain slaying Abel, which he likened to that of the Duke of Chandos at Cannons, stood in the centre of the basin between the house and the diamond-shaped ponds. The sea-gate was marked by a pair of pyramidal gate piers, just visible on Figure 38, which stood at the fan-shaped termination of the avenue: these may be the piers which now stand half way along Lime Tree Walk (Figure 78). Just beyond the gate piers there stood, according to the drawing in Figure 19, a pair of two-storied white harled buildings with red pantiled roofs. On the survey plan they are shown as L-shaped -one was probably a custom house.⁶⁷ The kidney-shaped ponds bounding the east side of the inner court were probably modelled on the moated entrance to Grand Trianon -a similar conceit was used in the courtyard side of "House A" (Figure 1). Another octagonal basin marked the apex of the avenues through the Parks to the southeast. Sculpture stood at the centre of this basin and at the heads of the radiating avenues (Figures 38) which were probably designed with the assistance of the plan of Versailles gardens which Edward brought back from France.⁶⁸

In August 1706 Mar wanted the gardens to appear at their best for a visit from his co-Secretary of State, the Earl of Loudon.⁶⁹ At this date the tree-planting was still not complete and awaiting shipments of trees from London.⁷⁰ In order to further beautify the gardens, Tom Harlaw obtained a swan from Menstrie and he asked Lord Grange to find a partner for it in the Nor Loch, otherwise, he feared that, it might wander.⁷¹ Mar returned to Alloa in 1706, and had "a great deal of business" in his gardens which made him unwilling to leave again to return to London.⁷² By September that year James Smith was at Alloa in order to find ways of supplying the house with running water.⁷³ Mar had proposed pumping water from the "Milne," possibly Park Milne to the southeast of the house, to the top of the Hawk Hill. Finding this, and the meadows nearer the house unworkable due to the marshiness of the ground, Smith had a cistern erected in the Cherry Garden.⁷⁴

More distinguished visitors arrived in November 1708, Lord Minto, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, and several others toured the town and gardens: "'tis a sweet place & deserves your Lop's care," Clerk wrote to Mar.⁷⁵

Another feature commented on by visitors was the fine bowling-green situated on the high terrace between the church and the house, and eleven feet above the "Stirling Walk." The hollies which grew around the bowling-green, one of which Edward had compared to topiary at Versailles, were still standing in 1723 and grown to "the largest evergreens you can see anywhere."⁷⁶ The bowling-green was sheltered by high woodwork cut into ornamental *bosquets*. Its north side

formed the western boundary of the courtyard entrance from the town and was entered through a pair of fine stone gate piers; a pedestal and statue stood at the centre of the courtyard. The legend on Figure 38 describes a "Lodge of Several Rooms, a belvedere, from whence is seen the Country for 16 miles to ye East West & South," beneath its long terrace, which was decorated with statues or topiary, there was a canal of running water. This building is also shown on the 1710 survey plan, although it may at this time have only been a proposal because the word "new" is inserted in the legend on the later colour-wash plan. However, there is evidence that a building was standing on the Comely Bank by 1722 when Raitt wrote the description of the gardens quoted at the beginning of this chapter and this is confirmed by the remains of masonry foundations on the site.⁷⁷ Whether this was the building which James Gibbs designed for this site around 1710 is not clear. Having presented evidence that there was indeed a building on the Hawk Hill one must also bear in mind that Mar conceived a number of alternative designs for the site; on one of these plans (Figure 43) he made the ambiguous remark that it "would do very well for the Comely Bank should one come to be built there...."⁷⁸ This might, possibly, be explained by the design being for a different type of building - a small dwelling house with the offices in its basement, rather than a banqueting house. He also suggested the "Villa N" (Figures 44 and 45) with, or without, quadrants and rotundas for the Comely Bank. Its plan also appears on the site plans of Marble Hill House,⁷⁹ and the house overlooking the Seine at Bécon-les-Bruyères (Figure 73).⁸⁰

The earliest of Mar's drawings to have survived is a "Pidging House" (1704); a traditional lectern doocot (Figure 46) with a ten-foot-wide archway through its lower storey. It was to stand in the centre of the avenue leading to the house from the Edinburgh Road. The north façade carries the Erskine arms. Its rather plain appearance seems to have been in keeping with the wing of offices illustrated in Figure 26. A curious, perhaps Flemish feature of the doocot, which recalls the description of Lord Ranelagh's 'Dutch Barn' (See Chapter 1, Part II), is the ridge beam supported above the roof by posts decorated with gilded finials. No such building appears on the survey plan but a drawing dated 1721 for a "Pavilion in a Park with a visto through it" (Figure 47) and a "passageway for coaches... which may," as did the doocot, "serve for the entrance or at the end of some great walk." The "Pavilion" has small rooms at each corner with convex inner walls which support the gallery above. Mar may have sent specifications for this building to Alexander McGill so that he could make a draught for him. A green wash drawing by McGill dated "Alloa 1725" (not illustrated), may be a misinterpretation of Mar's instructions, because his building of these dimensions and function has the outer, rather than the inner corners, curved. The Rococo elegance of the drawing does not disguise the fact that it would have resulted in a very curious building. The "Pidging House" and the "Pavilion" demonstrate Mar's awareness of the character and form of traditional rural Scottish architecture, but more importantly, his interest in developing it in a

modern idiom.

b) Developments from 1710 to 1715

The description of other features in the gardens must be derived from an examination of the plans themselves. In the seven years which elapsed between the last known letter describing the work on the gardens and the '15 Uprising there was ample time for Mar to develop the scheme. What was done in this period cannot be assessed accurately, but it seems inevitable that the engraved plan (Figure 38) includes some of these changes. One alteration was made possible by Sorocould's construction in 1710 of a hydraulic pump. This was powered by a vast water wheel which drained the coal-mines. It was replaced in 1713 by the Gartmorn Dam. Prior to 1710 the pond at the foot of the Comely Bank depended upon seasonal conditions for its supply of running water. The colour-wash plan shows the addition of a long canal culverted under the Edinburgh Road. This would have carried water from the Gartmorn Reservoir to the pond, also the avenue which ran due south from the Comely Bank is broader than in the 1710 survey and it now contains a *jet d'eau* and a long rectangular canal. Only the Gartmorn Reservoir could have moved water across the low-lying boggy ground to almost the shores of the Forth. Indeed the canal's early extinction may have been due to the success of the Dam in encouraging the opening of new mills which drew off its power. The boggy condition of the low-lying land contributed to the difficulty of maintaining the canal. This problem may have manifested itself shortly after 1713 or 1714 because Figure 38 shows the later addition to the plan of the Hilton Reservoir, southwest of the Gartmorn, which would have ensured a constant supply to this section of the waterworks in the gardens.

c) Developments in exile

However, an unexecuted proposal for a reservoir to the northwest of the town is also a later addition to the colour plan in Figure 38. In the 1710 plan the Brothy Burn, its flow controlled by a leat to the north of the town, fed the courtyard basins, horsepond, the serpentine water and the harbour sluices. Following the construction of the Dam the energy capacity of the Burn was increased considerably. Figure 38 shows a proposal for damming the Burn which would allow another large reservoir to increase the size of all the garden waterworks, as well as to improve the efficiency for the mills and harbour sluices. Indeed this proposal provided so much water that another pond could be made above the apex of the great avenue. In 1728 Mar set a French engineer, named Duburfor, and his valet Quin to designing canals and a wheel in the wing of offices in the northeast court. Mar made some drawings showing the water wheel built into the stable block (Figures 26 and 27):

with a Reservoir of water on the top for Serving the house & for playing, the fontains in the Courts and Gardens, the Water to be raised to the Reservoir by pumps wrought by a large wheel under this building, turn'd by the rivolet which runs through two of the Courts & makes Basins in the middle of them.⁸¹

A pipe from this reservoir, the inscription continues, was to supply a tank on the roof of the opposite wing of offices for filling the "canal in the great avenue." The idea of a tank on the roof may have come from the Grotto of Thetis at Versailles; its waterworks relied on a similar hydraulic scheme. Thus we know for certain that some sort of water supply served the house, probably from Smith's cistern and the old wells beneath the house, but there was never sufficient for fountains and cascades, nor even for a running supply to the laundry which was to be provided by the 1728 scheme.⁸²

Early 18th-century political theory, as a demonstration of Mar's civic virtue, may well have been the motive for the improvements of Alloa, but combining utility with art in gardens was not new. Mar would have known of the waterworks at the Villa Barbaro at Maser which Palladio described in Book Two of *I Quattro Libri* as supplying the orchards, fields and the kitchens of the villa. A "Banqueting House" (Figure 41) which was to be located at the bend of the serpentine water would give an excellent view of the harbour sluices and the ponds for fish and fowl; it exactly sums up the combination of utility and art which Mar's scheme aimed to achieve.

d) New plans for the town and church

Another large-scale plan of the central portion of the gardens and town, first drawn in 1722, was designed to adapt the gardens to the requirements of Alloa A; the plan of which was drawn onto the main sheet in 1724 - in Figure 39 it is beneath the flap which shows the plan of Alloa B. Either of these symmetrically planned houses would allow changes to be made to the entry court from the town. This involved re-routing some streets which would have facilitated the movement of traffic and opened vistas on the principal buildings in the town. In addition the intention was, as it states on the drawing, to rectify the five-degree distortion of the angle of the great avenue observed in the discussion of the 1710 survey plan. The small section of the great avenue which extended into the town was to be approached from a circular basin in an open 'place' created by re-aligning the street. The new houses are shown in dark crimson wash. On the north side of the entrance avenue a new street was to be named Fountain Street, after the fountain and basin at the intersection between it and Avenue Street. This was to give access to the Old Market Place where the Mercat Cross (1690) stood. The street running along the outer perimeter of the bowling-green was to be re-named Bowling Green Street and at its farthest end it was to open into a new rectangular courtyard fronting

the church in which there was to be another basin.⁸³ Thus an unobstructed vista of Alloa House from the town would have been obtained. Beyond the ornamental entrance gates a double avenue of trees would lead the eye to a statue at the centre of the forecourt; to the rear of which the splendid niched entrance of Alloa B would close the vista. The forecourt statue also marks the apex of the avenues to the northeast and southwest of the house. Carriages could turn left out of the forecourt into an inner court on the east side of the house in the centre of which would lie an oval basin over one hundred feet across with a curved cascade at its eastern end. This in turn would be framed by semi-circular graduated terraces; a new location for the kitchen and fruit gardens. Their original site on the west side of the gardens was now to be occupied by grassed walks between ponds of water. To the left side of the oval court a new base court with a horseshoe-shaped pond was made on previously vacant ground. The avenue, which continues the forecourt on the further side of the house, is to have the large octagonal basin on the parks side reduced to a small pool with a large pedestal at the centre. However, the irregularly shaped pool to the east, visible in Figure 38, was to be converted into a vast circular basin to match the pond at the head of the serpentine water to the south of the house.

The church of St Mungo is an important part of the plan for the town. The extension of the church, in length and breadth, fulfilled two aims. Firstly, to provide accommodation for the increased population which resulted from the industrialization of the town. Secondly, as feudal superior of the barony and senior heritor of the church Mar wished it to reflect the general upgrading he had instituted to the rest of the policy. Figure 23 shows the plan of the church -the lighter pink areas are the proposed enlargement. Mar was careful to retain the ancient structure by encasing it entirely within the new walls. This included re-using the ancient columns of the nave to support new wooden galleries, and duplicating the original bell tower at the east end of the church at its west end. Duplicating the tower would have given the church a symmetrical presentation to the street. The elevations (Figures 20 to 22) are very similar to some of the Fifty New Churches in London, although the details are not attributable to any one of these in particular. The octagonal-plan central spire of the elevation in Figure 20 may be a simplified version of the spire of Wren's Chelsea Hospital (1682-1691).⁸⁴

The interior (Figure 23) was to be enlarged sufficiently to allow a seating arrangement in which each individual or group within the parish was accorded their correct status. Mar's loft was situated at the east end of the church in a gallery facing the pulpit; it was to contain two small "tribunes" and to be fronted by a fine Venetian opening with a balustrade. To Mar's left, in a separate loft, sat Sir John Erskine of Alva. The drawing shows how the remainder of the seating was to be allocated. The Mar and Erskine lofts had access at the rear to a dining-room with a fireplace, a retiring room

next to it and two rooms above.

To the rear of Mar's loft, enfolded by the ancient walls of the old church and top-lit from a cupola in the roof, was to stand a spectacular monument to the families of Mar and Erskine (Frontispiece, Figures 23 and 24).⁸⁵ The monument was to carry the arms of the families of Kingston, Panmure, Mar and Erskine on the pedestal. At the base of the black marble obelisk stand two Dusquenoyesque putti, one in an attitude of mourning. Highland and Roman arms and trophies decorate the shaft which is finished with a sacred heart. The monument resembles an obelisk which formed the centrepiece of the fireworks display held in Paris in 1688 to celebrate the birth of the Prince of Wales (James VIII). The sacred heart, in the description of this event, represented the ardour and devotion of the Prince's followers. Similar obelisks were featured in the contemporaneous event held in London; the London obelisks were supported, as is Mar's monument, on lions couchants at each corner.⁸⁶ In the context of Alloa Church the monument is a symbol of the loyalty of the families of Erskine and Mar to the Stuart cause, as it stands over their burial vault the suggestion is that their loyalty endures even beyond the grave.

e) Garden buildings for the new garden plan

Mar perhaps later reconsidered the siting of the "Banqueting House" at the bend of the serpentine water because in 1730 he made a very fine design for a banqueting house which, although it does not appear on any of the garden plans, was intended to stand at the rear of the "Bowling Green" (Figure 41). It is decorated with a colourful *kermesse* painted in the pediment and wallhead statues playing a lute, cello, bagpipes and a fiddle, all of which suggests that musical parties of a traditional kind were to be held in it. Other features, such as, the gilded weathervane and finials and bell-cast dormers, ally it with out-buildings in the Policy. However, the rustic simplicity of these decorations takes on a more sophisticated aspect when we notice that *berceaux* stand on either side of the banqueting house; a borrowing from French classical gardens such as those at Marly where they formed green corridors between the pavilions of the nobility.⁸⁷

Whereas the style of the banqueting house may, judging by its decoration, have blended with Alloa House as it stood, Figure 43 show a proposal for another delightful building which has a continuous giant order on each façade and an entrance, curved in plan, like those on "House J" and its variants; features that link it stylistically with Alloa A or Alloa B. Its plan is shown in the middle of the lower terrace at the foot of two new bowling-greens (Figure 39). The ground floor is a "sall for orange trees in winter," and there are tiny bedrooms off the gallery on the first floor. Three flights of five steps lead down from the first floor to the terrace and the "Stirling Castle Walk" and

on the opposite side an elegant oval staircase with iron *grilles* in place of windows leads up to the bowling-greens.

Figure 39 shows that the original site for the Banqueting House, at the bend of the serpentine ponds, is now occupied by a circular gazebo. To the south of the house is a menagerie and nearby at the head of the water is the plan of a circular ice-house. A drawing for this, which has a rotating seat fixed to the top, was made by Mar in 1727 (Figure 48). The seat rotates on two sets of castors which run around a metal groove cut at the top and the base of the central post. The ice-house is circular in plan and its podium has three simple arched masonry *adickules*. The walls are roughened and painted leaf green to blend with the dense trees and shrubbery which reach right up to its walls. It is high enough to give a clear view over the treetops and the coloured wash suggests it was to be of wood stained a deep gray-green colour.

The later alterations which Mar envisaged for the gardens at Alloa, when compared to the 1710 plans, show a considerable development in his attitude to garden design. In the earlier scheme we are presented with a garden which bears little relationship to the strictly delimited plans of the sort recommended by Switzer.⁸⁸ Mar's garden, like the great classical gardens of late 17th-century France, extended by means of radiating vistas far beyond the precincts of the house to encompass the wider landscape of woods, mountains and the sea. We have seen that elements of the design were borrowed directly from French gardens, particularly those of Le Nôtre, which were transmitted to Mar by means of Edward's plans and descriptions. The 1710 scheme was devised without the assistance of A. J. Dézallier d'Argenville's *La Théorie et la pratique du jardinage...* which was not published until 1709, long after the gardens were begun. If Mar knew Sir William Temple's *Gardens of Epicurus* (1692), he paid little heed to Temple's recommendation that there should be, apart from the parterres and walled-in compartments, "other forms wholly irregular." There are irregular elements in the gardens at Alloa, in particular the serpentine water which separates the formal private area from the larger natural landscape, but this is a natural feature, visible in Adair's map of c.1703, to which the formal design was accommodated. Vanbrugh and Bridgeman tackled a similar natural feature with equal success in the park at Blenheim c.1709; in neither instance is there any evidence of a deliberate choice in favour of irregularity. Rather the water features suggest moats, a conceit appropriate to the fortified elements at Alloa and Blenheim.⁸⁹ Indeed the 1710 scheme represents a uniquely Scottish type of garden; one in which the historical and natural elements of the landscape are united with the more intimate parts of the designed garden. At Alloa the smaller elements are designed according to the French taste. These, and the Scottish historical content are developed to a level of complexity and internal consistency which had no rivals in Scotland in the early years of the 18th century.

The later unexecuted designs for the gardens show a development according to the ideas of Dézallier (1709 and several later editions). With the separation of the fruit and vegetable gardens, and their banishment to the rear of the house (Figures 80 and 40), *utile* has given way to *agréable*. Mar's original plan incorporated the productive parts of the gardens into the overall scheme, just as Cardinal Richelieu's gardens at Rueil contained "vineyards, cornfields, meadows... and walks of great length."⁹⁰ However, the schemes, and buildings -which became something of a speciality in his *oeuvre* during his exile in France from 1719 until 1731- may owe their inspiration to a personal knowledge of the latest ideas in French gardens. This occurred at the moment when the *Régence* period, which neglected Louis XIV's great royal gardens, was becoming the Rococo, which revelled in the luscious disarray which the encroachments of nature brought upon the architectural elements in these gardens. One such scheme (Figure 75) was for a small belvedere to the stand at the top of the hill to the rear of the house which Mar leased from Monsieur Vialis at Chatou. It is hexagonal in plan and either stands on a triangular base, or had a triangular roof; perhaps a Chinese kiosk of the sort which came into vogue in France following Le Vau's example, the 'Chinese' Trianon de Porcelain (1668), and the two little kiosks that stood in the gardens of Versailles. The belvedere at Chatou was designed for a hilltop overlooking the Seine and at the apex of a series of radiating vistas, which like those at Alloa would have terminated on some great monument, in this case, Maisons and Les Invalides. However, like the ice-house in the 1728 Alloa scheme, the belvedere is thickly enclosed by rough vegetation without any attempt to surround it by neat flat parterres or clipped yews. The late plan for Alloa has a similar density, or sense of enclosure. In the inner area of the garden this was to be achieved by cutting shaped 'rooms' out of high woodwork; one, a "Sall de Bal," is situated to the left of the great avenue in Figure 39. It has terraced banks of grass and a grove of trees planted around it in imitation of those at Versailles and Marly. Three other 'green rooms,' one gravelled and two with turf lawns, are placed on the opposite side of the gardens.

The vistas and their attendant symbolism remain as before, but the mood has changed. In the later designs Alloa House no longer conducts an open dialogue with the extended landscape, it is now located within a garden in which the ancient monuments form fixed and frozen tableaux at the end of tightly controlled vistas framed by thick high foliage walls. Gone are the flat parterres filled with low box, the embroidery and the flower borders of the 1710 scheme. The flat areas are now vast sheets of water with huge *jets d'eau*, or turf parterres with statues. In the later scheme the visitor is entertained by the exoticism, rusticity or mechanical novelty of the garden buildings. These developments follow the changes taking place in gardens in France. Huet advocated *gazons rustiques* and *pelouses champêtres* for surprise and variety to relieve the *ennui* produced by formality.⁹¹ In the 1710 plan history, economic improvement and horticulture are united with the civic

tradition; themes which engaged the intellectual curiosity of the visitor. The later scheme does not abandon these principles but it does introduce the playful elements of *Régence* gardens. So that although the original concept remained, the new designs -charming though they are -to some extent, would have detracted from the altruism and high seriousness of the 1710 plan.

72 An unfinished drawing for a pavilion with a belvedere and bowling-green at the Château de Migneaux at Poissy outside Paris (Figure 74) is an important clue to Mar's late designs for Alloa. This garden may assist our understanding of the alteration in his attitude, as it brought him into contact with the work of Charles de La Rivière Dufresny (1648-1724). The curious rusticity of the pavilion with its miniature parapet, towers and imitation foliage may have reflected other buildings in Dufresny's garden at Migneaux. The designs for Migneaux have not survived, but characteristic of Dufresny's gardens were tiny hillocks and exotic little buildings that probably had more in common with the theatre sets he produced in his capacity as stage set designer at Versailles for Louis XIV than with any influence from the English Picturesque garden.⁹² There is more than a tinge of melancholy in Mar's late designs; a retreat from light and open form to heavy dark enclosure, the cultural sentiments of the age -a taste for things exotic and the regression of architecture to ruin and the studied neglect of nature, are typified by the *The Travels of Cyrus* written by Mar's friend the Chevalier Ramsay.⁹³ This book more than any other of the period summed up the cultural sensibilities of the *Régence*.

One final point should be made at the close of this chapter. The garden buildings at Alloa fall within two main groups: the brightly painted decorations and gilded ornaments used on the Banqueting House, the wings of offices and the pigeon house were intended to blend with the features described in relation to the embellishment of old Alloa House, whereas, the more classically ornamented buildings, the pavilion for the bowling-green, the turning seat and some other plans for garden buildings (not illustrated here), were intended for the gardens of Alloa A or Alloa B. Designing suites of garden pavilions and offices to correspond to a pre-existing style of building is good architectural practice, but Mar's response to medieval and 17th-century Scottish buildings denotes a unique sensitivity. The way in which he used colour to embellish traditional rural buildings, as a means of unifying them on his estate, suggests that this may have been a good deal more common in Scotland than has been thought. The Scottish climate and changing fashions have meant that no examples of this type of decoration have survived.

CONCLUSION

The last time Lord Mar came to his beloved Alloa the church, the walls of the Policy and the house were painted and draped in black for the great and solemn occasion of his funeral. He died at Aix-la-Chapelle with only his daughter Frances and his old friend Charles Forbes of Brux by his side. Lady Mar suffered recurrent attacks of severe melancholia which had necessitated her return to England several years previously. She was unable to attend his funeral and never visited Alloa.

The only projects by Lord Mar which were achieved are the House of Dun, the circus and terraces at Cliveden, his renovations to the house and gardens at Copt Hall and, most importantly, the house and gardens at Alloa. We should not succumb to any feeling of sadness about this limited achievement; it is a small but significant *oeuvre* for an amateur architect and the greatest achievement of all, his plans, have survived. We should remember also that the schemes for a new town for Edinburgh and the Forth-Clyde Canal, which he left to us as his "Legacy," were eventually executed. His name can never be definitely linked with these, but the executors must have known of his ideas because they are so very like his recommendations.

Lord Mar has been accused of political deceit, inconstancy, treason and malicious personal conduct. I for one have found no evidence for these qualities. Extensive reading of his letters reveals a highly intelligent and cultured man of great benevolence, courage and optimism, a person with the unique ability to perceive causes and effects, to be deeply involved in the world around him and yet be able to stand apart from it and to imagine what, for most of us, is unimaginable. His architectural and gardening plans are an aesthetic manifestation of these qualities; moreover any architect who designs rooms where "couples of young folks may dance," or writes "ICI FAY QUE VOULDRAS" over a doorway cannot be condemned for mean spiritedness, or for the excesses of *gravitas*.

These opinions are quite at variance to the scorn which the mention of his name elicits; this is less often the case with those who know his drawings than with historians. The reader will inevitably form his own conclusions, but I hope that this study will be one of many which will, in exercising objectivity, restore not only Lord Mar's reputation but that of his Jacobite friends to their true worth.

1. For the history of the Erskine family see Simpson, W. Douglas, *The Earldom of Mar*, Vols. I and II, Aberdeen, 1952.
2. Scottish Record Office (hereafter SRO), letters from Mar to Lady Mar, GD124/15/231 and September 12, 1705, SRO GD 124/10/441.
3. When Mar wrote in 1708, regarding the imminent French landings near Alloa, that he hoped "nather friends nor enemies would be so barborous to spoil my gardens," it is uncertain, given his Jacobite sympathies, whom he regards as friends and whom as enemies, HMC *Mar and Kellie II*, p.431, Mar to George Erskine, factor at Alloa, March 12, 1707/8.
4. Defoe writing to Harley under the cant name 'Guilot' in 1710, Sichel, Walter, *Bolingbroke and His Times*, Vol. I, London, 1901 and 1902, p.301. There were certainly English Jacobites who voted with the Tories in Parliament; the Bishop of Rochester was blatantly Jacobite, but then so were some Whigs, such as the Earls of Monmouth and Montgomery who invited James II to return in 1688, *ibid.*, p.221.
5. SRO GD 124/397/11, Mar to his brother James, Lord Grange, August 18, 1706.
6. See Smout, T. Christopher, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830*, 2nd edition, London and Glasgow, 1970, p.215-9. The Unionists were opposed by patriots such as the Jacobite George Lockhart of Carnwath.
7. Erskine, John, 6th Earl of Mar, "The Earl of Mar's Legacies to Scotland and to his Son, Lord Erskine 1722-27," with an introduction and notes by Hon. Stuart Erskine, *Scottish History Society*, Vol. XXVI, December, 1896, pp.138-247.
8. Saltoun's assessment of the political factions was that "The Tories and Jacobites are idiots and mad-men. And the Whig party are some of them traitors to their country and others half-witted." 'Letters of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun and his Family, 1715-16,' edited by Murray, Isobel, *Scottish History Society*, 4th series, Vol. II, Misc. 10. *L*
9. Saltoun's argument hinged upon the issue of armed citizenship; the militia. In bearing arms each citizens fulfilled his ancient liberty while exercising his civic duty. Explained fully by Robertson, John, C., *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Militia Issue*, Edinburgh, 1985.
10. Printed in Erskine, *Scottish History Society*, 1896, The Lord Chancellor of Scotland was to have his residence at Royston or Dalkeith. Royston (Caroline Park) was offered for sale to Mar for this purpose by the Earl of Cromarty in 1706. For Caroline Park see Harris, Fraser D., *Caroline Park House and Roystoun Castle: a descriptive and historical account*, Edinburgh, 1896. For features in common with Caroline Park in Mar's drawings see Chapter 4, note 26. The Cromarty/Mar correspondence on this and political concerns is SRO GD 125/15/249/4, 9-12,14. Cromarty is one of the interlocutors in Saltoun's "Account concerning the Right Regulation of Government...." see *Selected Political Writings and Speeches of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun*, edited by David Daiches, Edinburgh, 1979.
11. Mar's Jacobitism is traceable to shortly after taking his seat in the Scottish Parliament.

Despite his support of the Union there is no evidence to suggest that he ever forsook the Stuart cause; after all the Union was effected under a Stuart monarch and approved by James VII in exile. Edward's Continental tour included the delivery of cypher letters to St Germain. By 1710, in disillusionment, Mar resumed contact with the Stuarts by means of Islay's cypher (SRO GD 124/15/969, Lord Grange, July 1710). As early as 1708, as a result of his opposing certain measures passed through Parliament, Mar's keepership of Stirling Castle was questioned; Historical Manuscripts Commission, hereafter HMC, *Laing MSS II*, p.92, General George Ramsay's report HM Forces in Scotland, c.1704. Mar's discontent was not covert; in 1712 he was co-signatory to a submission to the Queen appealing for equity of rights for the Scots peers with those of the English, HMC *Laing II*, p.167. Later that year he wrote to Oxford complaining that promises given in 1710 were ignored and that there was: "Hardly a face of a government here, scarce so much of a Scots man about the Queen's person, none in the Cabinet or in any business....," HMC *Portland X*, p.284. December 15, 1712. In 1713 Mar, Argyll, Islay, and others met Carnwath, consequently they informed Queen Anne of their intention to free Scotland from the Union, but in so doing to remain loyal to Her Majesty whether "United or separated."

12. The quarrel with James has been blamed on Mar's submission of this document to the Regent of France for his opinion on it without the consent of James. This seems unfair given that Mar discussed the plan with James, and received his approval of it, as early as 1717 or 1718. A more likely cause of their breach is Mar's continual harassment of James over his neglect to give financial relief to the starving families of the Highlanders left in Scotland -the money went to convents in Italy, and Mar's protest at James' conversion to Roman Catholicism on the grounds that it would result in the demise of all hopes for his restoration (Clement XI also attempted to dissuade him). James, undoubtedly, regarded Divine Right as an aspect of his Catholicism; following his conversion Mar's constitutional plan would have been untenable, as it required James' acceptance of a limited monarchy.

13. Erskine, *Scottish History Society*, 1896.

14. Mar, in Paris to Lord Grange, in Edinburgh, SRO GD 124/15/1261.1, 10 December, 1724.

15. Their foreign tours, which consisted of a series of temporary studentships at one or two universities, can be taken as models of the type of tour which Mar himself made sometime between 1689 and 1690.

16. See Maule of Kelly, Hon. Harry, *Registrum de Panmure* [1733], edited by John Stuart, 4th edition, Edinburgh, 1874. The Maule's were ardent Jacobites and their deeds of the '15 are celebrated in a number of ballads.

17. For Colonel John Stewart of Innernytie, who brought the Grantully clan 'out' in the '15 see Fraser, Sir William, *The Red Book of Grantully*, Edinburgh, 1868. Innernytie was a grandson of the third Laird of Innernytie; his only daughter married David, Viscount Stormont from whom the Earl of Mansfield was descended. Mansfield later purchased the estate of Innernytie. See note

20 below.

18. Stair's parents, being unable to bear the sight of him after he accidentally shot his brother dead at the age of eight, sent him away to Kirkwood's school to be educated. When he was about twelve he went to live with his grandfather, then an exile in Leyden. He attended the University there and before 1688 returned to Scotland to study at Edinburgh University, Graham, J. Murray, *Annals and Correspondence of the Viscount and the first and second Earls of Stair*, Vol. I, Edinburgh and London, 1875. The "schooldays" referred to by Mar could apply to the period Stair spent at Leyden. However, the dates of Mar's attendance at the University of Leyden, if indeed he attended there at all, are difficult to ascertain. Mar was two years younger than Stair and if they had been at Leyden together then Mar would have been only ten years old; too young even by 17th-century Scottish standards to be sent so far away from home. Howard Colvin claims Mar attended University of Leyden (entry under John Erskine in Colvin, Howard M., *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, London, 1978). I have been unable to find any evidence for this: a "Johannes Erskine" did graduate from Leyden in March 1685 (Peacock, Edward, *Index to English Speaking Students who have graduated at Leyden University*, London, 1833); according to the *Catalogue of Edinburgh University Graduates, Lists of Laureations*, 1858, a John Erskine graduated from Edinburgh. Mar would have been too young at these dates to be the person concerned.

19. National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), Adv MS 22-7-2 and 3.

20. James Kirkwood was a distinguished Latinist and author of a standard school grammar which was not superseded until Ruddiman's book appeared later in the 18th century. His residential school provided a basic humanist education in preparation for his pupils' attendance at universities in Scotland and on the Continent. The only reference to Innernytie's schooling mentions that his tutor was William Stewart of Baleid: Fraser, *Red Book of Grandtully*.

21. Item cited note 19.

22. Smout, T. Christopher, "The Erskines of Mar and the Development of Alloa, 1689-1825," *Scottish Studies*, Vol. VII, 1963, p.57.

23. Lavedan, Pierre, *Histoire de L'Urbanisme Renaissance et Temps moderne*, Paris, 1941. For the plans of London and Paris see Friedman, Terry, "A 'Palace worthy of the Grandeur of the King' Lord Mar's designs for the Old Pretender, 1718-30," *Architectural History*, Vol. XXIX, 1986, pp.102-133; for Edinburgh see Erskine, *Scottish History Society*, and Youngson, Alexander J., *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1975, Chapter 1.

24. From "Second Discourse", Daiches, *Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun*.

25. In 1704 Mar sent his wife a copy of Saltoun's "new book" and with it Saltoun's good wishes, SRO GD 24/15/195, 30 August, 1704; this would be *An Account of a Conversation concerning the Right Regulation of Government...*, London 1703, Edinburgh, 1704, printed in *op cit* note 24.

26. Robertson, John C., "The Scottish Enlightenment at the limits of the civic tradition," *Wealth and Virtue: the Shaping of the Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment*, editors, Hont, Istvan and Ignatieff, Michael, Cambridge, 1983, p.146.
27. For Saltoun's books, see Catalogue of Books Holograph of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun [before 1716], NLS 17683. Includes: Evelyn's translation of Fréart's *Parallel of Architecture* (1664); Perrault's *Ordonnance de 5 Éspece de Colonnes* (1683); works on ancient and modern painting and sculpture -Rossi, Alberti and Vasari; modern architecture -Palladio(1570), Falda, Vignola(1642), Serlio(1619 ed.), Blondel; illustrated volumes -Villa Borghese, Stadt Huys in Amsterdam, palace of Versailles(1674); ancient architecture -several editions of Vitruvius, Wheler's tour in Greece (1682), Degodetz, *Les Édifices Antiques de Rome* (1682). Several on the Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns in Paris indicate his awareness of the issues involved in the beginnings of French academic theory.
28. One set of five drawings by Saltoun, early 18th century, illustrate a comparison between two types of fenestration in a small villa (NLS Saltoun Plans 102-105). See Brown, Ian and Cherry, Alastair, *Scottish Architects at Home and Abroad*, an exhibition [held] 15 May to 30 September 1978, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1978. Mar purchased a set of instruments for Saltoun in London in 1706, SRO GD 124/397/11, Mar to Grange, 18 August, 1706.
29. This document also states: "Mr Fletcher said that no house of less than four storeys is worthy of a roof." Tip-in to endpaper of SRO RHP 13257.
30. Quotation from Brown and Cherry, *Scottish Architects*.
31. *ibid.*
32. See entry under James Smith in Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*.
33. Possibly Saltoun had read J. La Bruyère's, *The Characters of the Mannners of the Age*, published in London in the same year as his letter; the first writer to attribute simplicity in architecture to the Greeks. See Brown, and Cherry, *Scottish Architects*.
34. For Oxford's architectural and cultural activities see James Lees-Milne, *Earls of Creation. Five great patrons of eighteenth-century art, etc.*, London, 1962.
35. HMC *Portland X*, p.269, May 28, 1712.
36. Mar's earliest surviving drawing, the "Pidging House (Figure 46)," dates from the previous year (1704). See Appendix B, and Chapter 4, Part III.
37. SRO GD 124/15/231, Mar to Countess of Mar, 30 August, 1705.
38. For Edward's career see John Lowrey, *Alexander Edward. 'A Man of Excellent Parts' (1651-1708)*, exhib. cat., Crawford Centre for the Arts, University of St. Andrews, 1987. Edward was mourned by all who knew him, SRO GD 125/15/904, Panmure at Brechin, to Mar, 17 December, 1708.
39. SRO GD 45/26/140, Edward's Journal of his trip to France 1701-2 etc., includes a list of architectural and gardening treatises.

40. Mar's subscription, SRO GD 124/16/24, May 15, 1701.
41. SRO GD 124/10/441, September 5, 1705, and GD 124/15/231, 12 September, 1705, Grant to Mar as Joint Secretary with Annandale. Hopetoun received £9 2/4d worth of garden stock in return for his subscription to Edward's tour.
42. For Bruce, Edward and Bachop's activities at Hopetoun see Dunbar, John, *Sir William Bruce 1630-1710*, Scottish Arts Council exhib. cat., 1970; for William Adam's see Fleming, John, *Robert Adam and His Circle in Edinburgh and Rome*, London, 1978.
43. SRO GD 124/10/441, and SRO GD 124/15/266.2, January 3, 1706.
44. Annandale and Johnstone attended the University of Utrecht together, later they travelled to Italy. In 1712 Annandale travelled again to Italy for two years, returning by way of Paris. On this occasion he travelled with Lord Hopetoun (Fraser, Sir William, *Family Book of the Johnstones, Earls and Marquises of Annandale*, Edinburgh, 1894) who obtained a passport through Mar's office in London in the same year (Strafford MSS BL. 22,220 f.66, 27 July 1712, Mar to Strafford). Annandale's taste for things Italian no doubt found sympathetic echoes in the work of Gibbs, see Friedman, Terry, *James Gibbs*, London and New Haven, 1984, p.313. Annandale's library resembled Saltoun's in containing works on architecture and art, descriptions of foreign tours, and archaeological works ('Biblioteca..D. Jacobi Marchionis Annandia Etc. Catalogi Index 1722-23' (Craigiehall), NLS MS.3075); Lord Hopetoun purchased vast numbers of books on his Continental tour, particularly medieval texts (Hopetoun MSS Bundle 382).

For the Annandales' gardening activities see Fraser, *Family Book of the Johnstones*, For Johnstone's house, built by John James 1710, and his gardens see Hussey, Christopher, "Twickenham, I," *Country Life*, Vol. CXVI; Mar's designs for Johnstone's house are discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis, also Cobbett, Richard S., *Memorials of Twickenham...*, London, 1872. In 1712 John James dedicated his translation of D'Argenville, A. J. Dézallier, *La Théorie et la pratique du jardinage...* to Johnstone. Johnstone was described as "among the first gardeners of the Kingdom" by Dr Bradley, author of *Treatise on Gardening*. The celebrity of his gardens is described by his neighbour Lady Wentworth (Wentworth, Thomas, *Correspondence of Lord Raby created 1711 Earl of Strafford*, edited by J. J. Cartwright, London, 1883, p. 42, 61, 129, etc). Johnstone had at one time shared the Secretaryship with Mar's old schoolfriend John Dalrymple, the Master of Stair (later the 2nd Earl of Stair, British envoy to France), see Fraser, *Annandale Family*.
45. Gifford, John; McWilliam, Colin; Walker, David; Wilson, Christopher, *Edinburgh, The Buildings of Scotland*, edited by Colin McWilliam, Harmondsworth, 1984, pp. 591-2.
46. *ibid.*
47. SRO GD 124/15/752,1, 6 January, 1707/8. These may be the gate piers, the measurements are almost identical to those given by McGill.
48. SRO GD 124/15/752, 2, 14 February, 1708/9. The gates were made for Mar in London by

- Thomas Robinson, SRO GD 124/15/675, Thomas Robinson, Smith, London to Mar, 11 September [1707]; for Robinson see, Lister T., *Decorative Wrought Iron-work in Great Britain*, London, 1957.
49. For family connection with Saltoun see Fraser, Sir William, *History of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk and their kindred*, Vol. II, Edinburgh, 1867. For Southesk's (cousin to Northesk) improvements at Kinnaird see Lowrey, *Alexander Edward*. The fifth Earl of Southesk (1692-1730) was in Rome with Mar, see Chapter 3, and note 5.
50. Sinclair, Sir John, *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-99*, reprint edited by Donald Withrington, Wakefield, 1978, Vol. XIII, p.301. Ethie, which was built by Cardinal Beaton as his country house, is described by Macfarlane, in his Geographical Collections, *Scottish History Society*, Vols. LI - LIII, March 1908, ii, p.44. Two other neighbours of the Carnegies in Forfarshire, the lairds of Balnamoon and Powrie, are listed as Edward's subscribers. Colonel Fotheringham's "elegant scat" at Wester Powrie (parish of Powrie) and Balnamoon's house, Carraldstone are described in the *Statistical Account* (1792).
51. Letter to Mar in London, SRO GD 124/15/429, 9 July, 1706.
- Edward noted in his journal in 1701 that "E Northesk informs me that at Roiston [Caroline Park](trees gt variety)."
52. Mar was the largest contributor to Edward's tour and obtained garden stock to the value of £20 5/6d; Alva appears on Edward's list of subscribers. Alva constructed a model village of workers' cottages, each with their own enclosed gardens set around a square. Two sides of the square were actually built. Beyond the village the arable land was enclosed by hedging and ditching and non-arable planted with deciduous trees. Alva's scheme preceded John Cockburn of Ormiston's more famous enclosures of his estate in Midlothian from 1714 onwards. Improvements at Alva (coal and silver) continued until the 1720s. See Sinclair, *Statistical Account*, Vol. IX, p.141-164.
53. A hillside, with a canal at its foot, and a two-storey double-pile house corresponds to the topographical description of Alva. The hillside is SRO RHP 13258/52.
54. NLS 5156 Paul 130, Mar to Alva, undated [1730s].
55. The letters are in the Erskine Murray Papers (NLS 5072.18, June 20, 1711). The writer's signature is unclear; the letters are addressed from Witham: Witham Park, home of Sir William Wyndham, or Witham Abbey, home of the Earl of Abingdon.
56. Ramsay, John of Ochertyre, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Alexander Allardyce, Vol. II, 1888.
57. Tillycoultry was Senator of the College of Justice; he purchased Tillycoultry House in 1701, Sinclair, *Statistical Account*, Vol. IX, p.788. For Quarrel see *idem*, p.663; Quarrel was built to Gibbs' plans, 1734-5, see Friedman, *James Gibbs*. p.322.
58. Murray, *Earls of Stair*.
59. Sinclair, *Statistical Account*, Vol. IX, p.719, described Sauchie: "pleasure grounds are laid out

and beautified with much taste and judgement....a deer park of 100 acres, and surrounded by a high wall..." Sir Hew and Sir John Shaw gave orders to Edward for garden stock, the former to the value of £4 10/4d and the latter for £4 13/9d. See note 39 above.

60. SRO GD 124/15/661, August 5, 1707. Saltoun may also have been a formative influence on Sir David's nephew, the Master of Stair; although Stair's friendship with the Prince of Orange was probably also an important factor in his later building and planting activities. In October 1708 Stair wrote to Mar from his military camp in Flanders: "I do hope Sir D[avid Dalrymple] is with you...Saltoun swears he will burn the letter if I dont give you his most humble service." Graham, Murray, J., *Earls of Stair*. For Stair's gardens at Castle Kennedy, Wigtownshire, and Newliston, see Tait, Alan A., *The Landscape Garden in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1980.
61. Grey, Graham H., *Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1901, p.3.
62. Wemyss married the daughter of Mar's political patron, Queensberry, SRO GD 124/15/781 [January], 1708. Wemyss could easily have met Johnstone at Twickenham, either through his father-in-law Queensberry, who had a house at Whitton, or through his sister the Countess of Leven. The Levens leased a house at Isleworth. They were ardent Jacobites- their two sons had Andrew Ramsay, later Chevalier Ramsay, tutor to Charles Edward Stuart in Rome, as their governor. See Chapter 4, Part III and note 93. Wemyss' industrial improvements included glass and coal works. In 1705 he was made High Admiral of Scotland. The Castle was very ancient: "Large and magnificent," *Statistical Account*, Vol. X, p.203. Wemyss added "a good wall, in form of a fort, upon a beautiful bowling-green, on which he placed a few cannon to answer salutes from ships as they passed," Fraser, Sir William, *Memorials of the Family of Wemyss of Wemyss*, Edinburgh, 1888.
63. In 1708 Wemyss obtained a shipment of trees from Johnstone's nursery in Arlington Street, London, Johnstone to Wemyss [January 1708], SRO GD 124/15/781.
64. Lord Mar, Edinburgh, to Lady Mar at Alloa, September 1705, SRO GD 124/15/231.
65. SRO GD 124/15/519, 5, October 28, 1707.
66. Friedman, James Gibbs, p.321, Pl.97.
67. SRO GD 124/15/788 [1708], Lord Nairne to Mar.
68. House built by John Fair and Alexander McGill to Sir William Bruce's design, Dunbar, *Sir William Bruce*. Progress in the building is described in SRO GD 45/14/245, Dalhousie Papers, Lady Nairne to the Duke of Atholl, July 25, 1709. The author of this design may have been Lady Nairne; for her drawings and those of Lady Panmure, see Fraser, Sir William, *Chronicles of the Family of Atholl and Tullibardine*, Vol. II, Edinburgh, no date.
69. Grey, Graham H., *Scottish Men of Letters*, 1901.
70. Illustrated in Jackson-Stops, Gervase, "Cliveden, Bucks.", *Country Life*, March 3, 1977.
71. *ibid.*
72. SRO GD 124/15/780, January 1708, Lord Orkney to Mar. The attribution to Mar is made

tentatively from this photograph as I have not yet seen the original. The drawing bears no inscription, but the numbers are very like Mar's -bearing in mind the difficulty of distinguishing one person's numerals from those of another.

73. For the descriptive catalogue of the Cliveden Album and the buildings at Cliveden see *The National Trust Year Book*, "The Cliveden Album" and *Architectural History*, Vol. XIX, 1976. There are other undated drawings in the Cliveden Album by Henry Wise. The album is the property of Lord Astor, on loan to The National Trust, normally deposited at the Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection, but presently being repaired.

74. For Ranelagh's architectural activities see entry under Richard Jones in Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*.

75. See Colvin, Howard M., *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. V, 1660-1782, London, 1976, p.23.

76. HMC *Mar and Kellie* II, p.92, April 16, 1716. Many plans for the royal palaces were circulating at the time. One, attributed to Archer, is in the Soane Museum. Archer's plan could be the one Ranelagh sent to Wren.

77. For Ranelagh's house in Chelsea, and an illustration of it, see Dean, C. E. T., 'Lord Ranelagh's House in Chelsea: An unrecorded work by Sir Christopher Wren,' *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, New Series, Vol. VII, ii, 1935. Dean attributes the house to Wren on the grounds that he signed the building accounts.

78. For Shawfield Mansion, see *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Vol. II; for Sudbrook, see Friedman, *James Gibbs*; for Petersham Lodge, see Sambrook, A. J., "Pope's Neighbours: An Early Landscape Garden at Richmond," *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes*, Vol. XXX, 1959, pp. 444-6.

79. *Op cit.* note 77 above.

80. See note 48 above.

81. HMC ^{Portland X} ~~Polwarth~~ II, p.332, Mar to Robert Harley (Lord Oxford), [1710].

82. See entry under John Erskine in Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*.

83. HMC *Portland X*, Mar to Loudon, August 4, 1711. The house was built by Wren in 1693, Survey of London, Vol. XXIX, *St. James' Westminster*; the renovation cost Mar and Loudon £3,000 each, see Friedman, *James Gibbs*, p.307.

84. SRO GD 124/16/47.2, Copy of Mr Driscoll's bills for painters work done at the late Lady Marr's house in the Privy Garden Whitehall, June 24, 1728, signed Thomas Chadborne and James Herne.

85. Macky, John, *A Journey through England*, 1732; Copt Hall is now demolished and the gardens were built over in the 19th century; it stood beyond Heath Lane Lodge on the north side of the Richmond Road. In 1872 the ruined gate piers and out buildings were still standing: Cobbett, Richard S., *Memorials of Twickenham...*, London, 1872.

86. Extract of Register of Marriages, printed by Cobbett, *Twickenham*. Lady Mar died in 1705. Mar remarried in 1714 to Lady Frances Pierrepont, the daughter of the Duke of Kingston. Her sister Lady Mary (later Wortley Montagu), before her marriage, and about the time that Mar was courting her sister, was a lover of the Earl of Stair, who lived next door to her mother in St. James' Square.
87. Compare this with Ranelagh's house at Chelsea. See Sambrook, *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes*, Vol. XXX.
88. Their friendship mentioned by Mar to Oxford in letter in HMC *Portland X*, p.320.
89. Cosh, Mary, "Two Dukes and their Houses," *Country Life*, July 13, 1972, pp.78-81.
90. See entry under Robert Benson, in Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*.
91. HMC *Portland X*, p. 301, 3 August, [1713].
92. HMC *Stuart Papers II*, p.92; Mar's remarks about architecture and travelling to improve one's knowledge are euphemisms for joining the Jacobite cause in exile. Bingley had already made a tour of Italy in 1707, where he had met and befriended Lord Raby (later Strafford). The improvement referred to would, therefore, be to his political rather than his architectural taste.
- ~~93. Strafford described Bingley in 1710 as "very gallant among the ladies," Wentworth, *Correspondence of Lord Raby*, p.131.~~
94. HMC *Stuart Papers V*, p.378-9, Gibbs to Mar, received January 9, 1718.
95. HMC *Bath*, III, p.483, 485, 487, 490, 498.
96. Bramham was described by Knatchbull, see Friedman and Linstrum, "A Tour of Architectural Splendour," *Country Life*, February 8, 1973.
97. Sichel, *Bolingbroke*, Vol. I, p.89; Bingley must have had other endearing qualities as he shared Bolingbroke's new mansion in Golden Square with him, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p.101.
98. Illustrated *Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, 1717, Pls.81-82.
99. Bingley's involvement is mentioned in a letter dated 1715, Earl of Bute to Strafford; Wentworth, *Correspondence of Lord Raby*, p.442.
100. See Friedman, *James Gibbs*.
101. HMC *Stuart Papers II*, p.92. Presumably this plate was the 1710 survey of Alloa (Figures 38 and 80).
102. HMC *Stuart Papers II*, p.404, Gibbs to Mar, August 22 to September 2, 1716.
103. HMC *Stuart Papers III*, p.243, Mar to Lewis Inese, Paris, November 22, 1716.
104. HMC *Stuart Papers IV*, p.123, Mar in Paris to James, March 15, 1717.
105. HMC *Stuart Papers IV*, p.372, June 21, 1717.
106. HMC *Stuart Papers IV*, p.455, July 16, 1717. In letters of this period, Mar, in conjunction with the use of a cant name, often spoke of himself in the third person -a precaution against identification should his letters be intercepted by the British secret service.
107. HMC *Stuart Papers IV*, p.568, Gibbs in London, to Mar at Avignon, August 11 [1717].

108. HMC *Stuart Papers* V, p.48, Mar at Urbino to J. Menzies, 17 September, 1717.
109. Stuart Papers(Microfilm), hereafter Stuart Papers(M) 24/25, Mar in Venice to Mr Cunninghame, 7 November, 1717. Mar defaulted on this by writing to the Duke of Queensberry, son of his old political patron, then at Padua. He hoped for a meeting and wrote in his letter of the need for Queensberry to join with the Cause in order to rescue Scotland from "Thralldome," Stuart Papers(M) 24/27, November 7, 1717.
110. HMC *Stuart Papers* V, p.367, January 4, 1718, Mar to Sir John Erskine.
111. HMC *Stuart Papers* V, p.378, January 9, 1718, Gibbs to Mar.
112. The plans and instructions were delivered to Innernytie by Sir Peter Redmond, January 26, 1718, HMC *Stuart Papers* V, p.405. Mar's letter to Innernytie describing the various projects is Stuart Papers(M), 26/35, January 11, 1718 [copy].
113. HMC *Stuart Papers* V, p.459, February 12, 1718, Innernytie to Mar.
114. HMC *Stuart Papers* VI, p.162, March 17, 1718, Mar to Innernytie.
115. Stuart Papers(M) 29/115, April 8, 1718, Mar to James.
116. HMC *Stuart Papers* VI, p.306; Bianchini was Chamberlain to Clement XI Albani. For Bianchini's friendship with Annandale's nephew, Lord Hope whilst in Italy in 1726, see Fleming, *Robert Adam*, p.11; he was also a friend of the 2nd Duke of Queensberry, HMC *Stuart Papers* VI, p.264, Mar to James April 6, 1718; Bianchini was a member of the Royal Society and the *Académie des Sciences*. Whilst in England he met Swift, Dr Arbuthnot, Addison *et al.* He and Don Carlo Albani were entrusted with the care of the Stuart court during its stay in Italy. He was a close friend of James and Queen Clementina Sobieska. It was Bianchini who inspired the young Alessandro Albani with his love of antiquities. See entry under Francesco Bianchini in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, 1968-.
117. Impressions of Frascati and Tivoli, HMC *Stuart Papers* VI, p.357, Mar to James, 27 April, 1718.
118. Places in Rome are described in Mar's letters to James: HMC *Stuart* VI, p.278, April 9, 1718, Mar to King James, HMC *Stuart* VI, p.252, April 16, 1718. For the statues in the Odescalchi collection see the addendum to *Raccolta di Statue Antiche e Moderne della Santità di N.S. papa Clemente XI da Domenico de Rossi, Rome, 1704*; Odescalchi purchased the titles and collection of Paolo Giordano, Duke of Bracciano in 1655, included works by Podestà and Claude, Haskell, Frances, *Patrons and Painters; Art and Society in Baroque Italy*, 2nd ed., New Haven and London, London, 1980, p.80.
119. Mar received the miniature in June 1718, HMC *Stuart* VI, p.517, John Alexander to Mar; Trevisani painted other distinguished members of Court: Colonel Hay, James Murray, the King and Queen. The miniature portrait of Mar is not listed amongst his works by Federico, Frank R., *Trevisani*, New York, 1977. The miniature in the collection of the Earl of Mar and Kellie may be

this commission. Mar presented Antonio David with his appointment as *servitore onorevole* to James, Stuart Papers(M) 29/130, April 9, 1718, Antonio David to James.

120. Irwin, Francina and David, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, London, 1975*, for Alexander's career see pp.44-45 and for his friendship with Annandale see p.99. There is no record of Mar's commissions in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. This correspondence is HMC *Stuart Papers* VI, p.517 and p.561, and Stuart Papers(M) 32/110. For Alexander's *modelli* for Mar see Chapter 4, Part I.

121. HMC *Stuart* VI, p.280, April 9, 1718, Mar to James.

122. "In the forenoon I am to go to hear or rather, I believe, see myself and most of the world excommunicated," HMC *Stuart* VI, p.306, April 13, 1718, Mar to James.

123. HMC *Stuart* VI, p.357, April 27, 1718, Mar to James.

124. HMC *Stuart* VI, p.252, April 16, 1718, Mar to James.

1. "House A," SRO RHP 13256/26-40 and 13257/31.
2. Westminster Public Library, Acc. No. 496/1. Two MSS bound into one volume entitled, "Description of the Designe for a New Royall Palace For the King of Great Britain, 1726," and a "Projet des Palais Royaux pour Les Roys D'Angleterre." The former is printed in Terry Friedman's article, "A 'Palace worthy of the Grandeur of the King': Lord Mar's designs for the Old Pretender, 1718-30," *Architectural History*, Vol. XXIX, 1986, pp.102-133. For a discussion of this article see Chapter 4, Part II. The provenance of the new royal palace MSS is unknown before their transfer from the Bishopsgate Institute in 1972. They may have been purchased from a dealer named Salkeld active in London WW1 until around the end of the 19th century, *Ex inf.* Mr David Webb, Librarian at Bishopsgate. Related to the Paris scheme, is another for a house on the Étoile above Charliot which Mar sent to Cardinal Fleury in the same year, SRO GD 124/15/1381, Antwerp, June 10, 1730, [Copy].
3. *St James' Westminster*, Part 1, Survey of London, Vol. XXIX, 1960.
4. See Summerson, Sir John, *Georgian London*, Penguin ed., Harmondsworth, 1978, Chapter 1.
5. The palace scheme and the other stylistically related projects, and their relationship to Alloa House are described in Chapter 4, Part II.
6. Illustrated in Bourget, P. and Cattani, G., *J. Hardouin-Mansard*, Paris, 1958., Pl. LXXXVI.
7. See Friedman, Terry, *James Gibbs*, New Haven and London, 1984, Figs. 111 and 112.
8. Illustrated in Berger, R. W., *Antoine Le Pautre*, New York, 1969.
9. Mar to Gibbs, HMC *Stuart Papers*, Vol. II, p.92.
10. *ibid*, pp.156-160, note 7. For a description of Mar's plan for the site see Julius Bryant, "Marble Hill. The Design and Use of a Palladian Estate," *Borough of Twickenham Local History Society*, Paper Number 57, February, 1986. The site plan is SRO RHP 13256/67. The façade of Johnstone's house is SRO RHP 13256/84, see Chapter 3 and Figure 51. For Mar's house, Copt Hall, see Chapter 1, Part II.
11. Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection. See Colvin, Howard M., "A Scottish Origin for English Palladianism?" *Architectural History*, Vol. XVII, 1974.
12. Gifford, John; McWilliam, Colin; Walker, David; Wilson, Christopher, *Edinburgh, The Buildings of Scotland*, edited by Colin McWilliam, p.162, Pl. 50.
13. Serlio, Sebastiano, *The First Book of Architecture made by Sebastian Serly*, London, 1611. Translated by Robert Peake, 3rd Book, fols. 18 & 19.
14. Perrault, M.M., *Les dix livre d'architecture de Vitruve, par M.M.Perrault*, Book V, Pl. XXXVI, 2nd edition, Paris, 1684.
15. Friedman, *James Gibbs*, p.104, note 10 and Fig. 97. The drawing is in the George Clarke Collection, Worcester College, Oxford.
16. Millon, Henry A., *Filippo Juvarra: Drawings from the Roman period, 1704-1714*, Part I, Rome, 1984, pp.139-140.

Rome, 1984, pp.139-140.

17. This type of plan become fashionable later in the 18th century in France. See Beauvalot, Yves, 'A propos de documents inédits, la construction du Château de Montmusard à Dijon,' *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1986, pp.119-167.
18. Mar's remarks regarding copying from the antique are in a letter to Innernytie, HMC *Stuart Papers* VI, p.162. Mar compared his proposal for the attic storey with Kent's at Wilton; inscription on the design for "Mr Wentworth's house," SRO RHP 13256/49.
19. Mar's discomfort with Palladianism is exemplified by his awkward elevation for the house of the Marquis de Tessé at Chatou, illustrated in Friedman, *James Gibbs*, Fig. 300.
20. Some of Mar's remarks suggest that he may have been a Freemason, but so far I have been unable to trace any record of his attendance at masonic meetings, see Chapter 4, Part III, note 93.
21. HMC *Stuart* VI, p.162. Mar in Rome to Innernytie at Urbino, March 1718. For further comments on Mar's Neoclassicism see entry under John Erskine in Colvin, Howard M., *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, London, 1978.
22. I am grateful to Dr Deborah Howard for pointing out the similarity between the façade to the park at Hampton Court Palace and Mar's design, in the use of red brick and stone dressings and also in the design of the attached porticoes with their tall rusticated pedestals.
23. See Chapter 1, Part III. Many of Mar's drawings were re-draughted by professional architects, see Appendix B; SRO RHP13256/85-91 were later redrawn at Paris with decorative refinements in the French manner.
24. See Friedman, *James Gibbs*, pp. 107-108. For another connection between Mar and Witham Park, see Chapter 1, note 55.
25. See Kimball, Fiske, *The Creation of the Rococo Decorative Style*, reprint of the 1943 edition, New York, 1980.
26. Quoted from the "Description of the Designe for a New Royall Palace For the King of Great Britain, 1726," see note 2 above.
27. Mar visited Perugia on James' recommendation, HMC *Stuart Papers* VI, p.380, 28 April, 1718; Mar's reply mentions his intention to see Caprarola also, HMC *Stuart Papers* VI, p. 338, Mar to James, 30 April, 1718.
28. HMC *Stuart* VII, p.75, Mar at Urbino to General Dillon at Paris, July 22, 1718.
29. For the building history of the papal villa at Castel Gandolfo, 'Villa Barberini,' see Barsali, Bella and Branchetti, M. G., *Ville della Campagna Romana*, Milan, 1975. The Jacobite plans are not described. Castel Gandolfo was incorporated into the Santa Sede in 1604 and built in the 1630s by Carlo Maderno for Pope Urban VIII Barberini. Bernini's renovations are described in Wittkower, R. and Brauer, H., *Die Zeichnungen des Gianlorenzo Bernini, II*, Berlin, p.14b.
30. HMC *Stuart Papers* VII, p.283, James to Cardinal Albani, September 15, 1718.

31. For Mar's reply see Bonbled to Mar, September 28, 1718, Stuart Papers(M) 36/151.
32. Placing the fireplace in the corner was quite fashionable in Sir William Bruce's day, e.g., they are so placed at Kinross House and Ham House; Macaulay, James, *The Classical House in Scotland*, London, 1987, p.50.
33. Stuart Papers(M) 38/7, October 26, 1718.
34. The palazzo is described by Matteucci, Anna Maria, and Cuppini, Giampiero, *Ville del Bolognese*, Bologna, 2nd ed., 1969, pp.246-248, 330: the extant drawings are described by Matteucci, Anna Maria; Lenzi, Deanna; Bergamini, Wanda; *et al*, "Architettura, Scenografia Pittura di paesaggio," *L'Arte del Settecento Emiliano*, 8 September to 25 November, Bologna, 1979, Cat. no. 75-76.

Stuart Papers(M) 40/23, William Drummond, Jacobite agent in Bologna, to Mar at Rome, December 23, 1718. Along with these Mar had plans of the staircase in the Palazzo Fantuzzi in Bologna made. For Palazzo Fantuzzi see Cuppini, Giampiero, "I Palazzo Senatorii a Bologna...." *Schede storiche a cura di Giancarlo Roversi*, Bologna, undated, pp.62-66; the scale and platt staircase is the work of Paolo Canali (1618-1680) c.1680 it is notable for the introduction of arcaded upper floors and a complicated system of lighting through open arcading on three sides which gives an ambiguous sense of spatial relations. The decoration is severe and architectonic. Canali's scenographic approach inspired Monti's design for the lantern of the Palazzo Albergati. Canali and Monti are regarded as precursors of the development of *scenografia* in the work of the Bibiena family. Another example of this in Mar's drawings is described in Chapter 4, Part II. Wittkower attributes the development of this type of architecture to the influence of Longhena, see Wittkower, R., *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600-1750*, paperback ed., Harmondsworth, 1980, p.292. For Longhena's influence on Mar's design for Alloa House see Chapter 4, Part I.

The Jacobite court was resident at the Palazzo Fantuzzi in 1719 whilst it was the property of Senator Count Fillipo Fantuzzi's widow, Stuart Papers(M) 40/62, [1718].
35. The Palazzo is by Giovan Battista Albertoni, with some work by Monti, it was completed in 1709 by G. A. Torri, see Cuppini, *Schede storiche*, p.124.
36. The correspondence for both commissions between Mar and William Drummond, December 1718 to January 1719, is Stuart Papers(M) 40/23; 41/50; 41/72; 41/119.
37. Mattei was a pupil of Carlo Fontana, see Braham, Allan and Hagar, Helmut, *Carlo Fontana: The drawings at Windsor*, London, 1977, pp. 12, 18, 194. Mattei is mentioned in HMC *Stuart VII*, p.514, November 9, 1718, Bonbled to Sir David Nairne.
38. HMC *Stuart VII*, p.598, December 4, 1718, Mar to Panmure.
39. HMC *Stuart VII*, p.662, December 22, 1718.
40. SRO RHP 13256/83 and 86 are dated at Milan Castle; other undated drawings in this series may have been made at Milan.

Notes to Chapter 2

41. Stuart Papers(M) 45/65, October 22, 1719; this letter is addressed from Montefiascone where James was married by proxy. Lady Mar attended the ceremony, then travelled, with the plans, to Geneva to visit her husband.
42. Braham and Hagar, *Fontana Drawings*.
43. For Colonel Hay see Appendix B, and notes 19 and 20.
44. Stuart Papers(M) 56/3, December 1, 1721.

1. Private collection in Switzerland. Provenence unbroken since its acquisition by Saladin, *ex inf.* The Rt Hon the Earl of Mar and Kellie. The portrait is unsigned, but by a Genevan artist, see C-E. Engels, "Les Mésaventures du Comte du Mar...", *Review of the Society of the Swiss Friends of Versailles*, 1e trimestre-4e trimestre, no. 53-54, 1974. There is no record of payment for the portrait. Mar wears the Order of the Thistle, instituted by James whilst the court was at Avignon in 1716. The snuff-box may have been one which Mar noted in a shopping list whilst in Paris in 1717: "One of Blingstadt's boxes for the king," Stuart Papers (M)23/21: he probably intended Klingstet whose boxes, like this one, were collected for their erotic subject pictures, see A. Kenneth Snowman, *Eighteenth Century Gold Boxes of Europe*, London 1966, p.70. The subject here is Susannah and the Elders; a comment, perhaps, on the 'wicked tale-bearers' who wrongly accused Lady Mar of collaborating with the British government.
2. Dr Deborah Howard has pointed out to me that this is a convention in Restoration portraits of architects, e.g., Klosterman's portrait of Wren.
3. Stuart Papers(M) 26/35, Mar to Colonel Stewart of Innernytie at Rome, January 11, 1718 [copy].
4. *ibid.*
5. Southesk was one of Edward's subscribers, see Chapter 1, notes 38 and 49. Mar, for diplomatic reasons, declined to lodge with Cardinal Gualtiero in Rome, HMC *Stuart Papers* VI, pp.186-7, March 24, 1718; he stayed instead with Southesk, Stuart Papers (M) 29/115, Mar to James, April 8, 1718.
6. This expression, and that of "brother architects," are used by Mar in a letter to James Gibbs, dated Avignon, April 16, 1716, HMC *Stuart Papers* II, p.92, and in other letters: Stuart Papers(M) 41/10, January 3, 1719; HMC *Stuart Papers* V, p.48, September 17, 1717.
7. The name "Sir Sams" is not to be found amongst the cypher boxes in the Stuart Papers. I suggest Bolingbroke may be "Sir Sams" on the grounds that he was an amateur architect, and that this name appears again in connection with Mar wishing to call on a Jacobite who is out of favour with the King -which Bolingbroke was at this date. Bolingbroke's architectural and political activities in exile are described by Walter Sichel, *Bolingbroke and His Times*, Vol. I, London, 1901 and 1902.
8. Ashmolean Museum, Gibbs Collection II, ff. 37 and 38.
9. Endorsed as unsent. HMC *Stuart Papers* IV, p.211. This is the earliest record of Mar's acquaintance with Law, but as Law borrowed books from their mutual friend Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun before 1712 (marginal note on the Catalogue of Books Holograph of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, NLS 17683) then they probably did meet. Their friendship continued in exile: "Poor Law is in the Bastille...Lady Kathren [Law's wife] is now lodged in the same Hotel with us & resolves to leave France very soon if they'll let her," Mar to Colonel Hay at Rome, undated

- (1720), Stuart Papers (M) 53/136. Law's bank collapsed and he fled France assisted by friends in 1720, Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvroy, *Mémoires de le Duc de Saint-Simon*, Librairie Gallimard edition, Vol. V, Paris, 1955. Law's Jacobitism is denied by his biographer Hyde but, his loyalty to the Cause and his role as a key negotiator between James and the Regent of France, is well attested in the unprinted Stuart Papers.
10. See Chapter 1, Part II, and note 85. A description and diagram of Mar's survey plan of Twickenham, SRO RHP 13256/67, dated October, 1711, is given in *Borough of Twickenham Local History Society*, Paper Number 57, February, 1986, "Marble Hill. The Design and Use of a Palladian Estate," by Julius Bryant.
11. For Roëttier's (1666-1727) career see Bénézit, Emmanuel, *Dictionnaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*, Paris, reprint 1976, and for the history of the family in England, see George Vertue, 'Walpole Note Books', *Walpole Society*, Vol. V, p.47 and HMC *Stuart Papers* II, pp.74-75. For a description of the Seals of Scotland and the "Catalogue of the Medals of M. J. Roëttier" -Roëttier's proposal to strike medals of the Dukes of Mar and Ormond, Lord Lansdowne, *et al*, see Stuart Papers(M)114/90.
12. Roëttier died at this house which he purchased in November 1716. It consisted of a *corps-de-logis*, service buildings, court, gardens, dovecot, wood and farm land. It was situated north of the town on the left bank of the river opposite a small property known as La Folie and stood in modern times at 2 rue Rollin-Regnier, Poisson, M. Georges, *Évocations du grand Paris*, Paris, 1956-1961, Tome I, p.261, describes it as follows: "*Le ménage disposait là de quatre chambres et d'une cave où, après l'arrestation du tribun, on ne trouva qu'un panier de vin. Balcon porté sur une curieuse trompe décorée. Baies cintrées sur le plan coupe. Joli portail à fronton sculpté.*" It was still standing in 1956 but is now destroyed; it bore little resemblance to Mar's design which was probably never executed. I am indebted to G. Cot of the Archives du Val-de-Marne, and to M. Pierre-Yves Louis of Paris for his extensive reading of the documents on my behalf.
13. Cf. with Rubens' palaces in *Palazzi antichi di Genova*, Antwerp, 1623, facsimile of combined editions, with an introduction by Alan A. Tait, New York and London, 1968.
14. Dr Friedman has already suggested this in his PhD thesis, 'James Gibbs 1682-1754: the formation of his architectural style,' University of London, 1971, p.174.
15. See Appendix B, note 4.
16. The programme is discussed by William Kay in his MPhil thesis, 'The House of Dun,' St Andrews University, 1986.
17. SRO GD 123/120, Erskine of Dun Muniments (two documents): "Mr Mc_Is explanation of the Map of the Lower part of ye Strath of Southesk January 1723 [Two pages in McGill's hand]," and "Explanation of the new designe of a House Gardens & Parks for Ld. Dun Paris Aprile 1723 [Copy, with annotations in Mar's hand]. Mar writes: "That Designe he [McGill] says is the

same almost with ye house of Craighall but less...fitter for a Gingate (as it is named here) for a Burges near to a great town, then for a Gentleman's seat... 'tho the house may not be large nor great appartments in it, yet ought to have one or two handsome & tolerable large rooms...where some Copels of young folks may dance when they have a mind to divert themselves at Peace Yull & high times...." (For "Gingate," see Chapter 4, note 39). Related to these documents are three unsigned and undated pencil sketch plans after Mar's designs for Dun A: an elevation with decoration and details almost identical to "House J;" two floor plans -one square and one rectangular (SRO GD 123/363,15 and 16); a garden design with parterres and high woodwork containing fountains, *bosquets*, and trelliswork in the manner of Le Nôtre's elaborate designs for Marly. The garden design shows two rectangular wings placed on either side of the entrance gate and occupying a similar position to the wings of offices as built at the House of Dun, SRO GD 123/403.3.

18. Stuart Papers(M) 30/46, Mar to James, April 20, 1718.
19. John Fleming has already made this comparison. The design was then thought to be by William Adam, see Fleming, John, *Robert Adam and His Circle in Edinburgh and Rome*, London, 1978, p.35.
20. The plan of the second floor is also economical in that the room marked S can be joined to the closets T to form a large public room, SRO RHP 13288/6. The *Petits Cabinets* are illustrated by Dunlop, Ian, *Royal Palaces of France*, London, 1985.
21. For a full description of the Snow Tower, and its source Coucy-le-Château, see Tabraham, Christopher J., *Kildrummy Castle*, Edinburgh, 1986.
22. First letter quoted note 6.
23. Description of the House of Dun is from the letter quoted in note 3 above. The correspondence for the commission to Colonel Hay is Stuart Papers(M) 58/8, 65, 142; 60/98; 62/16, February to April, 1722, Mar at Paris to Colonel Hay at Rome. For other discussions on architectural matters between Mar and Hay, who was brother-in-law to Mar by Mar's first marriage, see Chapter 4, Part II and note 37.
24. Stuart Papers(M) 60/95, Mar at Clichy to Colonel Hay, January 29,1722. Mar leased this house at Clichy from August 1721, Stuart Papers(M) 54/97.
25. See Colombier, P. du, *Le Château de France, son histoire, sa vie, ses habitants*, Paris, 1960, p.193.
26. *ibid.* Term used by Le Grand Frédéric to describe his country house.
27. The Château de Navarre is illustrated by Bourget, Pierre and Cattiau, Georges, *Jules Hardouin-Mansart*, Paris, 1960, Pl. CII. Colonel Charles Wogan, an Irish Jacobite, to Mar February 18, 1718: "...Prince Lewis of Baden's widow spends her time... visiting her Favorita, a country house she has built...in imitation of Marly," HMC *Stuart Papers* V, p.469: Wogan's mission to Augsburg was to assess the qualities of the Princess' daughter as a suitable wife for

King James. Previous schemes for royal palaces for London had been variants upon single or double rectangular-shaped courtyard plans. Mar's palace for London is described in Chapter 4, Part II.

28. HMC *Stuart Papers* V, pp. 240-241, November 26, 1717, Mar at Urbino to Lewis Inese at Paris.

29. For further discussion of this scheme see Chapter 4, Part II.

30. The most important source for this form must be Pietro da Cortona's Villa del Pigneto, and before that the Belvedere courtyard. Vanbrugh's designs are illustrated in *Vanbrugh*, by Kerry Downes, London, 1977, Pls. 92, 94, 139.

31. SRO RHP 13256, tip-in to endpaper. Mar's description and purpose of the portico. For the comparison with Fletcher of Saltoun's writings see Chapter 1, Part I and note 29.

32. Conti's mother was Marie-Anne de Bourbon(1666-1739), the daughter of Louis XIV and Mme de la Vallière. She owned another Bullet house, the Château de Champs, begun before 1693 which she gave to her cousin the Marquis de la Vallière in 1717. See Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, Vol. V, p.746. Champs, which influenced Mar's design for the garden front at Alloa (see Chapter 4, Part I and note 31), was modelled on Le Vau's Vaux-le-Vicomte and the Palazzo Barberini. Mar dined frequently at the Hôtel de Conti in 1722 where the Duke of Hamilton and General Dillon were also guests, *Stuart Papers*(M) 52/113; all three were Mar's companions on other social occasions. Conti was Mar's neighbour at Clichy.

33. Drawings by Bullet in the Tessin-Hårleman Collection, Stockholm. The dimensions of the Château d'Issy are given by Blomfield, Sir Reginald, in *A History of French Architecture from the death of Mazarin till the death of Louis XV, 1661-1774*, London, 1921.

34. Langenskiöld, Eric, *Pierre Bullet The Royal Architect*, Stockholm, 1959, p.26.

35. For the French Jacobites at the *Régence* court, see Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, Vol. V.

1. S.D.D. Historic Buildings Descriptive List Ref. 8992/ 8, Alloa Tower. 15th century, altered 16th, 17th and late 18th century. 4-storey and attic, coursed rubble 62' 6" x 39' 6," 68' to parapet walk; stepped and crenellated parapet with corbelled rounds at angles and at centre of north wall. Doorpiece arched with Ionic De L'Orme French order, 19th century, perhaps reproducing an earlier doorway (bases perhaps 17th century); existing in present form from at least 1861.

Slezer shows extruded turnpikes attached to each corner of the tower, a feature it never had.

2. See Smout, Christopher T., "The Erskines of Mar and the Development of Alloa, 1689-1825," *Scottish Studies*, Vol. VII, 1963, p.57.
3. See Lambin, D., "Pleasure with profit: some aspects of landscape gardening," *Garden History*, Spring, 1975, Vol. III, pp. 29-30.
4. See Sinclair, Sir John, *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-99*, reprint edited by Donald Withrington, Wakefield, 1978.
5. John Erskine, 6th Earl of Mar, "The Earl of Mar's Legacies to Scotland and to his son, Lord Erskine, 1722-27," *Scottish History Society*, Vol. XXVI, 1896.
6. SRO GD 124/15, 227.1, 29 January, 1703.
7. Alloa Tower actually faces northwest towards the town, for simplicity I have referred to this front as the north front, and so on with the other fronts.
8. SRO GD 124/ 15/440, William Hutton to Mar, 15 July, 1706; Alexander Edward's presence at Alloa and the progress on building work are described by George Erskine at Alloa to Mar in London, 5 August, 1706, SRO GD/124/15/427.2.
9. SRO GD 124/15. 1024, Mar to Lord Grange at Alloa, 25 June, 1711.
10. See note 6 above.
11. The circular staircase is not lit by a window on the north front at ground level as shown on the plan. Apart from the difficulties involved in cutting another opening through the thickness of the wall the structure had already suffered, and is today visibly cracked, as a result of the removal of floors from the east wall to make room for the staircase. Prudently this window was omitted.
12. Scottish National Portrait Gallery.
13. Letter cited in note 6.
14. See note 1.
15. See Chapter 1, note 48. Another source is Bramante's staircase in the Vatican Palace.
16. The internal structure is described in more detail and with diagrams by Roy, E.K., Mackay, K.J.H., Corbett, L., "Alloa House," *Clackmannanshire Field Studies Society*, 1987.

Commonly tower houses have two staircases, one from ground to first floor and another, at the opposite end of the building, from the first to the upper floors. This was probably the arrangement at Alloa Tower. There is no evidence that the turnpike in the southwest wall ever reached to the ground floor. Another turnpike at the east end probably extended upwards from the ground to first floor, it may have stood in the place where the "Great Stair" now is.

17. Fragments of a frieze of similar design (early 17th century) survive in the Grand Hall of Huntly Castle, illustrated Simpson, W. Douglas and Tabraham, Christopher J., *Huntly Castle*, Edinburgh, 1954 and 1985, p.18.
 18. According to Mar's inscription on Figure 13 (lower left), the first of these plans was drawn at Chatou in 1725; the other plans are 1727 and later.
 19. It measures 28 by 48 feet and 28 feet high, the gallery being 15 feet from the floor of the "Waiting Hall."
 20. Signed (lower right). Couven's career is described in *Kunstler-Lexikon* and by Grimme, Ernst G., "Führer durch das Couven-Museum der Stadt Aachen," *Aachener Kunstblätter*, Aachen, 1980. The plan of the arcade is shown in buff-coloured wash (Figure 40) and is named the "Balcony."
 21. Mar was created Duke by James VIII, but never used the title. John Alexander prepared *modelli* on the themes of Perseus and Andromeda and Jupiter and Io, as allegories of the '15 Uprising, for Mar whilst he was in Rome in 1719. Intended, perhaps, to decorate the cupola over the great staircase (for the correspondence for this commission, see Chapter 1, Part III and note 120). He executed a similar programme at Gordon Castle (destroyed), Irwin, David and Francina, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad 1700-1900*, London, 1975.
 22. *Grilles* like this are not a feature of Scottish country houses but were part of Couven's repertory, see Grimme, *Aachener Kunstblätter*, Pl. 8.
 23. Inscribed on the drawing illustrated in Figure 13.
 24. The elevation for the south front is missing.
 25. Burke, Sir Bernard, *The General Armoury of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales*, 8th edition, London, 1878.
 26. The inscriptions DEUS NOBIS HAEC OTIA FECIT (house illustrated in Mar's portrait, Figure 49) and ICI FAY QUE VOULDRAS ("Hunt Hall K", from Rabelais' Utopian convent of Thelme, Figure 67) are comparable with the inscription on the Villa Barbaro at Maser by Palladio. In the context of Alloa the source of the idea is more likely to have been the gilded legends which were commonly painted on Scottish castles, e.g., the parapet of Huntly Castle bears the names of its proprietors - at one time picked out in gold (*ex inf.* John Dunbar) this practice survived until the late 17th century: the friezes on the pavilions of Caroline Park bore the names of its builders and the north front had a Latin inscription in the same hospitable spirit as that of the "Hunt Hall K."
 27. For Longhena see Puppi, L.; Romanelli, G.; Biandene, S., *Longhena*, 'Internazionale della Arti e della Cultura,' Milan, 1982; Palazzo Morosini, Pls. 5.1 and 5.2; Palazzo Pesaro, Pl. 7.1 and 7.2.
- Op cit.* note 1. The doorcase on Alloa Tower has also been attributed to Gibbs; this is unlikely as Gibbs was not at Alloa until late 1708 at the very earliest. Also the doorcase moulding of a Gibbs surround is not a pilaster and entablature arrangement, as at Alloa, but a continuous moulding. The blocking on a Gibbs' surround projects across the outer margins, e.g., at Lowther Hall (1728). Gibbs never used a pilastered doorway of this sort on any of his

designs.

28. The original roof remains only just intact; it is an exposed wooden arch-brace structure.

29. Quoted from the description of ^{Blomefield} Samuel Vincent (d.1690), Colvin, Howard M. and Newman, John, editors of Roger North's "*Of Building.*" *Roger North's writings on architecture*, Oxford, 1981.

30. Cf. with the garden front of the Hôtel d'Evreux, Langenskiöld, Eric, *Pierre Bullet: the royal architect*, Stockholm, 1959, Pl. 73 and the front to the court of Champs *idem.*, Pl. 26. Champs was published by Mariette, *Architecture Française*, Paris, 1727.

31. Langenskiöld, *Pierre Bullet*, Pls. 13, 17, 19 - 21.

Mar asked Colonel Hay to obtain a corrected draught of the engraving of the Palazzo Barberini at Rome, Stuart Papers (M) 56/3, 1 December, 1721.

32. This can be identified as the Versailles scheme because the Royal Chapel is clearly visible on the right side of the painting and is answered by the addition of a new wing, of similar appearance, on the left. In addition, Mar's idea was to close off the inner court of the side to the town and to cover the enclosed space with a vast dome. Long low wings extend to left and right of the palace and a pedimented portico complete the improvement according to principles of Neo-Palladianism. Mar's written description is printed by Friedman in *Architectural History*, 1986, pp. 102-133. These are the plans mentioned in the letter quoted in Chapter 3, note 23: "I have sent you by this post a project of mine for versails.... I want to know what some of the virtuosos say of it, but they ought to consider that it is not a new house now made but a very ugly old one (at least that side of it) mended."

33. Watercolour and David Allan's oil paintings of The River Forth at Alloa are in the possession of the Earl of Mar and Kellie. The paintings are illustrated by Holloway, James and Errington, Lindsay, *The Discovery of Scotland. The appreciation of Scottish scenery through two centuries of painting*, exhib. cat., Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1978 and the cover of Swan, Adam, *Clackmannan and the Ochils*, Edinburgh, 1987.

34. In his article in *Architectural History*, 1986 Dr Friedman mistakenly attributed two of Mar's projects intended for a new house at Alloa, to a palace for King James to be built in London.

35. Erskine, *Scottish History Society*, 1896.

36. All the projects for which there are elevations, the "House after the manner of Marly," and the *Vitruvius Scoticus* house, have a small arch piercing the middle of the wall head of the square base of the belvedere. A feature of Salomon de Brosse's domed courtyard pavilions at Blérancourt (1612-1619). Repeated by Gibbs, with greater reliance on de Brosse than Mar shows, on Houghton's domed wings (1729). As the Houghton domes are later than Mar's design by several years then a strong connection exists between these designs. Horatio Walpole may have been the agent of their transmission to England.

37. Stuart Papers(M) 60/95, Mar in Paris, to Colonel Hay at Rome, 29 January, 1722.

38. The extant illustrations for these schemes are as follows: The two projects inscribed "House L"

are in the Mar and Kellie plan books, the first is inscribed "A house for the King in the Padock at Kensington"(7 plans), SRO RHP 13256/ 1-6, 9, illustrated in Friedman, *Architectural History*, 1968, Figs.16, 17, 18, here Figures 29 to 32; the second is inscribed "House after the manner... of the Royal Pavilion at Marly SRO RHP 13256/8 (1 elevation), Friedman, *Architectural History*, 1968, Fig. 15, for the inscription see Figure 29 here.

At an unknown date SRO RHP 13256/7 has been misplaced amongst the Kensington scheme drawings, it rightly belongs with the rest of the designs for Alloa B. The "Gingate" is known only from a written description, and the last from the engraving published in *Vitruvius Scoticus* and the pediment painting on the east front of Alloa House.

39. Defined by De L'Orme as a small rural retreat in *Architecture de Philibert de L'Orme*, Rouen, 1648, facsimile edition, 1964, New Jersey, p.27. Alexander McGill uses this term to describe the design he made for Lord Dun in 1723, [Mar] to Lord Dun, April, 1723, SRO GD 123/120.
40. Cooper may have engraved one of the Kensington drawings which were in the Mar and Kellie Plan Books, abbreviating the title from the inscription on the drawing. When and how this came about is not known. The original drawing is not in the Plan Books.
41. The section is illustrated in Friedman, *Architectural History*, 1968, Fig. 17. See Appendix C.
42. *ibid.*, p.107, lines 98-126. Dr Friedman applies this paragraph to the set for Alloa B but it does not correspond to the any of the plans illustrated by Friedman, it seems to relate to what Mar states he is talking about, i.e., the set he deposited in the *Académie Royale*. See Appendix C.
43. *ibid.*, p.107. Stuart Papers (M) 72/31B, Mar to James, 10 January, 1724: "I sent the Draughts I promist you sometime ago... they may be of some amusement to you til you come to put such things in execution w^{ch} I long to see."
44. This inscription is cut off the top of the illustration in Friedman, *Architectural History*, 1986.
45. The 1728 drawing is also labelled "L," SRO RHP 13256/8. See Appendix B for the discrepancy in the sequence at this point in the album.
46. SRO RHP 13256/10-21, 23-25.
47. Inscribed on the drawing illustrated in Figure 30.
48. SRO RHP 13256/41. HMC *Polwarth* IV, p. 206 and 208, letter from Walpole to Marchmont, 11 and 15, December 1724. For Wolterton, as built to the designs of Ripley, see Sir John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, London, 1977, p.563, note 362, and G. Nares, "Wolterton Hall," *Country Life*, Vol. CXXII, ^{18 July, 1957} ~~22 August, 1963~~, p.116.
49. Horn, D. B., *British Diplomatic Representatives, 1689-1789*, Oxford, 1961.
Mar designed houses for Horatio Walpole and Cardinal Fleury, who both tried unsuccessfully to negotiate his repatriation, SRO GD 124/15.1340, letter from Mar to Fleury, September 20-23, 1728 [copy].
50. Collection of Sir John Summerson and SRO RHP 13257/52-5.
51. Bourget, Pierre, and Cattai, Georges, *Jules Hardouin-Mansart*, Paris, 1960, Pls. CXXVI-CXVII.

52. This arch resembles Piranesi's designs for the nave of the Lateran Church; a common, although probably unconnected, interest on the part of Mar and Piranesi in north Italian *scenografia*.

53. Erskine, *Scottish History Society*, 1896.

54. At this point it may be useful to summarise the chronology of the Alloa plans: in 1721 Mar made seven designs for the Kensington scheme. In the following year he made a garden design with Alloa House at the centre (Figure 38). In the same year he suggested the Kensington scheme might be adopted for Alloa (see note 47 above) and he painted its outline on to the 1721 garden plan. In 1723 he made the section described above and in 1724 he sent a complete set of fine draughts to the King. That year he drew one floor plan of Alloa House from memory (inscribed on Figure 13), but the difficulties of doing this without his pre-exile drawings to refer to may have spurred him on to make plans for a completely new house, Alloa C in 1725 (Figures 36 and 37). In 1727 having just re-acquired the remainder his pre-exile designs from Alloa, he made eight plans and elevations for Alloa House (Figures 8-12, 13-15) and in the following year he drew the elevation for Alloa A. In 1730 whilst in Antwerp he drew the plans for Alloa B (Figures 33-35) and attached the small flap showing it on to the 1722 garden design (Figure 39). In 1730 he also drew the flap showing an alternative frontispiece for the garden elevation of Alloa House (Figure 10) and designed the reservoir for the roof of the Tower (Figure 17). There are no further designs for a new house dated after 1730; all the remaining plans for Alloa were concerned with improvements to the house as it stood. These included the plan for the "Portico" and the section of it dated 1731 (Figures 18 and 19). In 1732 he pasted J. J. Couven's drawing for the arcade, and the external staircase for the south front onto the 1727 drawing (Figure 11). Finally a garden plan showing the improved Alloa House (Figure 40) and a plan for the court on the north side were made shortly before his death in April 1732.

55. Macfarlane, *Scottish History Society*, Vols. LI - LIII, March 1908.

56. Figure 38 may be *avant la lettre* to Figure 80. The engraved details are identical in both sheets. The colour-wash drawing has been used as a working sheet and it has several alterations and flaps pasted on to it, e.g., the patch on the centre left. On this sheet the inscription is hand-written. After Sturt had engraved Len's drawing he may have made this larger print to which Mar then added the title and explanation. It was then returned to Sturt who reduced it in size and moved the explanation panel further down the sheet.

The map is bound into the back of John Adair's, *The Description of the Sea-coast and Islands of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1703. It is undated, as the gardens at Hopetoun are shown as undeveloped and these have a starting date of 1703 (Dunbar, *Sir William Bruce*) then the latest possible date for the avenue at Alloa would be the end of 1702, or early 1703 at the latest. It is unlikely, therefore, that this avenue was part of the 17th-century gardens and these dates correspond with those given in the 1703 letter (note 6 above). Adair's map shows that the southern branch of the "Great Avenue" was the first of Mar's avenues to be made. John Adair supplied Mar with maps and accounts concerning the fishing in 1706, SRO GD 124/15/391, Adair in Edinburgh to Mar,

- 27 April, 1706.
57. SRO GD 124/15/219, Edward at Haver de Grace, to Mar, c/o Harrie Maule, Edinburgh, 7 July, 1702. For a full description of other aspects of Edward's tour see Lowrey, John, *Alexander Edward. 'A Man of Excellent Parts' (1651-1708)*, exhib. cat., Crawford Centre for the Arts, University of St. Andrews, 1987.
58. For the 1703 letter see note 6 above. One trip south in 1704 resulted in a courtesy note from James Johnstone of Twickenham offering Mar his services in gardening, SRO GD 124/15/232, 7 March, 1704, to which Mar replied that he was enjoying his gardening and new-born child at Alloa, SRO GD 124/15/232, 7 March, 1704.
59. SRO GD 124/15/195, August 1705, Mar at Edinburgh, to Lady Mar at Alloa and SRO GD 124/15/231, 12 September, 1705, Mar at Edinburgh to Lady Mar at Alloa.
60. This included making a bridge to Alloa Inch, a small island in the Firth of Forth from which a ferry once crossed to South Alloa, OS Sheet NS 89/99 87.91, see note 8 above.
61. SRO GD 124/15/425.1, Harlaw to Mar, 8 July, 1706.
62. SRO GD 124/6/158, "Submission by the citizens of Alloa...", 20 April, 1705. There is an undated and unsigned description of the houses and the plan for the town, SRO GD 124/17/238 [early 18th century].
63. See Sinclair, *Statistical Account*, footnote p.660.
64. *Ibid.* and Defoe, *Tour of Great Britain*, 1724-26.
65. The statues were very heavy and required a special pulley to be constructed to lift them from the boat that brought them from Leith, SRO GD 124/15/754.18, 16 April 1708, Mar to Grange.
66. SRO GD 124/15/987.2, Lord David Dalrymple to Mar, 12 October, 1708.
67. An accurate survey would reveal whether the Mar Inn (pre-1744), which stands on the foreshore at Alloa, is the left hand building on Mar's plan.
68. This was suggested to me by John Lowrey.
69. SRO GD 124/15/397.11, 18 August, 1706, Mar to Grange. For Loudon see Chapter 1, Part II.
70. SRO GD 124/15/496.35, 6 December, 1707, Mar at Whitehall and SRO GD 124/15/754.8, 19 February, 1708, Mar to Grange.
71. SRO GD 124/15/848, 5 May 1708. SRO GD 124/15/1039, Grange to Harlaw, 20 October, 1711: relations between Grange and Harlaw were sometimes strained; in response to Grange's request that Harlaw should consult his copy of Rapinus and devise a border that flowered throughout the year Harlaw informed Grange that he had only recently exchanged horticultural knowledge with such distinguished personages as the Chief Justice Clerk and Lord Lyon when he visited the latter at Cambo. He offered, in turn, to lend Grange his copy of *Rex's Flora*, implying that by studying it Grange might acquire "as few scruples about" the flowering border as he himself had. As for Rapinus, Harlaw considered that "Neither Rehetorick pen nor princele can describe to the life tile these beautys themselves [flowers] come under consideration," SRO GD 124/15/1114.1 and 2, Harlaw at Alloa to Grange at Edinburgh, 2 February, 1714.

72. HMC *Mar and Kellie* I, p.455.
73. In November 1707, Smith presented a pot of *Marum syryarum* to Tom Harlaw, SRO GD 124/15/663.3, Smith to Mar, 6 November, 1707.
74. SRO GD 124/15/663.2, [September 1708], Mar to Smith. Smith adds that his plumber has leaded the platforms: "for waterworks in this country it is ye same yt serves ye Duke of Queensberrie." In the following year Mar engaged George Sorocould to solve the hydraulics problems. It was Sorocould who constructed the engine for draining the heughs of Clackmannan to the east of the shore of Clackmannan, item "T" on the plan. Raitt described this as terminating an avenue. For a description of the Gartmorn Dam see Smout, *Scottish Studies*, Vol. VII, 1963. The river Black Devon runs through Park Mill and Clackmannan. Alterations Mar made to the course of the Black Devon, as part of the mines' drainage scheme, are visible on the far right of Figure 38.
75. SRO GD 124/15/920.1, Clerk to Mar at Whitehall, 25 November, 1708 and HMC *Mar and Kellie* I, p.469, Grange to Mar, 20 November, 1708.
76. The drawing is illustrated by Gervase Jackson-Stops in "Cliveden, Bucks.," *Country Life*, March 3, 1977. The description is from Macky, John, *A Journey Through Scotland*, 1723 and the quotation from Macfarlane, *Scottish History Society*, Vols. LI - LIII, March, 1908.
77. Gibbs' plan, dated c.1710, is adapted to the steep slope of the Comely Bank, See Friedman, Terry, *James Gibbs*, New Haven and London, 1984, p.105 and Pl. 98, for a description and illustration of Gibbs' engraved plan.
78. Inscribed on SRO RHP 13257/51.i.
79. See Chapter 1, Part II.
80. The gardens also contained small orangeries, marked "g," near the house on both sides of the parterres. Melons and plums were also cultivated, SRO GD 124/15/425.1, Harlaw to Mar, 8 July, 1706.
81. Duburfor's scheme is SRO RHP 13258/23-25, dated 1728; One of Quin's drawings is inscribed with his name by Mar, SRO RHP13258/16, dated 1728 -the other is probably inscribed by Quin himself, SRO RHP 13258/19, dated 1728.
82. The Grotto of Thetis is described by Woodbridge, Kenneth, *Princely Gardens, the origins and development of the French formal style*, London, 1986, p.201.
83. For the Mercat Cross, see Swan, *Clackmannan and the Ochils*, p. 30. This is shown in larger scale on Figure 25. The plans for the church are SRO RHP 13258/28 (dated 1712), 29 (dated 1708), 30, 31(dated 1722), 32 and 33(dated 1730), 34, 35(dated1730), 36(dated 1722), 37 and 43.
84. For a description of the church, including the enlargement of 1680, see Watt, Laughlan MacLean, *Alloa and Tullibody, being the Book of the Bazaar*, Alloa, 1902, pp.8-11, 33 and 35. See Whinney, Margaret, *Wren*, reprint of 1971 edition, London, 1985, Pl. 130.
- This design accords better with other detailing on the new church than the pointed spire shown in Figures 21 and 22. from left to right on the parapet: Isaiah, Moses, Aaron, and Jeremiah; on

the upper portion of the steeple are St John the Evangelist, Daniel and St Mark; on the north front (Figure 22), at either end of the parapet are two unidentified figures, on the spire is St Matthew, and St Mark, beneath them stand St Paul, St Mungo in the niche and St Andrew.

Half the "Bowling Green" is now covered by the church cemetery, the rest remains vacant. It is bounded on the south by a high wall, overlooking a tree-lined avenue which is probably the remains of the "Stirling Walk."

85. The monument is discussed by Friedman, Terry, "James Gibbs 1682-1754: the formation of his architectural style." PhD thesis, University of London, 1971.
86. A volume of pamphlets in the National Library of Scotland, Ry.III.a.9(n).
87. This type of structure is described by James, John[A. J. Dézallier D'Argenville], *The Theory & Practice of Gardening: Done from the French*, printed in Paris, Anno 1709, London, 1712, p.46.
88. Brogden, William A., "Stephen Switzer and Garden Design in Britain in the Early 18th Century," PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1973.
89. See Beard, Geoffrey and Kersting, Anthony, *The Work of John Vanbrugh*, London, 1986, Pls. 39, 42, and 43.
90. This interpretation is indebted to Chapter 14 of Woodbridge, Kenneth, *Princely Gardens, the origins and development of the French formal style*, London, 1986.
91. Huet's doctrine was propounded by Abbé d'Olivet in his publication "Huetiana" (1722), see Ganay, Ernest de, *Les Jardins de France et leur décor etc.* Paris, 1949, p.176.
92. For Dufresny, see Wiebenson, Dora, *The Picturesque Garden in France*, New Jersey, 1978, pp.8-9 and *Kunstler-Lexikon*. Dufresny lived at the Château de Migneaux from August 1682 until April 1690. In 1782 it was purchased by Mlle Marie Louise O'Murphy. The 1784 inventory of the property describes the gardens, but nothing in this corresponds to Mar's pavilion, *ex inf.* M. Pierre-Yves Louis.
93. The *Travels of Cyrus* was published in France in 1719 and underwent numerous editions. Ramsay was a serious scholar, as well as works on religion and Freemasonry he published a political treatise entitled: *Essay on Civil Government*, London 1722. He may be the "Mr Ramsay" who assisted Mar in writing the "Jewels of Scotland (1722 to 1727): "do you know that D. of Mar (with M^r Ramsay) is at work upon a scheme for restoring y^e King?It is certain that he and Ramsay have been two days together at Chatou," Stuart Papers (M) 95/35, Bishop of Rochester to Colonel Hay, 1 July, 1726.

Appendix A

Fondo Albani, 166, p. 202, Adi 14 settembre 1718.
Archivio Segreto Vaticano [Unidentified hand].

Descrizione fatta con il Ministro della Maestà del Rè d'Inghilterra delle cose da farsi nel Palazzo Pontificio di Castel Gandolfo.

Prima
Appartamento di Mr^o. Sig.^a
Stanzino accanto le Capella Communo
Un letto a' Credenza
Stanza della Bussola
Un letto a' Credenza
Un Cammino in cantone in detta stanza
Stanza Contigua
Un altro cammino
Un letto a' Credenza
Stanza della Credenza, che porta in Cucina
Un letto a' Credenza
Un cammino nello Stanzino piccolo
Stanza di Scopatori Segreti, che deve servire Gabinetto
deve esser parata di [d'] amasco con suoi Mobili.
Stanza dello Spoliatore
Un Cammino
Coprire la loggia scoperta nell' appartamento dell' Em^o. Paulucci ò fare l'entrata da uno
delli finestroni della
Galleria di [?H.S....] cioè quello in cantone con favui una nova
Sala, che principy dal Cortile, e porti nelle stanze nove da
farsi, e dopo in detta Galleria con alzare li muri al paro dell

altri, favui due piani di stanze con favui li suoi Cammini i
ogni piano con suoi Mobili, e altro.

Stanza dove dorme Ecc.^{mo} Sig.^{re} Alessandro
Un Cammino in detta Stanza
Farni il parato di Damasco
Nello Stanza avanti la Loggia della Benedizione
Un Letto a' Credenza
Stanza accanto la stanza della Musica dov'è la Scaletta, che cala in Giardino
Un Cammino in detta Stanza, e suoi Mobili
Nel repiano accanto della Scala, che cala in Giardino
Farni il tramezzo, e formarne una stanzola con sua porta
Appartamento verso il Lago
Anticamera dalli Sig.^{re} Camerieri Segreti
Il Letto Reggio Sua Maestà di Comparsa Parere
Parere detta Stanza
Li Altre tre Anticammere contigua si destinano
Anticamm. Reggie, e pubbliche
La Sala de Palafarnieri accanto la scala Lumaca si desidera sia parata
Piano sotto detto Appartamento
dell' Em^o Paulucci
Nelle Camere da farsi di novo nella Loggia

Due Letti a' Credenza, e un Cammino
Nella Palleviola di detto Appartamento
dove e' il Trucco

Appendix A

Un Cammino nel finestrone di mezzo
Nella stanza a prima entrata a mano dritta
Un Letto Nobile
Nella Stanza di cantone

Un Letto Nobile
In detto Appartamento
Nº.3 altri Letti à Credenza
Stanze dove dorme L. Emő Paulucci

Un Cammino
Stanziola Contigua

Un Cammino
Altra Stanziola
Aprire una porta, che dalla Scala nova entri in d^a. stanza
Nella stanza dove mangiano li Poudri

Un Letto Civile.
Appartamento dell' Emő. Sig.^r Card. Albani

Nella Seconda sala un Cammino
Nella p^{ma}. Stanza dall' parte del Lago

Un Letto Nobile, et un Cammino
Una Porta da farsi, che passi all' altra stanza verso il Cortile
Nella Stanza Contigua

Murare dui porte
Nella quinta Stanza passato la porta della Loggia Contigua

Un Letto Nobile grande
Nella Sesta Stanza

Un Cammino
In detta Stanze Nº. 4 Letti a' Credenza
Nella Settima Stanza

Un Letto Civile
Nella Stanza dove dorme L. Emő Albani

Un Cammino
Nella Stanza di Monsre. Lancisi Nella

Nella p^{ma}. Stanza un Letto a' Credenza
Nella due ultime Stanziolate di Mons^{re}. Lancisi

Buttare abbasso il Tramezzo farnè tutta un Cammino et un Letto a' Credenza.
Stanza della Segretaria di Stato

Un Cammino
Murare la porta, che risponde in sala, e farnè un' altra di novo

Un Letto Civile
Nella Nº. 3 Stanze dello Speciale

Nell' ultima Stanza verso il Lago un Cammino
Aprire la porta murata, che entra nella Stanza delli Rami

Nella med^{ma}. un Letto Civile, et un Letto a' Credenza
Nella Stanza delli Sig^{re}. Aiutanti di Camera
Nella Stanza in faccia alla Florevia

Un Cammino
Nell' ultima Stanza verso il Cortile grande

Un Cammino in Cantone verso detto Cortile

Un Letto Civile in detto Stanza

Due Letti a' Credenza.
Nella Stanze nº. 6. della Chiesa Vecchia

Fare nº. 6 Cammini
Nella Credenza della Foresteria

Un Cammino

Appendix A

Nella Rocca Grande
Imbiancare tutte le Stanze di detta Roccha
Nella Rocchetta
Aprire la Scala, et allo Stanzino acconto fare un Camino
Imbiancare tutte le Stanze di detta Rocchetta
Nella Stanza n^o. 10
Un Cammino
Nella Stanze n^o. 4
Un Cammino
Nella Stanze n^o. 1
Un Cammino
Raggiustare diverse soff[?]itte di dette Stanze dove sono guarte
Cucine Comuni
Nella Cucina dell Em^o Paulucci ingrandire il farnello per cocere il pane, con mutare la
bocca, e levare il focolare grande accanto.

The history of Lord Mar's plans

Following his arrival on the Continent in 1716 Mar's architecture was largely on paper and it is a description of the state, order and preservation of these drawings which is the subject of this appendix. The largest single collection of Lord Mar's plans are part of the Mar and Kellie Gift held in the Scottish Record Office. The manuscript material in the Mar and Kellie Gift has been edited and published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission but Lord Mar's drawings, which have been in the Scottish Record Office since 1970, remain uncatalogued and largely unpublished: the sheets in the Plan Books have been numbered, but there is no detailed descriptive list of them available. Until 1986 the plans were kept in three large albums, entitled 'Lord Mar's Plans 1700 etc.' In 1986 the albums were broken up in order to undertake a two year programme of cleaning and conservation. They will not be re-bound but stored in three boxes keeping their original arrangement in the albums. The albums consist of a total of two hundred and forty-four drawings on two hundred and eight sheets and nine engravings.

a) The Mar and Kellie Plan Books

The first album, SRO RHP 13256, contains ninety-eight drawings on eighty-five sheets and six engravings. The album begins with a set of plans for a series of houses based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. These include a scheme for a new royal palace to replace Whitehall Palace,¹ also inscribed "House L"; "House C"; and "A new house for Alloa," called here Alloa A (Figures 29-32). Secondly, sets of drawings for "House A" (Figures 1-7); Wolterton, "Horatio Walpole's House" (Figure 65); Rokeby Park; James Johnstone's house (Figure 51); and for "Hunt Hall K" (Figures 67 and 68). Thirdly, it contains a series of plans for Wilton, Drumlanrig Castle, and Longleat; these being architectural 'corrections' made to plates from *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Finally there is a set of engravings, two by Schenk and the others by Mariette, after Vanbrugh's design for Kings Weston. Last in this album is Mar's ink and colour wash survey plan of Twickenham.

The second album, SRO RHP 13257, largely comprises plans for houses and gardens for various friends and political associates on the Continent. There are ninety-two drawings on seventy-three sheets. The projects are as follows: the House of Dun (Figures 59-62);² Mar's original draughts for a small house for Lord Dun, inscribed "House W" (Figures 53-58); "Lord Falkland's house at Meziere" (Figures 69 and 70); a pavilion for the Château de Migneaux (Figure 74); a site plan for a house at Bécon-les-Bruyères (Figure 73); a renovation for Captain de Wilde's house in Antwerp; the Marquis de Tessé's house; "a villa for the Bishop of Namur at La Plante," near Namur; "M. Roettier's house" (Figure 52); "Villa N" (Figures 44 and 45); "House J" (Figure 50); "a house for the Comely Bank at Alloa" (Figure 42); another design for Alloa House, called here Alloa B

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(Figures 33-35); a pavilion for Alloa gardens (Figure 43); a garden house; "a Banqueting House for Alloa" (Figure 41); "an Ice-House with a Turning Seat" (Figures 48); an unidentified country house; a Pidgeon House for Alloa (Figure 46); and a plan for a greenhouse and gardens.

The third volume, SRO RHP 13258, is entitled on the spine "Plans for Alloa" and consists of fifty-four drawings on fifty sheets and two engravings - one of the engravings has watercolour additions. These plans are for all the renovations executed, and intended, for the old tower and mansion house, the gardens and offices at Alloa (Figures 8-19, 26, 27, 38-40, 80). Amongst these drawings there are some plans for the town of Alloa and St Mungo's Kirk (Figures 20-25) which stood in the Mar Policy.³ Towards the end of the album are the plans for "the Monument to the Families of Erskine and Mar" (Frontispiece); proposals for the Royal Palace and the governor's apartments in Stirling Castle; and an unnamed plan for a country house and parks - which is the House of Alva as described in Chapter 1, Part II, and note 53.

b) Plans in Other Collections

Apart from the drawings in the Mar and Kellie Gift there are a few other drawings by Lord Mar in other collections. The Scottish Record Office also hold, amongst the Kennedy-Erskine Muniments, an incomplete set of plans for the small house and gardens for Lord Dun, Dun A (Figures 53-58).⁴ Associated with these, but held in another collection, are three sketches after Mar's design which are attributed to Alexander McGill.⁵

The National Library of Scotland hold two plans by Mar. One is an early drawing (c.1709) for the Royal Palace at Stirling Castle amongst the Ordnance Drawings, and the other is a letter with a design for the House of Alva.⁶ The Cliveden Album contains one unsigned plan for the terrace and circus at Cliveden in Buckinghamshire, described in Chapter 1, Part II, which is in Mar's hand (Figure 71).⁷ Sir John Summerson has one drawing, a plan for Horatio Walpole's house, Wolterton (Figure 66), and the elevation of this, which is described in Chapter 4, Part II, is in the Mar and Kellie Plan Books (Figure 65).⁸ Finally there is a small colour wash drawing showing a decorative scheme for the interior of St Mungo's Kirk in the possession of the Earl of Mar and Kellie. This is trimmed and varnished and bound in as a frontispiece to the volume containing the manuscript of "The Jewels of Scotland."⁹

c) Ordering and Concordance of Numbers

The ordering of the drawings in the Mar and Kellie Plan Books tells us something about the history of the drawings. On first inspection they appear to be fairly logically grouped according to

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projects but there are some exceptions to this: a few stray drawings seem to have become detached from their proper places. Further analysis reveals that a subtle rationale underlies the ordering; this suggests that they were grouped in this way by Mar himself. Two criteria determine the placing of the drawings in their present order: the intended site of the building or garden, and the stylistic origin of the scheme. The clarity of this system was obscured when the plans were bound and one album was erroneously entitled 'Plans for Alloa.'

The album entitled 'Plans for Alloa' (SRO RHP 13258), we have seen, contains all the Alloa plans and some plans for gardens and buildings at Alloa. However, the three sets for a new house at Alloa (Alloa A, B and C) are not included here but found scattered singly and in groups in the other albums. 'Plans for Alloa' also contains drawings which are not for Alloa at all, as is the case of the Royal Palace for Stirling and the landscape scheme for the House of Alva. Could it be that this volume was intended to be a compendium of Scottish projects?

If we rename this album 'Scottish Improvements' then we come closer to its true purpose. Other Scottish projects such as the House of Dun, Alloa A, Alloa B and Alloa C were schemes for entirely new houses. Their exclusion from 'Plans for Alloa' is accounted for by the fact that this album was a compilation of all Mar's schemes for renovations to pre-existing Scottish buildings. To justify this argument we must consider why Mar's "suggested improvement for Drumlanrig" is not included in this album. The Drumlanrig scheme is part of a series of designs which include Wilton and Longleat in SRO RHP 13256; these three schemes were based on engraved plates taken from *Vitruvius Britannicus*. As they are very fanciful schemes for courtyard plan houses which Mar has 'improved' by the addition of domes it would have seemed inappropriate to remove the Drumlanrig project to an album which consists, largely, of plans intended for execution.

In order to discover the real clue to the ordering, and to justify the claim that Mar was responsible for the sorting of the drawings, we must return to SRO RHP 13256. We have seen that it contains the various designs for houses based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. However, the designs for Dun A, "House J" and "Villa N" - which are also Marly variants- are in SRO RHP 13257. At first glance it might seem to be so because none of these projects is named as deriving from Marly. A closer analysis suggests that there is another reason for their separation from the Marly-type houses.

The logic involved seems to be thus: SRO RHP 13256 contains plans for houses intended for sites in England, such as St James' Park - the house for King James, Twickenham and the existing country houses of various English and Scottish friends of Mar. If this is the case then the presence of Alloa C in this volume, rather than in 'Plans for Alloa,' may be due to its stylistic similarity to the design for Horatio Walpole's house, Wolterton, which is also in this album. In the case of

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SRO RHP 13257 a similar logic operates, but this time the principal criterion for inclusion is sites for houses and gardens on the Continent. The inclusion of "House J" with these schemes is appropriate and correct because although the drawings are not inscribed as being intended for a particular site we know from Mar's letters that "House J" was indeed for a site near Paris. Thus, the principal criterion for inclusion in SRO RHP 13256 is a site in Britain; projects such as Alloa C and the Marly-type houses, which have a French origin, are placed in this album because of their proposed siting in Britain. The principal criterion for inclusion in SRO RHP 13257 is a Continental site or a Continental source. Projects such as the House of Dun are also placed in this album because although we know it was intended for Brechin, the fact that it is a variant on a Continental source overrides the fact that it was intended for Brechin and this determines its location in this album.

The placing of "House J" in SRO RHP 13257 is the most important evidence for claiming that the present ordering of the drawings is, more or less, the order in which Mar kept them. The information regarding the siting of "House J" is found in a letter in the Stuart Papers; a source which could not have been known to the Erskine family as it was not available until long after the 18th century. Similarly, the inclusion of the plans for the House of Dun in the album of Continental plans suggests that the sorter must have known that the design was modelled on Bullet's Château d'Issy and that it was a variant of the "House J" projects, its Continental origin being the criterion for its placing here.

To summarise: SRO RHP 13256 contains plans for new projects for Scottish and English houses and for renovations to existing buildings in England. SRO RHP 13257 contains projects for sites on the Continent, and for houses inspired by Continental designs. SRO RHP 13258 contains proposals for renovations to existing Scottish buildings. Therefore we can conclude that only Mar, or someone very close to him in his lifetime, could have known the reasons for ordering the drawings in this way. However, this argument must also be considered in terms of the numbering of the drawings which may have been the responsibility of another person around the time of Mar's death.

The numbering on the sheets presents a considerably greater problem than the ordering. There are two systems of numbering. The most recent is that of the Scottish Record Office. These are in pencil, usually on the back of the sheet, or occasionally on the front. They begin at one and continue consecutively without omissions to the end of each album. The exception to this is in SRO RHP 13258 where the Scottish Record Office numbers, towards the end of the album, are not marked on the drawings but follow the old numbering sequence (see Concordance of Numbers). The Scottish Record Office numbers refer to the sheet and not to the drawing, so that where a sheet has

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more than one drawing then these will be further designated by 'i', 'ii', etc., here. The Scottish Record Office numbers, unless otherwise stated, are used here to refer to the sheets.

The older numbers are usually at the lower right corner in black ink. The date of these is unknown, although they are certainly not recent. Figure 2 shows the ink number '35' at the lower right corner; when compared with Mar's numbers on the scale of feet, it is clearly in a different hand. These numbers occur only on the Mar and Kellie Plan Books and not on any other drawings in other collections. However, as the drawings in other collections were despatched home by Mar at various dates throughout his lifetime, we can assume that the sheets in the Plan Books remained with Mar on the Continent and were numbered either shortly before, or soon after, his death. These numbers run consecutively from one to the end in each of the albums. They, like the ordering, seem to reflect the way Mar stored the drawings. Some of the old numbers are missing (see Concordance of Numbers at the end of this Appendix), for instance '9' and '37' in SRO RHP 13256. It is possible that '9' was the elevation in this set and it was removed for engraving and reappears as the elevation of a "House for a person of Quality," illustrated in *Vitruvius Scoticus* (Pls. 109 and 110) (see Chapter 4, Part II and note 40). Sheet '15' in SRO RHP 13258 may have been the missing elevation of Alloa House to the Parks. These missing sheets must have been removed from the collection some time after they were numbered and before they were bound into albums. The evidence in favour of another person numbering the drawings is derived from examples such as one of the plans for House A (ink number 31) which is out of place amongst the Namur drawings, although it has received a consecutive number within the old sequence. One might postulate that Mar was comparing this plan to the Namur drawings and left it there shortly before he fell ill. On his death, as part of the inventory of his possessions, the drawings were not rearranged but numbered just as he had left them.

The reason why several of the plans for Alloa House at the beginning of SRO RHP 13258 have no old numbers at all (see Concordance) must be considered in terms of the above hypothesis. This may be explained by these drawings having returned to Scotland before Mar's death. One, at least, we know was brought back to Alloa by Mar's son, Lord Erskine, before 1727.¹⁰ All the unnumbered plans have several fold marks and traces of sealing wax (Figures 12,13 and 14) which suggests that they were parcelled up at some time. If these plans were kept at Alloa and not with Mar abroad then how could the numberer know how many gaps to leave? It is quite likely that Mar, being a methodical person, kept receipts for the missing drawings in the boxes. If these were taken into account when the plans were numbered it would explain the break in sequence here and confirm the idea that they were numbered shortly after his death and before they were all reunited at Alloa. Another possibility is that these numbers were trimmed off during the first campaign of restoration

in 1899, but this seems unlikely as the borders are intact and the numbers on most sheets are inscribed within the borders.

The first drawing of the old ink number series in SRO RHP 13257 is missing. It was probably the garden sheet for Dun A which is now in the Kennedy-Erskine Papers (SRO RHP 13289). Similarly, one of the sheets from the set for M Roëttier's house, Choisy-le-Roi (ink number 36 -a floor plan) is also missing from the ink number sequence. The implication is that these plans were removed after the drawings were numbered and before they were bound. Conversely, the elevation for Captain de Wilde's house, Antwerp and the floor plans for the Bishop of Namur's house, La Plante are missing from the sets but there is no break in the old numbering sequence at these points. The implication is that these plans left the collection in Lord Mar's lifetime, perhaps gifted to the proprietors.

d) Attribution: Draughtsmanship and Watermarks

Not all the plans in the Plan Books are by the Earl of Mar. There are two drawings in the Alloa series; one for the house (Figure 12), dated 1710, and one for the church, dated 1712 (SRO RHP 13258/28), both by Alexander McGill; two drawings dated 1725 (SRO RHP 13257/61 and 67) for a "Small Pavilion in a Park" are also by him. The later plans are related to Mar's 1731 designs for a similar scheme illustrated in Figure 47 and described in Chapter 4, Part III. Mar often consulted professional architects to verify his plans and to make additions to them. Figure 11 shows J. J. Couvens signed drawing (Dated at Aix 1732) for an arcaded screen for the southwest front of Alloa House.¹¹ Mar also employed the special expertise of M. Duburfor in 1728 to design a hydraulic engineering scheme for Alloa (SRO RHP 13258/23 and 24); although his valet must also have studied the subject as Mar gives the responsibility of the 'Machine for Raising Water' to Quin (SRO RHP 13258/16). Lady Frances Erskine's (Mar's daughter) initials appear on one of the elevations of the Alloa B (SRO RHP 12356/15), although she would have been only sixteen years old at this date. A little known garden designer, Francis Petty, supplied Mar with a sketch for the 'Marquise's Garden' which was delivered to him in France by the Master of Elphinstone.¹²

Unsigned drawings by other architects are less easily differentiated but we know that for certain projects, such as, Dun A (see Chapter 3, Figures 53-58) and the plans made at Urbino that Mar had them redraughted by a professional architect (see Chapter 1, Part III). Two of the elevations for "House A" (Figures 2 and 3) and those for "House C" (Figures 63 and 64) are not by Mar but were probably draughted by the same hand. They differ from Mar's manner in the excellence of the draughtsmanship -although Mar was capable of very accomplished drawing -and in the use of gray washes. Mar always used colour washes that represented the natural colours of the thing represented; blue-gray for slate roofs, red for brickwork, beige for stone dressings (Figure 53). Fine draughts and

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models -a scale of feet of the model is shown in Figures 63 and 64 -gave finish to his work and helped with technical problems. The drawing for the Monument to the Families of Erskine and Mar (Frontispiece) is also the work of a draughtsman, although Mar has added the structural parts of the walls in pink wash and annotated it. His original draughts for the project follow the fine draught in the Plan Book.

e) Mar's draughtsmanship and working method

If Mar ever made rough sketches of his plans these have not survived. Many of his drawings are working drawings in the sense that they show many changes. His practice was to draw in pencil with instruments and then sketch in the decoration freehand, as for instance, in Figure 52. Colour washes were then applied and the lines re-drawn in ink. Almost all of his drawings were then inscribed with the designation of the rooms, their dimensions and a scale of feet. The date, title of the project and place where the drawings were made were added last. Many are re-draughts of earlier plans, for instance the "House A" drawings are annotated with the dates of the original work and the date of the latest re-working. Many of Mar's drawings are animated; tiny figures in elegant colourful dress, smoking chimneys and verdant vegetation appear sometimes rather incongruously on highly finished grey wash elevations (Figures 8 and 48). Figures such as these are a fairly common feature of British and Continental topographical engravings of the period and they are found occasionally on coloured Italian architectural drawings of the sort Mar called *pastel acquas* (see Chapter 3).

The garden plans are equally rich and colourful. Figures 39 and 40 are masterpieces of complex detail. Despite the large area of ground covered by these plans, clarity is never lost and details are integrated into an harmonious abstract design of great pictorial quality. This manner is very similar to the drawings produced by the studios of Le Nôtre and Hardouin-Mansart for the gardens at Marly and the late projects for Versailles which are now exhibited in the Hôtel Soubise, Paris. Mar knew the buildings and very likely new the drawings also. Many of the plans, including these two for the gardens at Alloa, have various dates indicating that he re-worked his drawings over very long periods of time. Some, such as Figure 38, have small patches pasted onto the reverse of the sheet where instruments have torn the surface or the paper has been scraped away to make alterations. Mar then drew over the patches to 'fill' the gaps.¹³

Mar used a consistent colour notation system on his plans to distinguish the existing fabric of the building from his suggested additions. The inscription visible on Figure 6 describes the system as follows: "The colour Brown as the house is at present. The Purple, what is not yet done, but begun. The great Sallon & Hall below it is to be first finished. The addition coloured Green nixt to be done. Then that in buff colour and the rid may be done last at leisir."

Mar's draughtsmanship, like his architecture, developed in response to Continental influences. His early drawing for the doocot (Figure 46) shows that he was still a relatively inexperienced draughtsman in 1704. However, when this drawing is compared with a contemporary drawing, such as, "The Henwife's House" at Brechin, then Mar's drawing is clearly in the manner of Scottish draughtsmanship of that period.¹⁴ His plan of c.1709 for the Royal Palace at Stirling Castle in the National Library of Scotland and the 1708 scheme for the gardens at Cliveden (Figure 71) are more sophisticated in the neatness and smoothness of the colour washes. The few extant drawings of c.1709 are enough to demonstrate that by this date he had mastered the technique of architectural draughtsmanship: later innovations in his style were superficial to these basic skills, although they add considerably to the refinement, beauty and pictorial quality of his drawings.

Mar claimed in 1717 that he had previously made very few elevations. Excepting the doocot, which is coloured, the earliest surviving drawing in his hand (Figure 1) is uncharacteristically in gray wash and is not like the pastel-tinted drawings of the older generation of architects such as Wren, William Talman, James Smith and Alexander Edward.¹⁵ Gray-wash plans are associated with early 18th-century academic drawing technique and Mar may have learnt this from James Gibbs who drew in this way, or it may be a French manner which he adopted whilst living in France after 1720. Another factor in explaining the differences between drawings may be related to their purpose. Figure 29 and the Alloa House elevations (Figures 8 to 11) are richly coloured and decorative. The deep shadows, animated figures, hard outlines and bold titles on these drawings suggests they were intended for display rather than as purely diagrammatic plans for the builder's instruction. These may be some of the decorative drawings which he described as hanging in frames in his room in at Chatou (See Chapter 3 and notes 22 and 23). This was not the exclusive purpose of all the drawings in the collection; most of them are plans in which the serious task of elucidating space and the details of construction are clearly set forth. The fact that most of the plans were never built does not detract from this intention. The aesthetic and the practical are completely integrated, particularly in later drawings such as the Alloa garden schemes discussed above (Figures 39 and 40).

When Mar is working on plans for renovations or correcting the work of other architects (Figure 69) his draughtsmanship is quite crude by comparison with projects of his own invention, for instance, Figures 44 and 67. The relatively poor quality of these drawings and the architecture they represent may reflect his sympathy for the style of the project.

f) Watermarks and Paper

The character of Mar's drawings is so individual and so striking that they are easily distinguishable from the work of others. However, attribution on stylistic grounds is confirmed by analysis of the paper and watermarks, as these authenticate the drawings by placing them in a particular period and location. This period is relatively long as many of the techniques of paper making, and the watermarks of particular mills, remained unchanged from the later half of the 17th century until the mid-18th century. Almost all the paper in Europe in the early 18th century was made in the Low Countries from where it was exported to Britain, France and Italy. The papers for the foreign markets bore exclusive watermarks which help to identify both where they were made and where they were used.¹⁶ Although watermarks are not visible on all of the sheets, because they have been lined and trimmed, those that remain visible confirm the place names in Mar's inscriptions as being in France, Switzerland, Belgium or Italy.¹⁷

The drawings in the Plan Books are dated, numbered and ordered. They provide valuable information on Mar's movements whilst on the Continent. They tell their own story and this needs no further elucidation here. After Mar's death, until the late 19th century, very little known about them except that one or two of the elevations for Alloa House were shown to members of the Royal Society in Edinburgh in the early 19th century. The plans remained at Alloa House and were not bound into volumes until 1899.¹⁸ The fire which destroyed the 17th-century mansion may also be responsible for the loss of the fourth volume of the plans which is recorded at this date. The contents of this fourth volume is not mentioned in the documentary sources, although we might speculate that it consisted of copies of the Italian palace renovations, and perhaps the lost draughts of the royal palace schemes for London and Paris (see Chapter 4, Part II). If this is so then, following the pattern in the other three albums, we might speculate that it was a compendium of royal palace projects.

Although Mar's drawings were not explicitly intended to be regarded as part of the "Jewels of Scotland," they are just as much a part of his view of architecture as expressing the aspirations of civic virtue as his constitution is. Whenever Mar felt guilty about time spent on draughts he would turn his thoughts to Scotland's future. Architecture distracted him from intrigues: "I have sent you by this post another project of mine for Versailles, which has proved to be much safer to be taken up than those of Plots &...."¹⁹ Some plans were engraved and circulated, but there seems to have been no intention to publish these as a treatise, for instance, one was engraved and sent to Rome to know the opinions "of the virtuosos."²⁰ However, he did hope that "they may be of use some time or other"²¹ and this may have been the reason for depositing the city and palace plans for London and Paris in the *Académie Royale* in 1725.²² The only surviving remark which Mar made on the reason for his making architectural drawings is as follows:

Appendix B

My naturall genious runing much after things of this kind, occaission'd perhaps my bestowing too much of my time that way, but it was a pritty amusement, and you may profet by it....²³

A remark which greatly underestimates the concentration of mind and feeling, which Mar must have expended in order to achieve such extraordinary facility in draughtsmanship, such productivity and such an extensive knowledge of the art and practice of architecture and gardening.

1. See Friedman, Terry, "A 'Palace worthy of the Grandeur of the King:' Lord Mar's designs for the Old Pretender, 1718-30," *Architectural History*, Vol. XXIX, 1986, pp. 102-133, Figs. 1 to 34 and Chapter 4, Part II.
2. See Kay, William, 'House of Dun,' MPhil thesis, University of St Andrews, 1986 and Chapter 3 of this thesis.
3. Only the west wall and clock tower are still standing (Figure 79). See Chapter 4, note 84.
4. SRO RHP 13288/1-8; the drawings are numbered 1 to 10 in an earlier hand - numbers 4 and 5 are missing- and SRO RHP 13289.
5. SRO GD 123/363/15 and 16x, see Chapter 4, Part III.
6. National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), Ordnance Drawings Z. 2/17 bears the number '6;' the remainder of the set is missing. Erskine/Paul Papers NLS 5156. See Chapter 1, Part II and note 53; I am grateful to John Gifford for drawing my attention to these letters.
7. The Cliveden Album. Mr Gervase Jackson-Stops kindly allowed me to see the The National Trust's set of photographs upon which this attribution is made. For a description of Mar's plan for Cliveden see Chapter 1, Part II.
8. SRO RHP 13256/41. See Chapter 1, Part II and Chapter 4, Part II.
9. I am grateful to the Earl of Mar and Kellie for showing this to me. For the printed version see Erskine, John, 6th Earl of Mar, "The Earl of Mar's Legacies to Scotland and to his Son, Lord Erskine 1722-27," with an introduction and notes by Hon. Stuart Erskine, *Scottish History Society*, Vol. XXVI, December, 1896, pp. 138-247.
10. Erskine, *Scottish History Society*, 1896, p.183, Lord Mar to his son, Lord Erskine: "The Plan you caried home w^t you of Alloa, is a pritty good one and the designes of the gardens and Parks are mostly made by me before my being abroad... I altered very little when I lastly made this plan...."
11. For Couven see Thieme-Becker, *Kunstler-Lexikon* and Grimme, Ernst G., 'Führer durch das Couven-Museum der Stadt Aachen,' *Aachener Kunstblätter*, Aachen, 1980; and Chapter 4, Part 1.
12. SRO GD 124/1363, September 21 [1720s]. This may be the Francis Petty whose career is described in *Kunstler-Lexikon*. The plan is not in the Mar and Kellie Plan Books but in the Mar and Kellie Papers.
13. In the current conservation work these patches will be removed in order to re-line the drawings. Apparently they cannot be replaced, *ex inf.* Dr Peter Anderson, Conservation Officer, Scottish Record Office.
14. Illustrated by Smout, T. Christopher, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830.*, 2nd edition, London and Glasgow, 1970, p.161; the draughtsman is unknown but the connection with Brechin Castle is pertinent to the development of Mar's draughtsmanship, see Chapter 1, Part I.
15. I have compared these with one of Talman's drawing in the British Museum, Department of

Prints and Drawings, Smith's drawings in Royal Institute of British Architects and Edward's plan of the Tuileries gardens (Earl of Roseberry).

16. See Concordance of Numbers for the watermarks on Mar's drawings.

17. Mar purchased at least one batch of paper from Rotterdam, SRO GD 124/16/53, Account of William Dundas, Merchant, to Mar in France, December, 1729 to March, 1730: £2 3/-; the contemporary value would be £60 or more.

18. *ex inf.* Ian Gow.

SRO GD124/16/195, account form Douglas and Foulis, Castle Street, Edinburgh, May 15, 1899: "Preparing for binding 4 volumes of Lord Mar's Plans (Cleaning, lining and mounting and cloth guards), @ 19/- per vol net £3 16/-. Binding cloth Half Levant Morocco titled on back @ 30/- per vol. £6 0/-." Before binding the plans were probably kept in the boxes which Mar had made for them in Italy: "Account for boxes for draughts. Paid for two boxes to the carry the draughts and tobacco £2, " Stuart Papers (M) 27/47, February 13, [1718].

19. Stuart Papers (M) 60/95, Mar at Paris to Colonel Hay at Rome, January 29, 1722.

20. *ibid.*

21. HMC *Mar and Kellie II*, p.92, Mar to Gibbs.

22. See Chapter 2, note 2.

23. See Erskine, *Scottish History Society*, 1896, Mar at Chillon to Sir Thomas Erskine, 1726.

Appendix B

Concordance of Numbers

RHP NO Ink NO Watermark
(Churchill No)

RHP NO Ink NO Watermark
(Churchill No)

RHP 13256

1	1	
2	2	—
3		—
4	3	
5	5	
6	6	439
7	7	430-434/436/437
8	8	
9	10	430-434/436/437
10	11	430-434/436/437
11	12	" " "
12	13	" " "
13	14	" " "
14	15	" " "
15	16	" " "
16	17	—
17	18	—
18	19	—
19	20	—
20	21	—
21	22	—
22	23	
23	23	
24	24	
25	25	
26	26	
27	27	
28	28	
29	29	
30	30	

31	31	475/477/476
32	32	" " "
33	33	" " "
34	34	" " "
35	35	" " "
36	37	475
37	38	475-477
38	39	"
39	40	425
40	41	
41	42	
42	43	engraving
43	44	
44	45	475
45	46	
46	47	
47	48	
48		
49		Strasburg Lily
50	51	
51	52	Strasburg Lily
52	53	
53	54	
54	55	430-434/436/437
55	56	
56	57	
57	58	474-479/475/476
58	59	

Appendix B

Concordance of Numbers

RHP NO	Ink NO	Watermark (Churchill No)
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RHP 13256 cont

59	60}	
60	61}	
61	62}	engravings
62	63}	
63	64}	
64	65	
65	66	
66	67	
67	68	
68	69	373
69	70	
70	71	430-434/436/437
71	72	
72	73	
73	74	
74	75	
75	76	
76	77	
77	78	430-434/436/437
78	79	
79	81	363
80	82	
81	8?	430-434/436/437
82	85	
83	86	
84	88	383
85		"
86	89	
87	87	
88		
89		
90/i		
91		

Appendix B

Concordance of Numbers

RHP NO	Ink NO	Watermark [Churchill No]	RHP NO	Ink NO	Watermark [Churchill No]
RHP 13257					
1	2		46/i	49	
2	3		47/i	50	
3	4				
4	5		48	51	
5	6		49	52	
6	7		50	53	
7	8		51/i	54	
8	9				
9	10		52	55	383
10	11		53		
12	13		54	57	
13	14		55		
14	15		56	59	
15			57/i/ii	60	475
16/i/ii	17	474-479	58/i	61	
17	19		59	61	
18	20	430-434/436/437	60	62	474-479/475/476
19	18		61	63	
20	21		62	64	
21	22		63	65	
22	23		64	66	429/432/401/411
23	24	430-434/436/437	65	67	383
24	25		66	68	420/401/408/ or 412
25	26	—	67	69	430-434/436/437
26	28	—	68	70	
27	27	406	69	71	430-434/436/437
28	31	"	70	72	
29	29	430-434/ 436/437	71	73	
30	30		72	74	429/432/401/411
31	33	373	73	75	
32	34				
33	35				
34	37				
35	38	430-434/436/437			
36	39				
37/i	40				
38/i		475•			
39/i	42				
40	44				
41	43				
42	45				
43/i	46				
44	47				
45/i	48	383			

Appendix B
Concordance of Numbers

RHP No	Ink No	Watermark (Churchill No)	RHP No	Ink No	Watermark (Churchill No)
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RHP 13258

1	—	} engravings	—	30	407/ 411
2	—		—	31	
3	—		—	32	
4	4		—	33	
5/i	5		—	34	
6/i/ii	5		—	35	
7/i	6	430-434/436/437	—/i/ii	—	
8	—		—	37	
9/i/ii	7		—	38	
10	8		—	39	
11	9		—	40	
12	10		—	41	
13	11		—	42	
14	12		—	43	
15	14		—	44	475
—	—		—	45	
—	16		—	46	
—	17	430-434/436/437	—	47	
—	18		—	48	
—	19	430-434/436/437	—	49	
—	20		50	—	
—	21	475	—	51	
—	22	Strasburg Lily	52	—	
—	23				
—	24				
—	25				
—	—				
—	27				
—	28	429 or 432			
—	29				

Appendix C

Comparative table of large houses modelled on the Royal Pavilion at Marly

	External dimensions	Number of floors	Domed	Dimensions of centre	Staircase	Gallery					
	w d h					l	b	h	l	b	h
Letter(1722)	as Marly but higher	3+2 mezz +1 base	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Alloa A/House L Kensington	*138,*138, (?)82	3+2 mezz + 1 base	yes	53 in dia., 75 high	43, 24, 57	133,23/24, 33.					
"Description.." (1726)	40, 400, ?	3+2 mezz +1 base	?	83 in dia., 83 high	77, 57, 75	306, 40, 90/80/90.					
Marly le Roi	136	3	—								
VS House	123,123, 78	3+2 mezz +1 base	yes	53 in dia	42,24, -	133, 24 ,					
House after Marly(1728)	150,150, 80	3+2 mezz +1 base	—								
"Alloa B"	^113,85, 86incl. attic	2+base & attic	—	32,34,15	3 3,19,47	—					

*This figure is given as 140 feet on the ground floor, to allow for the stylobate.

^ One of this set, RHP 13256/7 is 107 feet on the plan, but Mar says it should be 112 feet.

Appendix D

Handlist of the Mar and Kellie Plan Books

Measurements are given in centimetres.

The scale of feet has not been recorded for every drawing, where this occurs the entry reads 'Scale of feet not noted.'

Designs based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly

1. House L. Plan. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 52.0 x 43.0. Scale of feet not noted.
2. Design based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. Plan. Ground floor. Dated, Clichy, October 1721. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 56.0 x 44.0. Scale of English feet.
Inscribed: 'Designe of a house for the King in the Padocke at Kensington after the maner & of the dementions of Marly'.
3. House L. Plan. Second floor. October 1721. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 44.0 x 35.0. Scale of English feet.
Inscribed: 'markt B'.
4. Design based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. Plan. Second floor. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 48.0 x 40.0. Scale of feet not noted.
Inscribed: 'of No. 2'.
5. Design based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. Plan. Attic floor. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 48.2 x 34.8. Scale of feet not noted.
Inscribed: 'of No. 2'.
6. House L. Plan. Library and bedchambers. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 41.8 x 41.5. Scale of English feet.
7. Design based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. Elevation. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 46.4 x 58.5. Scale of feet not noted.
Inscribed: '...No. 2 the front towards the Parks....'
8. Front towards the Parks. Elevation. Dated, May 1728. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 46.5 x 59.0. Scales of French and English feet.
Inscribed: '...No. 2 the front towards the Parks... Designe of a House the Plan of wch is after the maner & of the same bigness of the Royal Pavilion at Marly'.
9. House L. Section. Dated, February 1723. Pen and ink with coloured wash. Scale of feet not noted. 45.2 x 45.4.
Inscribed: 'The Cut of the House... Markt L'.
10. House modelled on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. Plan. Ground floor. Dated, February 1730. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 54.0 x 68.7. Scale of feet not noted.
Verso: House modelled on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. Elevation. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured wash. Scale of feet.
Inscribed: 'First sketches of the Designe of a house Deminished from that after the maner of Marly'.
11. Design based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. Plan. First floor. Dated, February 1730. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 45.9 x 44.9. Scale of feet not noted.
Inscribed: 'The 1st story over the vaults for lodging 30'.
12. Design based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. Plan. Principal floor. Dated, March 1730. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 47.0 x 58.5. Scale of feet not noted.
13. Design based on Royal Pavilion at Marly. Plan. Second floor. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 47.1 x 58.0. Scale of feet not noted.
14. Design based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. Plan. Roof and library. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 47.0 x 58.4. Scale of feet not noted
Inscribed: 'The covering of the roof of the atic story to be lead & that to be painted as grass & Gravell....'
Verso. Inscribed: '...this house is less in the four fronts than Marly...'
15. Design based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. Elevation. Dated, March 1732. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 49.6 x 46.6. Scale of feet not noted.
Inscribed by Lord Mar: 'Designe for a house after the maner of Marly of 80 foot with the addition of that on top... Markt D. By L^dy: F:E'.
16. Design based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. Plan. Basement. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 28.3 x 46.0. Scale of feet not noted.
17. Design based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. Plan. Ground floor. Dated, Antwerp, 1730. 28.1 x 44.2. Pen and ink with coloured wash. Scale of British feet.
18. Design based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. First floor plan. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 28.1 x 46.0. Scale of feet not noted.
Inscribed: 'The Principall floor...the first Storey of the Sallon may be made an Octagon...'
19. Design based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. Plan. Second floor. Undated. 28.2 x 45.7. Pen and

ink with coloured wash. 28.2 x 45.7. Scale of feet not noted.

20. Design based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. Plan. Roof, terrace and library. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 27.9 x 45.7. Scale of feet not noted.

Verso: Inscribed: 'Antwerp, 1730'.

21. Design based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. Elevation. Dated, Antwerp May 1730. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 28.0 x 45.5. Scale of British feet.

Inscribed: 'front mark't on the Plan, D.'

House C

22. House C. Elevation and section. Dated, October 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 28.2 x 46.8. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'Cut of the House C, wt one of the wings of offices...'

Designs based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly

23. Design based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. Elevation. Dated, Antwerp(no date). Pen and ink with coloured washes. 27.9 x 45.6. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: "front markt E'.

24. Design based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. Elevation. Dated, Antwerp, June 1730. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 27.4 x 33.5. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: "front markt F'.

25. Design based on the Royal Pavilion at Marly. Elevation. Dated, Antwerp, April 1730. 27.2 x 33.7. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 27.2 x 33.7. Scale of British feet.

Inscribed: 'front markt G'.

House A

26. House A. Plan. Dated, 1721. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 35.9 x 51.3. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'Storey below ground of the House markt A'.

27. House A. Plan. Dated, January 1718 and May 1721. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 37.0 x 51.5. Scale of English feet.

Inscribed: 'Design for the 1st storey of the House contrived at Urbino... markt A'.

28. House A. Plan. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 36.7 x 51.7. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: '2nd storey of the House Markt A'.

29. House A. Plan. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 37.1 x 51.2. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: '3rd story of A'.

30. House A. Plan. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 36.9 x 51.7. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'Belveder gallarie'.

31. House A. Section. Dated, Urbino, January 1718. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 26.0 x 39.8. Scale of English feet.

Inscribed: 'the House designed in the upper side of St James's parke at London'.

32. House A. Elevation. Dated, Urbino, February 1718. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 32.5 x 47.1. No scale given.

Inscribed: 'Front towards the Court of the House designd in the upper side of St James's park at London'.

33. House A. Elevation. Dated, Paris, May 1721. Pen and ink with gray wash. 37.0 x 51.2. No scale given.

34. House A. Elevation. Dated, Geneva, 1719 and Paris, May 1721. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 37.0 x 51.2. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'Front of the House markt A towards the Court'.

35. House A. Elevation. Dated, Urbino, January 1718 and Paris, November 1722. Pen and ink with gray wash. 31.0 x 45.1. Scale of English feet.

Inscribed: 'Front of the House markt A towards the Gardens'.

36. House A. Plan. Dated, Urbino, January 1718. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 30.2 x 43.1. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'gatehouse for a house design'd in the upper side of St James' Park'.

37. House A. Plan. Ground floor and one wing. Dated, January 1719. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 55.2 x 42.7. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'design'd in the upper side of St James Park'.

Verso. House A. Elevation. Dated, Urbino, January 1718. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'towards the Court...'

38. House A. Plans(2). First and second floors. Dated, Urbino, January 1718 and Geneva, July 1719. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 49.0 x 34.2. Scale of English feet.

Inscribed: 'Another designe for wings & offices for the House Markt A.'

39. House A. Elevation. Urbino, January 1718 and Geneva, August 1719. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 35.1 x 48.0. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'for the ffront towards the gardens. Markt A'.

40. House A. Elevation and section. Dated, Urbino, January 1718 and Geneva, August 1719. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 34.9 x 48.4. Scale of English feet.

Inscribed: 'Another designe for the front towards the Court... markt A'.

Project for Wolterton House

41. House, courtyard and offices for Horace Walpole. Elevation. Dated, April 1725. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 28.9 x 64.6. Scale of English feet.

Inscribed: 'the amendment of the project for Mr Horace Walpoles house'.

Proposal for Rokeby

42. Rokeby. Plans(2). Upper floor and attic. Undated. Engraved, with additions in pen and ink with coloured washes. 17.5 x 24.8. Scale of English feet.

43. Rokeby. Elevation. Dated, Spa, August 1730. Engraved, with additions in pen and ink with coloured washes. 17.4 x 25.6. Scale of English feet.

Inscribed: 'Sketch for the back or Garden front of the House designed by Mr Wakefield Esqr for Tho: Robison at Rookby park in Yorkshire'.

44. Rokeby. Plan. Rokeby. Dated, Spa, September 1730. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 24.0 x 46.4. Scale of English feet.

Inscribed: 'Part of the principall floor to the house design'd for Mr Robison'.

45. [Rokeby]. Elevation. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 31.2 x 45.7. No scale given.

46. [Rokeby]. Elevation. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 31.0 x 46.0. No scale given.

47. [Rokeby]. Elevation. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 31.5 x 53.3. Scale of English feet.

48. [Rokeby]. Elevation. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 31.3 x 52.1. No scale given.

Verso: Inscribed: 'Mr Robinson's House, Yorkshire'.

Proposal for Bretton Park

49. Bretton Park. Elevations(2) and plans(2). Dated, Spa, July 1730. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 68.0 x 47.6. Scale of English feet.

Inscribed: 'Sketch for Sir Wm. Wentworth's House now building in Yorkshire'.

Proposal for Wilton

50. Wilton. Plan. Dated, February 1724. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 28.7 x 22.8. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'Design for the Earl of Pembroke's seat in England.'

51. Wilton. Plan. Dated, February 1724. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 28.9 x 22.7. Scale of English feet.

Inscribed: 'Plan of the Designe for the principall story of Wilton'.

52. Wilton. Elevation. February 1724. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 27.0 x 42.0. No scale given.

Inscribed: 'toward the gardens'.

53. Wilton. Section. Dated, February 1724. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 26.1 x 38.0. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'from the gardens to the opposit side'.

Proposal for Longleat

54. Longleat. Plan. Ground floor. Dated, November 1722. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 42.5 x 44.4. Scale of English feet.

Inscribed: 'Reforme of Longleat designed at Paris'.

55. Longleat. Plan. Dated, Paris, November 1722. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 35.4 x 43.5. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'Lord Weymouths house of Longleat'.

56. Longleat. Plans(2). Roof and library. Dated, Paris, November 1722. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 34.0 x 43.2. Scale of feet not noted.

57. Longleat. Section. Dated, November 1722. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 42.0 x 46.2. Scale of English feet.

Inscribed: 'Section or Cut of the House of Longleat as design'd'.

58. Longleat. Elevation. Dated, Paris, November 1722. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 42.7 x 50.0. Scale of English feet.

Inscribed: 'in place of that wch was burnt down'.

Kings Weston (engavings)

59. Kings Weston. Elevation. Engraved. 24.1 x 30.4 (image). Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'the seat of Edward Southwell Architect Sir John Vanbrugh; Engraver Leon Schenk'.

60. Kings Weston. Elevations(2). Engraved. 42.7 x 26.4 (image). Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'the seat of Edward Southwell designed by S^r Jo. Vanbrugh 1712; Leon Schenk fecit'.

61. Kings Weston. Elevations(2). Engraved. 42.8 x 26.4 (image). Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'Mariette 1724'.

62. Kings Weston. Plans. Ground and upper floors. Engraved. 26.5 x 42.5 (image). Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'Mariette 1724', and by Lord Mar: 'Print of Mr Southwell's house given me by himself at Paris 1728;

63. Kings Weston. Plans. Principal and first floors. Engraved. 25.0 x 41.1 (image). Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'Mariette 1724'.

Proposal for Drumlanrig Castle

64. Drumlanrig Castle. Plan. Ground floor. Dated, Paris, November 1722. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 35.1 x 28.9. Scale of English feet.

Inscribed: 'A Designe for amending & improveing the Duke of Queensberrys house of Drumlenrige'.

Verso. Drumlanrig Castle. Plan. Dome over the library. Pen and ink with coloured washes. Scale of English feet.

65. Drumlanrig Castle. Elevation. Entrance front. Dated, Paris, November 1722. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 36.0 x 45.0. Scale of feet not noted.

66. Drumlanrig Castle. Section. Dated, November 1722. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 34.0 x 44.6. Scale of feet not noted.

Twickenham

67. Twickenham. Site plan. Dated, October 1711, with a flap dated April 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 75.0 x 53.2. Scale of English feet.

Inscribed: 'Sketch of the grounds at Twickenham'.

68. Twickenham. Site plan of house and gardens. Dated, Geneva, October 1719 and Pistoia, April 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 48.8 x 34.8. Scale of English feet.

House C

69. House C. Plans(2). Ground floor and basement. Dated, June 1727. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 52.7 x 34.1. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'House C... with some alterations'.

70. House C. Plans(2). Upper floor and roof. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 49.5 x 34.1. Scale of feet not noted.

Unidentified project

71. Unidentified project. Elevation. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 32.2 x 44.6. Scale of feet not noted.

House C

72. House C. Elevation. Dated, Paris, May 1721. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 26.5 x 36.2. Scales of French and English feet and of models.

Inscribed: 'Front to the Court of the House Markt C'.

73. House C. Elevation. Dated, Paris, May 1721. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 26.2 x 35.2. Scale of French and English feet and of models.

Inscribed: 'Front of the House markt C'.

74. House C. Section. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 28.0 x 42.1. No scale given.

75. House C. Plans(2). Ground and first floors. Dated, Paris, May 1721. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 51.4 x 35.0. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'House C'.

76. House C. Plans(2). Dated, Rome and Milan Castle, Luca and Geneva 1719, Paris 1729. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 58.9 x 36.3. Scale of English feet.

Inscribed: 'Designe of the Stairs of the House mark C...'

77. House C. Elevation. Entrance front. Dated, June 1727. 26.0 x 67.5. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 26.0 x 67.5. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'House C with some alterations & wings added'.

78. House C. Elevation. Garden front. Dated, June 1727. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 26.0 x 67.2. Scale of feet not noted.

79. House C. Plan. One wing with offices. Dated, August 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 48.0 x 33.6. Scale of feet not noted.

Verso. Inscribed: 'Opposite wing of House C'.

80. House C. Elevation. Dated, Geneva, October 1719. 27.0 x 38.4. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 27.0 x 38.4. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'Half of the front of house C wt one of the wings towards the Court'.

81. House C. Plans(2). Dated, Paris, May 1721. 46.0 x 26.0. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 46.0 x 26.0. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'deminished'.

82. House C. Plan. First floor. Dated, Geneva, October 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 23.5 x 32.7. Scale of feet.

Verso. House C. Plan. Pen and ink with coloured washes. Scale of feet not noted.

83. House C. Plan. First floor. Dated, Geneva, October 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 23.5 x 32.7. Scale of feet not noted.

Verso. House C. Plan. Principal floor. Dated, Milan Castle and Geneva, March and October 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. Scale of feet not noted.

Proposal for Mr Johnstone's House

84. Mr Johnstone's house. Elevation. Dated, Paris, June 1721. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 27.0 x 31.2. Scale of English feet and of models.

Inscribed: 'front towards the gardens... for ornamenting Mr Johnston's house at Twitnham & adding an atique story to it'.

Hunt Hall K

85. Hunt Hall K. Elevation of the principal front. Dated, Geneva, September 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 23.8 x 51.1. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'by way of a villa for a Hunt-hall'.

House C

86. House C. Elevation. Stables. Dated, Milan Castle, March 1719. 22.5 x 37. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 22.5 x 37. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'towards the Great Court'.

87. House C. Plan. Upper floor. Dated, October 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 22.5 x 24.5. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'Storey immediately over the principall floor being the 5th story from the foundation'.

Verso. House C. Plan. Roof. Geneva, undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. Scale of feet not noted.

Hunt Hall K

88. Hunt Hall K. Plan. Basement. Geneva, September 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 27.5 x 32.0. No scale given.

Inscribed: 'Story below ground for offices, all vaulted'.

Verso. Hunt Hall K. Plan. Ground floor. Pen and ink with coloured washes. Scale of feet not noted.

89. Hunt Hall K. Elevation. Principal front. Dated, Geneva, September 1719 and Paris, September 1722. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 27.4 x 36.2. Scale of English feet

Inscribed: 'Designe of a House by way of villa, for a Hunt-hall. K.'

90. Hunt Hall K. Plan. Upper gallery and dome. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 23.4 x 33.2. Scale of feet.

Verso. Hunt Hall K. Elevation. Dated, September 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. Scale of feet not noted.

91. Hunt Hall K. Elevation. Principal front. Dated, Geneva, September 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 33.0 x 47.9. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'Designe for the Hunt Hall enlarged wt wings added to it'.

Dun A [Small House for Lord Dun]

1. House W [Lord Dun's house]. Plans(2). Basement and principal floor. Dated, April 1723. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 45.6 x 29.0. No scale given.
2. House W [Lord Dun's house]. Plans(2). Second floor and entresol. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 45.6 x 28.5. No scale given.
3. House W [Lord Dun's house]. Plans(2). Third floor and garrett. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 45.8 x 28.3. No scale given.
4. House W [Lord Dun's house]. Section and plans(2). Roof and belvedere. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 45.9 x 27.4. Scale of English feet.

Dun B [House of Dun]

5. House of Dun. Plan. Principal floor with alternative design for the vestibule. Dated, April 1731. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 40.9 x 42.6. Scale of British feet.
6. House of Dun. Plan. Second floor. Dated, April 1731. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 30.9 x 33.2. Scale of feet not noted.
7. House of Dun. Plan. Attic floor. Dated, April 1731. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 30.0 x 33.0. Scale of feet not noted.
8. House of Dun. Elevation. North front. Dated, April 1731. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 26.8 x 34.6. No scale given.
9. House of Dun. Elevation. South front, with an overlay of the window design. Dated, April 1731. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 26.7 x 33.6. No scale given.
10. House of Dun. Elevation. North front, with an overlay of an alternative design for the entrance. Dated, April 1731. Pen and ink with coloured wash. 26.9 x 33.9. Scale of British feet.

Proposal for Lord Falkland's House

11. Lord Falkland's house at Mezières à Cléry. Plan. Alterations to the ground floor. Dated, November 1726. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 40.5 x 52.2. Scales of French and English feet.
12. Lord Falkland's house at Mezières à Cléry. Plan. Alterations to the first floor. Dated, November 1726. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 28.6 x 52.3. Scale of feet not noted.
13. Lord Falkland's house at Mezières à Cléry. Elevation. Alterations to the garden front. Dated, November 1726. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 34.1 x 51.5. No scale given.
Verso. Lord Falkland's house at Mezières à Cléry. Alternative elevation. Garden front. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. No scale given.
14. Lord Falkland's house at Mezière à Cléry. Elevation. Alterations to the entrance front. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 35.5 x 52.0. Scale of feet not noted.

Château de Migneaux, near Poissy

15. Pavilion on a terrace at Migneaux, near Poissy. Elevation and plan. Dated, September 1723. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 57.8 x 29.2. Scales of French and English feet.

Proposal for a House at Bécon-les-Bruyères

16. Gardens and parks for a house at Bécon-les-Bruyères. Site plan. Dated, August 1721. 58.9 x 45.5. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 58.9 x 45.5. Scale of English feet.
Inscribed: '80 foot in the Inch'.

Proposal for Captain de Wilde's House at Antwerp

17. Captain de Wilde's house at Antwerp. Plan. Dated, November 1729. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 13.0 x 47.4. Scale of feet not noted.
18. Captain de Wilde's house. Plan of the portico. Dated, Antwerp, November 1729. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 29.7 x 47.9. Scales of Antwerp and French feet.
19. Captain de Wilde's house. Plan. Alterations to base courts and stables. Dated, Antwerp, undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 54.7 x 44.5. Scale of Antwerp feet and conversion scales for French and English feet.
20. Captain de Wilde's house. Plan. First floor. Dated, Antwerp, November 1729. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 14.0 x 47.0. Scales of Antwerp and French feet.
21. Captain de Wilde's house. Plan. Principal floor. Dated, Antwerp, November 1729.
22. Captain de Wilde's house. Plan. Base court and stables. Dated, Antwerp, February 1730. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 33.2 x 59.2. Scale of feet not noted.

Proposal for the Marquis de Tessé's House at Chatou

23. Marquis de Tessé's house. Plan for avenues and belvedere. Dated, April 1726. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 56.2 x 29.3. Scales of French and English feet.
24. Marquis de Tessé's house. Plan. Principal floor. Dated, May 1728. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 26.6 x 47.8. Scale of French feet.
25. Marquis de Tessé's house. Elevation for a frontispiece. Dated, May 1728. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 28.6 x 47.1. Scale of feet not noted.

First Design for a Villa for the Bishop of Namur, La Plant

26. Villa for the Bishop of Namur at La Plant. Plan. Principal floor. Dated, Spa, August 1731. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 28.6 x 31.0. Scale of feet not noted.
27. Villa for the Bishop of Namur at La Plant. Alternative floor plan. Dated, Spa, August 1731. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 27.1 x 30.0. Scale of Liège and British feet.

House A

28. House A. Site plan. Courts and gardens. Dated, Urbino, January 1718 and Geneva, July 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 38.2 x 48.5. Scale of English feet.

Second Design for a Villa for the Bishop of Namur at La Plant

29. Second design of a villa for the Bishop of Namur at La Plant. Elevations(2). Dated, Spa, August 1731. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 26.0 x 33.0. Scale of Liege feet.
30. Second design for a villa for the Bishop of Namur at La Plant. Elevations(2). Dated, Spa, August 1731. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 27.0 x 34.4. Scale of feet not noted.

House A

31. House A. Plan. Gardens and courts. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 24.0 x 30.4. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed with a description of scheme for improving Picadilly.

Proposal for a House for M. Roëttier at Choisie le Roi

32. M Roëttier's house. Ground floor plan. Dated, Paris, July 1721. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 24.6 x 28.2. Scale of feet not noted.
33. M Roëttier's house. Elevations(2). Entrance and garden fronts. Dated, Choisie, July 1721. Pencil. 28.7 x 38.5. Scales of French and English feet.

Villa N

34. Villa N. Plan. Courts, avenues and offices. Dated, Paris, April 1721. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 23.4 x 23.9. Scale of feet not noted.
35. Villa N. Section. Dated, Bourbon, July 1720. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 24.0 x 45.2. Scale of feet not noted.
36. Villa N. Section. Dated, Bourbon, July 1720. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 24.4 x 45.3. Scale of feet not noted.
37. Villa N. Plan. Basement. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 25.2 x 20.7. Scale of feet not noted.
Verso: Villa N. Plan. Second storey below the court and first storey beneath the gardens. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. Scale of feet not noted.
38. Villa N. Plan. First floor up from the gardens and down from the court. Dated, Spa, August 1731. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 29.6 x 23.5. Scale of feet not noted.
Verso: Villa N. Plan Principal floor. Dated, Geneva, November 1719. Scales of French and English feet.
39. Villa N. Plan. Second floor up from the court and third from the terrace. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 21.6 x 20.5. Scale of feet.
Verso: Villa N. Plan. Upper floor. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. Scale of feet not noted.
40. Villa N. Elevation. Entrance front. Dated, Spa, August 1731. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 24.0 x 33.6. Scale of feet not noted.
41. Villa N. Elevation. Garden front. Dated, Spa, August 1731. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 25.2 x 33.4. Scale of British feet.
42. Villa N. Plan showing floor beneath the colonnade. Dated, November 17[]. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 31.5 x 29.8. Scale of feet not noted.
43. Villa N. Plan for the staircase. Dated, November 1719 and November 1731. Pen and ink with

coloured washes. 24.0 x 38.5. Scale of feet not noted.

44. Villa N. Plan for courts, gardens and offices. Dated, Geneva, November 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 23.6 x 24.0. Scale of feet not noted.

House J

45. House J. Plan. Basement beneath the courtyard. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 21.5 x 27.6. Scale of feet not noted.

Verso: House J. Elevation. Front to the court. Dated, Geneva, October 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. Scale of feet not noted.

46. House J. Plan. Entrance (first) floor. Dated, Geneva, October 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 18.9 x 27.5. Scale of English feet.

Verso: House J. Plan. Upper floor plan. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes.

47. House J. Plan. Upper (fifth) floor. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 18.8 x 27.3. Scale of feet not noted.

Verso: House J. Top floor. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. Scale of feet.

48. House J. Elevation. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 25.9 x 29.8. Scale of feet not noted.

49. House J. Plan. Alternative design for entrance floor. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 20.4 x 24.7. Scale of feet not noted.

50. House J. Plan. Staircases. Dated, November 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 47.7 x 21.6. Scale of feet not noted.

Proposal for a House on the Comely Bank at Alloa

51. House on the Comely Bank at Alloa. Plan. Kitchens and basement. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 28.2 x 41.6. Scale of feet not noted.

Verso: Inscribed: 'June 1730'.

Proposal for a New House at Alloa [Alloa C]

52. House at Alloa [Alloa C]. Plan. Ground floor. Dated, April 1725. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 45.1 x 59.9. Scale of feet not noted.

53. House at Alloa [Alloa C]. Elevation. North front. Dated, April 1725. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 29.1 x 66.7. Scale of English feet.

54. House at Alloa [Alloa C]. Elevation. Front towards the town. Dated, April 1725. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 29.4 x 44.6. Scale of feet not noted.

55. House at Alloa [Alloa C]. Plan. Courtyard and stables. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 49.3 x 44.4. Scale of feet not noted.

Proposal for Innernytie, Perthshire

56. Innernytie, Perthshire. Site plan. Gardens, woodland and house. Dated, October 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 22.4 x 32.0. Scale of English feet.

Pavilion for the Gardens at Alloa

57. Pavilion for the gardens at Alloa. Plans (2). Basement and second floor. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 23.8 x 35.7. Scale of feet not noted.

58. Pavilion for the gardens at Alloa. Floor plan. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 23.4 x 18.6. Scale of English feet.

Verso: Inscribed: 'December 1731'.

59. Pavilion for the gardens at Alloa. Plan. Upper floor and terrace. Undated. 23.9 x 32.1. Pen and ink with coloured washes. Scale of feet not noted.

60. Pavilion for the gardens at Alloa. Roof plan. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 22.3 x 29.2. Scale of feet not noted.

Pavilion in a Park

61. Pavilion in a park. Plans (2) and elevation. Dated, Clichy, September 1721. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 29.1 x 22.5. Scale of feet not noted.

62. Pavilion in a park. Plans (2) and elevation. Entrance floor and first floor plans and elevation. Dated, Clichy, September 1721. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 35.0 x 29.0. Scale of English feet.

Villa N

63. Villa N. Plan. Colonnade, courts and offices. Dated, Geneva, November 1719. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 51.9 x 47.1. Scale of feet not noted.

Garden House

64. Garden house. Plan. February 1731. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 39.5 x 33.2. Scale of feet not noted.

Proposal for a Banqueting House on the Bowling Green at Alloa

65. Banqueting house for Alloa. Plan. Dated, Antwerp, May 1730. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 46.5 x 35.1. Scale of feet not noted.

66. Banqueting house for Alloa. Elevation. Dated, June 1730. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 31.6 x 46.2. Scale of English feet.

67. Banqueting house for Alloa. Plans(2). Basement and entrance floor. Probably by Alexander McGill. Dated, January 1725. Pen and ink with green washes. 45.5 x 28. 0. Scale of feet.

Ice-house with a Turning Seat

68. Ice-house with a turning seat. Plan, elevation and section. Dated, September 1727. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 54.9 x 52.2. Scale of English feet.

Untitled Site plan

69. Untitled site plan. House and gardens. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 21.2 x 28.9. Scale of English feet.

Untitled Country House

70. Project for an untitled country house. Elevation. Undated. 21.8 x 45.5. No scale given.

Building of Nine Bays

71. Project for a building of nine bays. Elevation. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 23.9 x 41.6. Scale of feet not noted.

Pigeon House at Alloa

72. Pigeon House at Alloa. Elevations(2) and roof plan. Dated, 1704. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 25.9 x 40.5. No scale given.

Inscribed: 'Pidging House'.

Verso. Pigeon House at Alloa. Plan and elevation. Dated, November 1704. Pen and ink with coloured washes. No scale given.

Inscribed: 'to be placed in the center of the end of the Avenue on the Hawk Hill Park.'

Unidentified Offices

73. Wing of offices. Plan. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 50.2 x 43.4. Scale of feet not noted.

Mar Policy at Alloa

1. Survey plan of Alloa. Dated, [c.1710]. Engraved with additions in pen and ink and coloured washes. 71.0 x 53.9(image). Scale of English feet and north point.
Inscribed with legend and explanation of the plan.
Signed: 'J. Sturt'.
2. Survey plan of Alloa. Dated, 1710. Engraved. 47.6 x 59.8 (image). Scale of English feet and north point.
Inscribed with legend and explanation of the plan.
Signed: 'J Sturt'.
3. Site plan of courts and gardens at Alloa. Dated, 1722, 1730 and 1731. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 45.8 x 59.7. Scale of English feet.

Alloa House

4. Alloa House. Plan. Ground floor(unfinished). Probably by Alexander McGill. Dated, Alloa, December 1710. Pen and ink with gray washes. 53.5 x 64.5. No scale given.
5. Alloa House. Plan. Entrance floor. Dated, Chatou, December 1725 and 1727. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 51.6 x 72.7. Scale of English feet.
6. Alloa House. Plan. First floor with an overlay in another hand. Dated, 1727. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 50.0 x 76.0. Scale of English feet.
7. Alloa House. Plan. Second floor. Dated, 1727 and Spa, 1730. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 50.6 x 74.4. No scale given.
8. Alloa House. Plan. Base courts, offices and additions. Dated, April 1732. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 55.5 x 80.3. Scale of feet not noted.
9. Alloa House. Plans(3). Reservoir on the Tower and upper stories of the mansion. Dated, 1727. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 50.0 x 85.7. Scale of English feet.
10. Alloa House. Plan. Detail of the entrance floor with a proposal for a bow window('portico'). Dated, April 1731. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 56.5 x 69.2. No scale given.
11. Alloa House. Transverse section. Bow window on the garden front. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 54.7 x 64.0. No scale given.
Verso. Inscribed: '...May 1731.'
12. Alloa House. Elevation. Front towards the town. Dated, September 1727. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 36.4 x 55.0. Scale of English feet.
13. Alloa House. Elevation. Garden front. Dated, September 1727 and Spa, 1730. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 37.9 x 68.4. Scale of English feet.
14. Alloa House. Elevation. Garden front. Dated, September 1727. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 39.0 x 67.5. No scale given.
15. Alloa House. Elevation. Front towards the Hawkhill with an overlay signed by J. J. Couven. Dated, Aix, 1732. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 37.1 x 66.7. Scale of English feet.

Proposals for a Water Wheel for Alloa House

16. Water wheel for Alloa House. Plan. Offices with water wheel. Dated, Chatou, May, 1728. Pencil. 41.1 x 56.4. Scale of feet not noted.
Inscribed: 'Designé by Quin my valet de Chambre...'
17. Water wheel for Alloa House. Plan. Offices with water wheel. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 49.7 x 41.9. Scale of feet not noted.
18. Water wheel for Alloa House. Plan. Offices with water wheel. Dated, May, 1728. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 37.1 x 49.7. Scale of English feet.
19. Water wheel for Alloa House. Section. Offices with water wheel. Dated, May, 1728. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 36.2 x 34.1. Scale of feet not noted.
Inscribed: 'by Quin'.
20. Water wheel for Alloa House. Elevation. Wing of offices. Dated, May, 1728. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 35.5 x 48.9. Scale of English feet.
21. Water wheel for Alloa House. Elevation. Rear of wing of offices. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 36.5 x 49.8. Scale of feet not noted.

Site Plan for Alloa House

22. Site Plan for Alloa House showing the courts and gardens. Dated, April, 1732. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 48.1 x 51.1. No scale given.

Hydraulic Scheme for Alloa

23. Hydraulic scheme for Alloa. Plan. Dated, June 1728. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 40.0 x

63.7. Scale of feet not noted.

Inscribed: 'Drawn by M. Duburfor Ingenieur'.

24. Hydraulic scheme for Alloa. Plan and elevation, [by M. Duburfor]. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 43.1 x 26.4. Scale of feet not noted.
25. Hydraulic scheme for Alloa. Section, [by M. Duburfor]. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 25.4 x 58.0. Scale of feet not noted.
26. Hydraulic scheme for Alloa. Section. Hillside and pumping station, [by M. Duburfor]. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 28.0 x 213.5. Scale of feet not noted.

Verso. Dated, 1727.

Alloa Church

27. Alloa Church. Site plan. Town and church. Dated, October 1722. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 46.2 x 38.0. No scale given.
28. Alloa Church. Plan. Proposed alterations. Dated, December 1712. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 27.8 x 42.5. Scale of feet not noted.
29. Alloa Church. Plan. Proposed enlargement. Probably by Alexander Edward. Dated, September 1708. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 24.0 x 37.5. Scale of feet.
30. Alloa Church. Plan. Second floor. Proposed enlargement. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 25.1 x 41.0. Scale of feet not noted.
31. Alloa Church. Elevation. South front. Dated, Paris, October 1722. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 43.5 x 45.0. Scale of English feet.
32. Alloa Church. Elevation. North front. Dated, Antwerp, April 1730. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 46.6 x 59.5. No scale given.
33. Alloa Church. Elevation. South front. Dated, Antwerp, April 1730. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 50.7 x 58.9. Scale of English feet.
34. Alloa Church. Longitudinal section. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 47.0 x 57.2. Scale of English feet.
35. Alloa Church. Plan. Proposed enlargement with tribunes and the Monument to the Families of Erskine and Mar. Dated, April 1730. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 76.2 x 46.7. Scale of British feet.
36. Alloa Church. Seating plan. Dated, Paris, October 1722. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 30.1 x 46.0. Scale of feet not noted.

Verso. Alloa Church. Plan of the Minister's room. Pencil. Scale of feet not noted.

37. Alloa Church. Plan showing the Mar Aisle and the position of the Monument to the Families of Erskine and Mar. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 64.2 x 32.6. Scale of feet not noted.

Monument to the Families of Erskine and Mar

38. Monument to the Families of Erskine and Mar. Design. Dated, 1722. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 55.2 x 20.8. Scale of feet not noted.

Verso. Inscribed with a description of the Monument and cupola.

39. Monument to the Families of Erskine and Mar. Design. Dated, 1722. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 46.5 x 28.9. Scale of feet not noted.
40. Proposal for Alloa Church. Transverse section. Mar Aisle and the position of the Monument to the Families of Erskine and Mar. Dated, October, 1722. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 47.0 x 28.2. Scale of feet not noted.
41. Proposal for Alloa Church. Transverse section. Mar Aisle and the position of the Monument to the Families of Erskine and Mar. Dated, 1722. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 55.6 x 33.0. Scale of English feet.

Alloa Church

42. Alloa Church. Transverse section. Gallery of the Mar Aisle. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 29.4 x 46.9. Scale of feet.
43. Alloa Church. Longitudinal section. Monument to the Families of Erskine and Mar. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 28.6 x 46.0. Scale of feet not noted.

Alloa Gardens

44. Alloa gardens. Site plan. Terraces, gardens and proposal for a new house. Dated, April, 1725. Pen

and ink with coloured washes. 85.0 x 43.8. Scale of feet not noted.

Stirling Castle

45. Stirling Castle. Plan. Vaults and offices, with proposals for the kitchens and the outer walls. Dated, April 1724. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 44.8 x 66.0. Scale of feet not noted.
46. Stirling Castle. Plan. Proposed additions to the Royal Palace. Dated, Paris, April 1724. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 59.8 x 45.0. Scale of feet not noted.
47. Stirling Castle. Plan. Proposed additions to the Royal Palace. Dated, April 1724. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 59.4 x 44.0. Scale of feet not noted.
48. Stirling Castle. Elevation. Southeast front. Dated, Paris, April 1724. 38.5 x 72.6. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 38.5 x 72.6. Scale of feet not noted.
49. Stirling Castle. Elevation. Northeast front. Dated, Paris, April 1724. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 38.5 x 44.6. Scale of feet not noted.

Proposals for a House in a Park [House of Alva]

50. House in a park [House of Alva]. Plan. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 52.0 x 90.0. Scale of feet not noted.
51. House in a park [House of Alva]. Plan. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 47.2 x 50.0. Scale of feet not noted.
52. House in a park [House of Alva]. Section. Hillside with a house and canal at the foot of the Woodhill. Undated. Pen and ink with coloured washes. 24.9 x 85.9. Scale of feet not noted.

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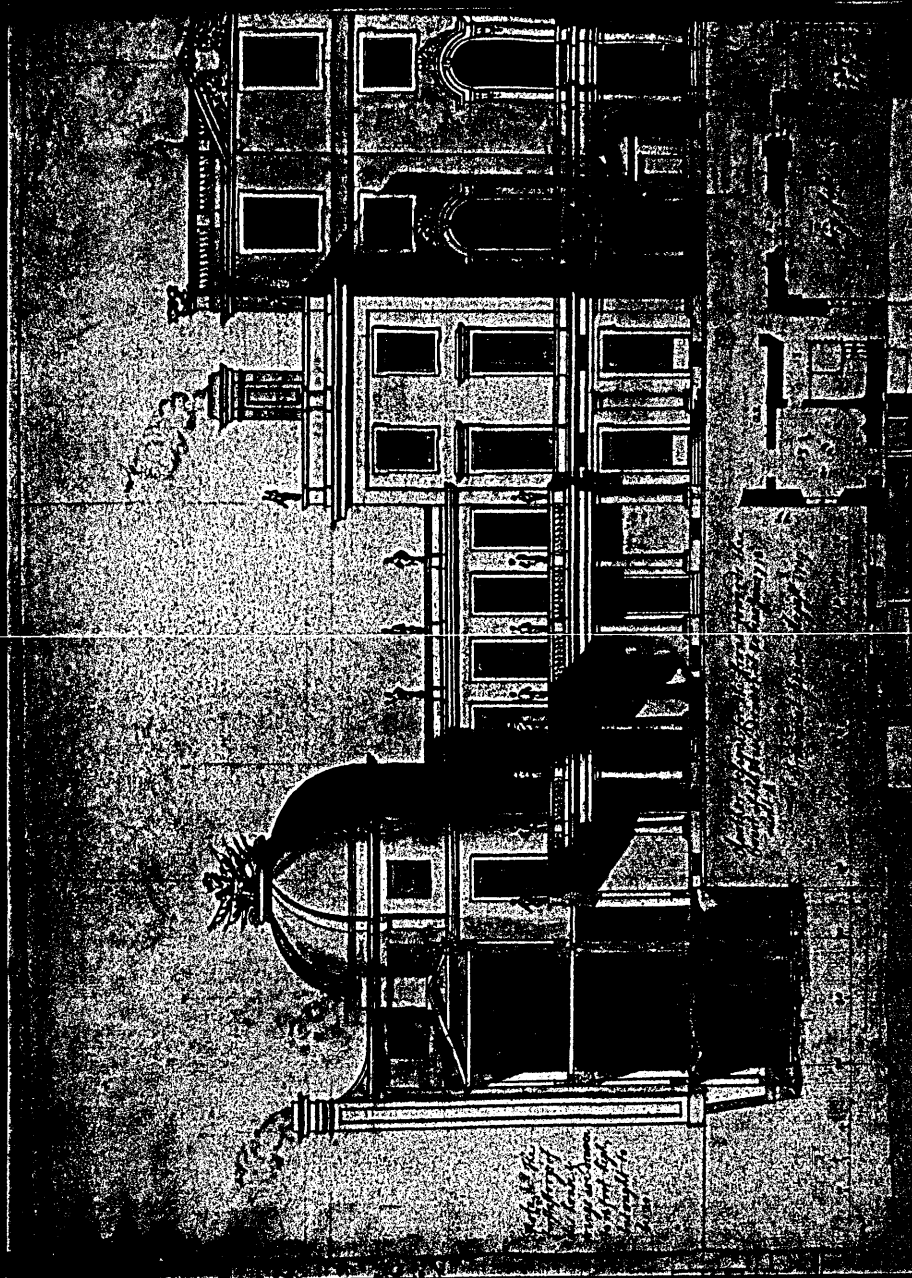
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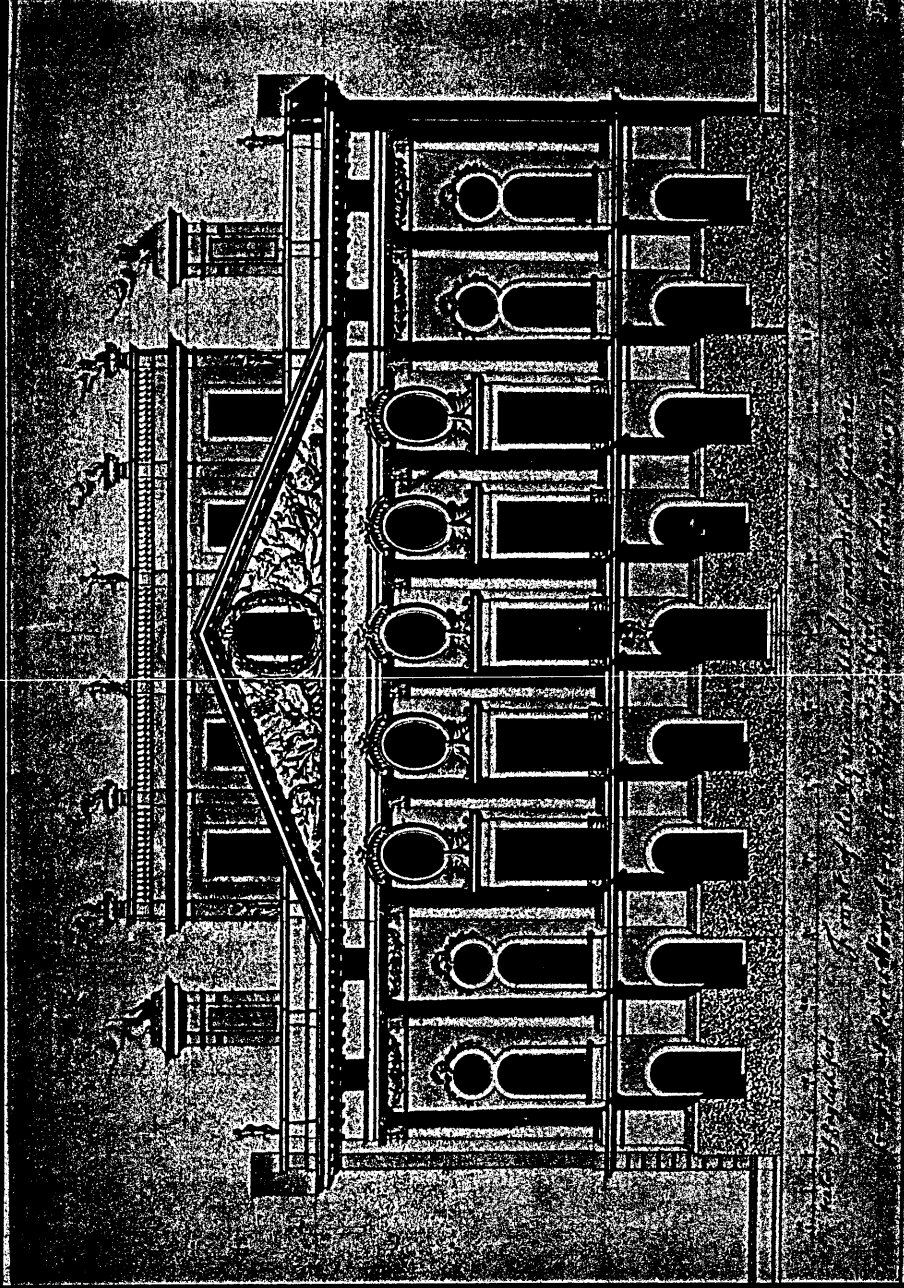
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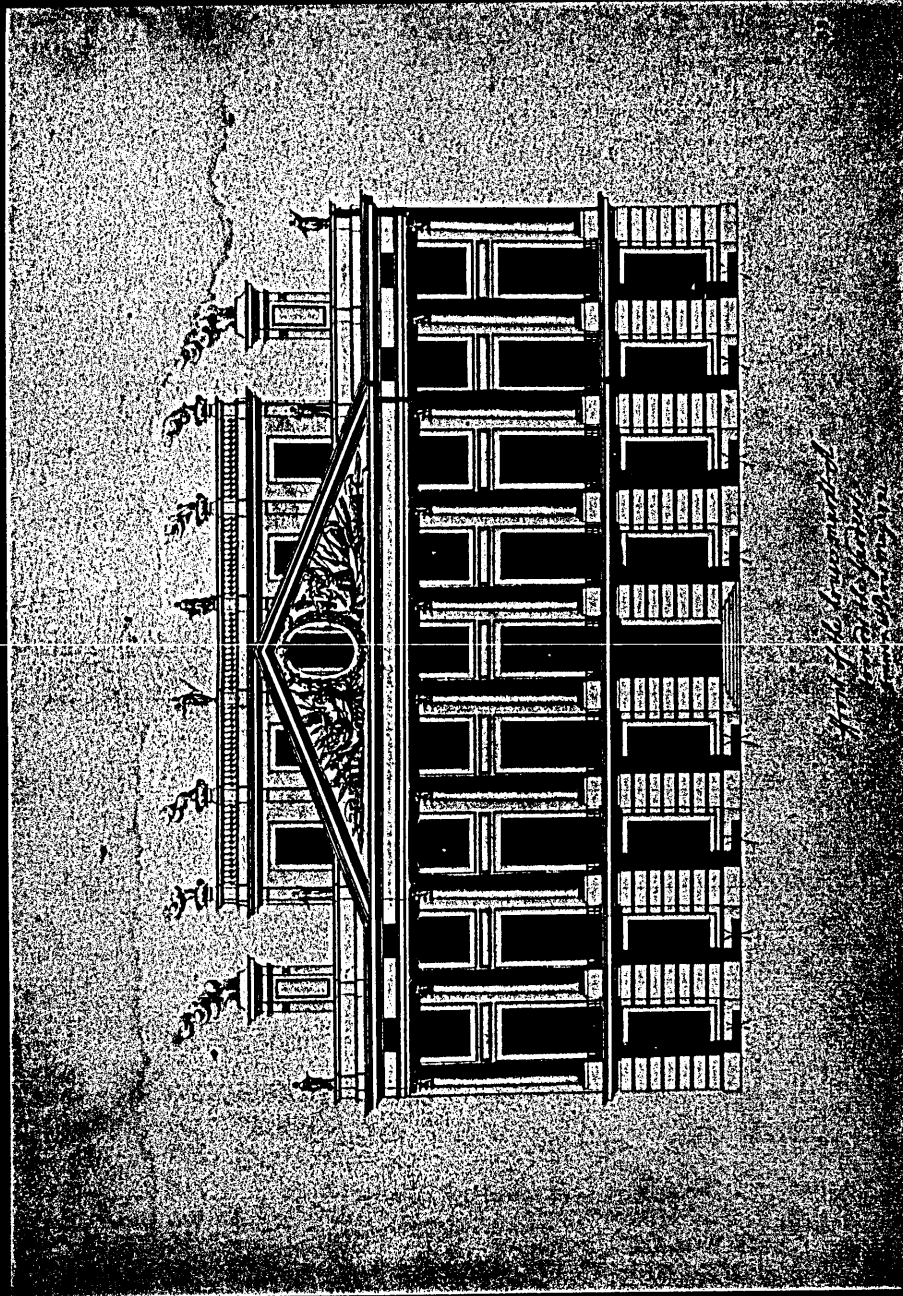
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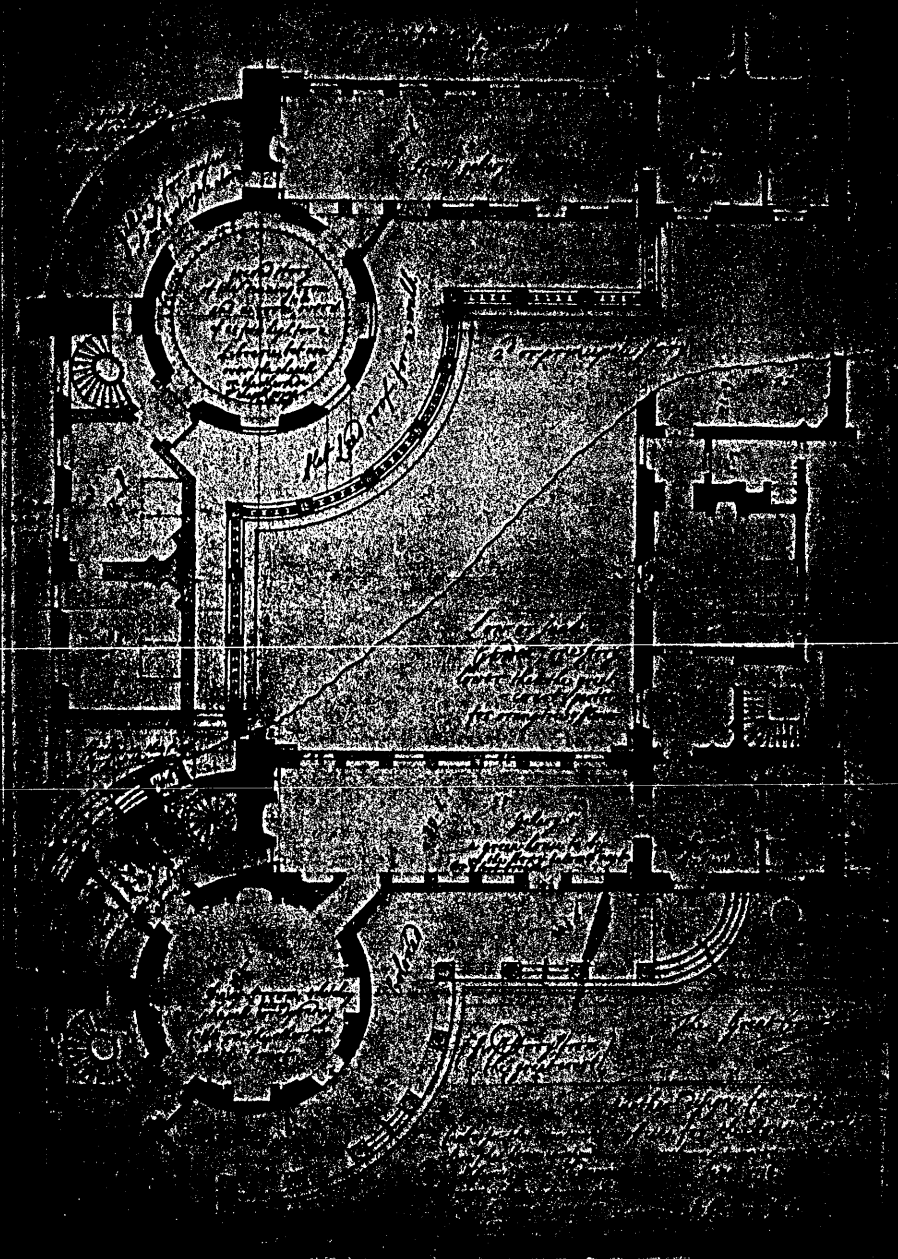
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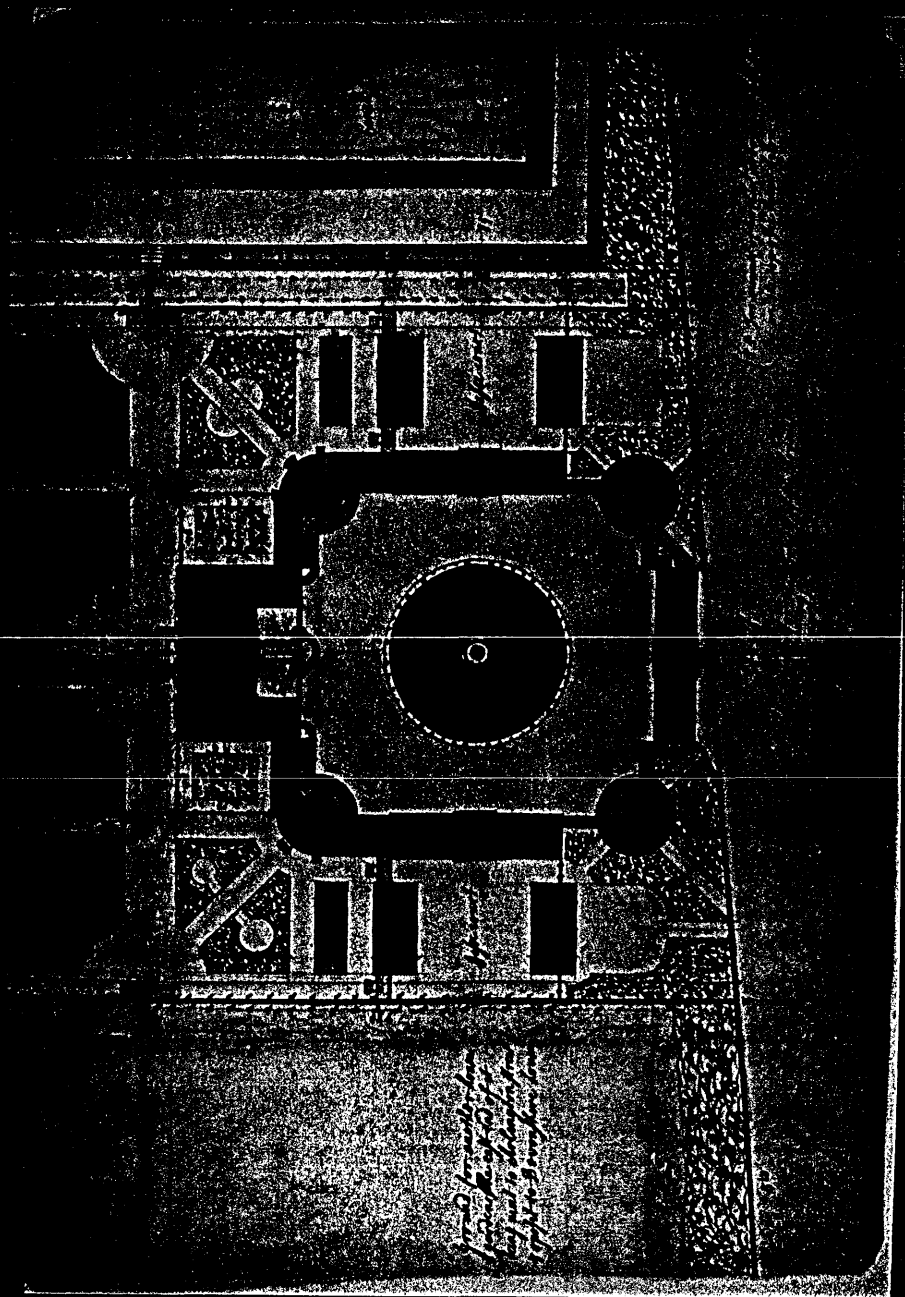
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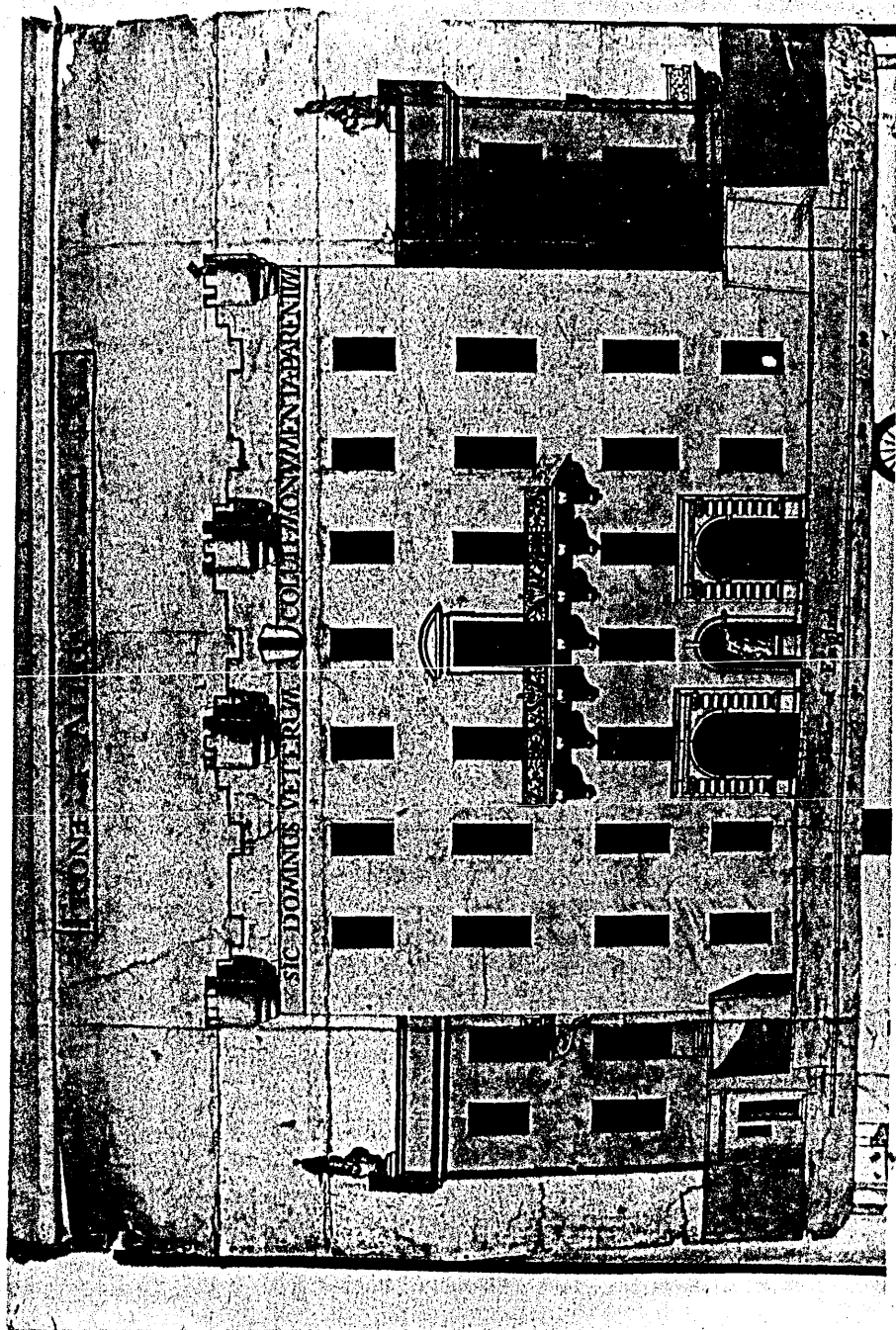
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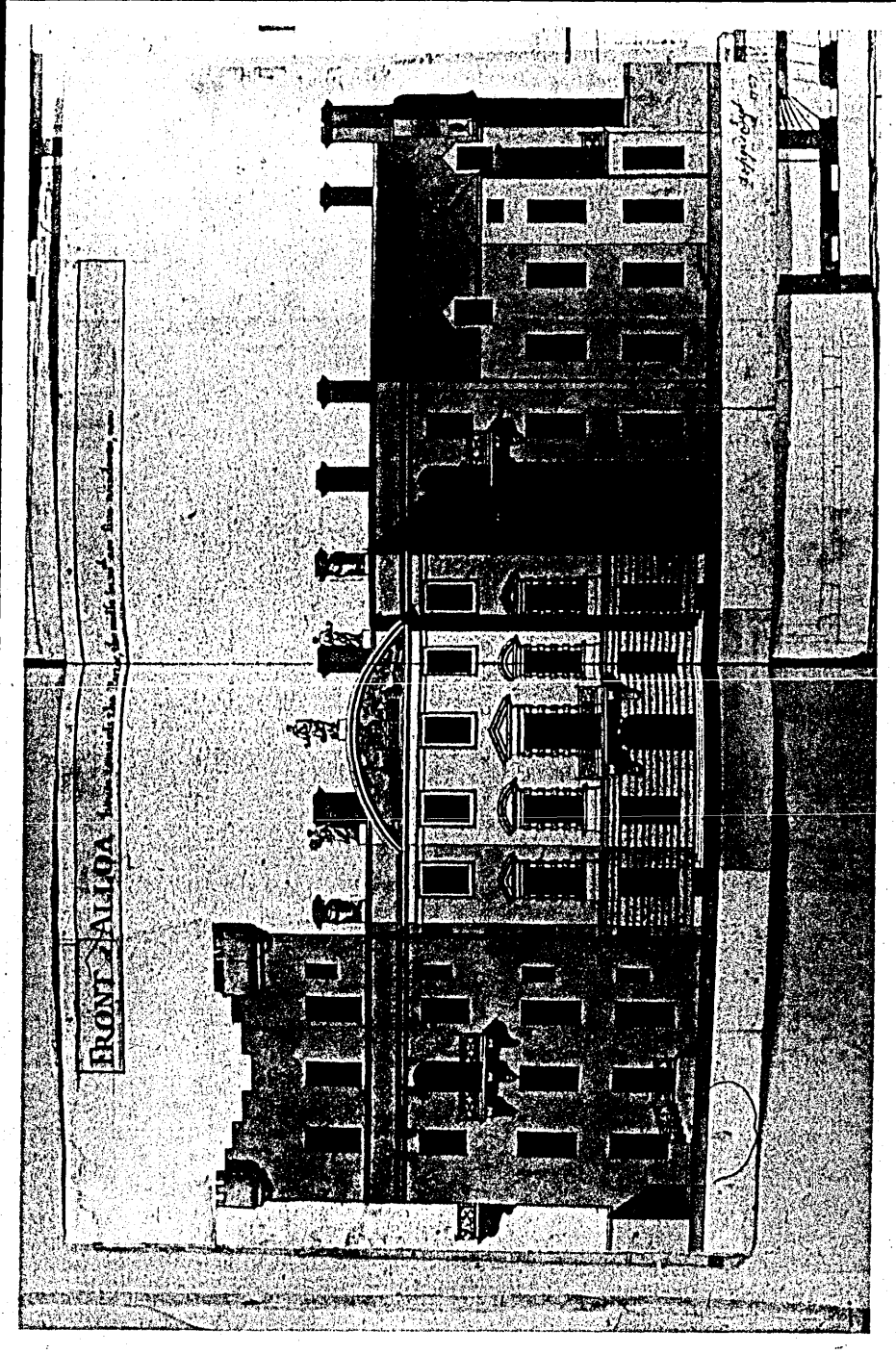
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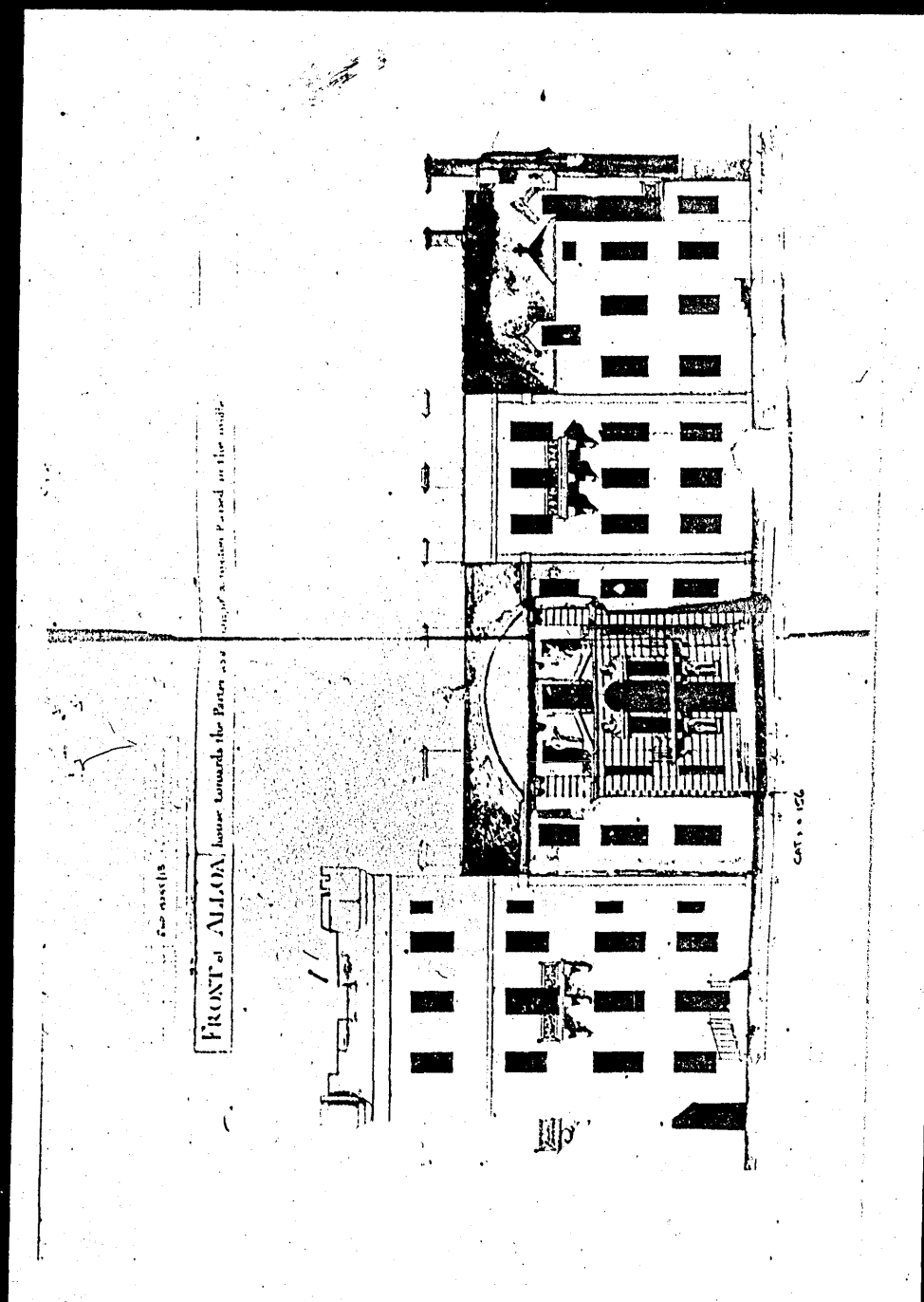
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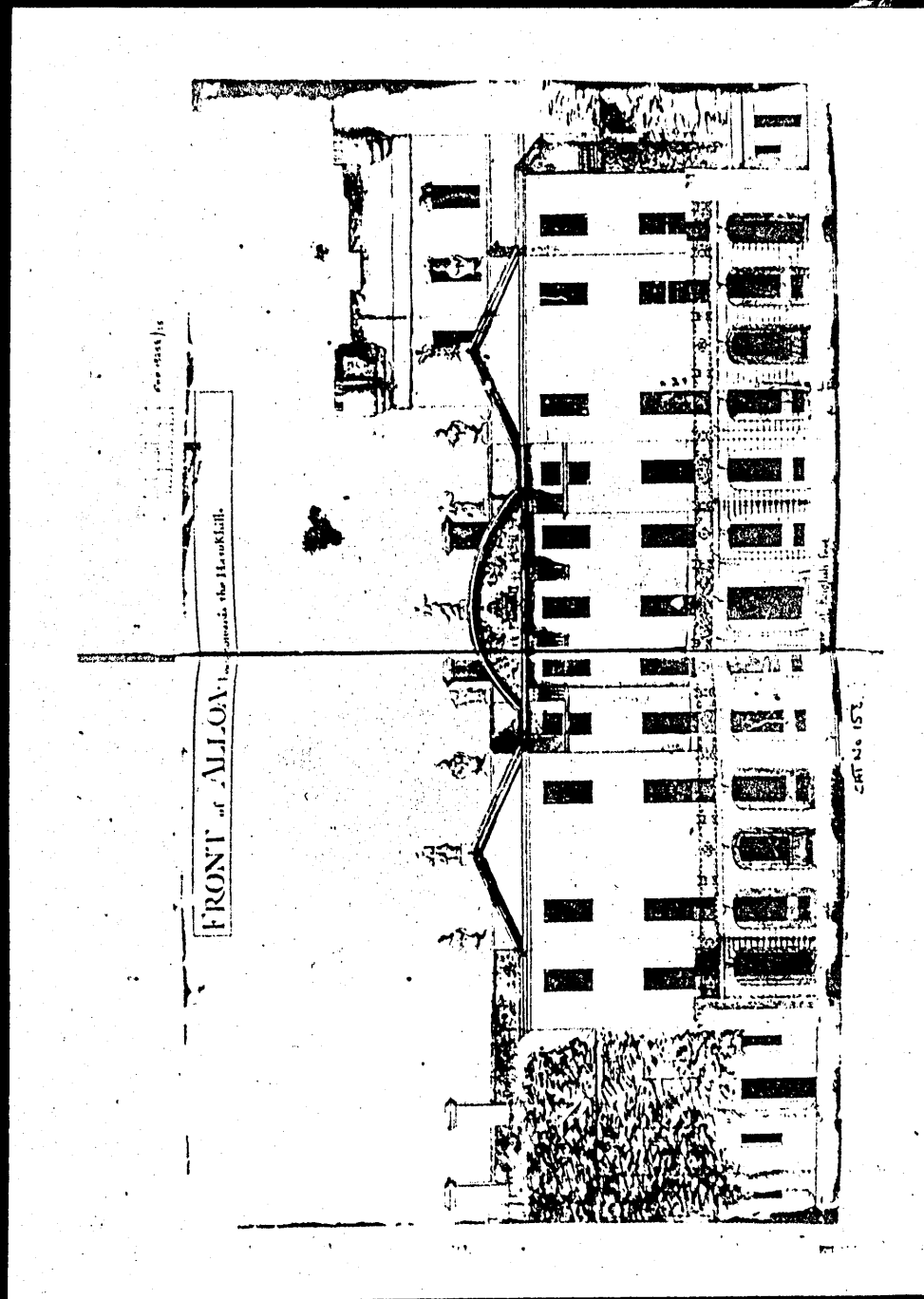
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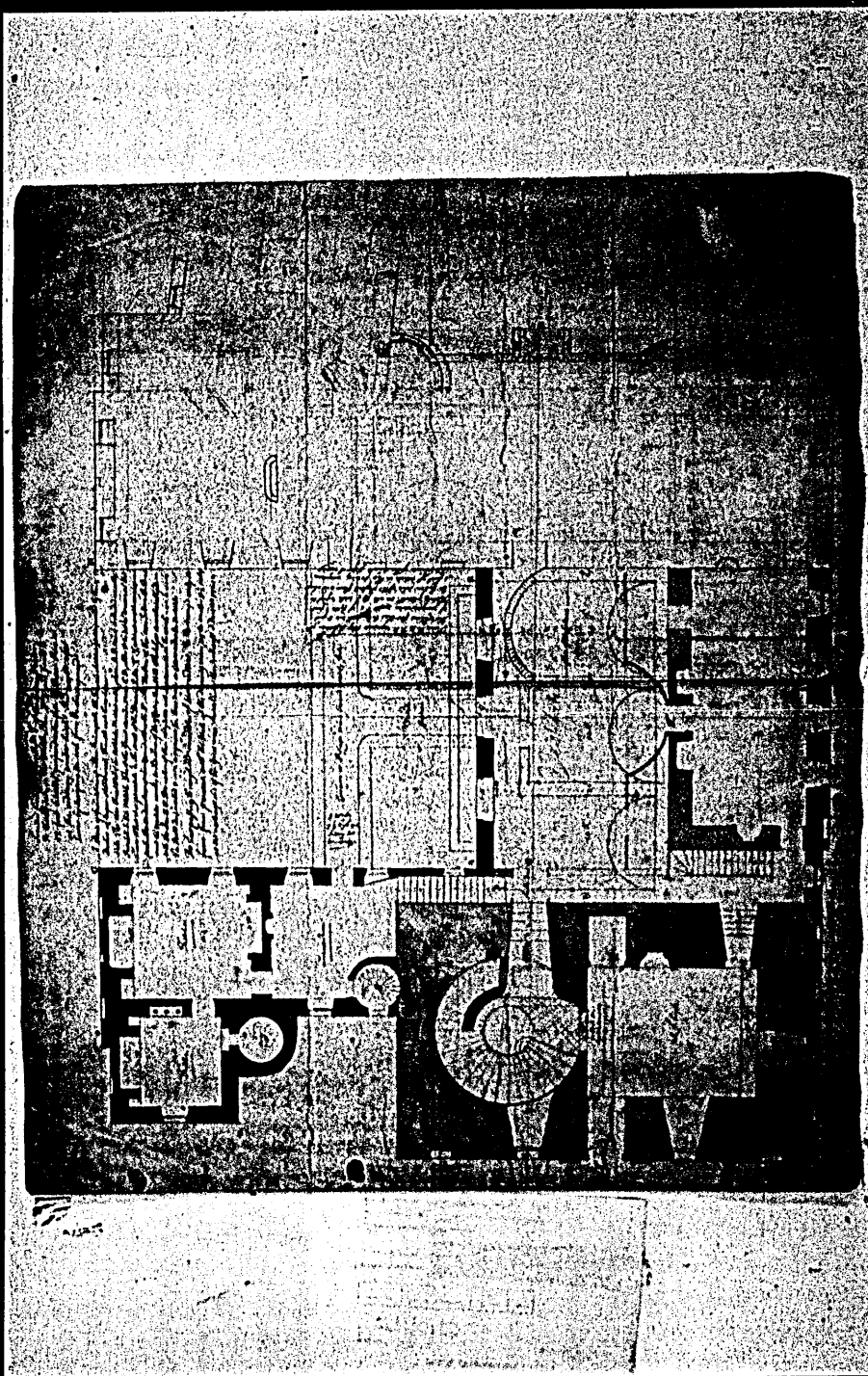
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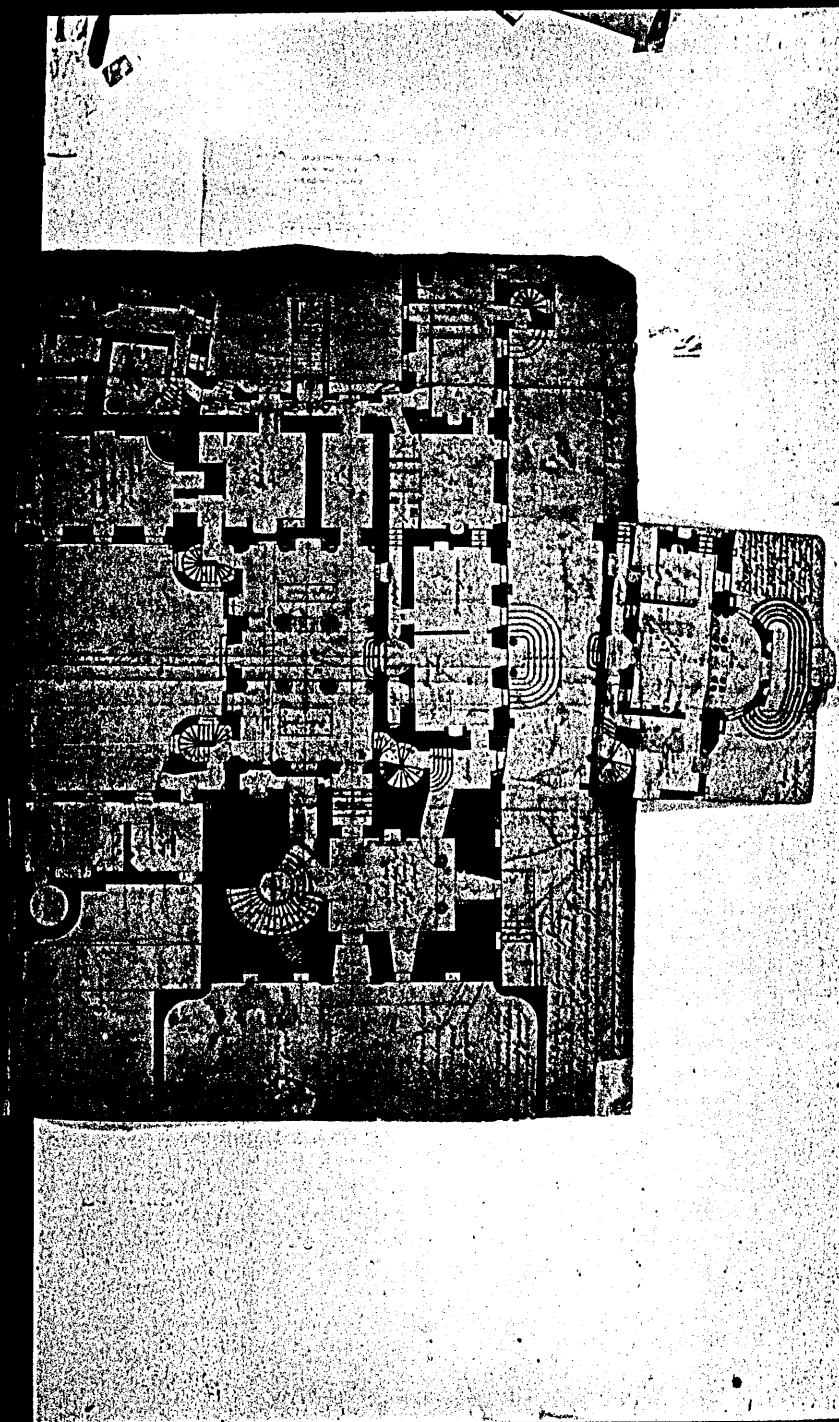
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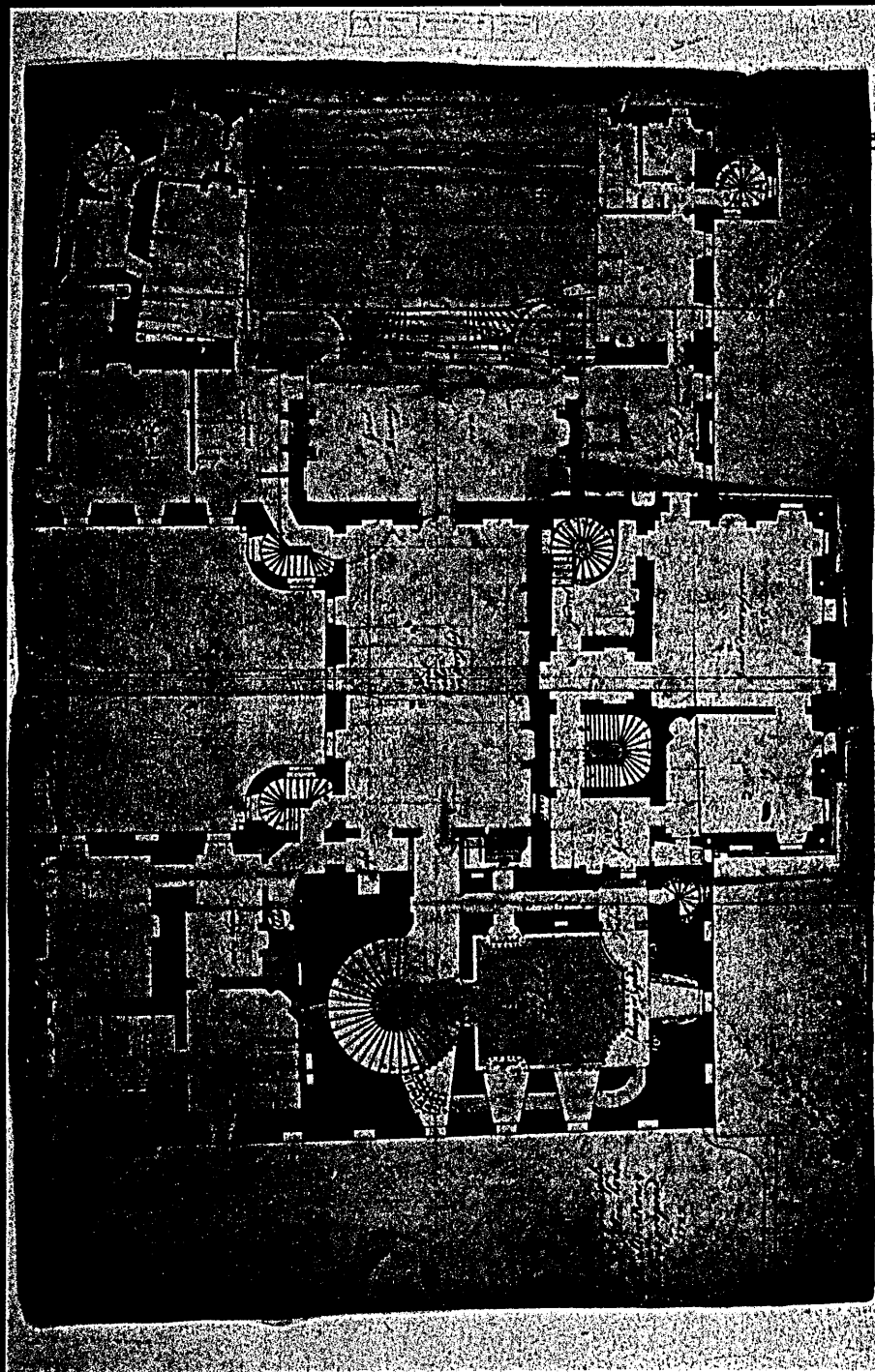
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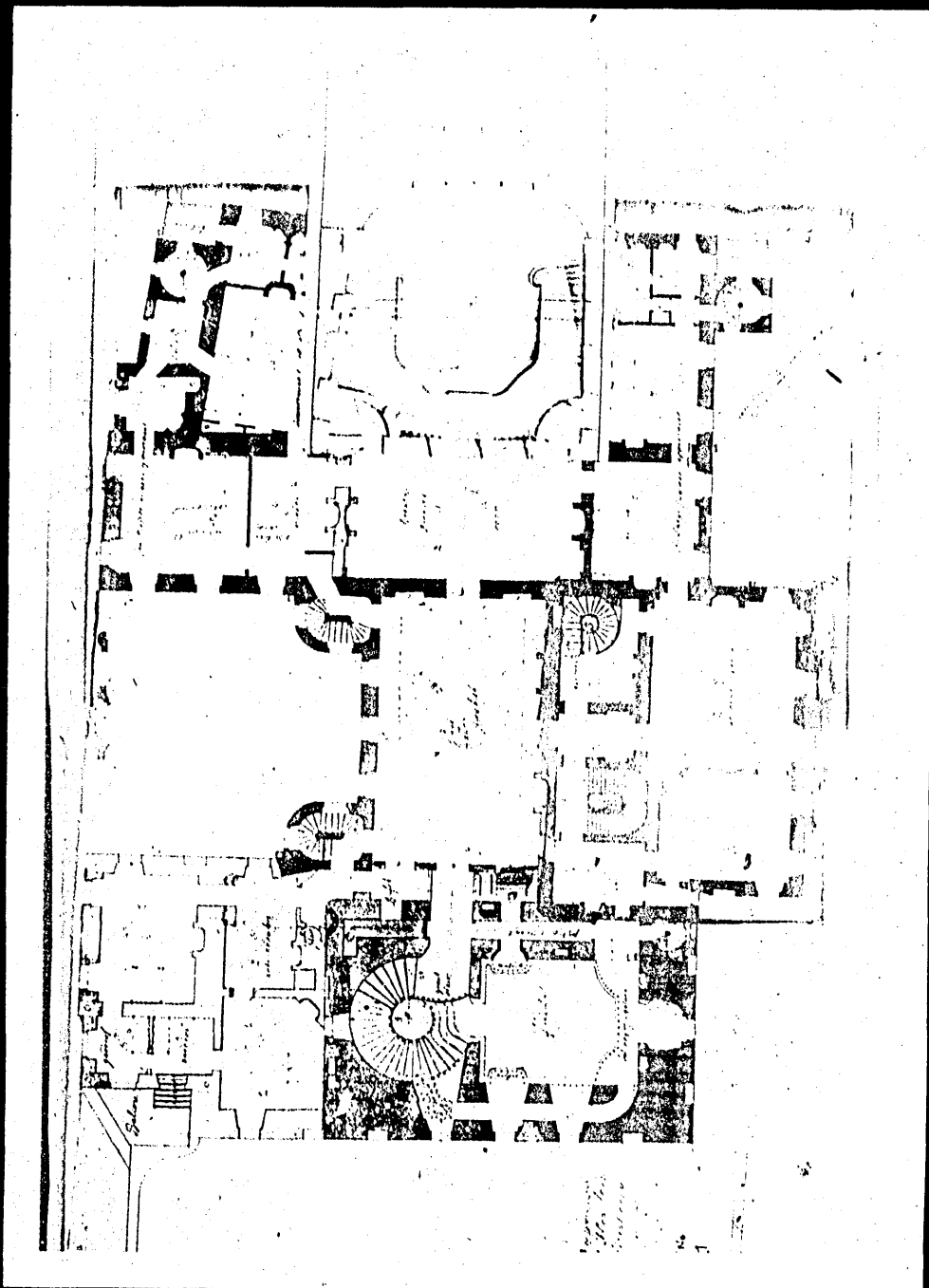
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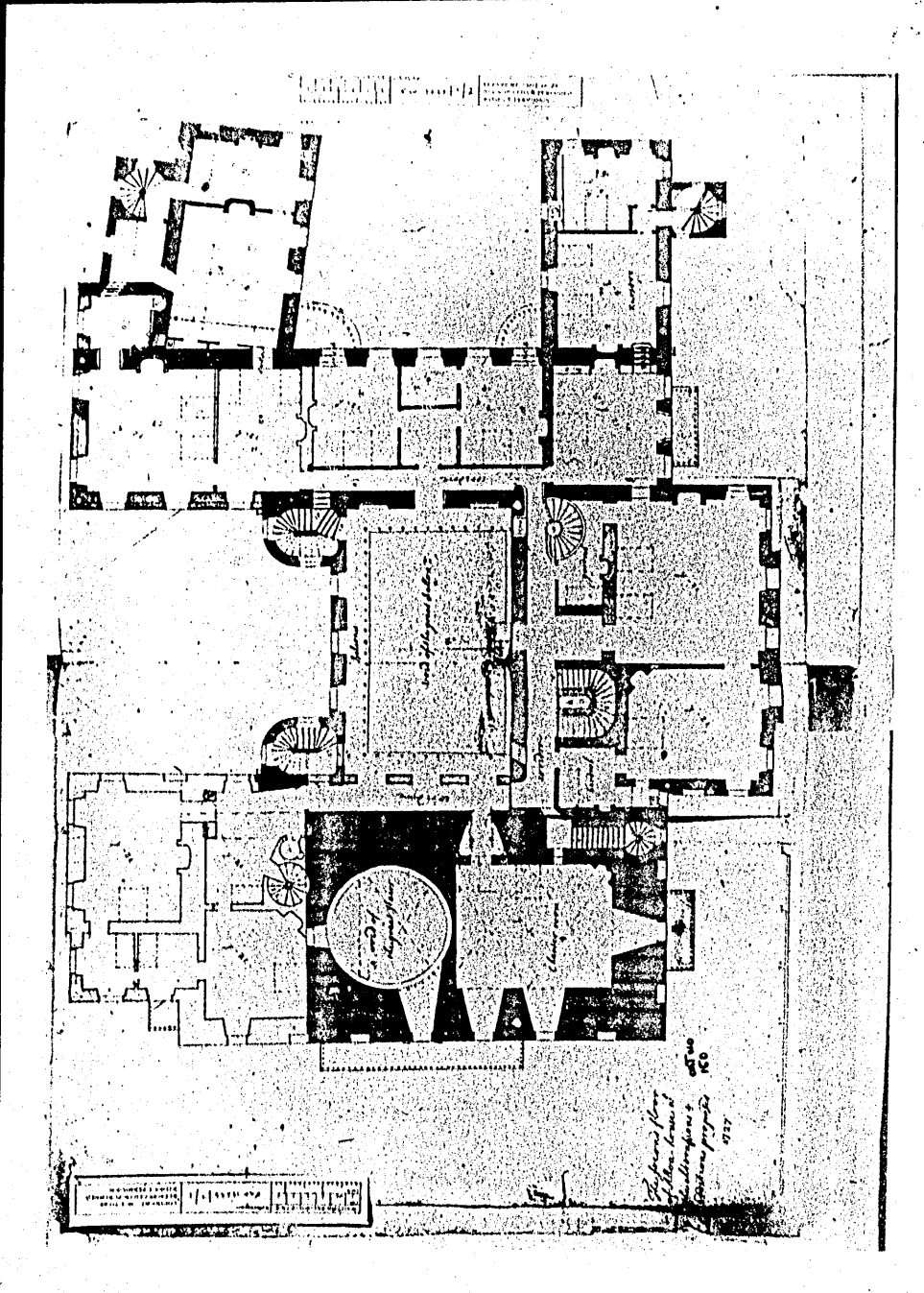
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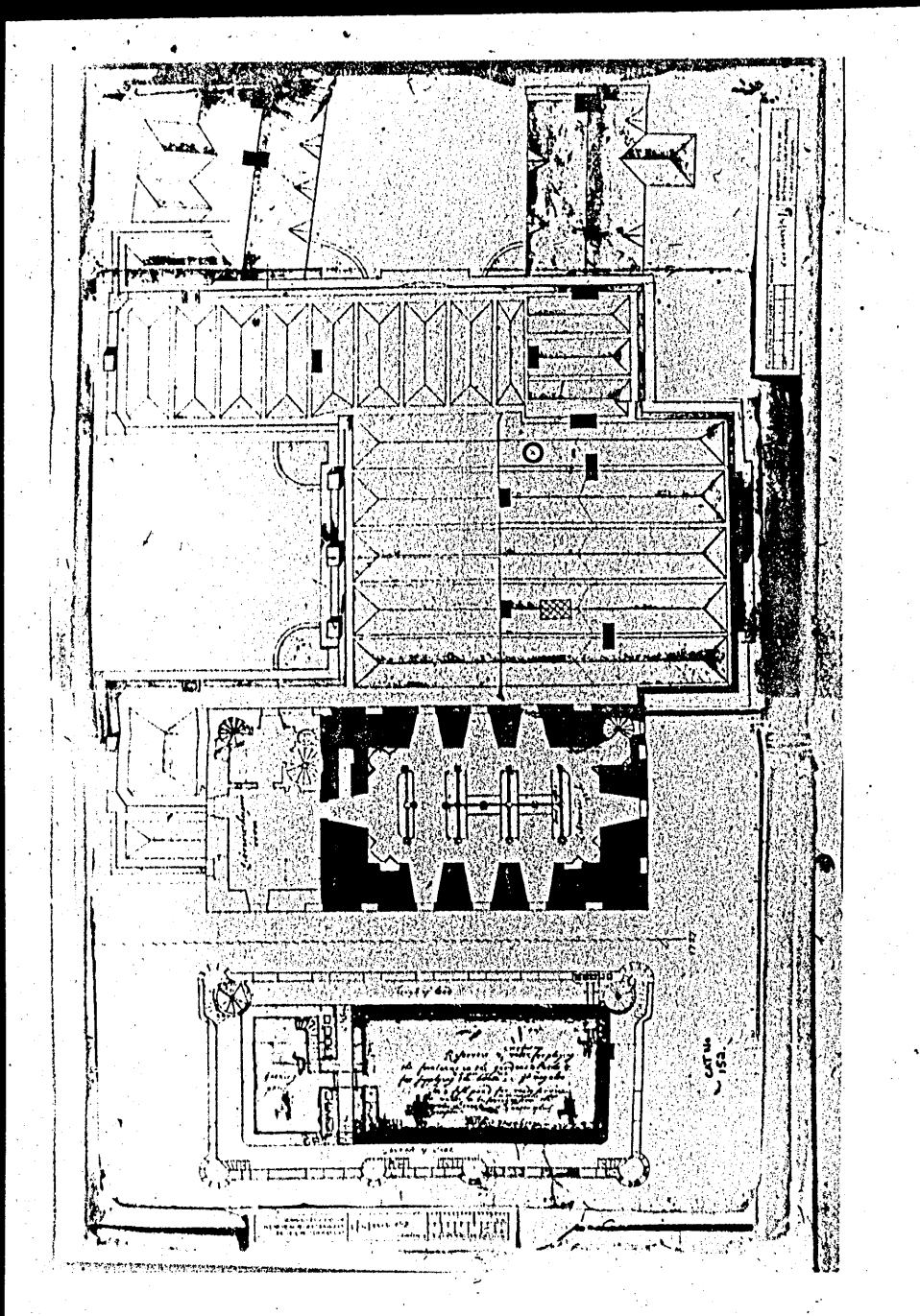
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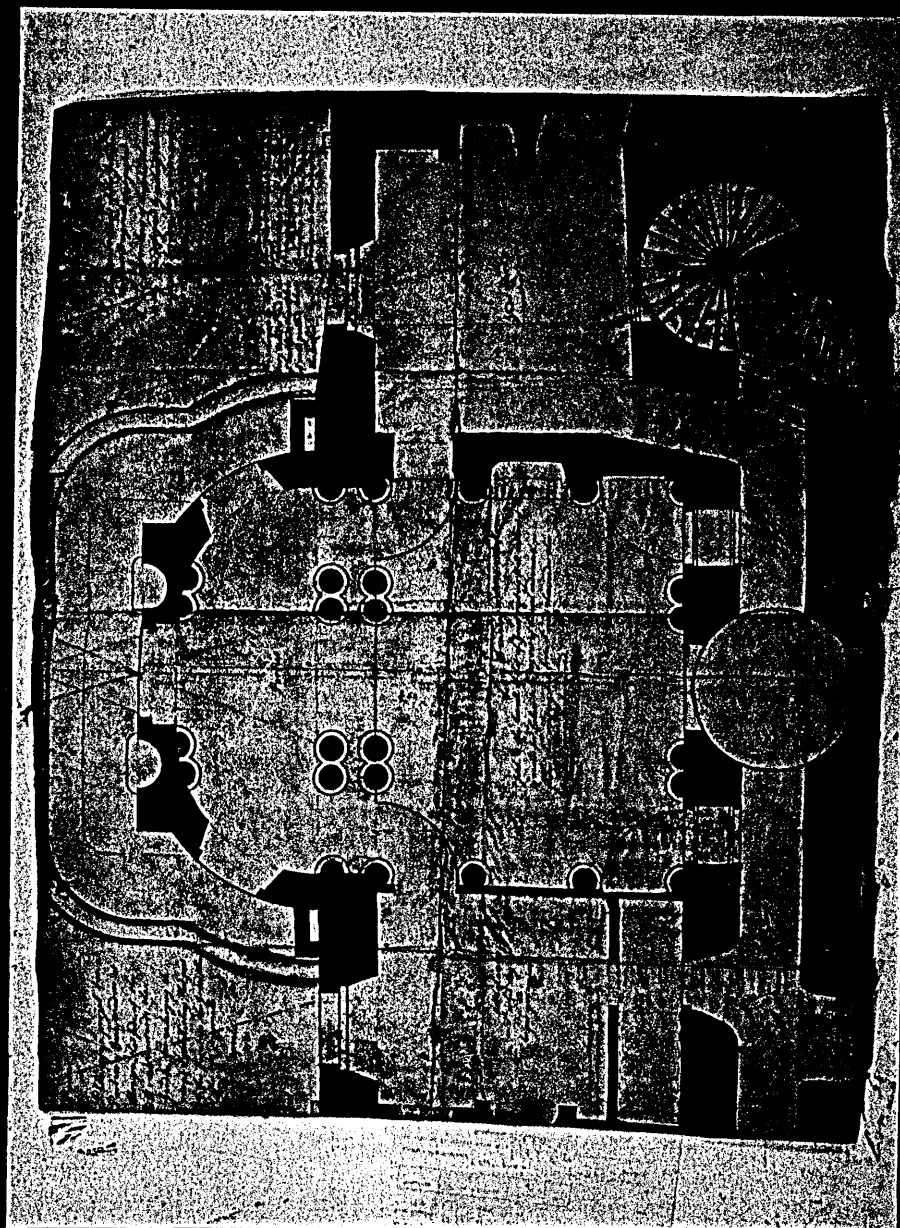
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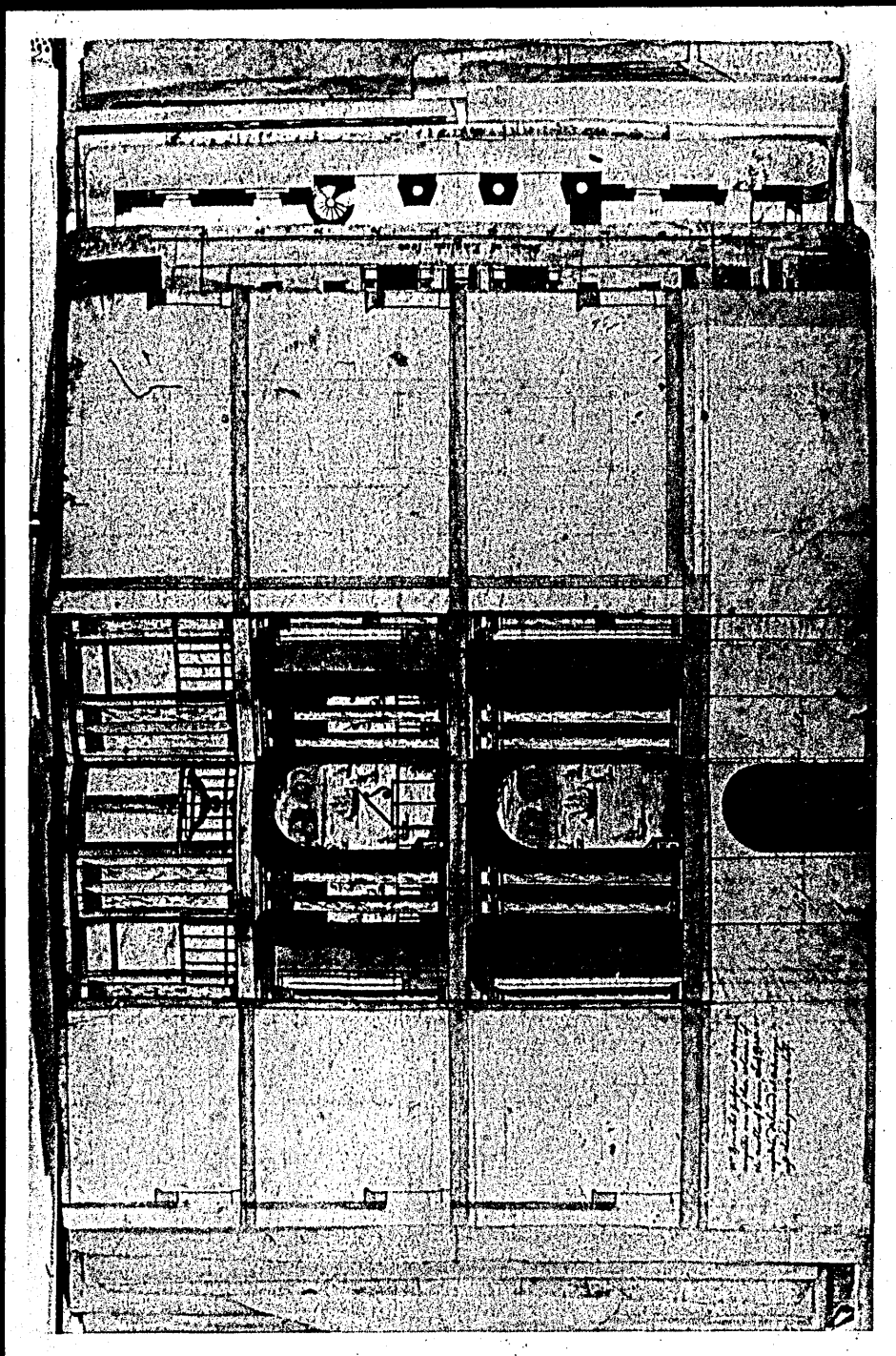
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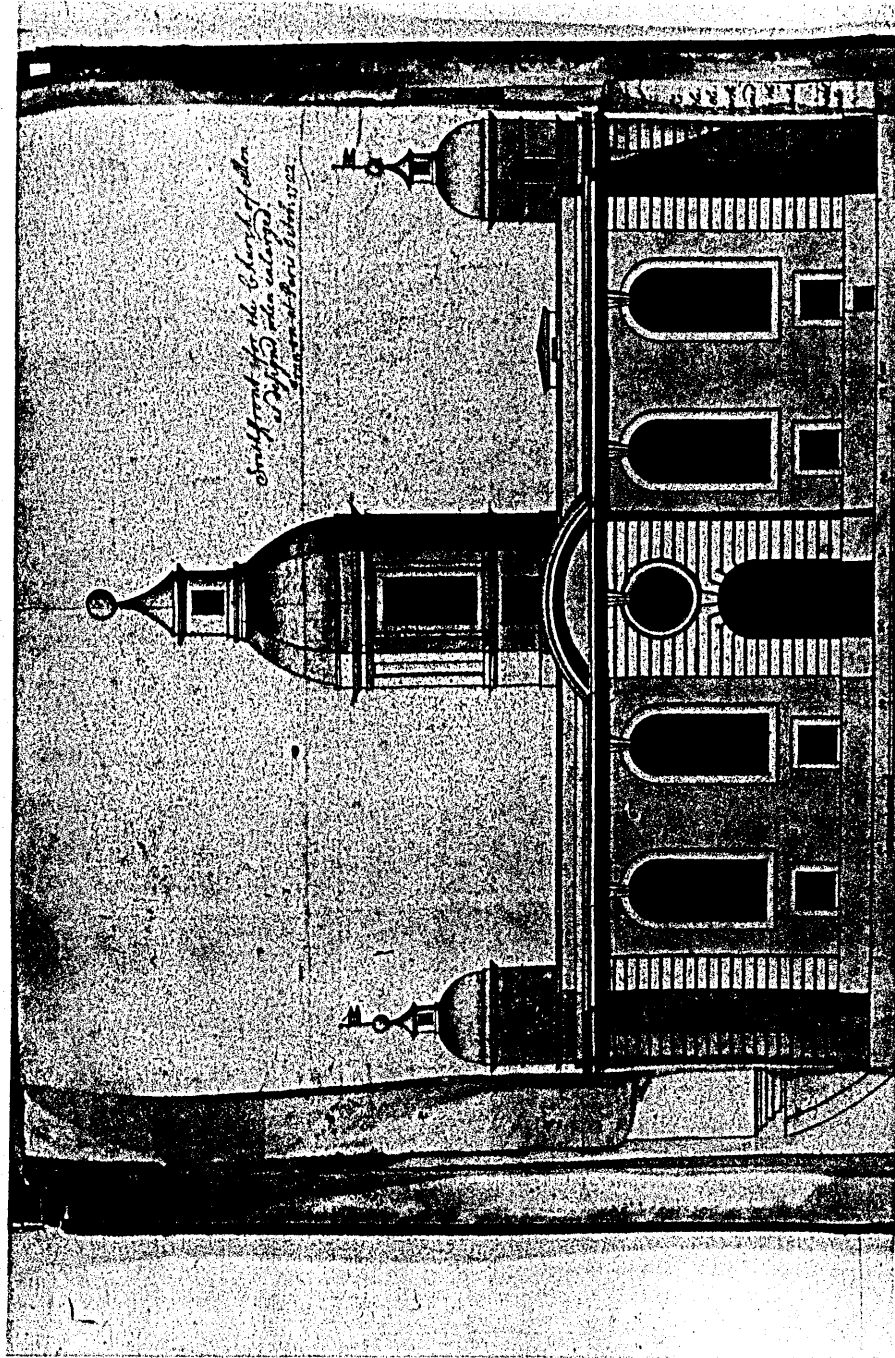
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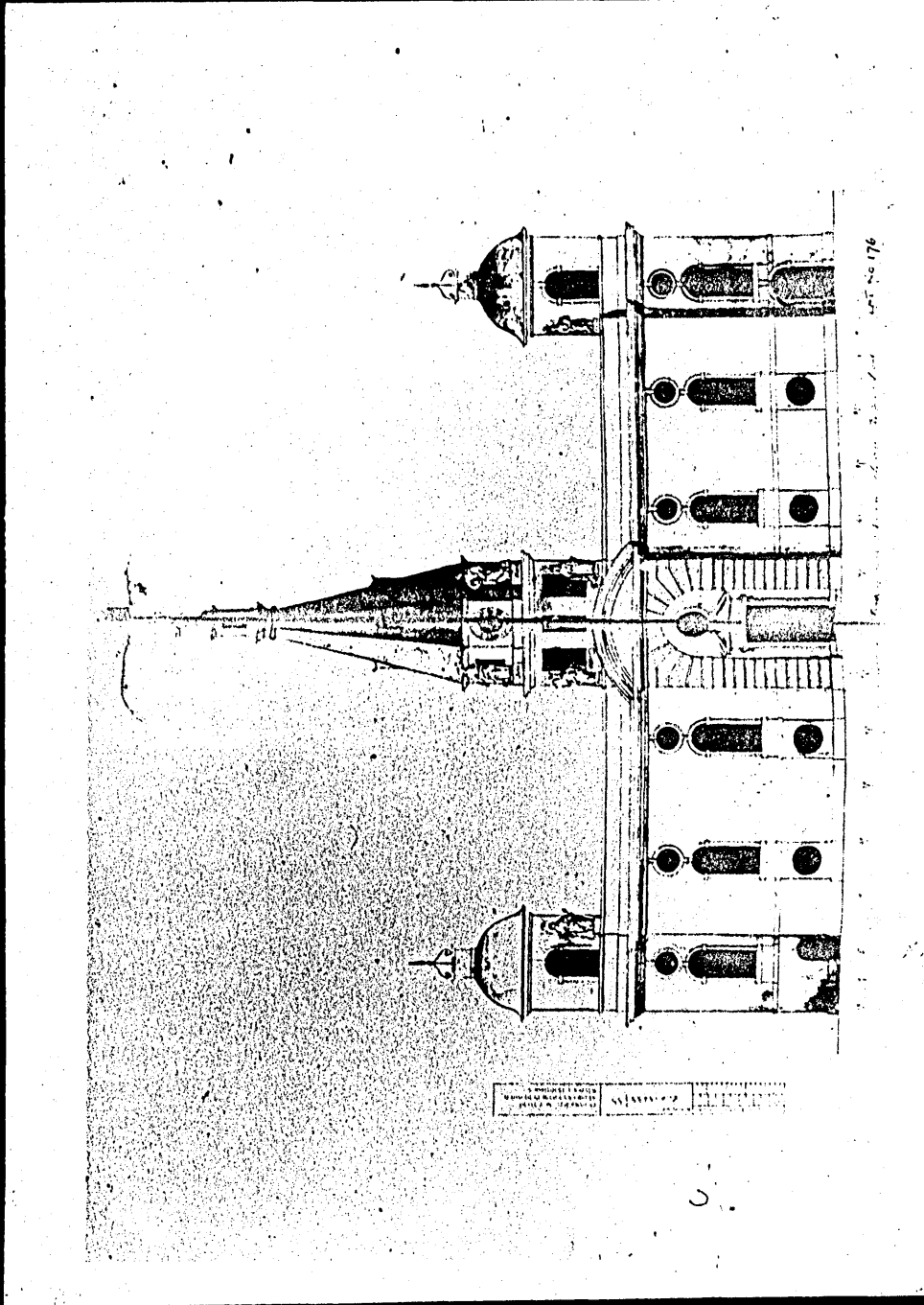
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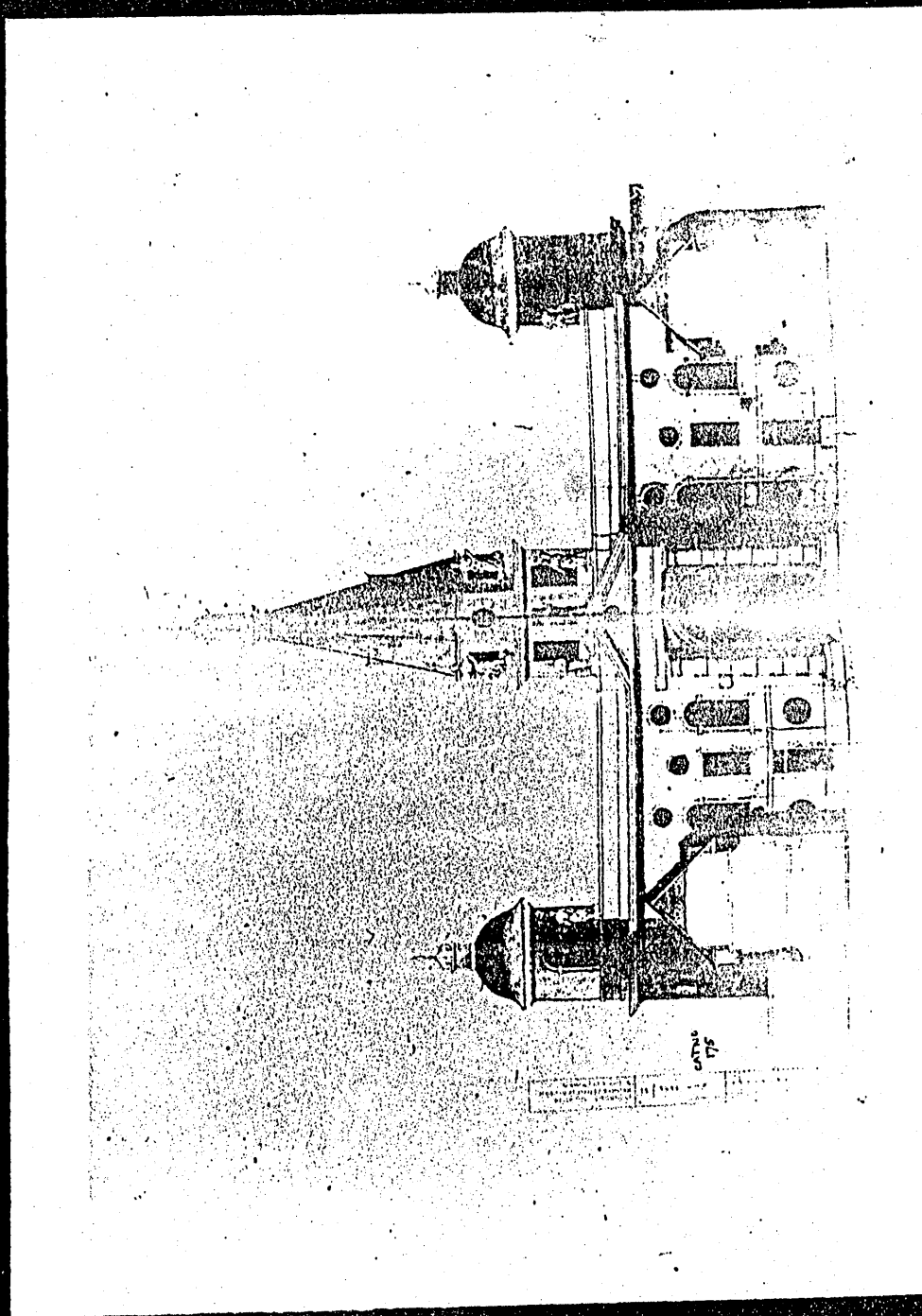
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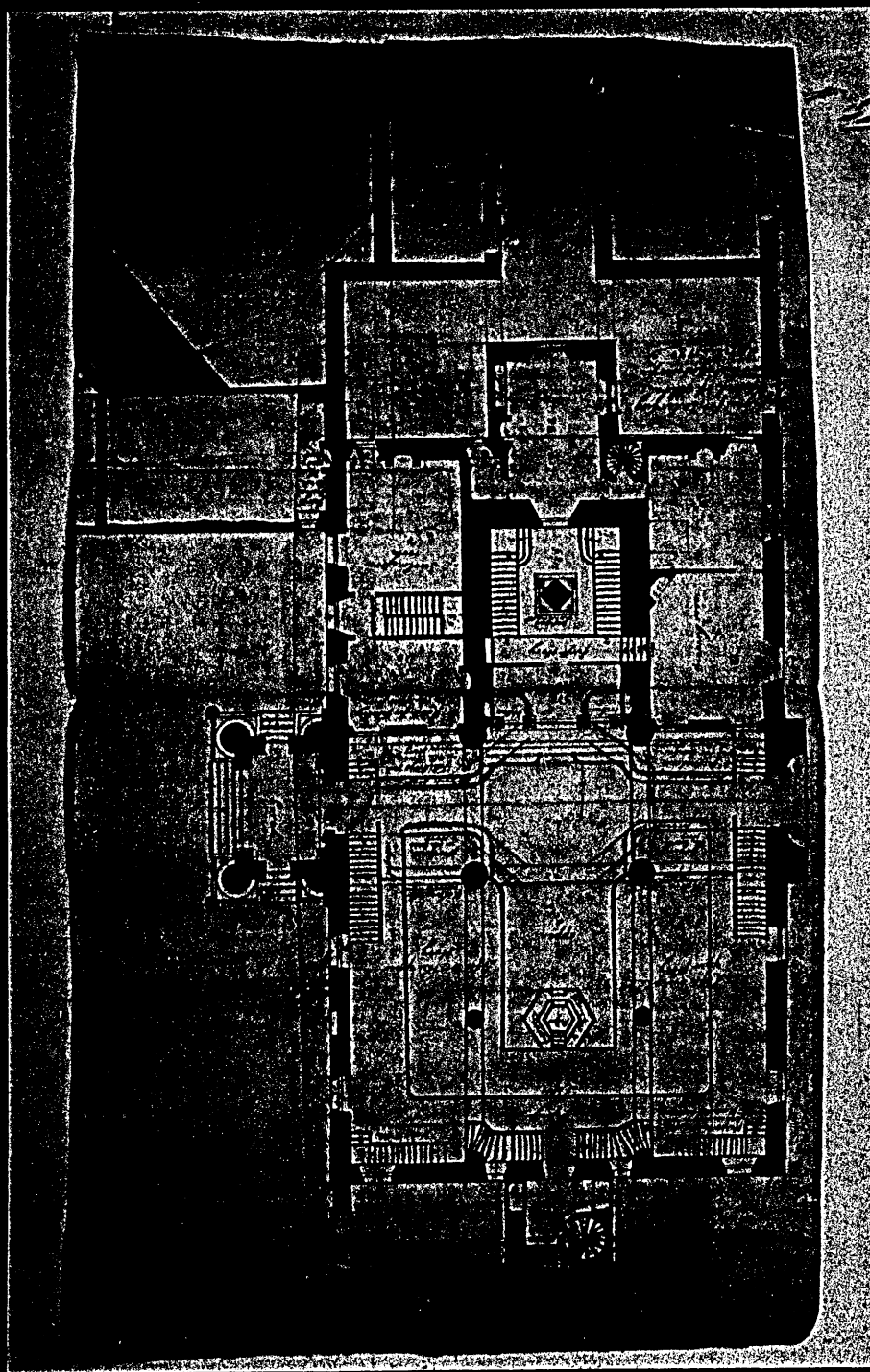
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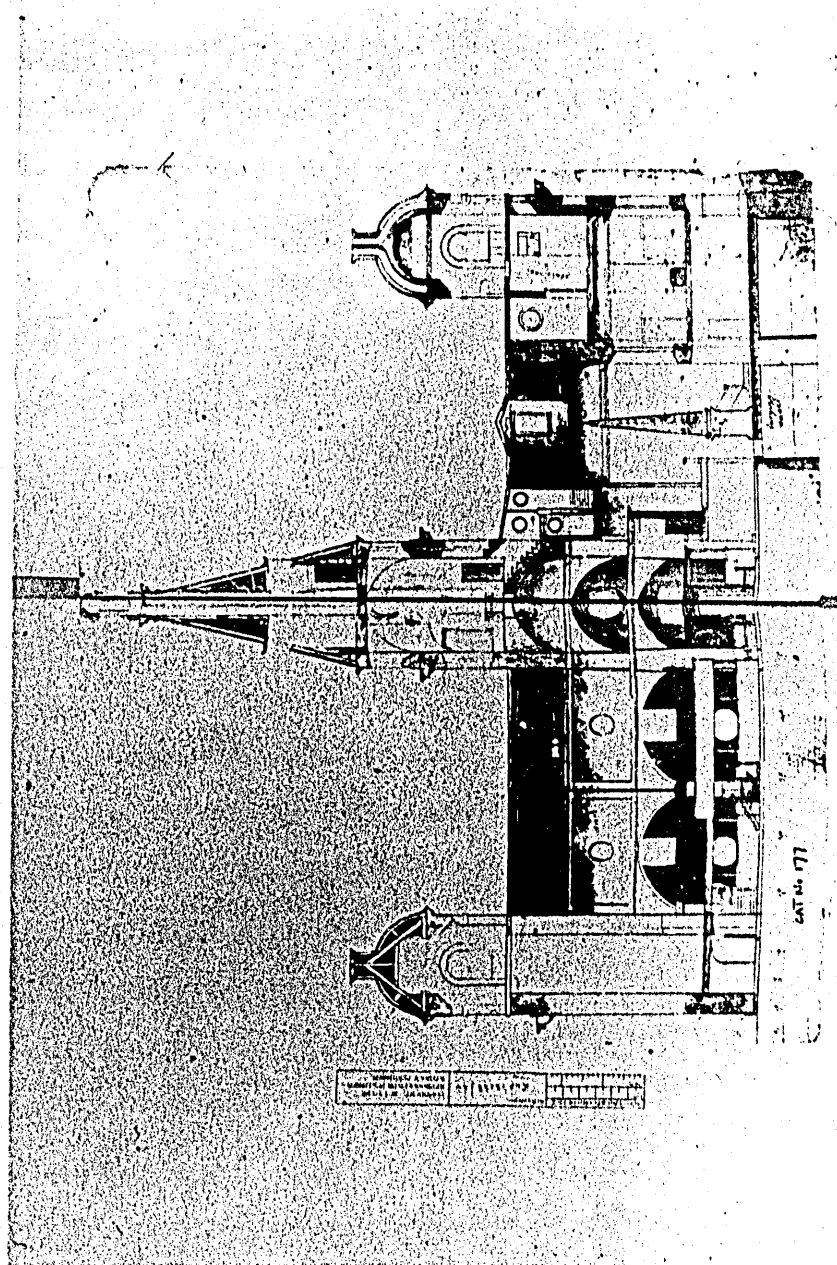
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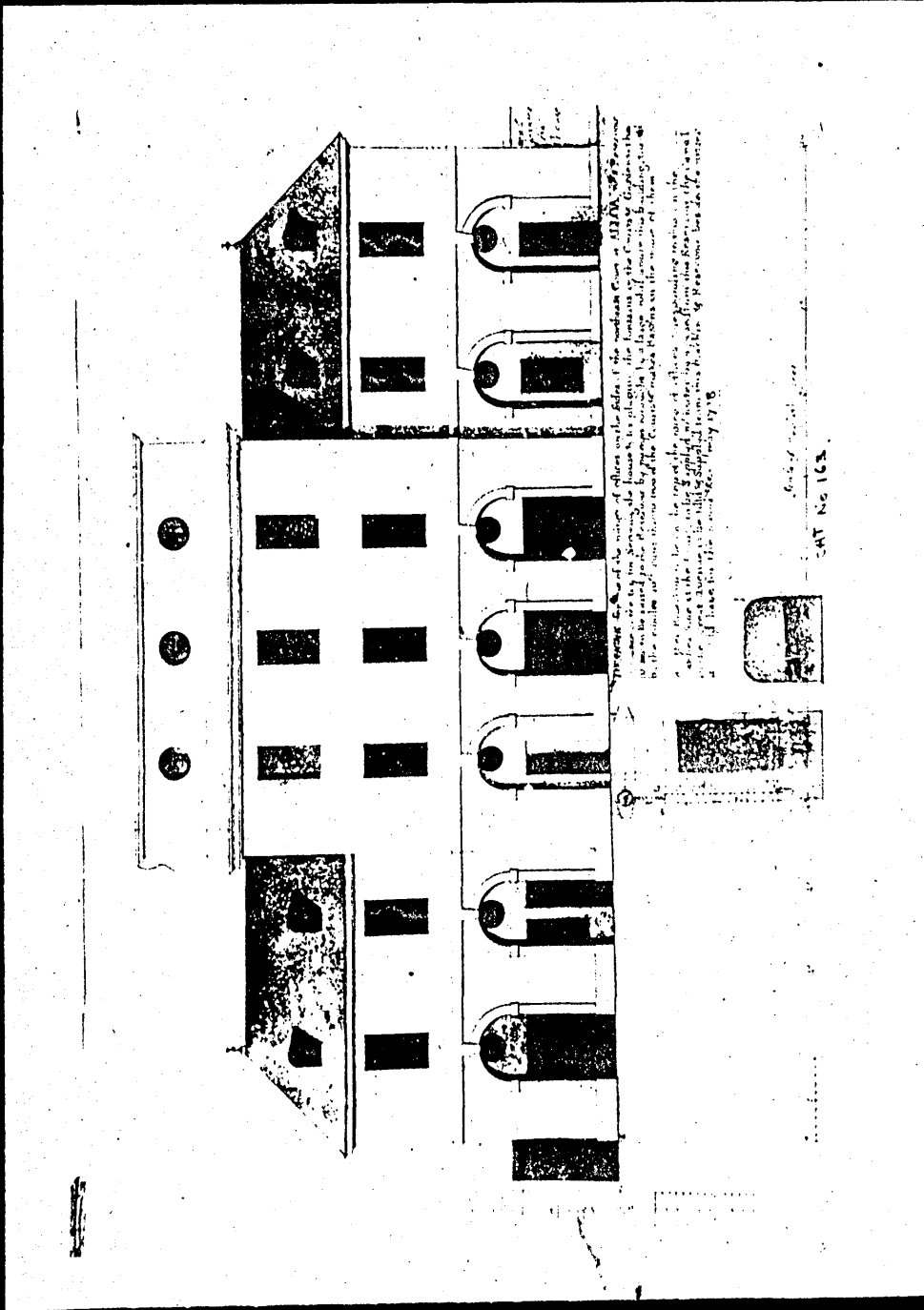
22. Elevation. North Front of Alloa Church.



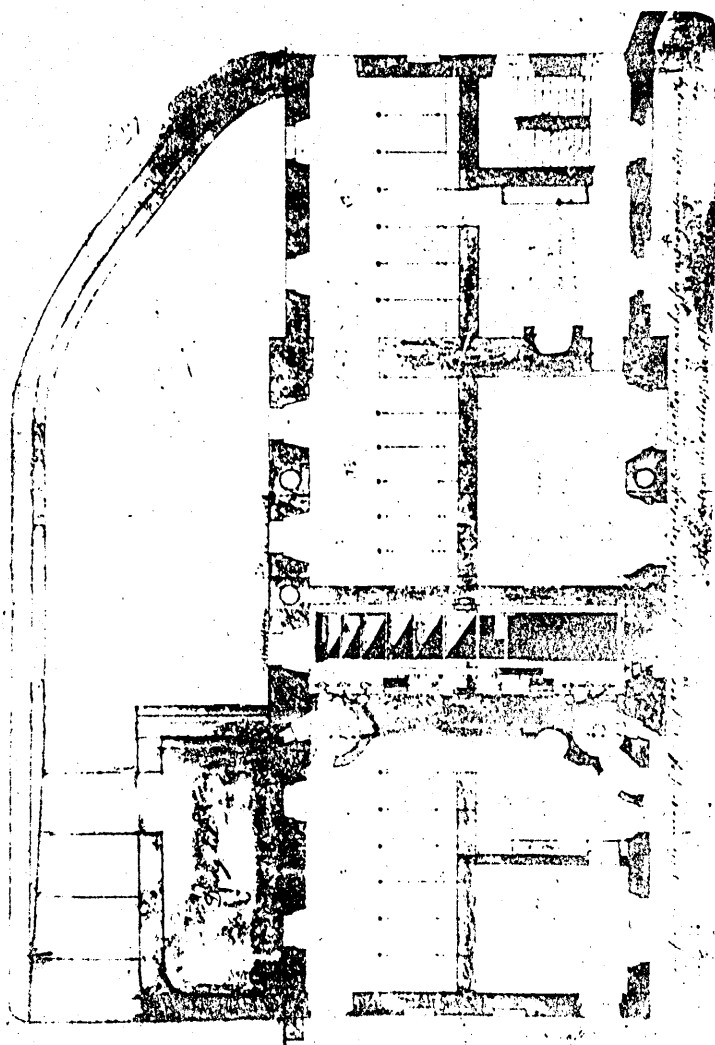
23. Plan. Ground floor of Alloa Church.



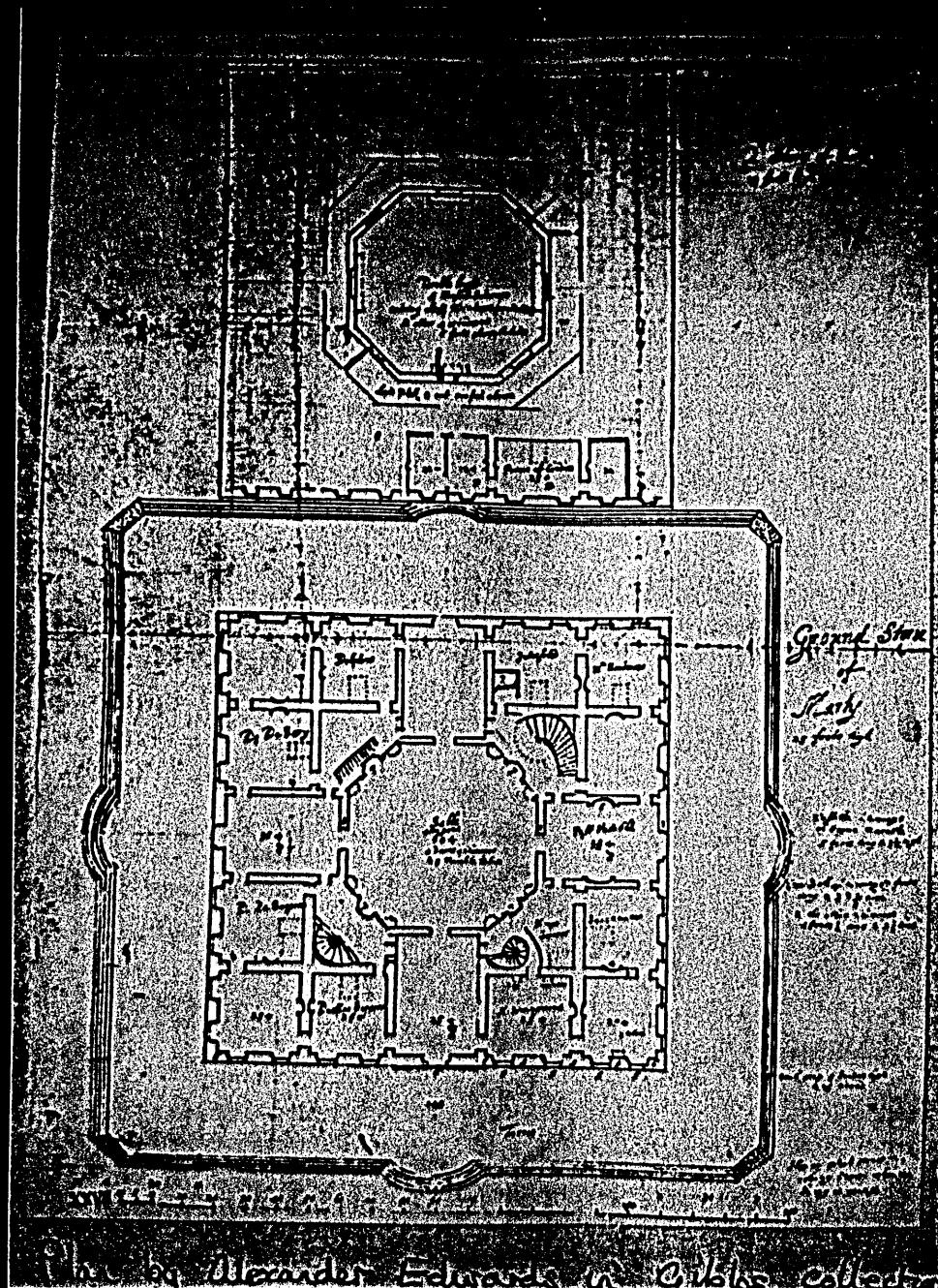
24. Longitudinal section of Alloa Church showing the Mar and Erskine monument.



26. Elevation with a plan of the waterwheel in a wing of offices for Alloa House.

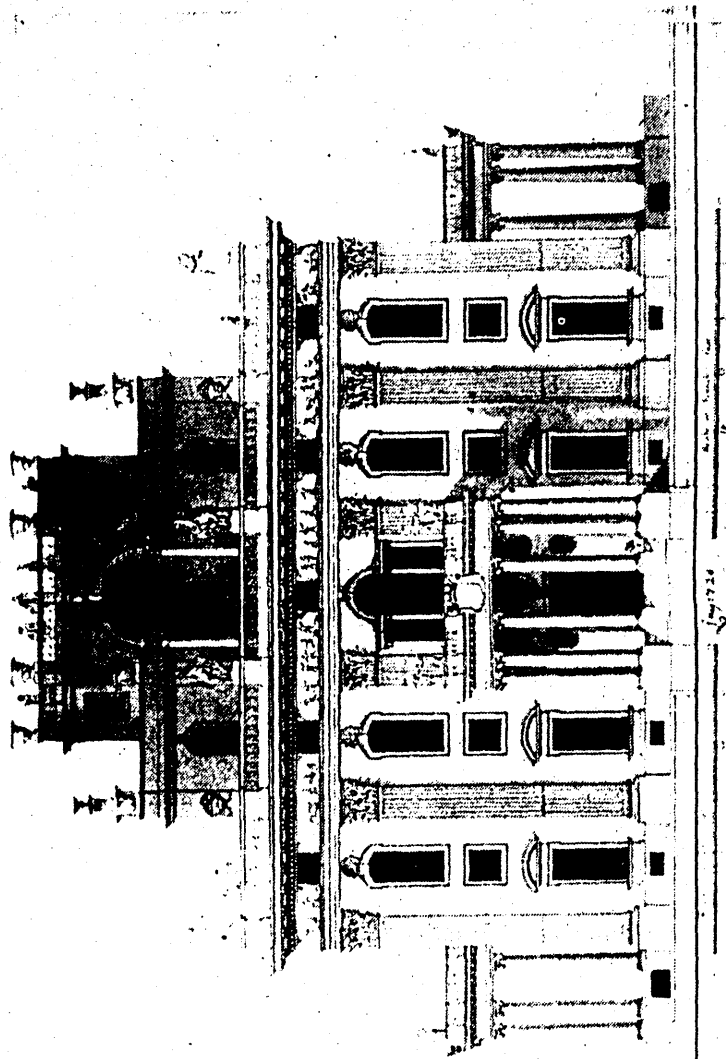


27. Plan of one wing of offices for Alcoa House.

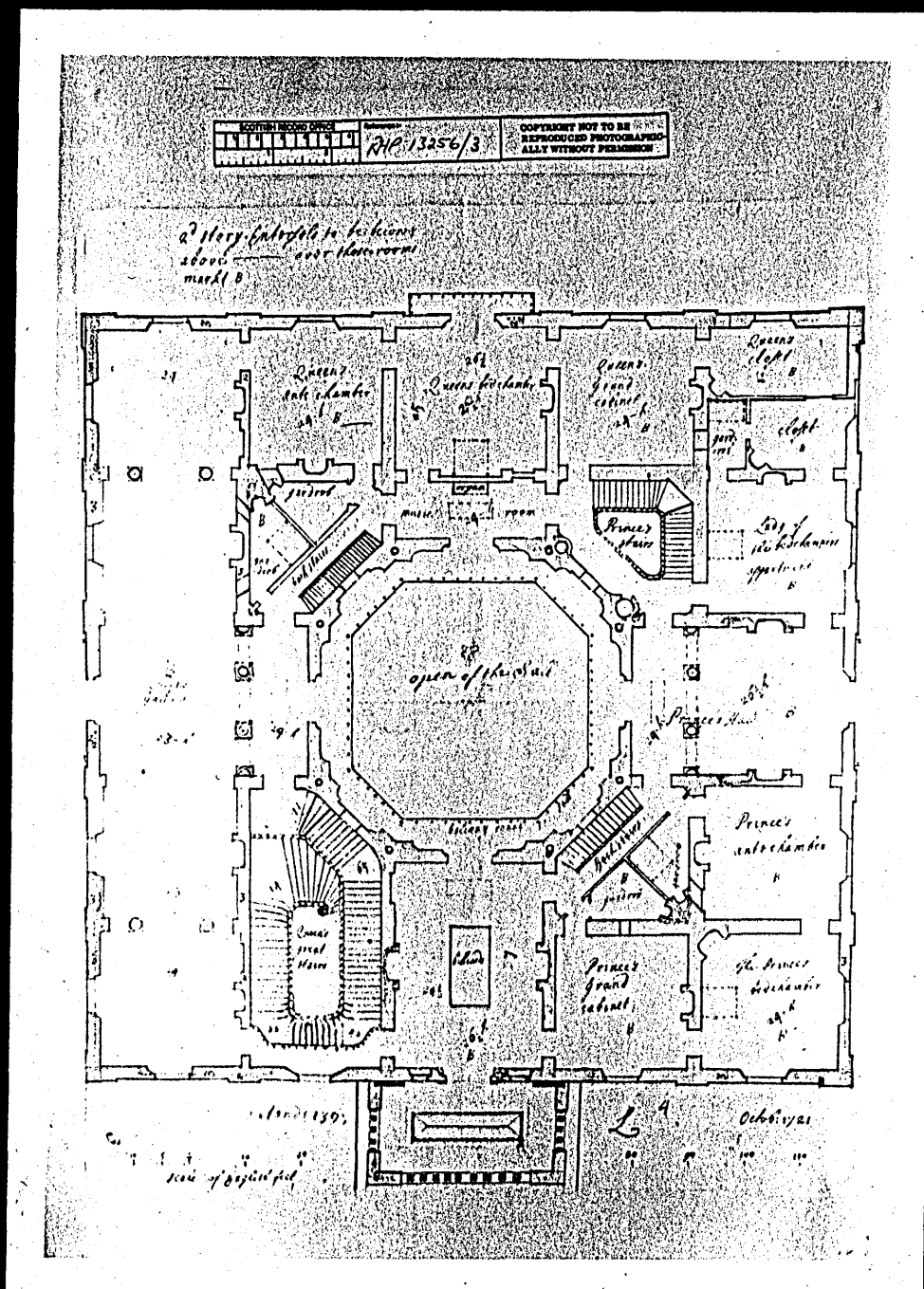


28. Plan. Royal Pavilion at Marly by Alexander Edward.

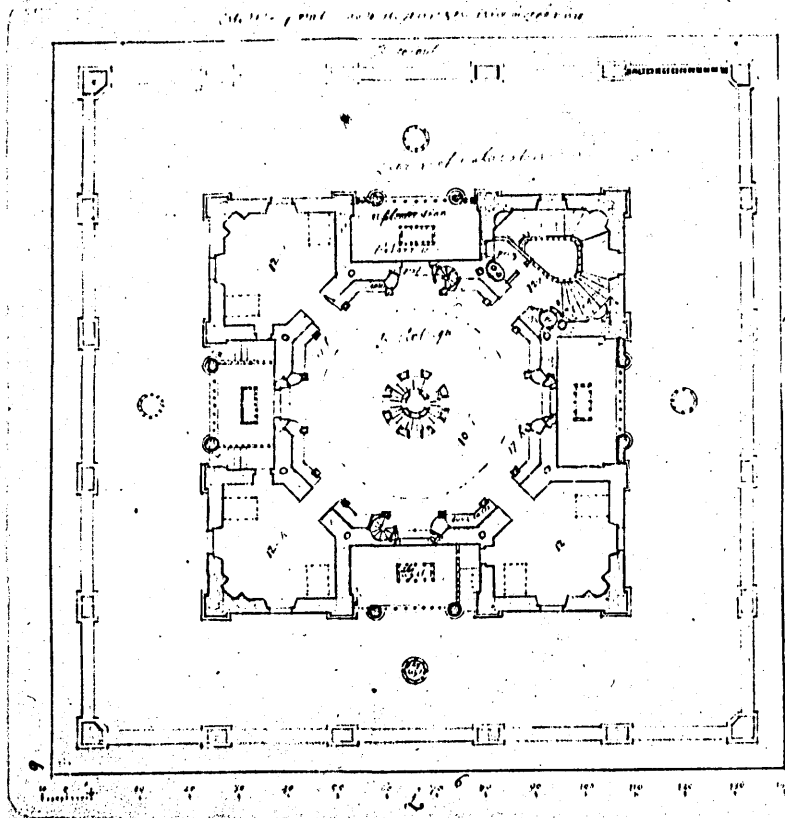
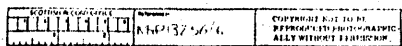
DESIGNE OF A HOUSE THE PLAN OF WHICH IS AFTER THE MANNER OF THE SAME BENEAS OF THE ROYAL
 PAVILION AT VERNY



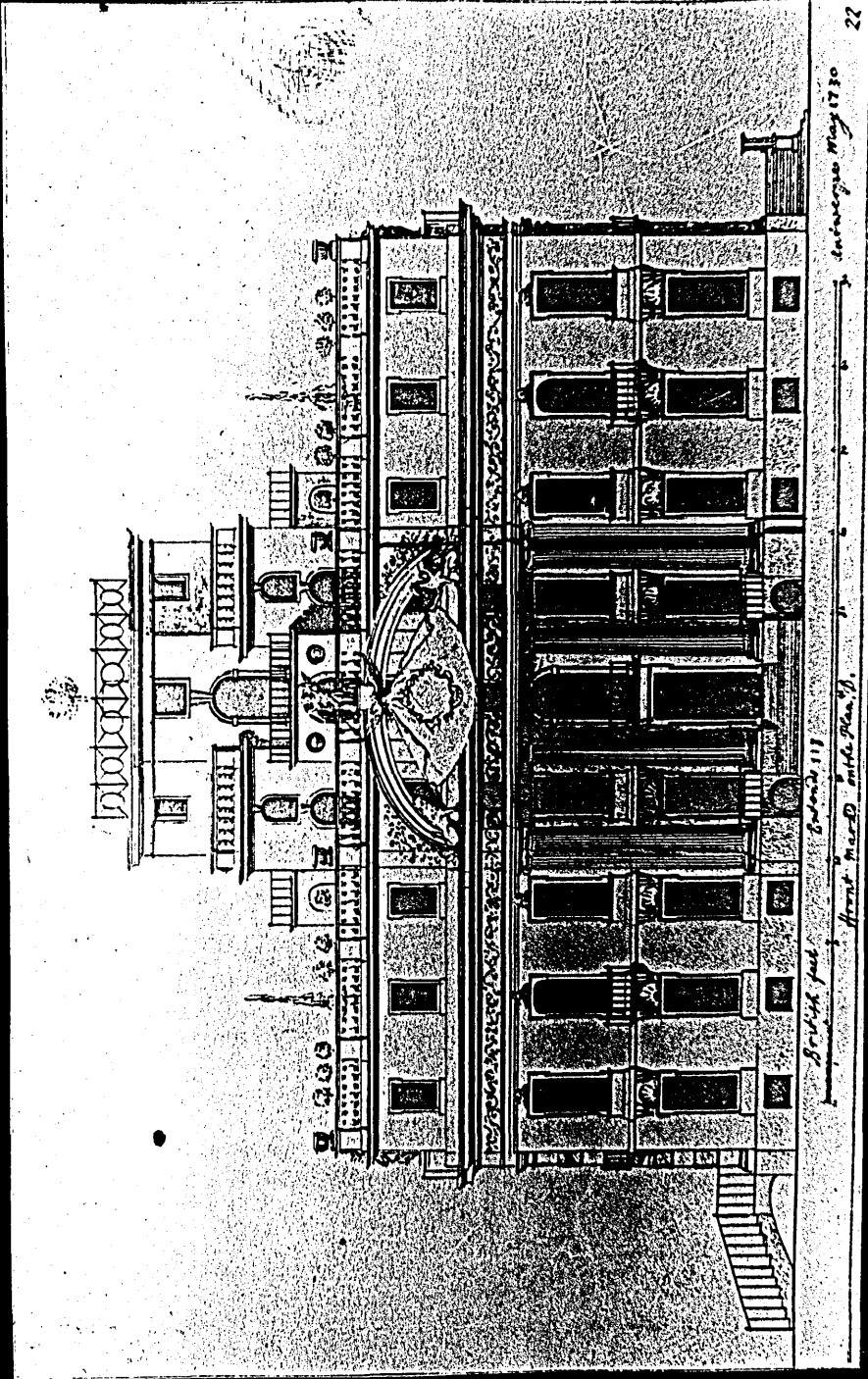
29. Elevation. Allos A.



31. Plan. Second floor of Alcoa A.

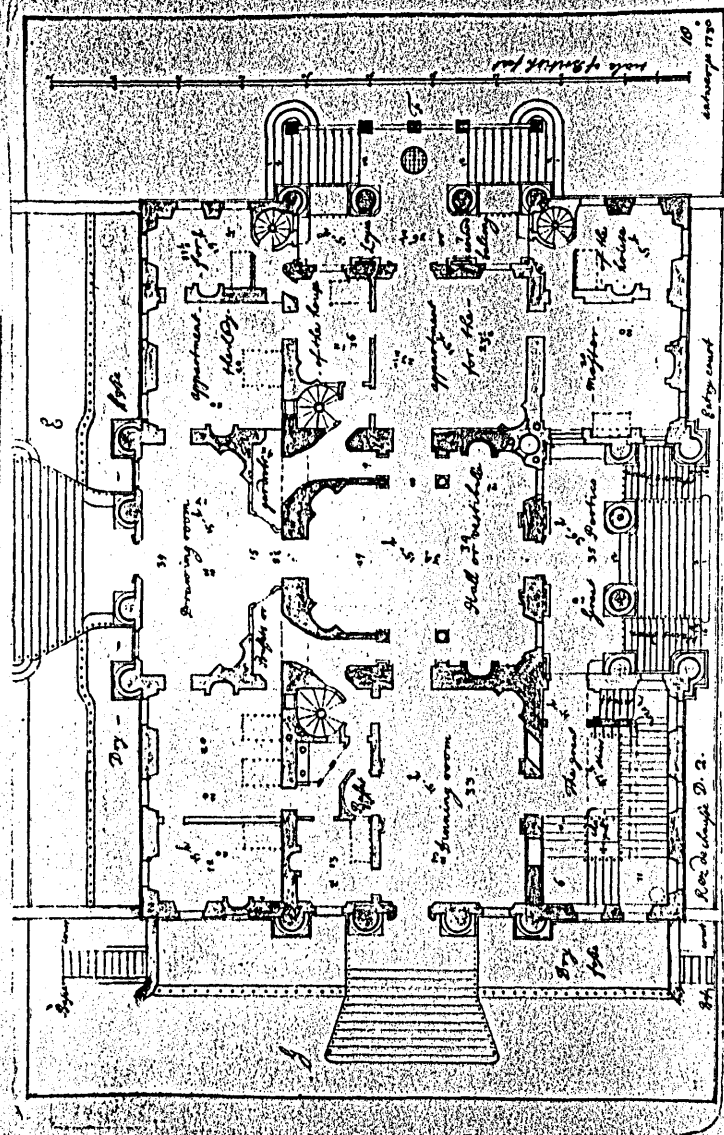


32. Plan. Library of Allos A.

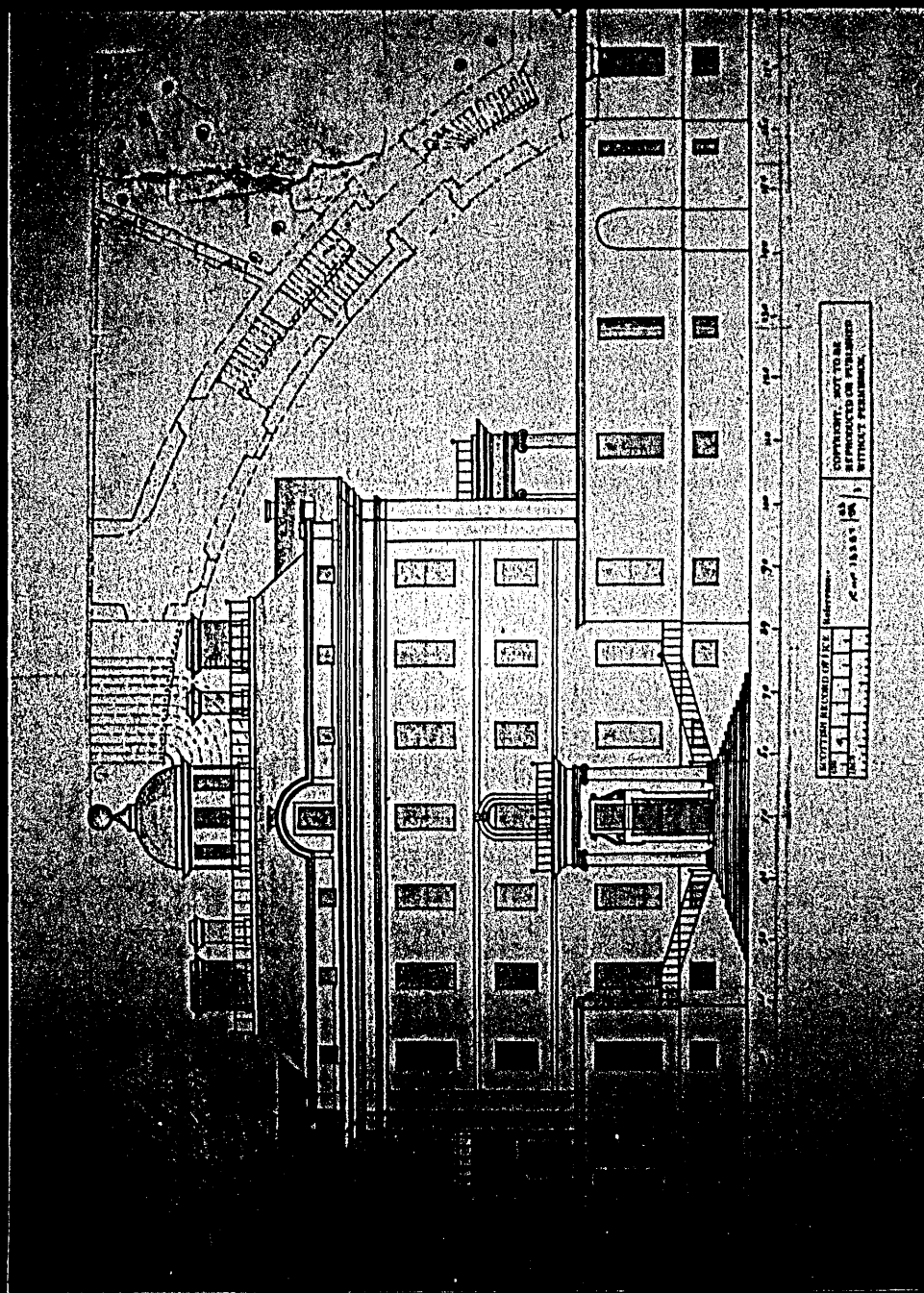


33. Elevation. Façade D of Alloa B.

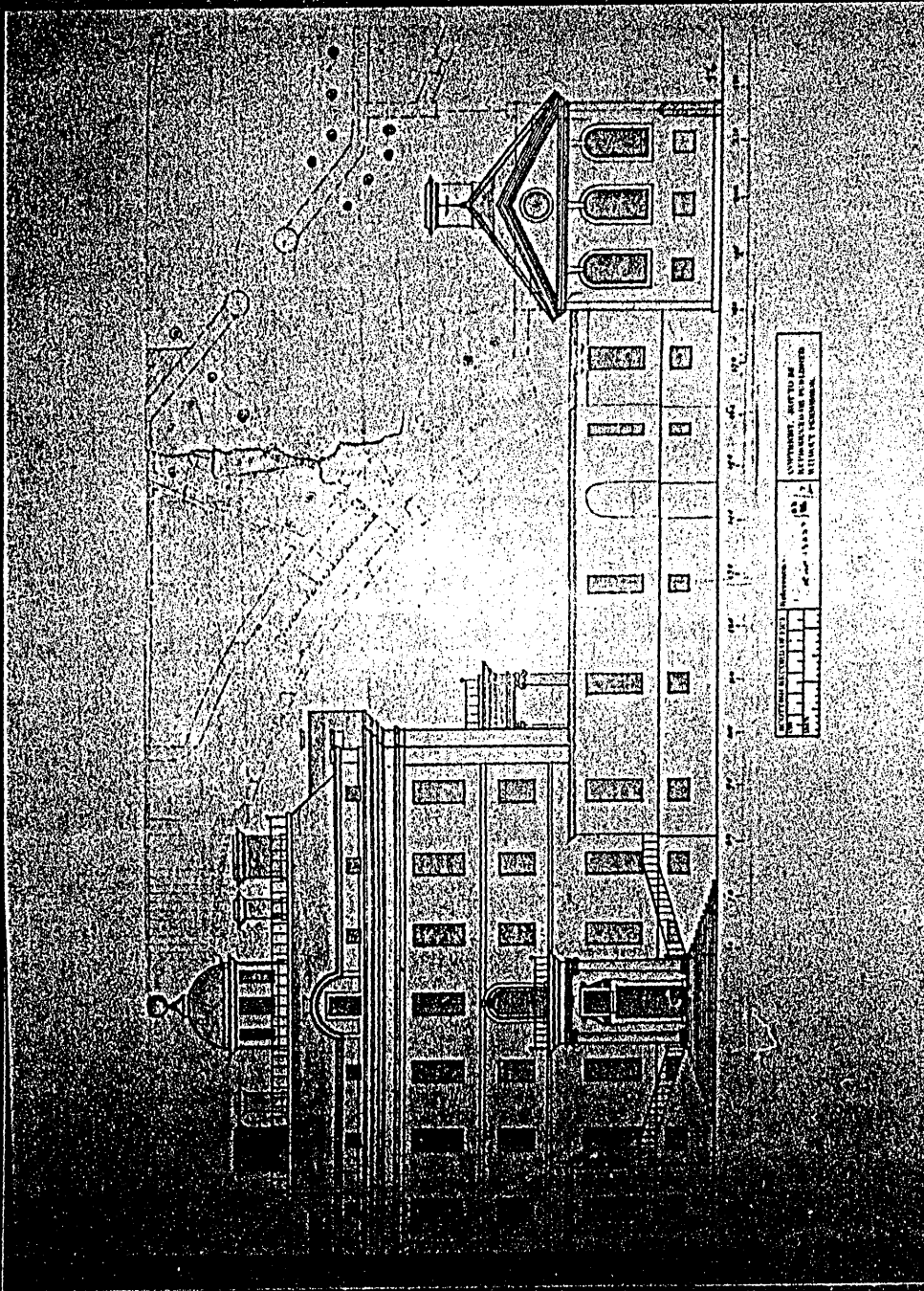
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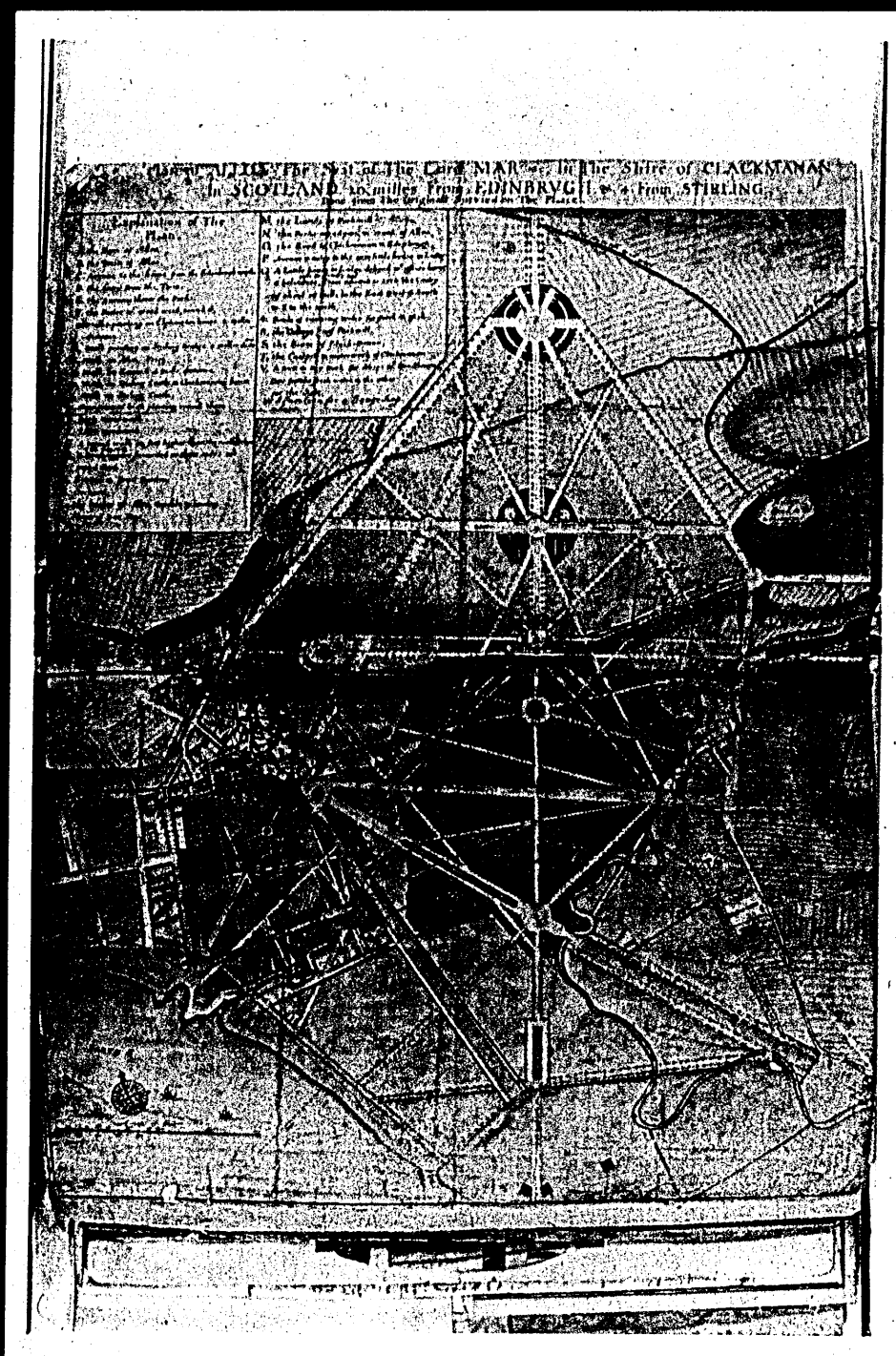
35. Plan. Ground floor of Alloa B.



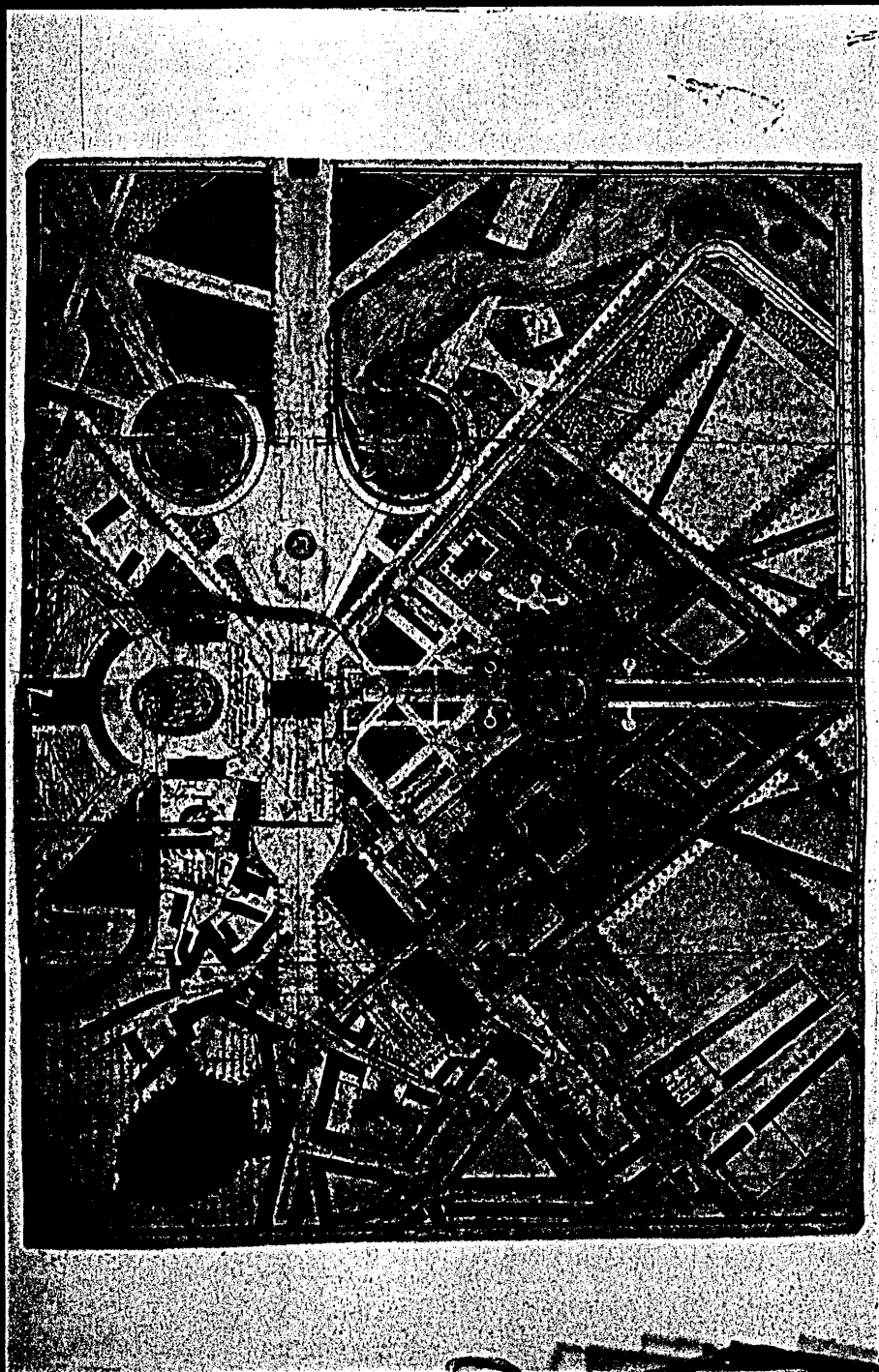
36. Elevation, North façade of Alcoa C.



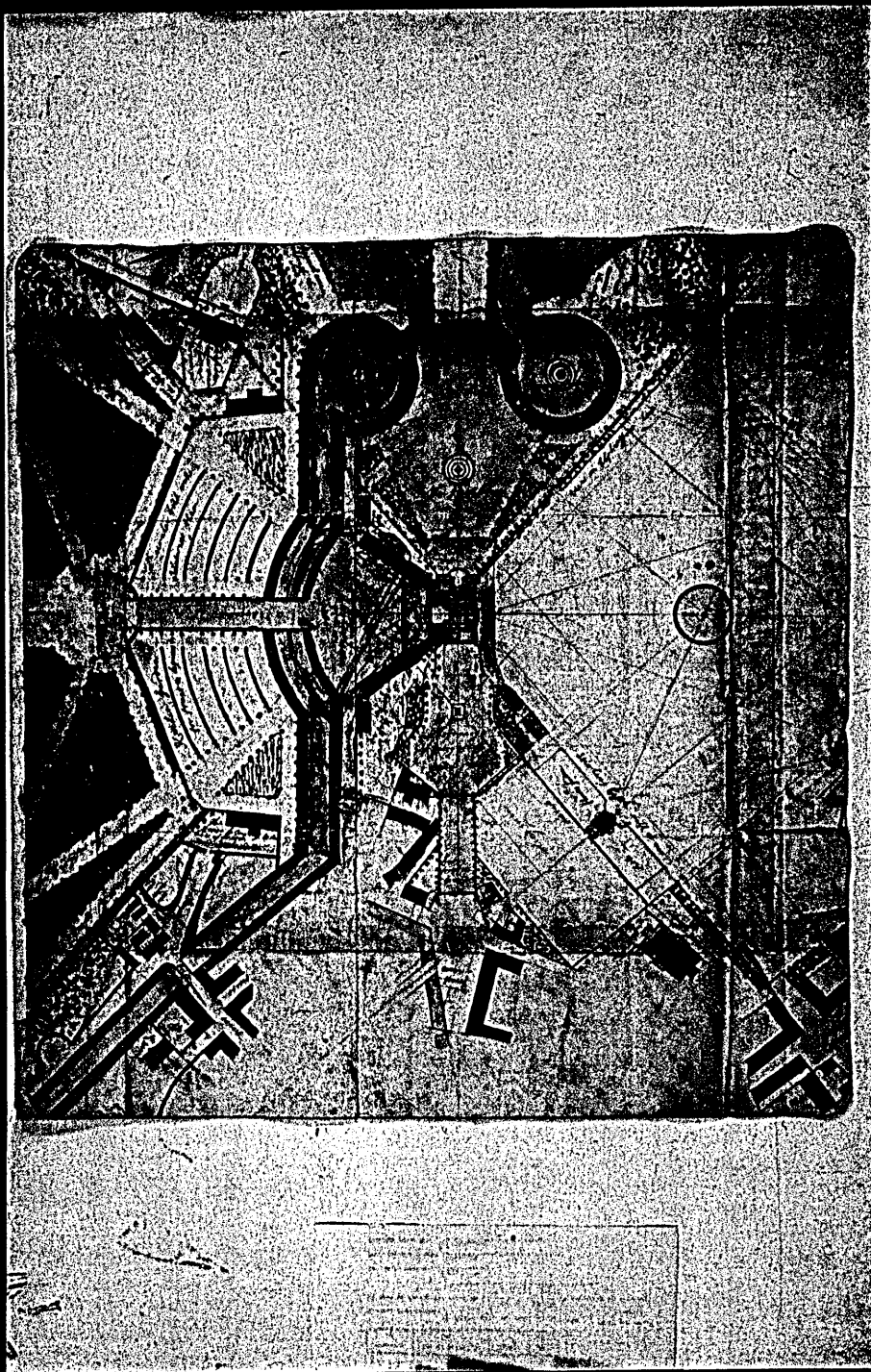
37. Elevation. Quadrant and pavilion for Alcoa C.



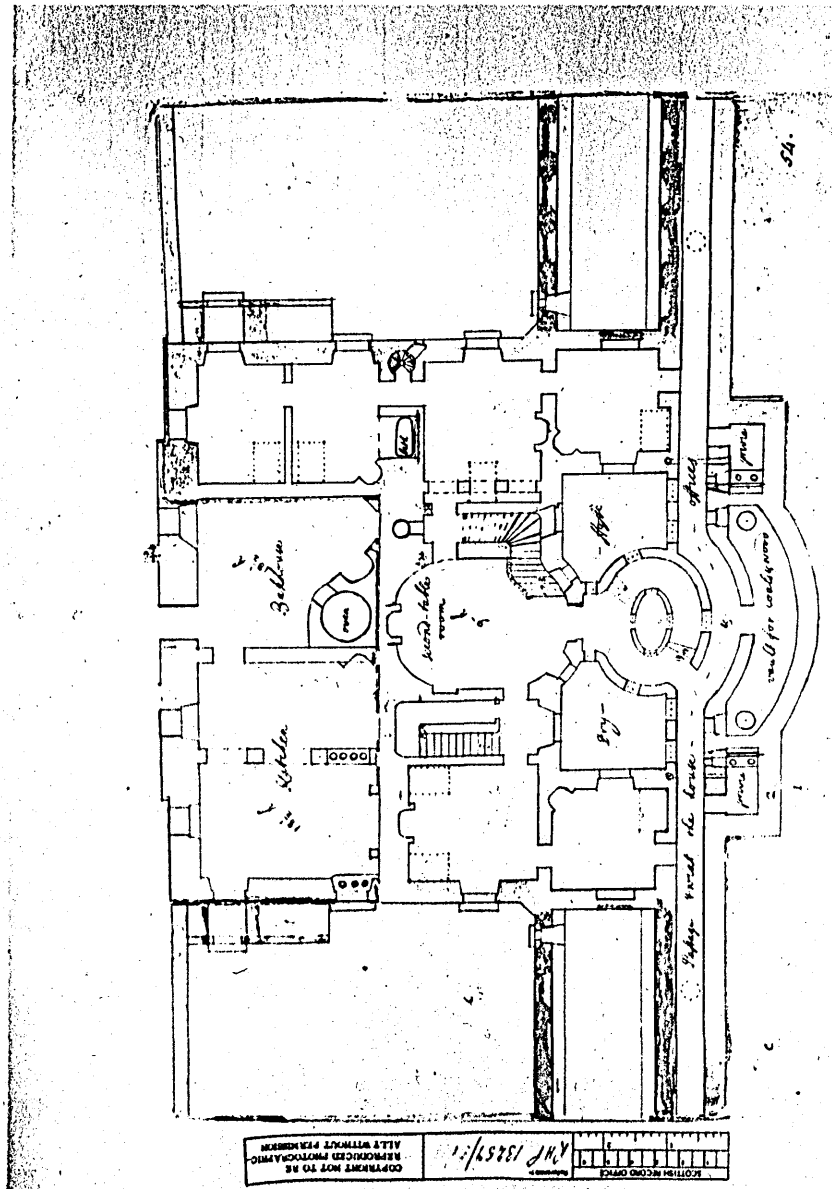
38. Survey plan, with suggested additions to the Mar Policies at Alloa, 1709, 1710, 1728.



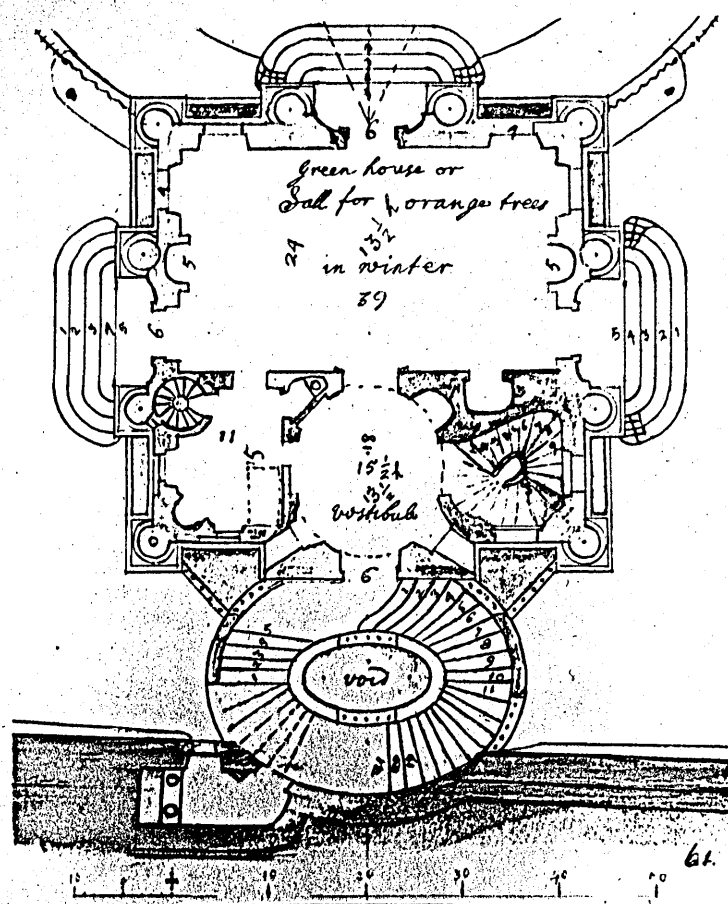
39. Garden design for Alloa House gardens, 1722, 1730, 1731.



40. Garden design for Alloo gardens and waterworks, 1732.

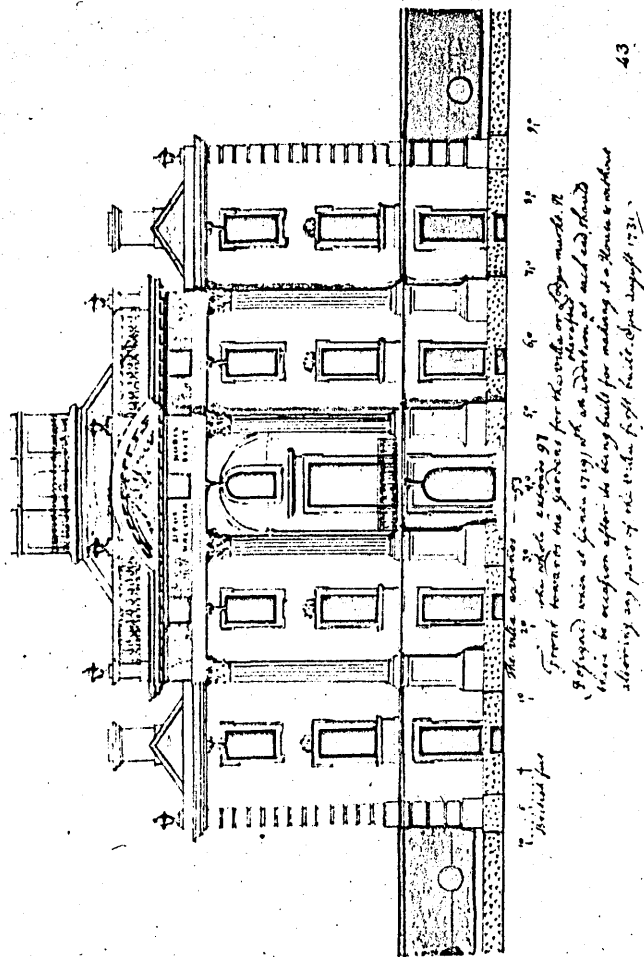


42. Plan. Basement of a house for Aloa gardens.



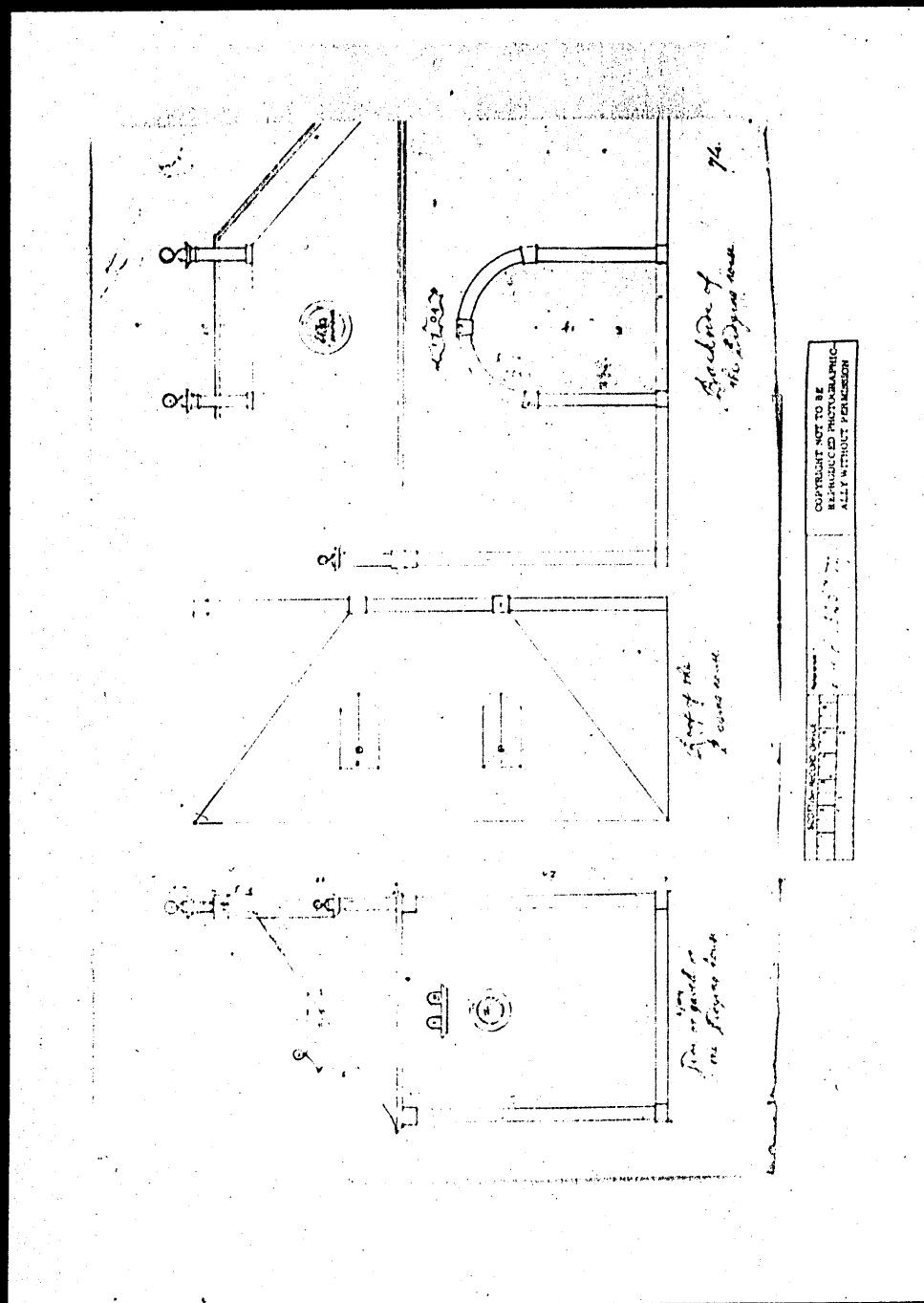
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43. Plan. Ground floor of a pavilion for Alloa gardens.

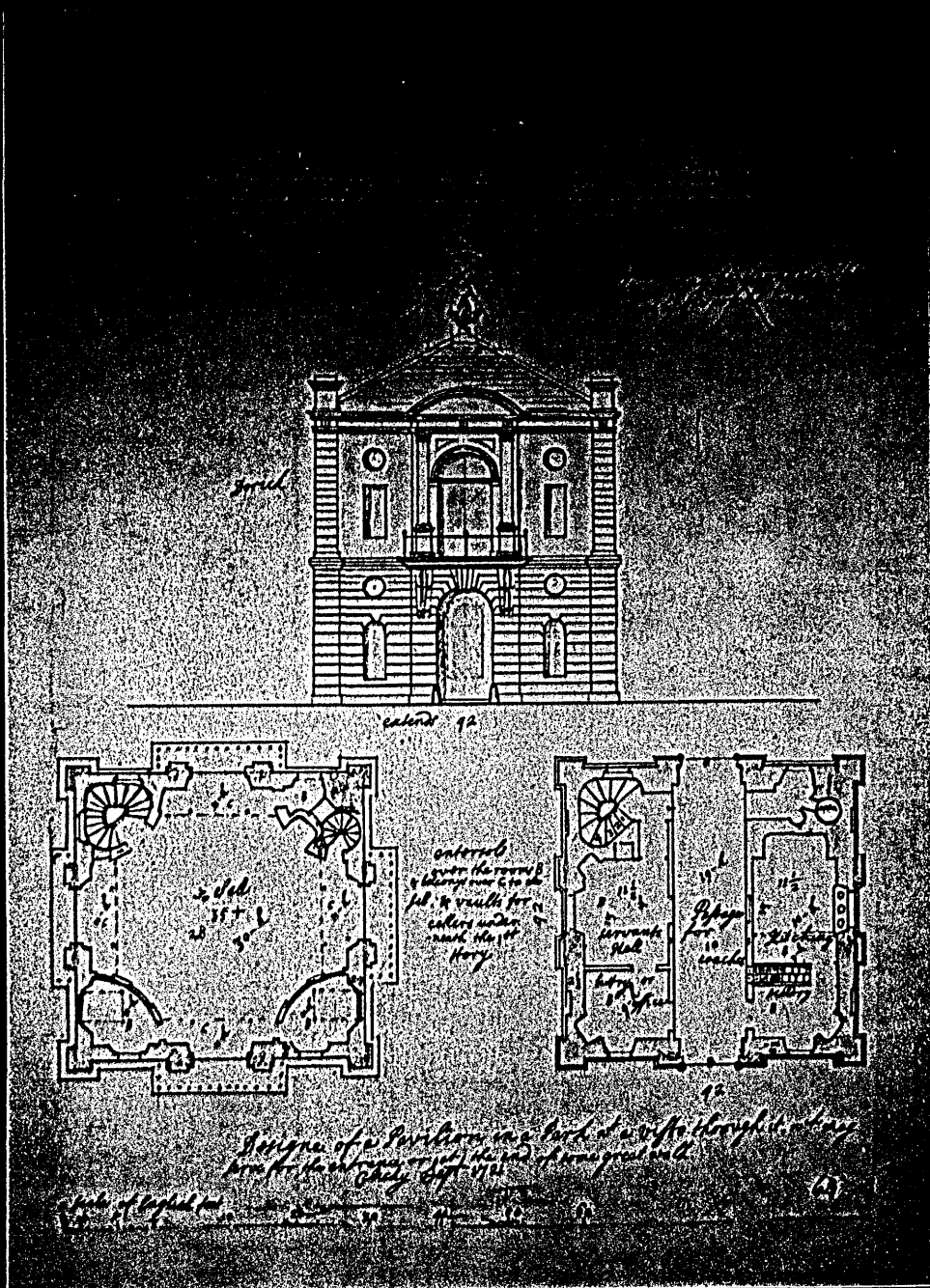


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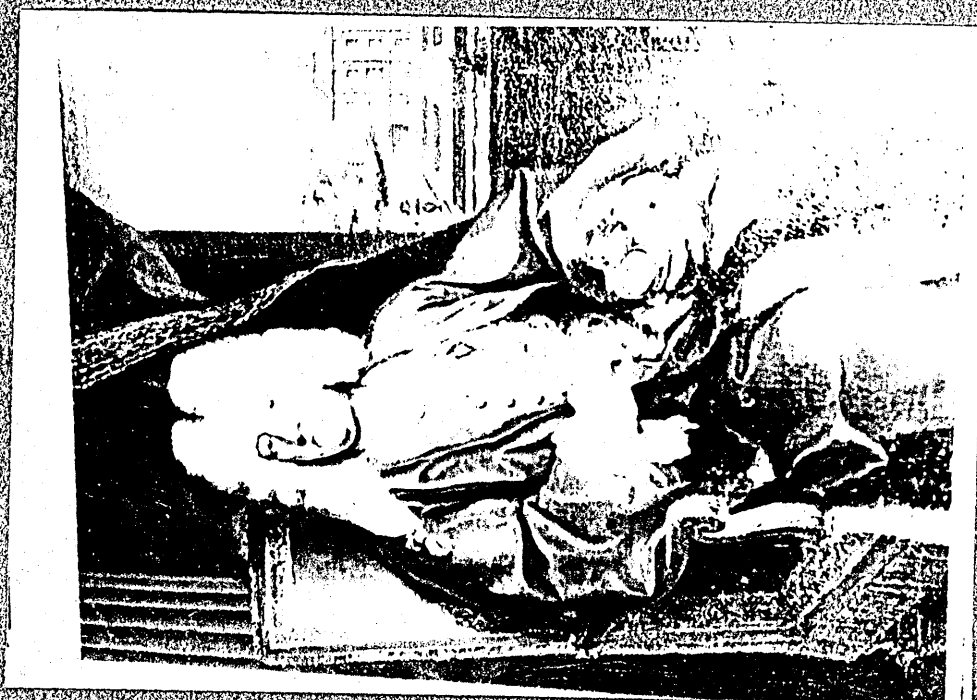
44. Elevation. Principal facade of "Villa N".



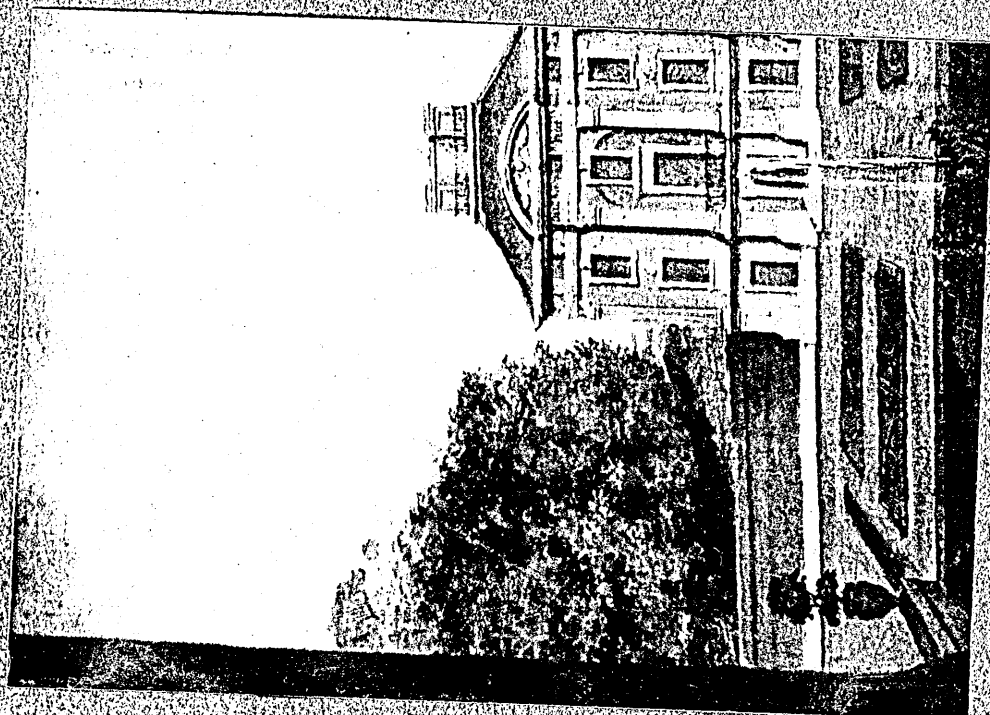
46. Elevations and roof. Pigeon house for Aloa gardens.



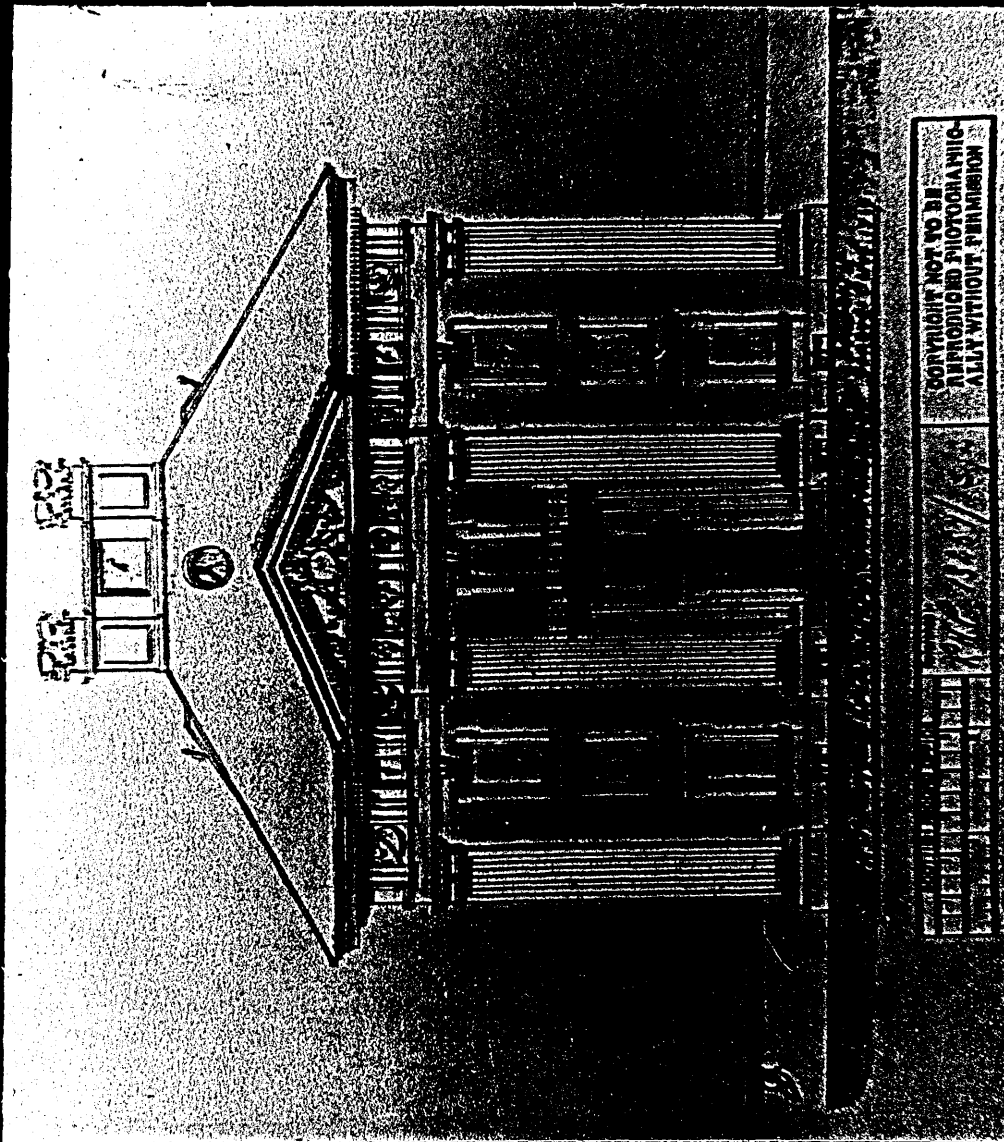
47. Elevation and plans. Pavilion for Alloa gardens.



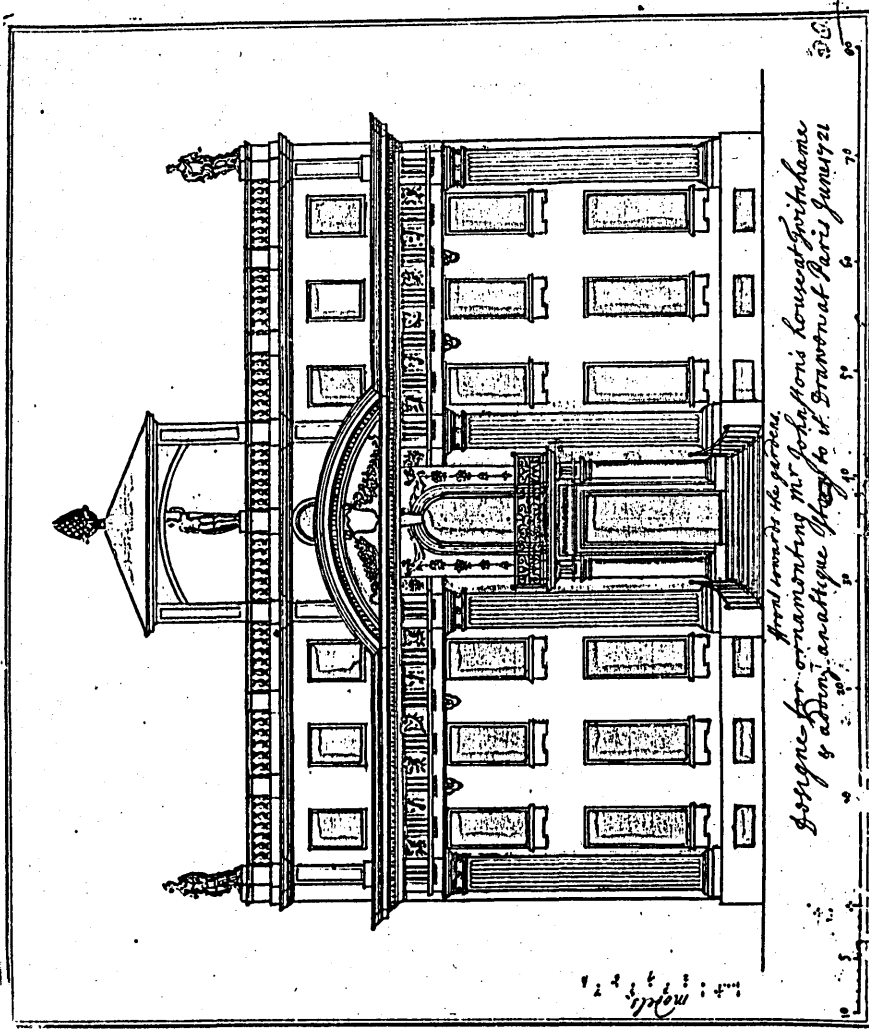
49. Portrait of the 6th Earl of Mar. Unidentified Swiss artist.



Detail



50. Elevation. Principal façade of "House J".



51. Elevation. Proposal for James Johnstone's house at Twickenham.

The front of the house
designed for Mr Roettier
at Blois July 1722



Note the middle window of the side story of the garden front. It is higher than the other two stories of the same story.

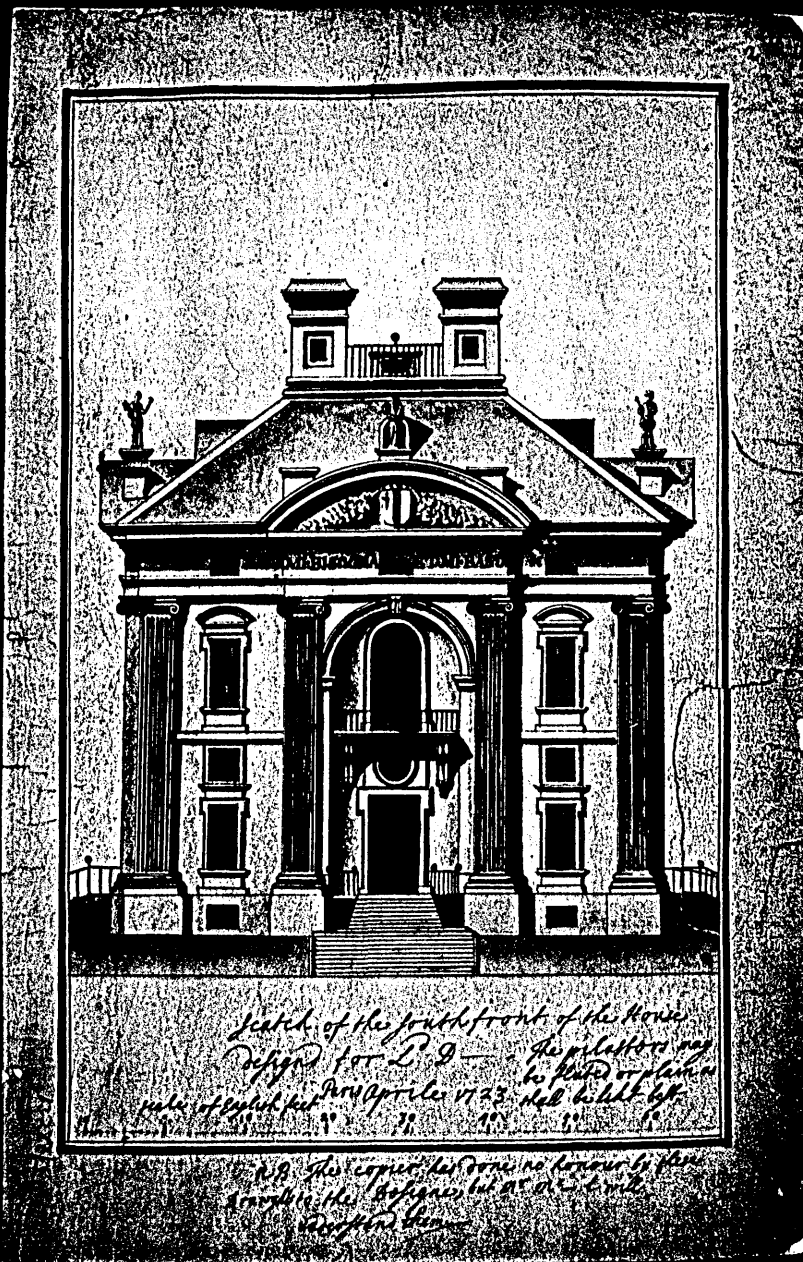
The garden & entry fronts

scale of French feet	10	20	30	40	50	60
scale of English feet	10	20	30	40	50	60

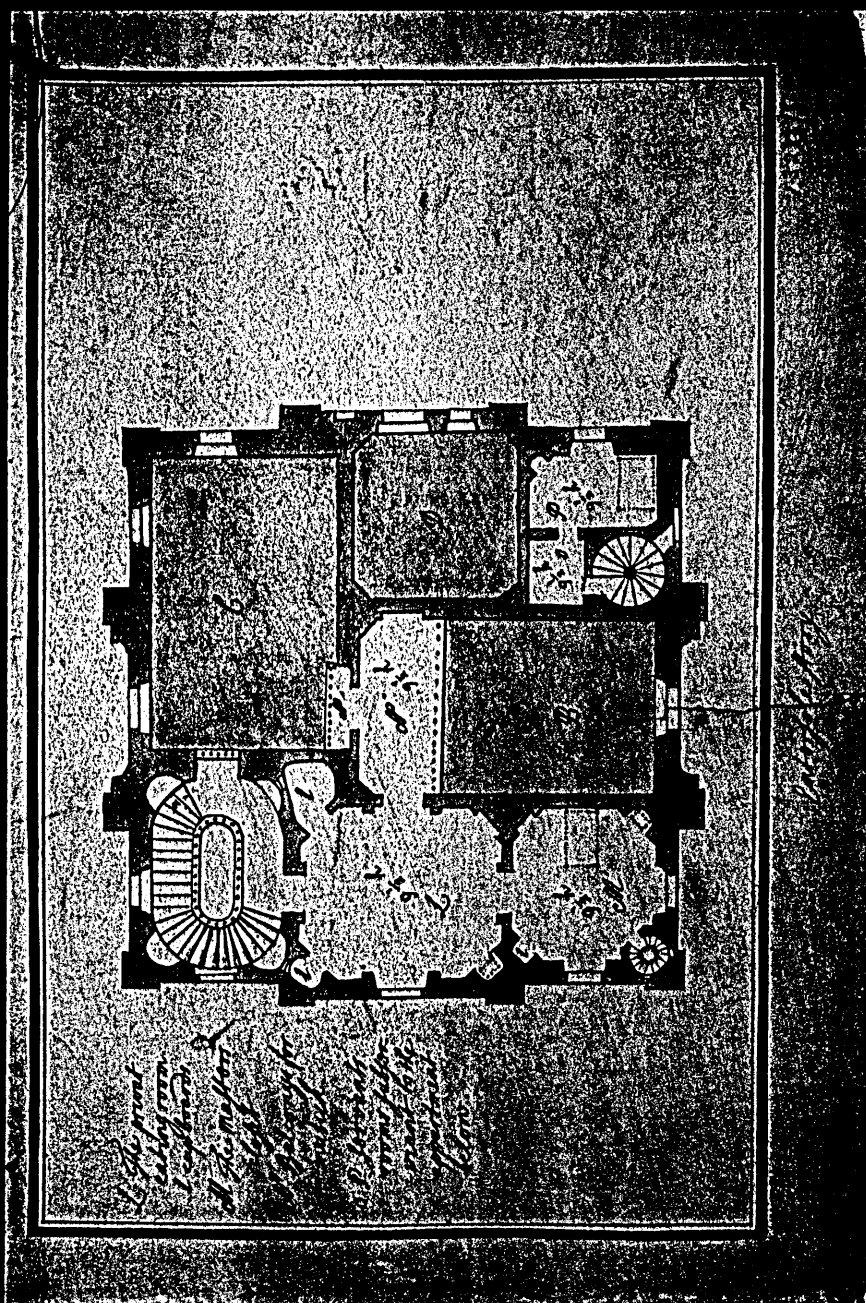
The front towards the little flower garden.

35.

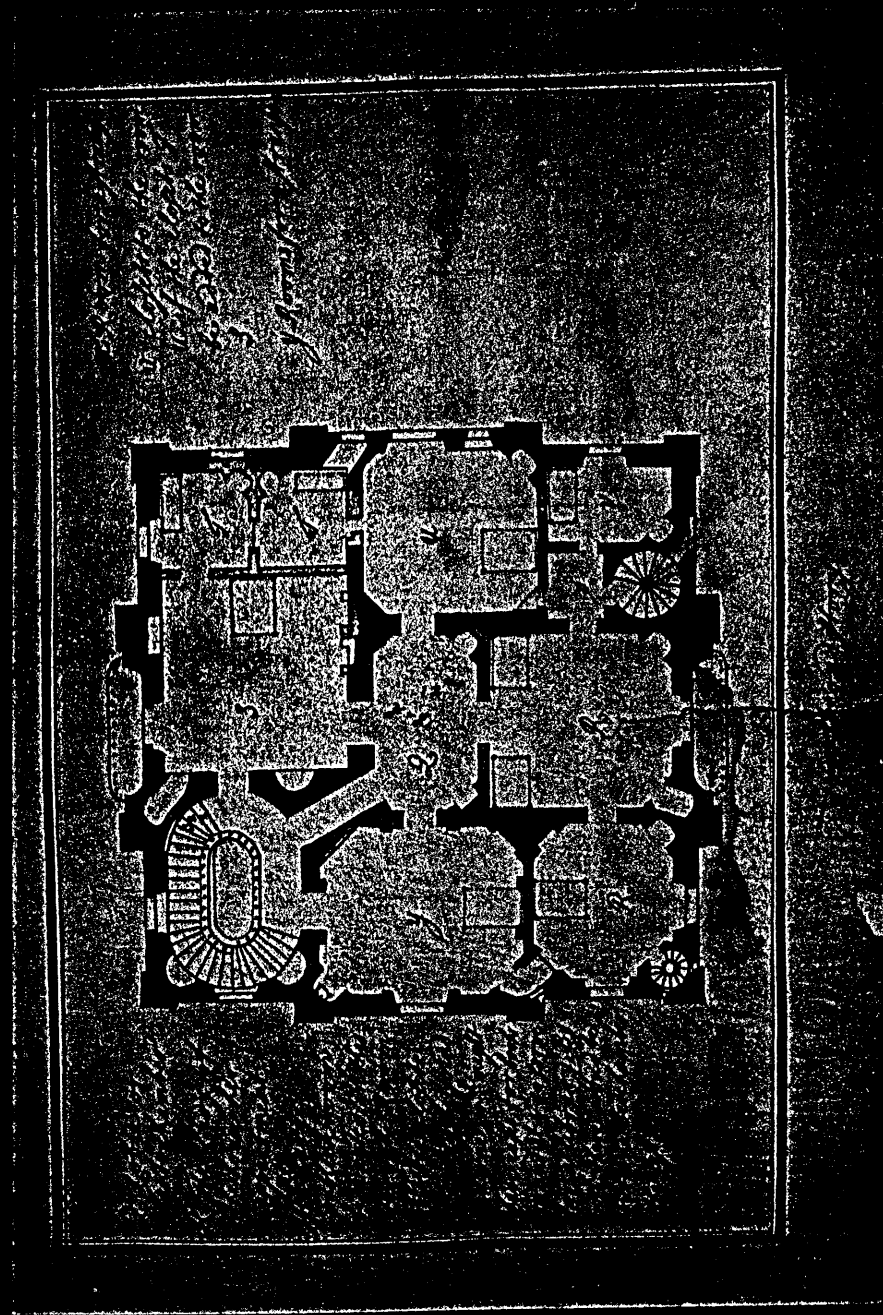
52. Elevations. House for Monsieur Roettier.



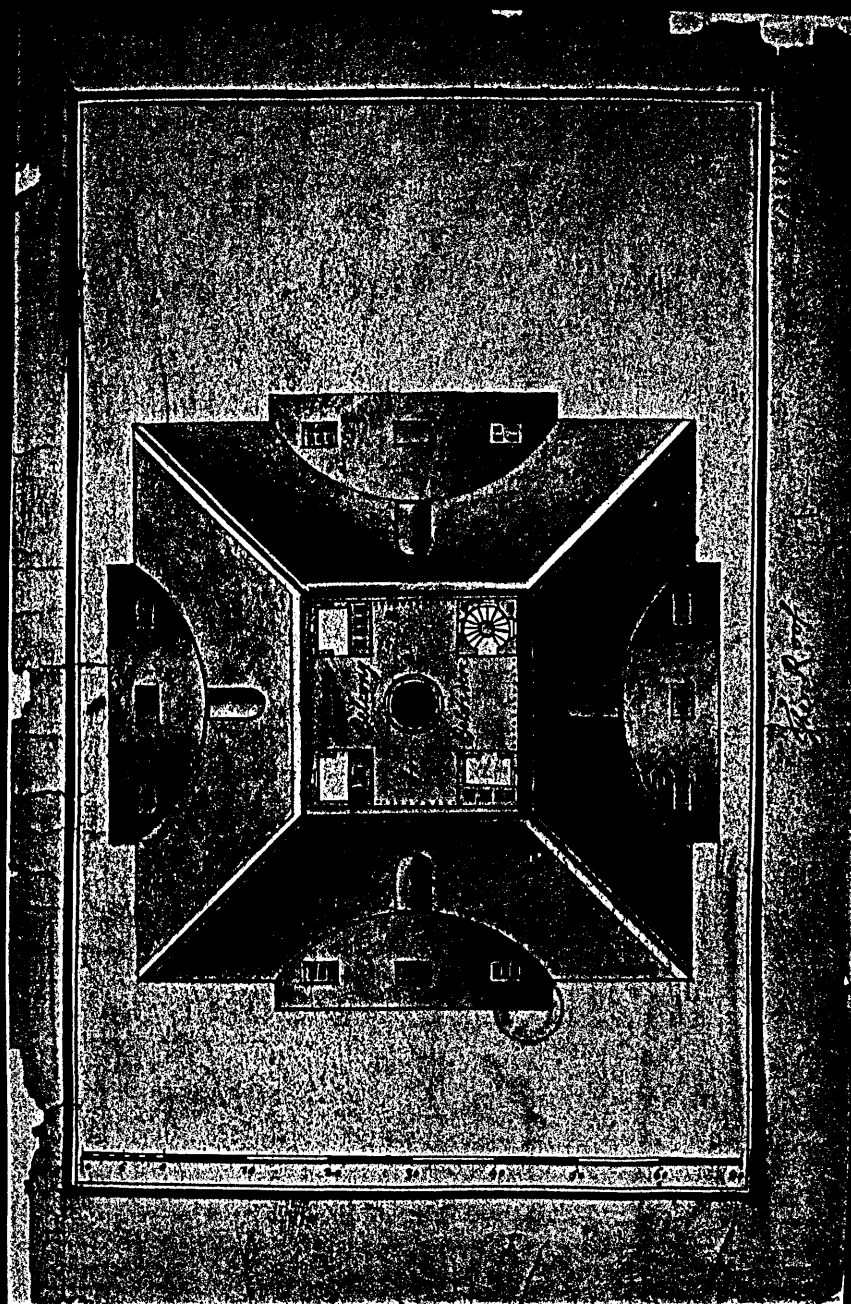
53. Elevation. Façade of Dun A.



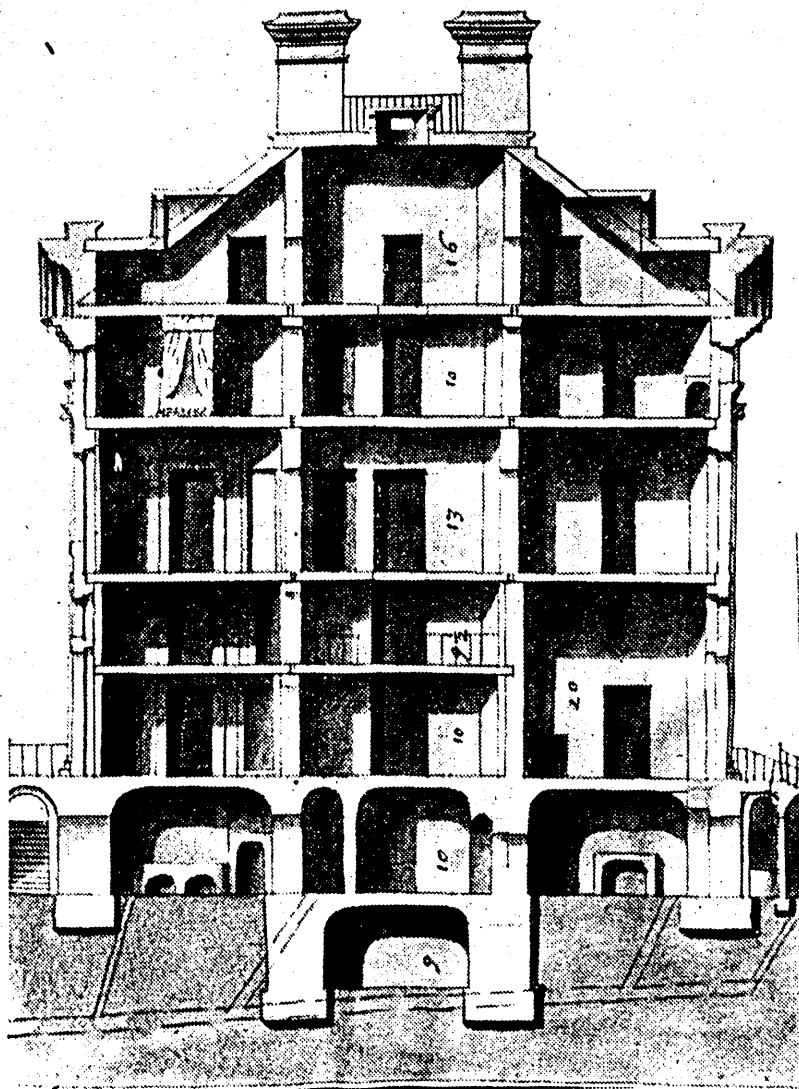
54. Plan. Entresol of Dun A



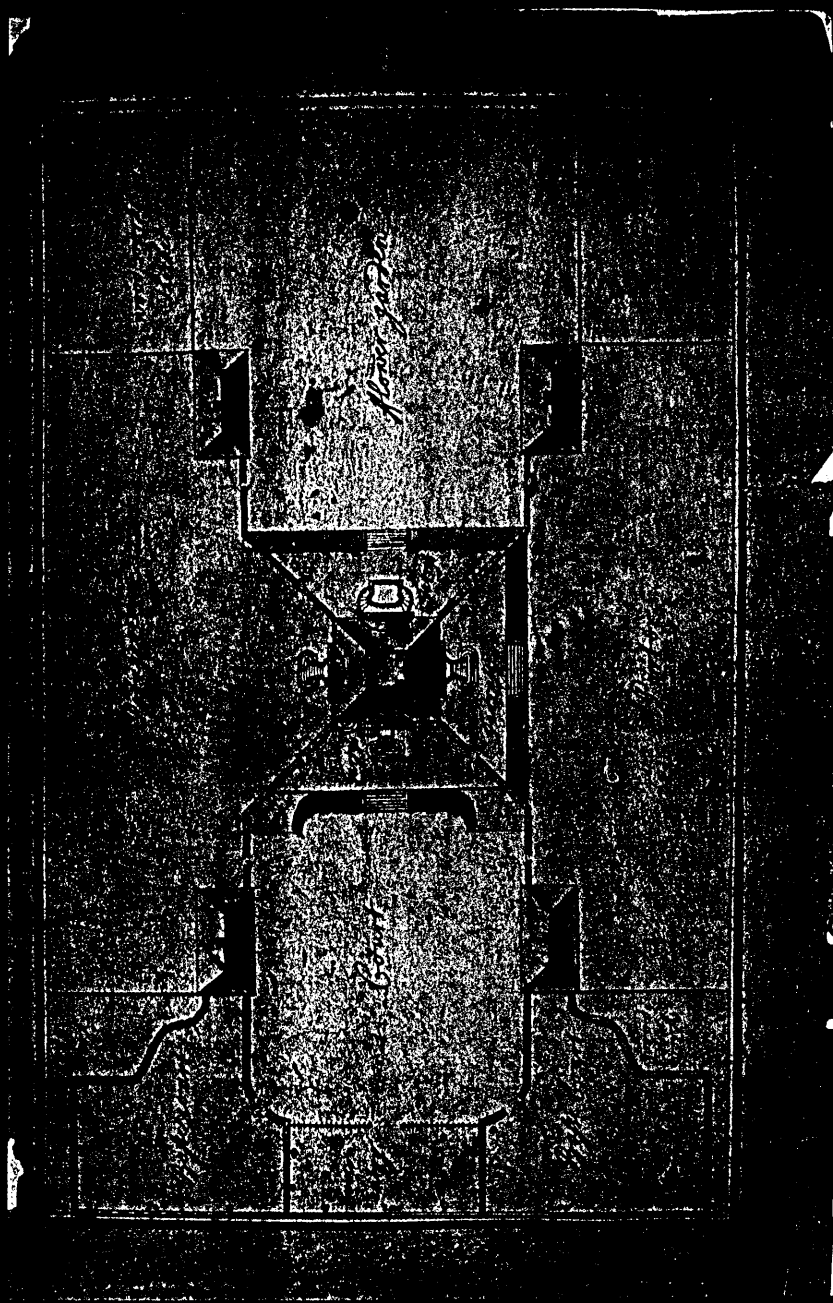
55. Plan. Second floor of Dun A.



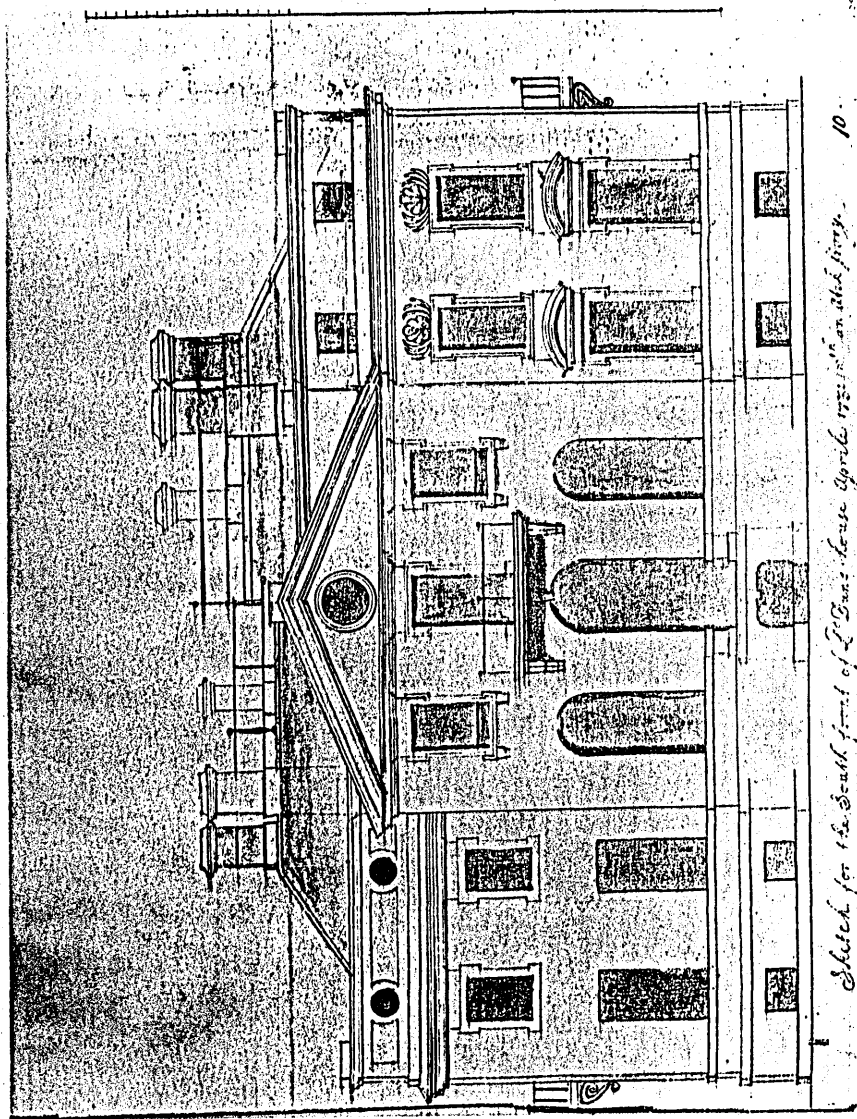
56. Plan. Roof of Dun A.



57. Section. Dun A.

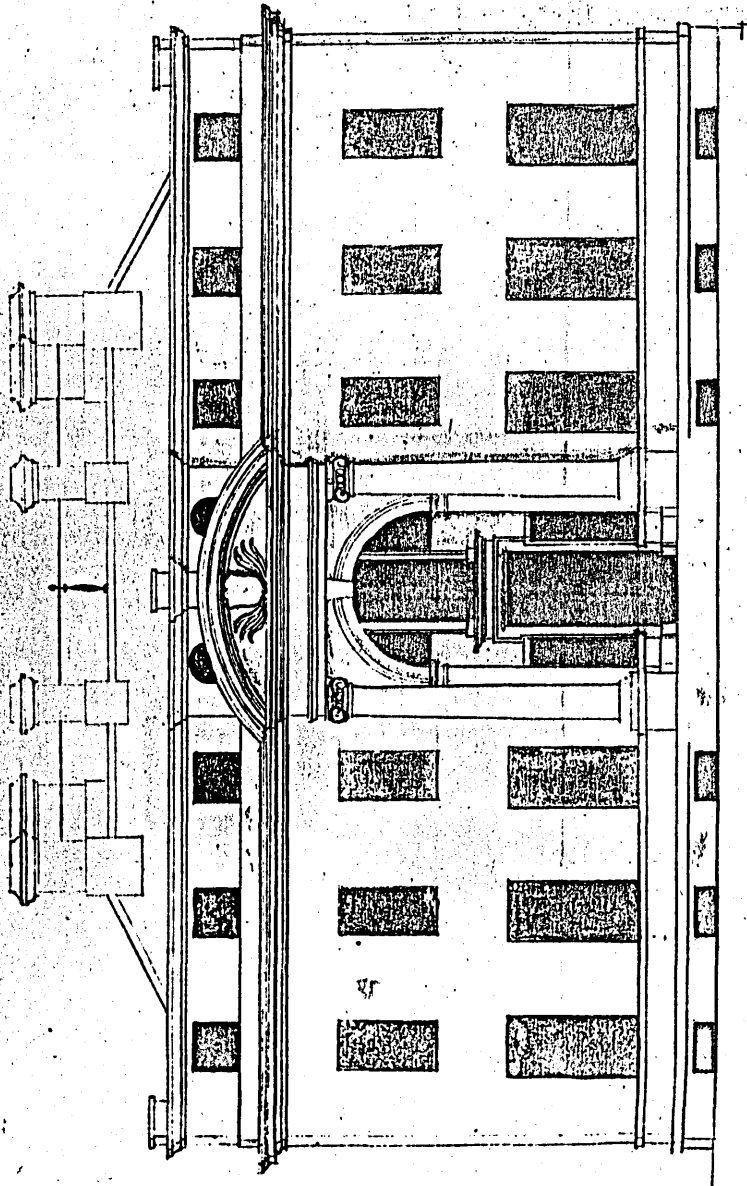


58. Plan. Courts, gardens and offices for Dun A.



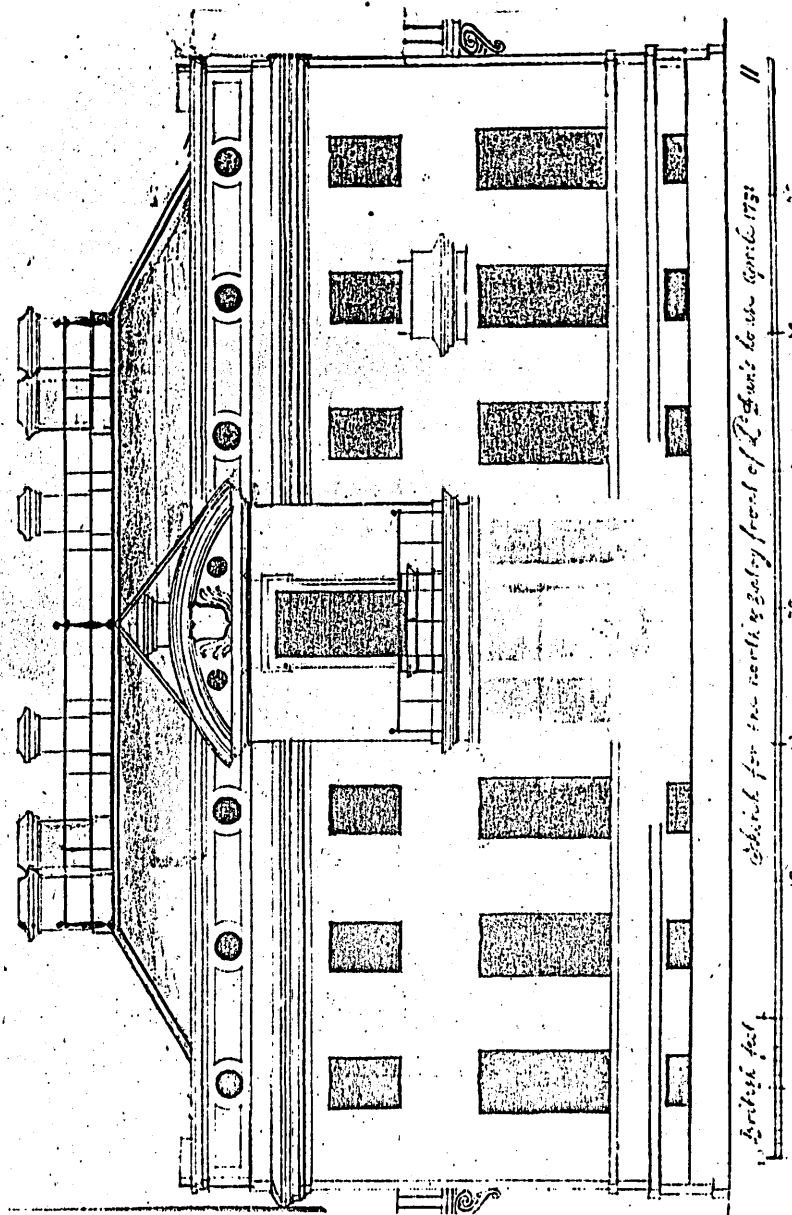
Sketch for the South front of Dun House April 1783. 10' 10" in all height. 10

59. Elevation. South facade of the House of Dun.

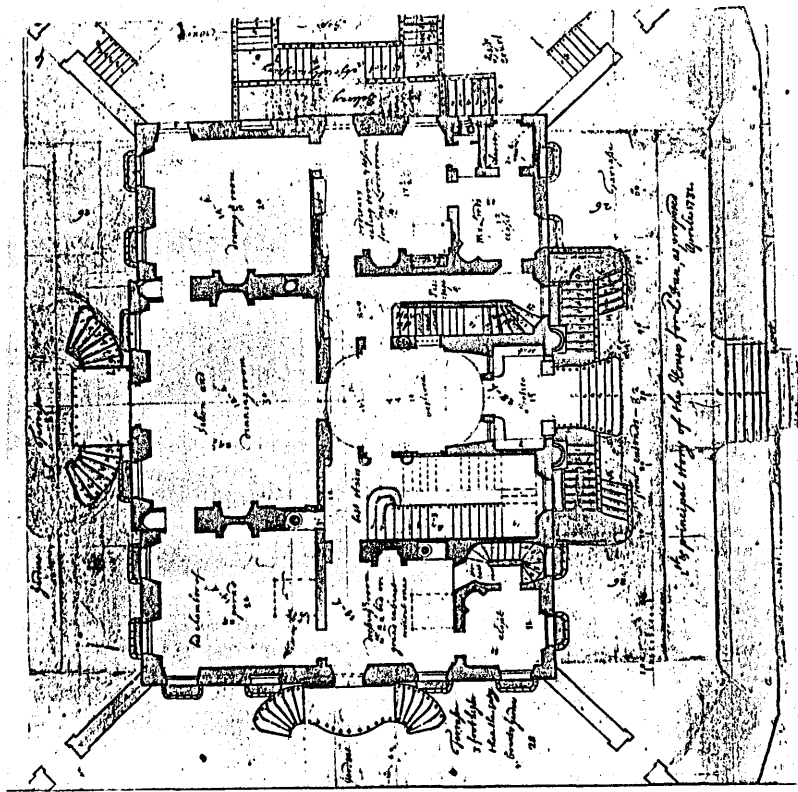


Architect's sketch for the north front of Dun House - April 1931. The Porch is two story high.

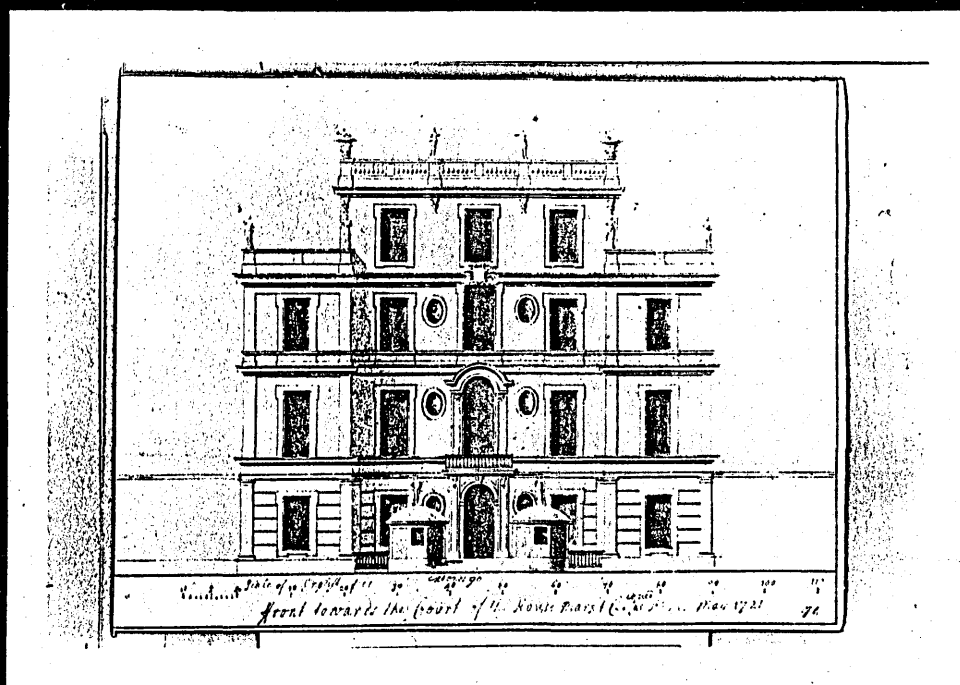
60. Elevation. North façade of House of Dun.



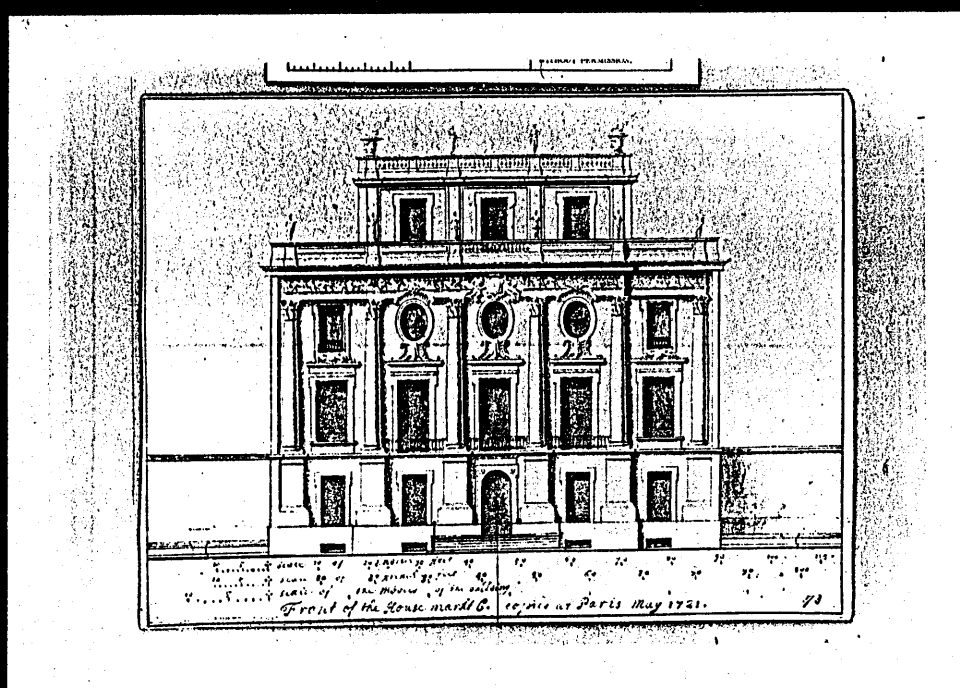
61. Elevation. North façade of House of Dun.



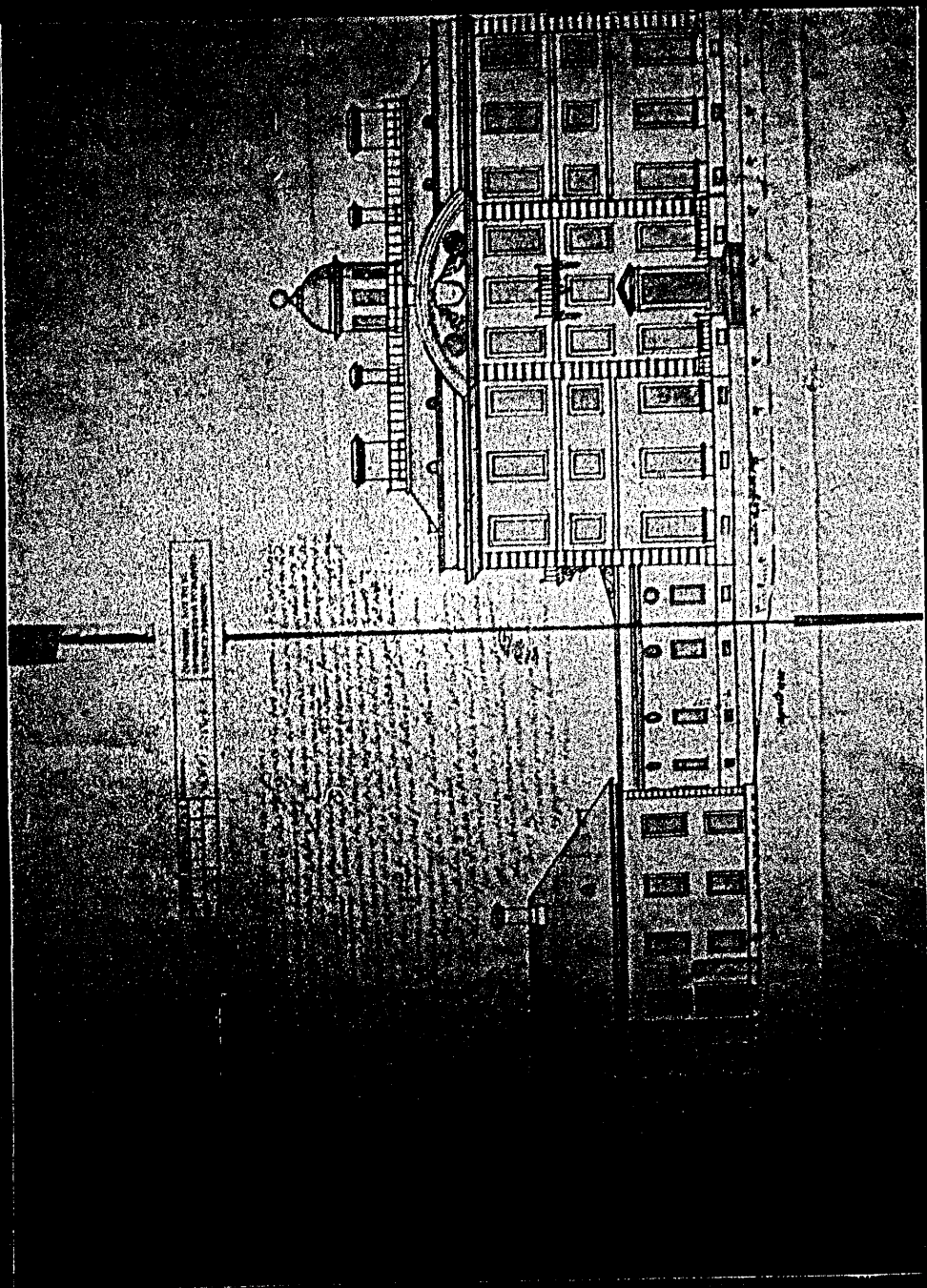
62. Plan. Principal floor of House of Dun.



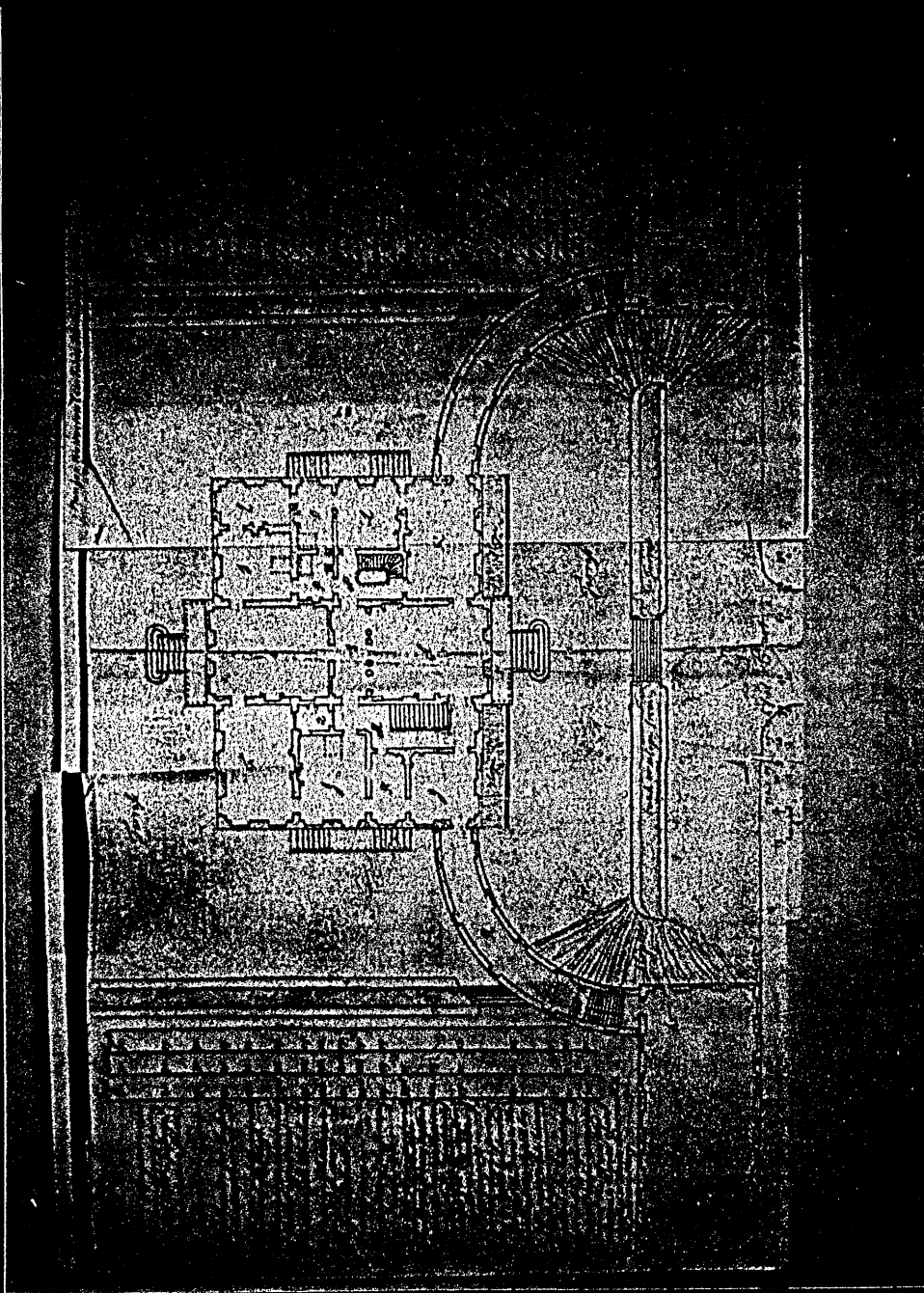
63. Elevation. Façade to the court of "House C".



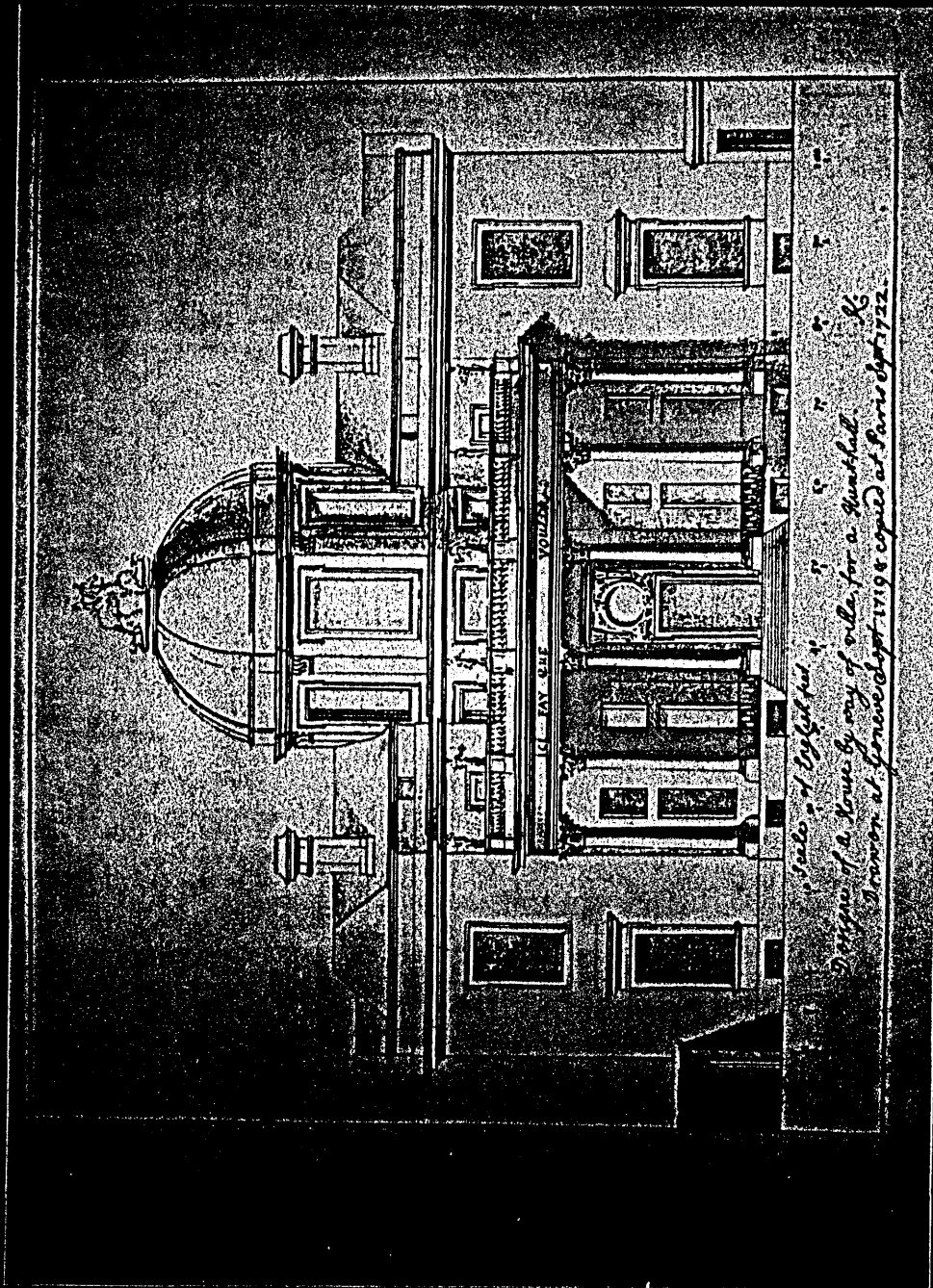
64. Elevation. Façade to the gardens of "House C".



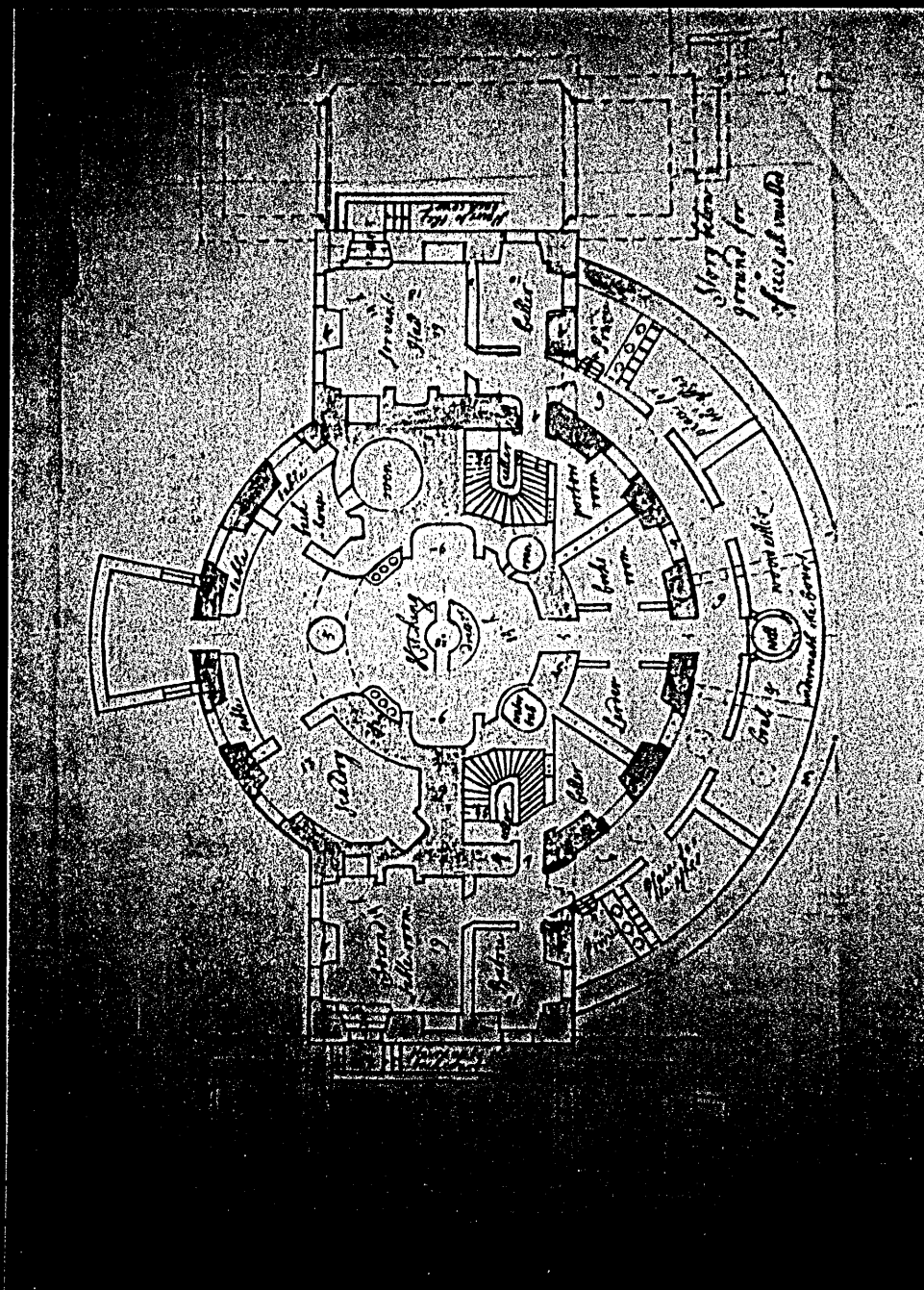
65. Elevation. Proposal for Wolterton House.



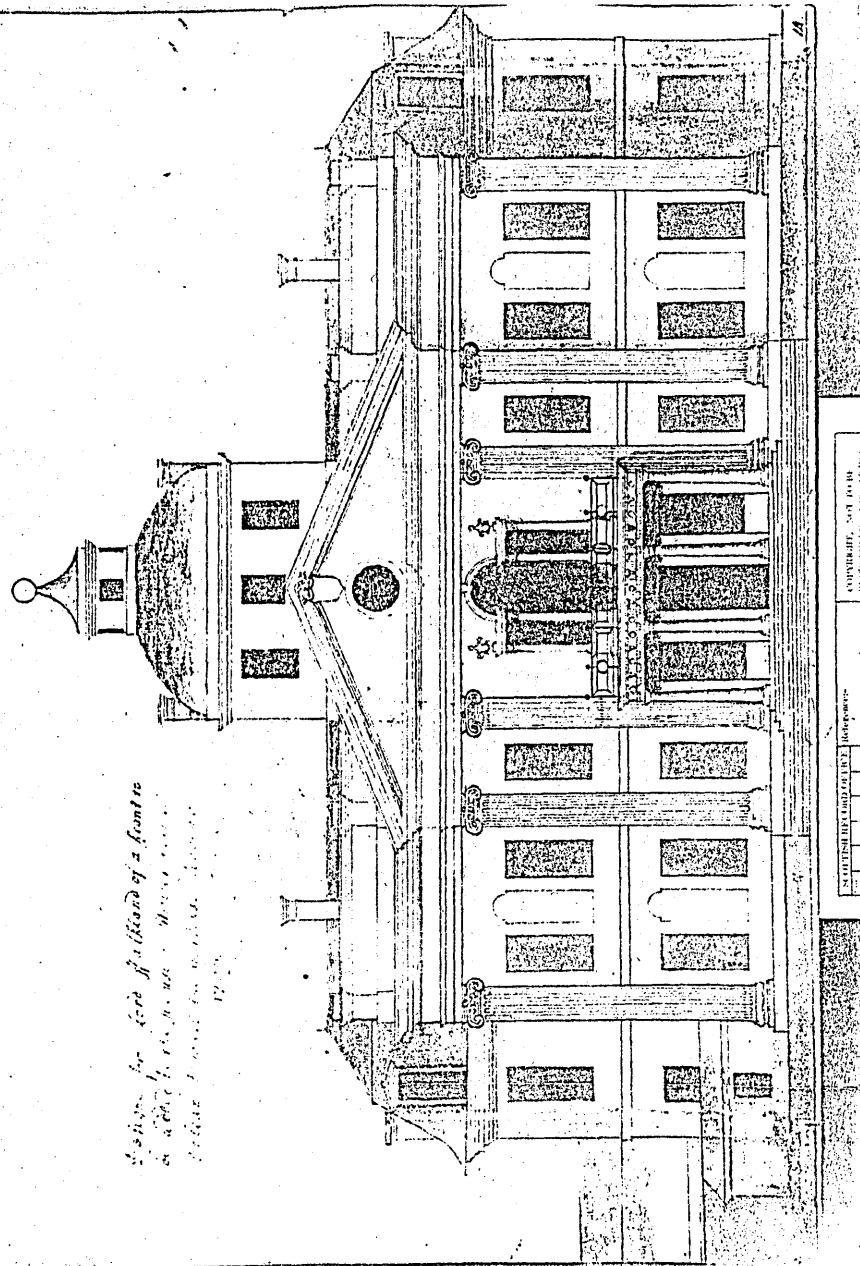
66. Plan. Proposal for Wolterton House.



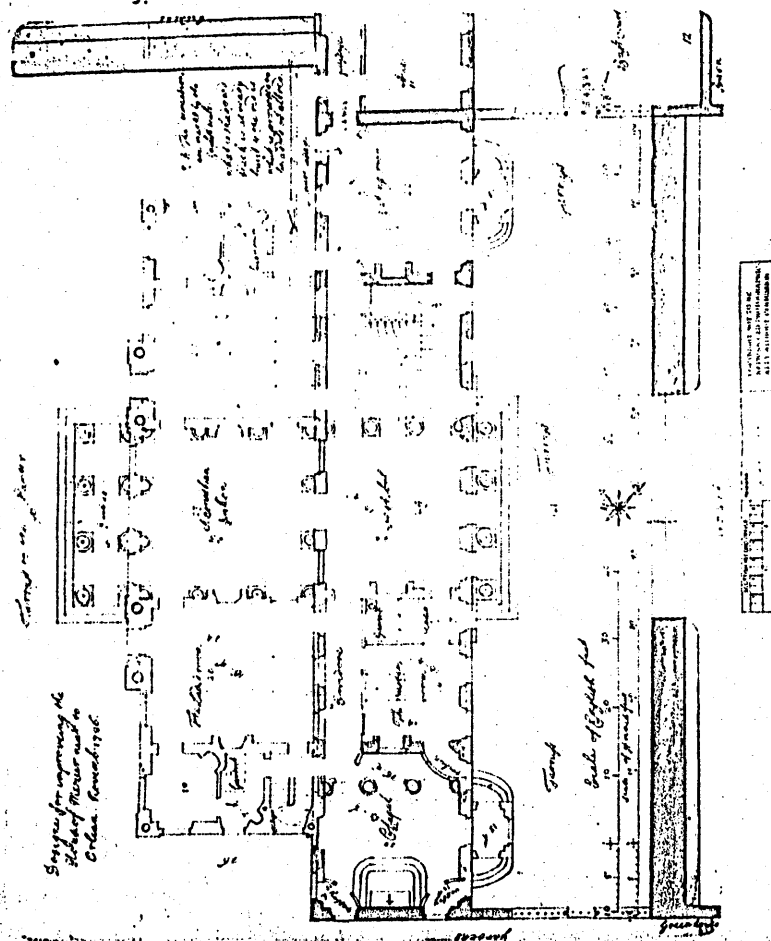
67. Elevation. "Hunt Hall K".



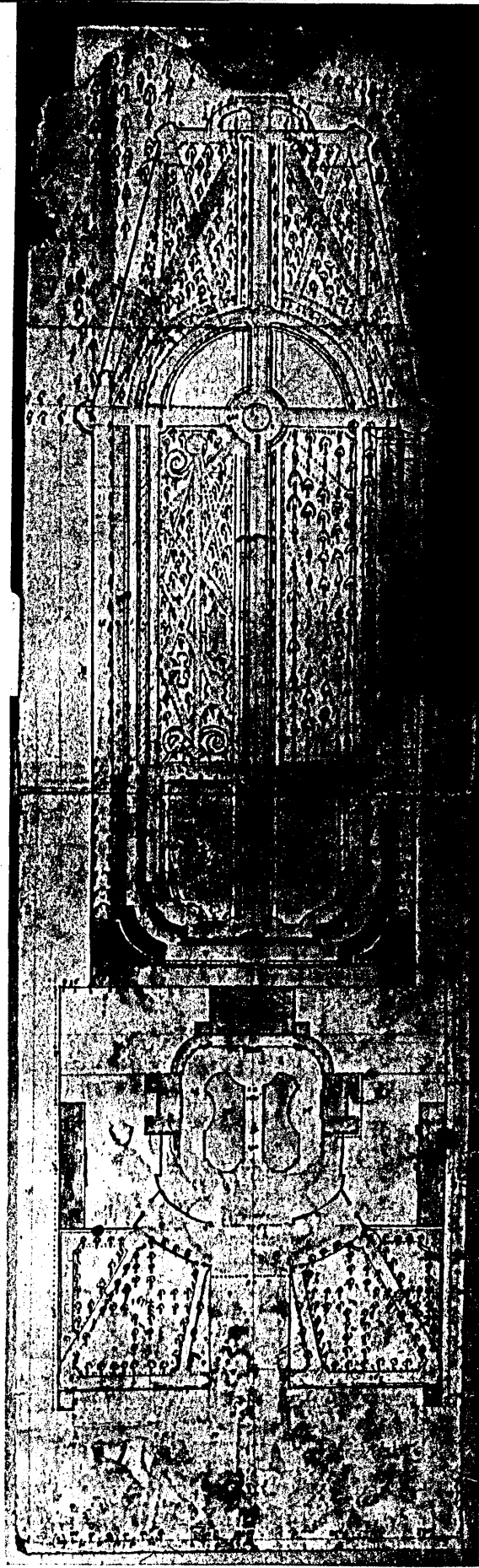
68. Plan. Basement of "Hunt Hall K".



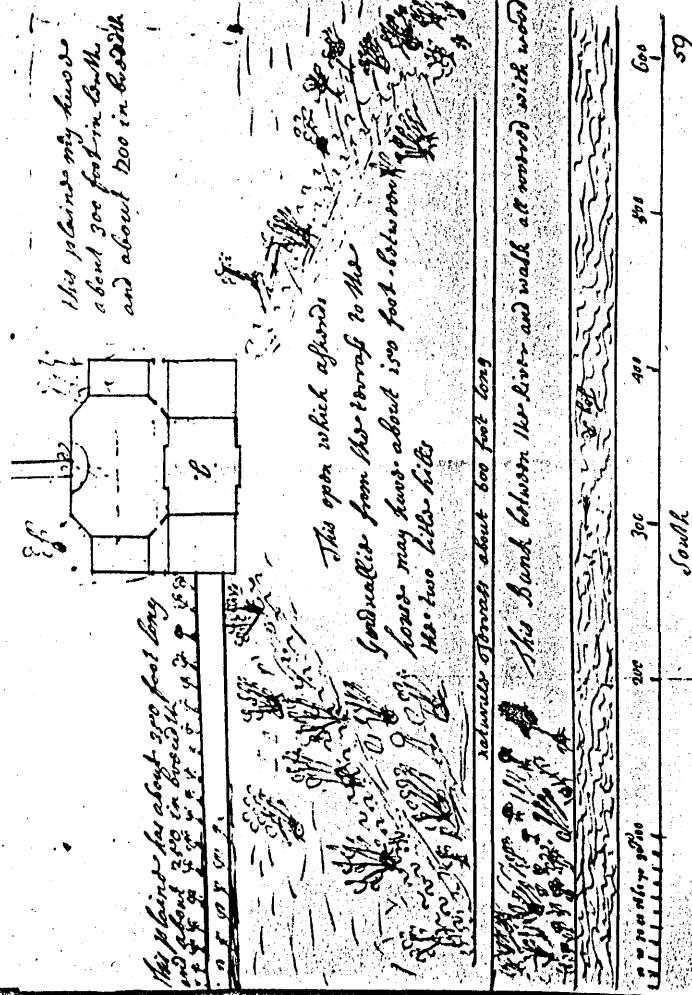
69. Elevation. Lord Falkland's house at Mezières.



70. Plan. Lord Falkland's house at Mezzières.



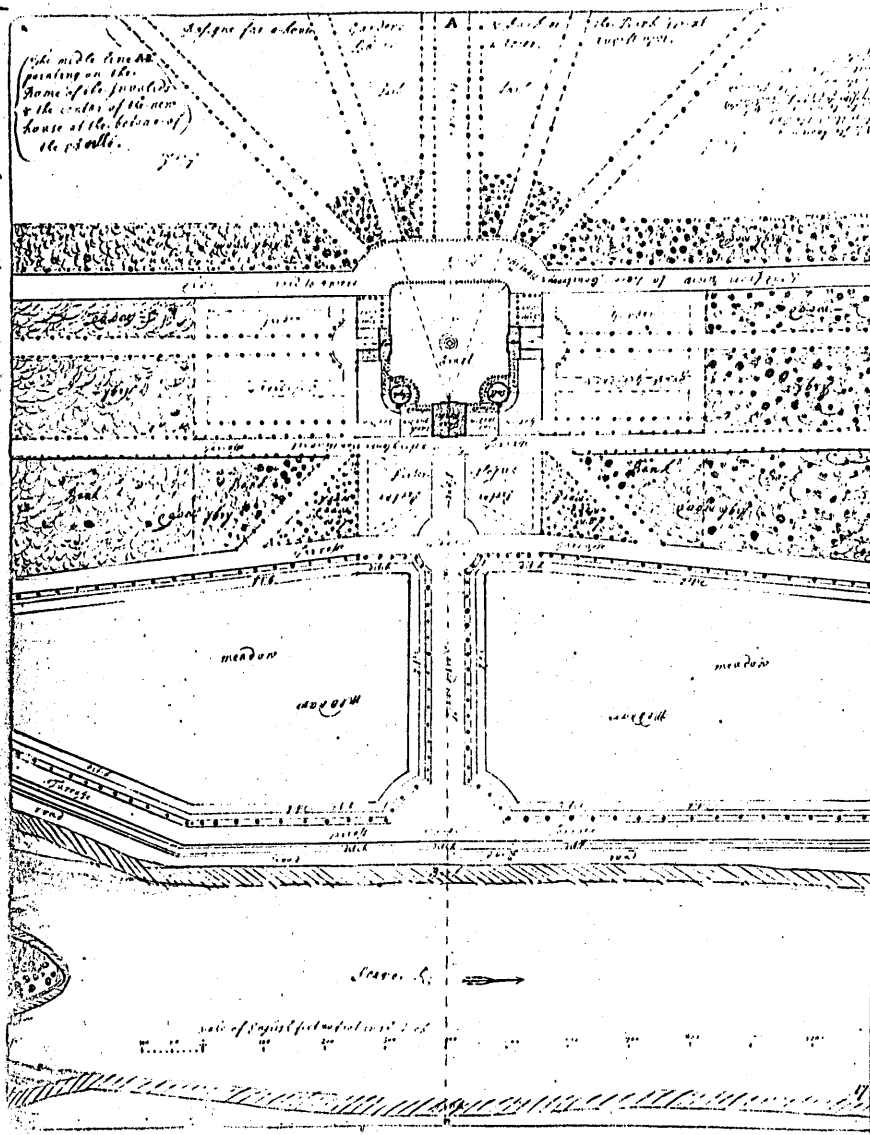
71. Garden design for avenues, circus and terraces at Cliveden.



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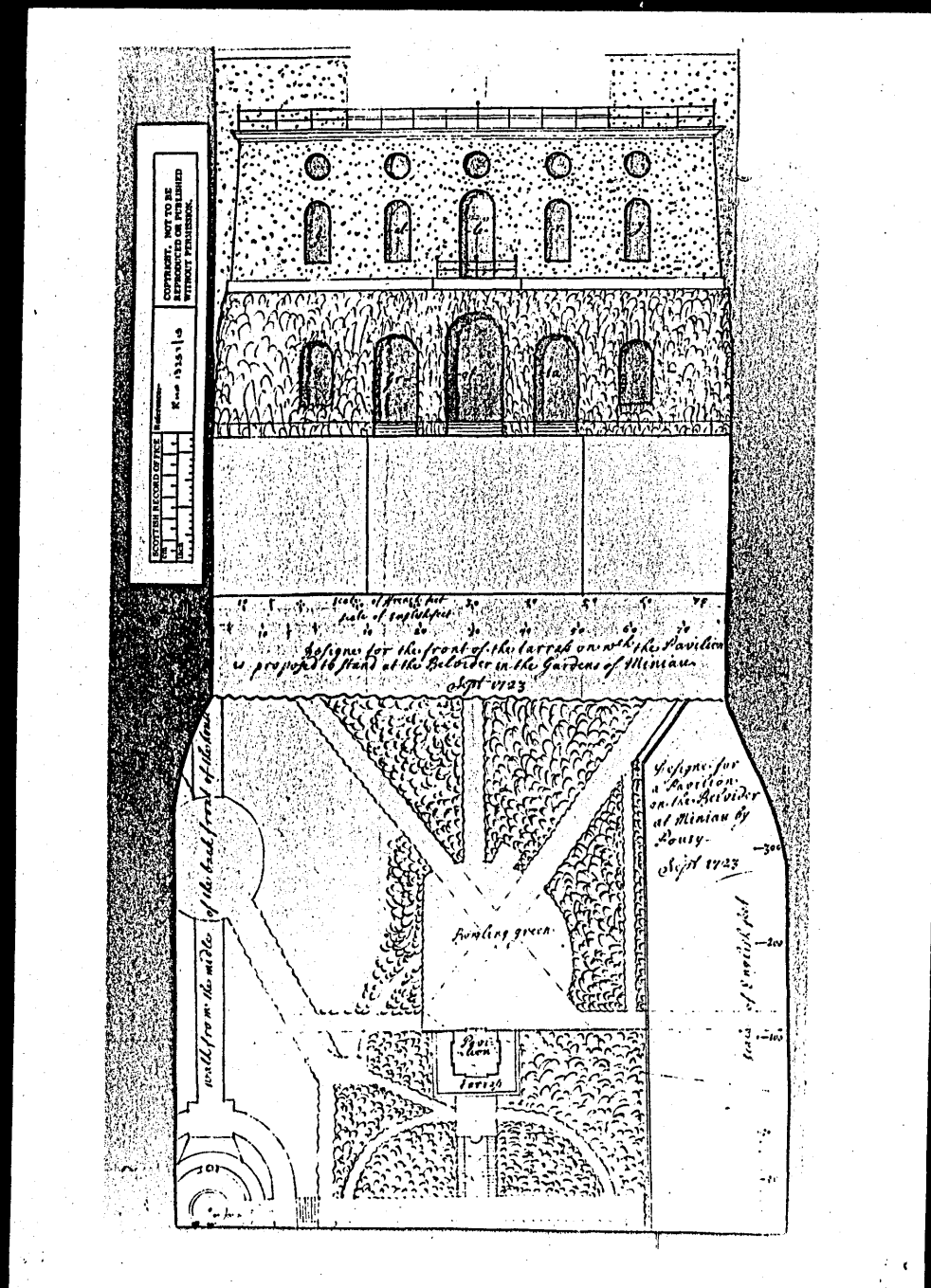
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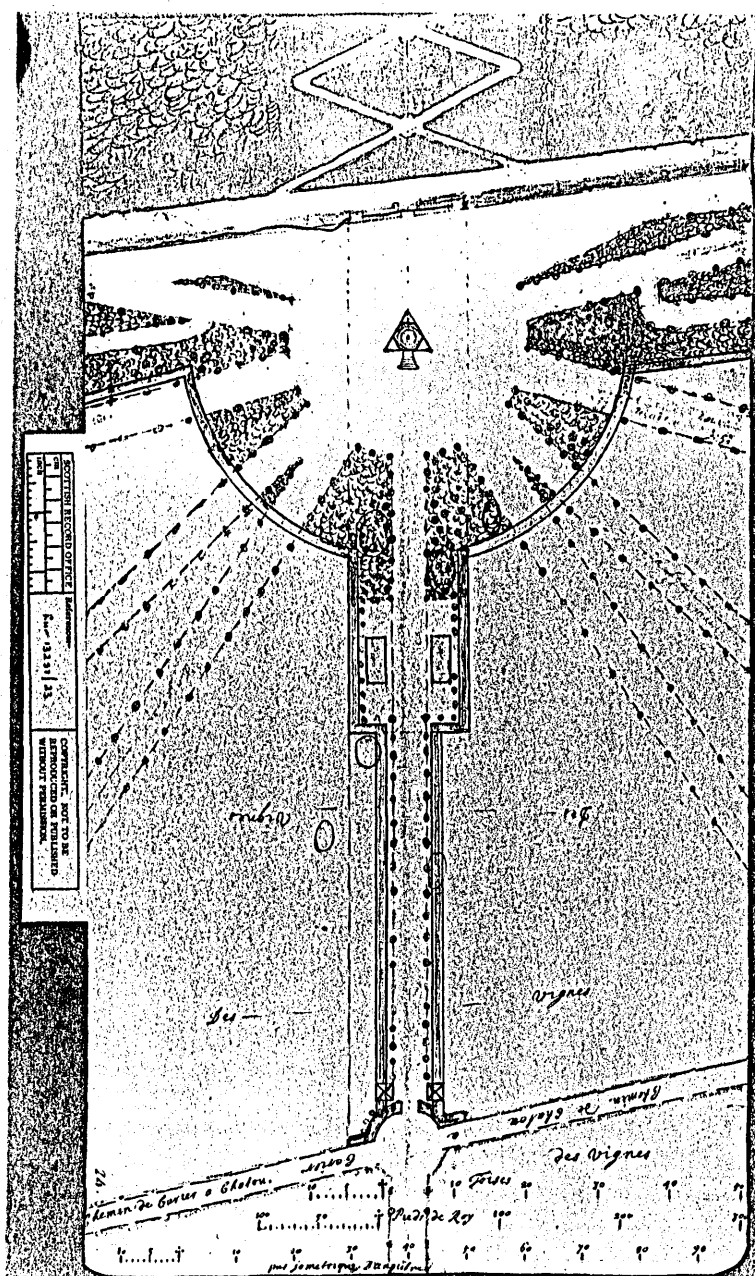
72. Garden design for terraces and flower garden for Colonel Stewart at Innermytie, Perthshire.



73. Site plan. House at Bécon-les-Brûleries.

74. Elevation and garden plan. Pavilion and bowling green for the Châteaux de Migneaux.

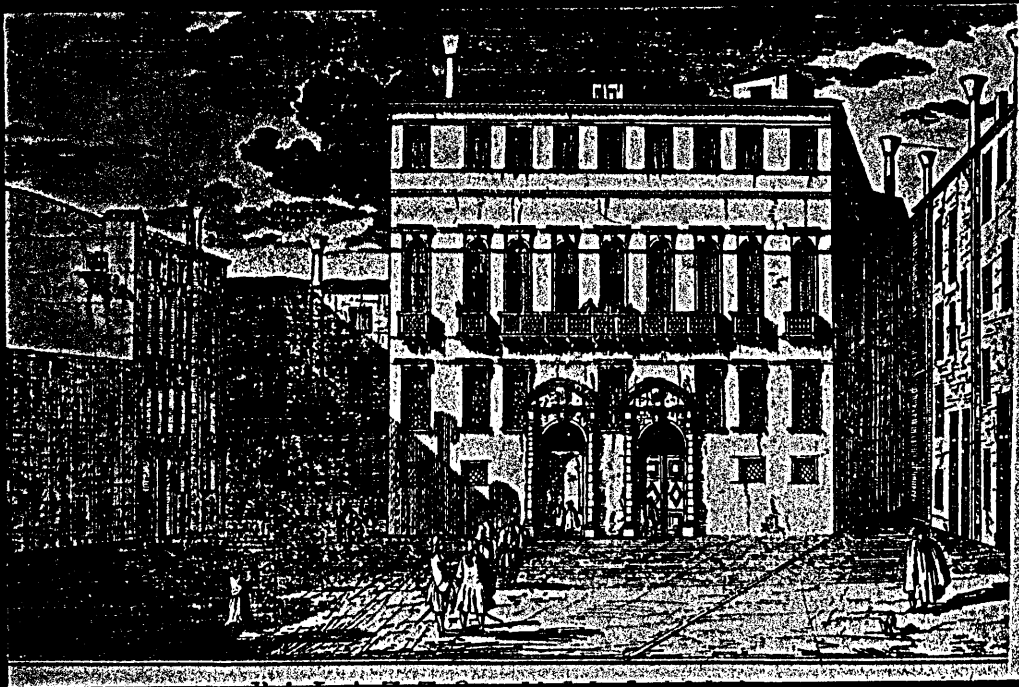




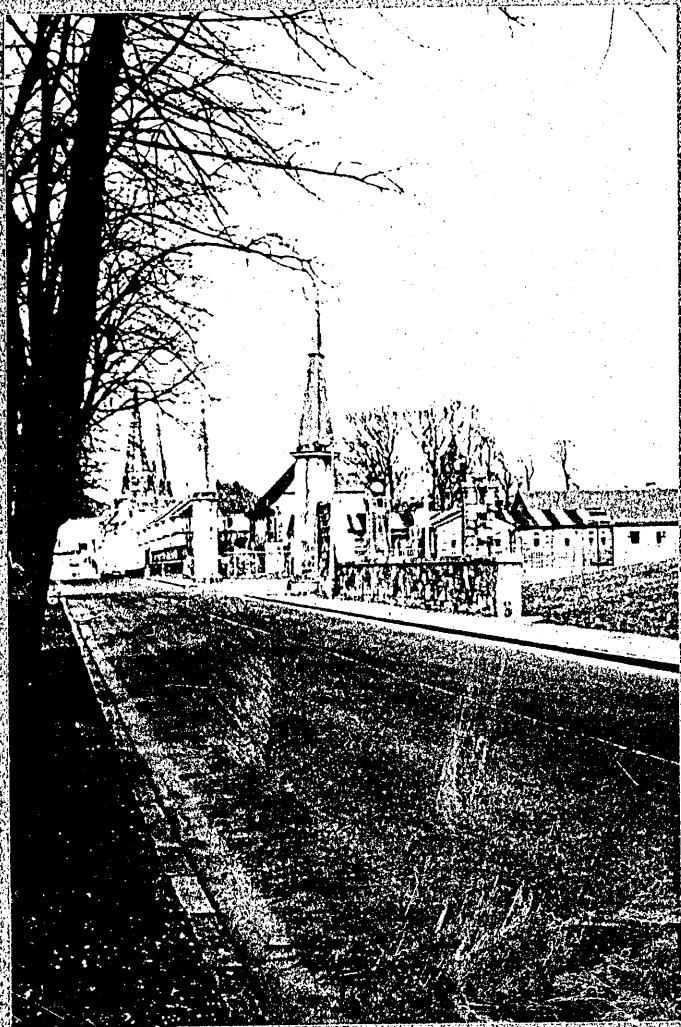
75. Garden design for Chatou.



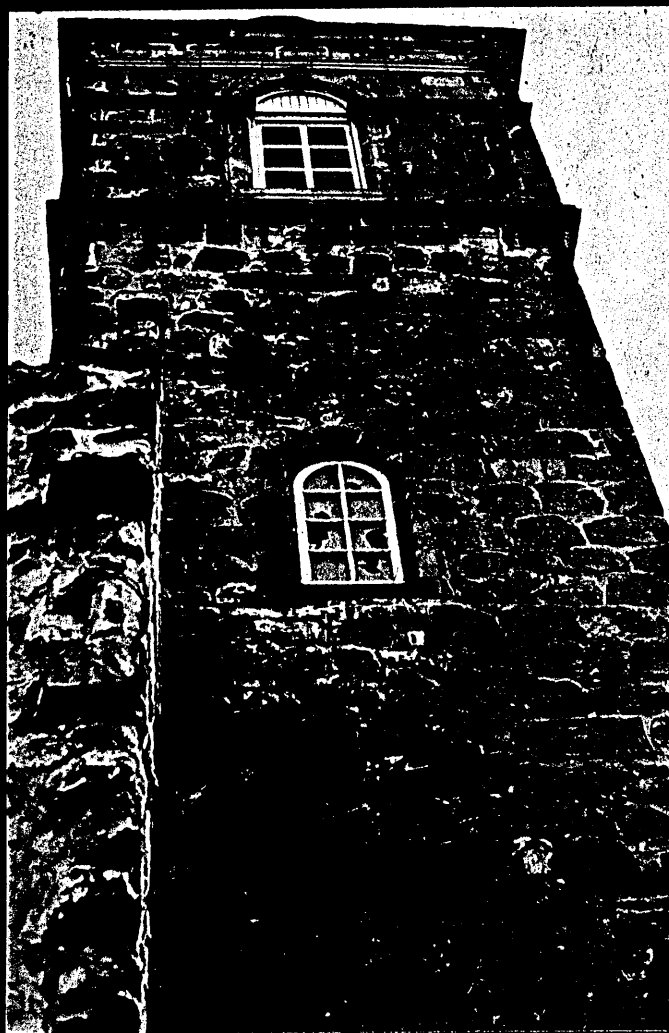
76. Doorway. Alcoa Tower (1986).



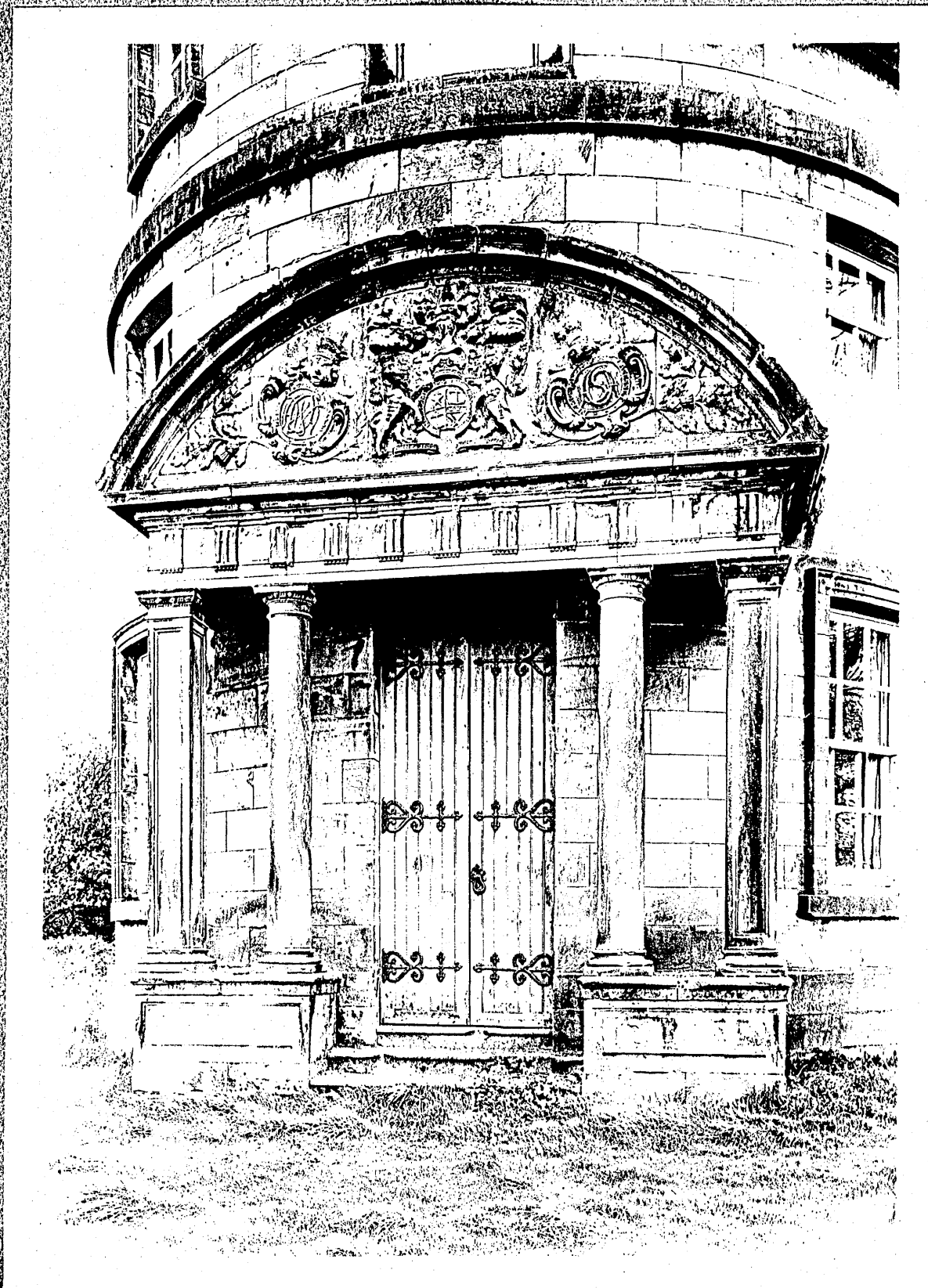
77. Principal façade. Palazzo Morosini, Venice.



78. Gate piers. Lime Tree Walk, Alloa (1986).



79. West tower of St. Mungo's Church, Alloa (1986).



81. 'Temple' portico at Craigiehall House, Edinburgh (National Monuments Record of Scotland).