

Sir William Bruce: ‘the chief introducer of Architecture in this country’¹

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ABSTRACT

This paper² outlines the career of Sir William Bruce, who helped lead Scottish architecture through one of its most decisive periods of change. It charts his various successes in the 1660s and 70s; thereafter, the sequence of reversals to his fortunes, first from 1678, when he was dismissed from his post as royal architect; 1686, when he was cast aside by the king; and 1689, when he found himself, and determined on point of principle to continue, on the wrong side of the new political order.³

William Bruce was born around 1625 to 1630, the second son of Robert Bruce of Blairhall, a Perthshire landowner,⁴ and Jean, daughter of Sir John Preston of Valleyfield. He may have been the William Bruce who matriculated at St Salvador’s college, St Andrews, in 1637. In about 1660, he married Mary Halket, daughter of Sir James Halket of Pitfirrane, who produced a daughter, Anne, and a son, John, who inherited. Mary died in 1699 and the next year Bruce married a second time, to Magdalene Scott. He died at Edinburgh on New Year’s day, 1710, and is said to have been buried in the vault at Kinross old kirkyard (Paton 1893, 483).⁵

The parliamentary regime loosened following Oliver Cromwell’s death in 1658 and Bruce, from near-obscurity, appeared in 1659 as a significant figure on the eve of the Restoration of the monarchy. He appears to have been intermediary, or an intermediary, between the exiled Charles II (then in Holland) and the English General Monck, and was perhaps at least partly responsible for converting the latter to support restoration, thereby facilitating the return to power from 1660 of

the old established order — crown rule, Parliament, the aristocracy and Stuart episcopacy. The nobility favoured full restoration of royal power as a guarantee of stability and order, and of episcopacy to bring corresponding stability to the church. Charles appointed his old friend and one-time soldier John Middleton (1619–1674), Earl of Middleton, head of his Scottish administration (Brown 1992, 144, 146, 148).

Bruce, already knighted, was in July 1661 recommended warmly by Sir Robert Moray (1608/9–1673) to Sir John Gilmour (d 1671), both then central figures in Scottish politics (Paton 1933, 125). Moray — another onetime Covenanter soldier, a friend of Cardinal Richelieu, and by then evidently a good friend of Bruce’s — was an intellectual, with interests varying from Stoic philosophy to military engineering (in Vitruvian terms, the domain of the architect) (Allan 2000, 198). Public offices in Restoration Scotland included restoration of the post of Master of Work, and Moray seems to have had a key role in this appointment. In August 1660 he wrote, ‘I think my Brother will be master of Work’ — which post

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ILLUS 1 Sir William Bruce: portrait by John Michael Wright, 1664. (*Trustees of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery*)

Sir William Moray (later, of Dreghorn, Midlothian) duly obtained the same month (Stevenson 1984). On 26 November 1661 Sir William Moray was instructed by the Privy Council to report on the condition of Holyroodhouse (his report being read to the Council two days later), and he was presumably involved in whatever activity prompted John Mylne, King's Master Mason, to prepare a plan of the palace in 1663 (executed in the same year as Middleton's fall from power).⁶ In March 1661 Moray was appointed one of the administrators of the Act for raising King Charles' annuity and in 1663 he was made a Justice of the Peace, indicating his career still to be in the ascendant.⁷ (Sir Robert moved away from politics to explore his intellectual interests, taking a lead role in founding the Royal Society.)

Gilmour, from 1660, was laird of Craigmillar, and the next year Lord President of the Session. In 1661 he built the west quarter of Craigmillar Castle's inner court. But nothing

indicates Bruce's involvement, especially as building materials were already being assembled prior to July, and Moray's brother was of course Master of Works (Stevenson 1984).

Thus, Bruce rose to prominence within the establishment, not as an architect, but as a diplomat or politician, and by 1661 was at the heart of that new establishment. He was both trusted and rewarded by the restored government or crown, with a knighthood, lucrative posts and responsible tasks: such as in 1666 when he was one of a Privy Council committee set up to try Margaret Guthrie of Carnbee Parish, then prisoner in the tolbooth of Anstruther Wester, for witchcraft.⁸ He was appointed (presumably with Middleton's recommendation or compliance) to the lucrative post of Clerk to the Bills in the Court of Session in July 1662. He became also collector of fines and taxation for Charles II. When in July 1663 Parliament was dealing with the Act of Billeting (ie concerning those deemed 'incapable' of public office) – an episode which Lauderdale used to disgrace Middleton – Bruce (perhaps by then pro-Lauderdale, and so anti-Middletonian) was sent to Charles, carrying both the committee report and Parliament's letter in person, to obtain the royal opinion (Brown 1992, 147; Nicoll 1836, 395).⁹ From 1663 John Leslie, Earl of Rothes, became the foremost figure in Scottish politics. He was High Commissioner to the General Assembly and to Parliament (the same Parliament which made the then Master of Work a Justice of the Peace), and Bruce was described as 'under him collector of the fynes' (Nicol 1836, 427–8).

Scotland was drawn, on the English side, into the 1665–7 Anglo-Dutch War, where Bruce played an active role. Thus, 'In May 1666, thair was sindrie pryses [captured ships] takin and brought in to Leith; quhair of Sir Willame Bruce brought in sum . . . to his commendatione'; although whether his role – or that of the Earl of Rothes who similarly 'contributed to this employment' – was a

combative or organizational/political one is unclear (Nicol 1836, 448; Kinloch 1830, 193–4). The only immediate, significant architectural consequence of this war was Fort Charlotte in Shetland, built (by John Mylne) as a security measure – presumably involving Moray in his official role (he had, like his brother, a military background, having in 1661 been referred to as ‘lieutenant colonel’) (Stevenson 1984, 420).¹⁰

Meanwhile, Bruce, as very much an establishment figure, found himself called upon to help defend Charles II’s Scotland – and Rothes’ administration – from internal rebellion: for by no means all were content with the re-establishment of an uncompromising episcopalianism, arguably similar to that which had triggered the mid-century wars. A new Covenanter rising in the West came in 1666, and, on marching towards Edinburgh, was dealt with forcibly by the administration. Bruce had a role in all this, as on 26 November 1666 he was instructed by the Privy Council to ‘provide three horsemen to go every evening and morning for intelligence, whereof he is to give an account and to pay those that shall goe as he shall think fitting’, while the Castles of Stirling and Edinburgh were fortified, and Edinburgh’s ports all closed.¹¹ The Covenanters were cut off two days later at Rullion Green in the Pentlands.

Whether Bruce in his government role as administrator was present at the battle is perhaps unlikely for, notwithstanding his previous role concerning Dutch ships, nothing suggests him to have been particularly focused upon warfare. He had by contrast two main objectives: building up his, or his family’s, prestige (which was progressing well, largely through the rewards of public office and acquisition of property); and becoming recognized as an architect. The patronage of the second Earl – later, first Duke – of Lauderdale, Charles’s Secretary for Scotland 1661–80, facilitated both. It was Lauderdale too, for reasons unclear (perhaps the whim of patronage), who – as will be seen – dealt Bruce the

first in a sequence of massive reversals to his career.

Bruce pressed Lauderdale for, and through the latter’s intervention obtained, a baronetcy in 1668, and was commissioner to Parliament for Fife in 1669–74, having on 9 October 1669 been chosen ‘Att Cwpar’ [Cupar, presumably within the tolbooth] as one of Fife’s three commissioners.¹² He was a Justice of the Peace in 1673, and in 1676 a commissioner of excise in Fife;¹³ his portrait was painted in 1664 by John Michael Wright, member of the Academy of St Luke in Rome, and the closest Scotland had to a court painter (there being, of course, no resident court). The image is consistent with that of a man interested – as he is known to have been – in creativity, in music, painting, scholarship and books, and not in politics alone.

The 1660s saw Bruce’s profile already high and his career in the ascendant. But what was the state of architecture in Scotland? By the late 1630s Charles I’s policies had caused a reaction in Scotland which triggered wars within, and between, the three kingdoms: Ireland, England and Scotland. Scotland had set up presbyterian parliamentary rule from 1639, but in the 1650s was humiliated by military conquest and enforced union with England. Warfare from the 1640s onwards had been expensive, while the Cromwellian government dealt out punitive fines as a means of maintaining control. Few could therefore afford to build, and therefore, broadly-speaking, the 1640s and 50s witnessed reduced architectural activity, though the occasional church (for instance, Sorn, 1658) and college buildings at Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh were built; and, of course, a sequence of English forts. Many prominent royalists such as Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty or Lauderdale himself had, especially after the defeat at Worcester (3 September 1651), been imprisoned or forced abroad, and so the restoration of the lost status quo had wide popularity. It is within this context that Bruce first made his name, helping Scotland regain

her lost dignity and to rebuild or begin anew, by providing the restored aristocracy and those at the higher levels of government with landscaped country seats.

Not only architectural development had been adversely affected. Linlithgow's tolbooth, for instance, had been demolished by English troops, and a new one was therefore required. At a pageant there in 1661 to celebrate the King's birthday the determination to draw a firm line under an ugly recent past was posted:

From Covenants with uplifted hands,
From Remonstrators with associate bands,
From such Committees as govern'd this nation,
From Church Commissioners and their prot-
estation,
Good Lord deliver us.

Linlithgow's replacement 1660s tolbooth was modelled upon Michelangelo's Palazzo Senatorio on the Capitoline Hill in Rome: two raised storeys, seven window bays, double-forestair with a fountain in front, parapetted flat roof and deeply-recessed centre steeple. Nothing exists to suggest any involvement there by either Bruce or Moray, but the point is a different one: that the restoration of the political system was accompanied by the restoration, or revival, in architecture of a boldness of concept, and of allusion, scholarship and search to Rome for exemplars.

Sir William Moray (presumably) and the Mylnes – first John, then Robert, King's Master Masons successively – had led architectural change from the early 1660s. Robert at least had combined with Bruce in his early days as an architect: for instance at Panmure, for the Earl of Panmure where Bruce was involved by 1672 if not earlier, and for Bruce's (and, indeed, Moray's) old 'boss' the seventh Earl, first Duke of Rothes, from 1667 at both Leslie House and Balgonie (Colvin 1995, 175).¹⁴ In September 1670, with Moray's brother only one year out of the mastership,¹⁵ Bruce was already gaining the reputation he sought, as Sir Robert Moray wrote to Tweeddale, 'Sir W Bruce and I are to hold a

consultation about your new house at Yester' (Paton 1939, 233).¹⁶ But with the decision to rebuild Holyrood, Bruce's status in Scotland's architectural world, officially, became pre-eminent.

Bruce might be regarded in a similar way to his younger contemporaries the sixth Earl of Mar and Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, or to Chancellor Seton (d 1622) before him (allegedly, the designer of Somerville House). These were aristocrats, interested – as was fashionable – in the gentlemanly subject of architecture, developed through both foreign travel and the possession of a private library and an interest in books, and responsible for designing buildings and landscape.¹⁷

In 1665 Bruce acquired the Fife estate of Balcaskie. By 1668 he had begun re-modelling the pre-existing splay- or L-planned house, rendering it two rooms deep on plan and effectively symmetrical on elevation, with corner pavilions and French-inspired channeled window-bands. (Perhaps he was responsible too for the symmetrical flanking wings: that remains disputed.) A close look is necessary to notice the front gables are unequal-sized, a consequence of their differing dates and ceiling heights within. The gardens were likewise reconstructed with (as at Leslie) south-facing stone terraces. The main vista or alignment upon the Bass Rock was emphasized by plantations and continued northwards through the house terminating at Kellie Mill. Bruce's interventions were largely complete by 1676. In 1670 Bruce added to his estate 'Drameldrie, Jonston's mill and Balkirstie . . . a whitsundays bargain' (Kinloch 1830, 220).¹⁸ The presence at Balchrystie today of a 1676 datestone and distinctive channeled door-surround suggests Bruce had built a house or other structure there.

Balcaskie's original crow-steps could easily and cheaply have been dispensed with. These were already tending towards denoting the provincial, as demonstrated not simply by, say, Panmure and Leslie, but by Sir James Murray's architecture of the 1620s–30s. But

they were instead duplicated in the creation of the new wing. Such explicit retention of the 'old' contained within a modern classical format was to be a major feature of his most prestigious project – Holyrood – to which we will return.

We must now consider John Maitland, first Duke of Lauderdale, for his patronage was crucial to Bruce's career. Lauderdale had successfully displaced Rothes and from about 1669 established himself as effectively Charles II's viceroy in Scotland; and until his political demise in about 1680 his influence and authority were unmatched, for he successfully excluded all others from advising Charles, who trusted him to implement the royal will, especially in Scotland. A comparatively 'junior' politician, Bruce clearly fitted into Lauderdale's agenda, winning favour.

Bruce, as his own architect at Balcaskie, demonstrated for all to see that he had ideas, design capacity and the ability to manage a sizeable building project successfully. Moray – consequent upon some now-obscure scandal – had in 1669 withdrawn from public office, leaving the Mastership vacant. Lauderdale, conscious of Bruce's building activities, was to present him with a series of private projects: the re-modelling from about 1670 of Thirlestane, his own principal seat; construction of a church in Lauder (1673), nearby; and work at Brunstane (from c 1672), Lethington (from 1673) – re-named Lennoxlove – and his out-of-town residence near London, Ham House (from 1671). On these projects Bruce worked with Robert Mylne (1633–1710), King's Master Mason from 1668. Bruce, incidentally – in his role as politician – had been made a commissioner for the Plantation of Kirks in 1672.

For essentially theological/liturgical reasons and the consequence of post-Reformation re-direction of wealth, no Scottish religious buildings were then conceived on the enormous scale of their medieval predecessors. The Lauder formula of a Greek-cross plan church (with a feature surmounting the

crossing) up-dated the crow-stepped prototype at Fenwick (1643, a wholly new building for a parish new-formed in 1641), extending the idea of the two- or three-armed church of the pre-wars period. (The cruciform formula was used elsewhere in protestant Northern Europe about this time, for instance at the Holmens Church, Copenhagen, made cruciform in 1641–3, and Jean de la Vallée's Katarina Kyrk in Stockholm (1656).) Lauder, designed by the royal architect and built for the foremost promoter of Charles's policies in Scotland, might well have been regarded or intended as an exemplar or 'model' church, much as Archbishop Spottiswood's Dairsie had been in a comparable situation of autocratic royal episcopacy in 1621. Likewise analogous was the use of gothic tracery, which could convey images perhaps of episcopacy itself, but more definitely of its antiquity as a form of worship. Here then Bruce and Lauderdale were using symbolism in architecture.

Meanwhile, Lauderdale had in 1671 secured for Bruce the post of 'Surveyor General and overseer of the King's buildings in Scotland', the old Scots term 'Kings Master of Work(s)' having been displaced by that of its English counterpart. The appointment was specifically for the purpose of rebuilding Holyrood Palace. Clearly, this was a high spot in Bruce's life, for now he was architect to the king; he was like Christopher Wren in England (appointed king's architect only two years before) or Louis le Vau in France.

Holyrood was an ancient royal palace and abbey, already long-established when the Stewart line inherited the throne. Most recently it had been reconstructed by Sir James Murray and Sir Anthony Alexander, joint Masters of Works, for Charles's coronation in 1633; and thereafter it was defaced (explaining the need for Moray's 1661 survey), part-burned and reshaped in the 1650s by the English occupying force, for whom a tenemental structure was built over the front quarter – 'built by the Usurpers (and [it] doth darken the Court)', stated the royal warrant of 1676 (Marshall

1880, 335). There were then obvious ideological reasons for something to be done at Holyrood, and Charles either required or was persuaded (conceivably by Lauderdale or even Bruce) to reconstruct it as a modern palace which would represent the presence and power of the crown. Why the 11-year delay? There may be two good reasons. Firstly, as noted, the previous Master of Work had resigned in 1669 and Lauderdale had gone so far as to say in February that year that he wished the post (ie Master of Works) suppressed – therefore, he cannot have been considering reconstruction of the palace as a priority at that point. But Bruce (doubtless already in the wings), to whom Charles was possibly indebted, was possibly a higher-profile person than William Moray had been, a friend of Lauderdale's and maybe more likely to win royal support (Paton 1939, 200; Stevenson 1984, 420; 1988, 75). The second (and stronger) suggested reason relates to Charles II, who, like his two immediate predecessors, had sought political union between Scotland and England. Scotland's support for England against the Dutch might have encouraged Charles' optimism.

Charles's union proposal was brought by Lauderdale as King's Commissioner to the 1669 Parliament. Bruce, as noted, was present at that Parliament, and on 14 September 1670, representatives from both sides of the Tweed met in the exchequer chamber at Westminster (subsequently at Somerset House) to negotiate union. Amongst the Scottish delegation were Lauderdale, Rothes, Sir Robert Moray and Bruce (Terry 1920, 189, 195). But the project foundered. Presumably, this failure of Charles's intentions would have cast a new angle on the necessity of investing in a Scottish royal palace. And while Charles had possibly no intention of visiting, he would have understood the psychological worth of a new palace in re-affirming the power and role of the monarchy, while the king's representative, the royal commissioner (Lauderdale), obviously saw value in provision at Holyrood of state

accommodation appropriate to the setting for government and to his place within it.

The decision to retain the old James V tower essentially dictated the form of the entire project: for in Northern Europe a French *hôtel*-like design was by then an unremarkable formula – that is, three quarters around a court, the fourth side and public front a storey or more lower, minus a pitched roof, and containing the main entrance. Points of interest include the use of superimposed orders, an entrance with giant columns, up-to-date state apartments, decorated with deep-relief plasterwork by craftsmen imported from the English royal works (including Hulbert and Dunsterfield, whose presence was exploited both by Lauderdale and Bruce, who used them to decorate their own houses) and – in one sense most interesting of all – the respect given to the ancient tower, that it should not simply be retained, but duplicated. National history had iconic and propagandist value to the Stuarts,¹⁹ but we will see that Bruce himself was evidently fascinated by such ideas of history.

In 1671 Bruce was given £400 sterling for the past two years' tax collection; and after Charles had 'perused the ground with the draft of the intended palace of Holyrood House' (to which he made 11 changes) Bruce's salary as Surveyor was approved as £300 sterling.²⁰ Next year a payment was made to Bruce of several sums due him totalling £110,527 19s 11d (Scots, presumably), and the same year he was made a 'gift' of 'all the money due by the King's part of the seizures of not entered and prohibited goods' covering the period from November 1671 to August 1672.²¹ Bruce was wealthy, while his status both as royal architect and more generally within the architectural profession helped win him further commissions, notably in the two areas of aristocratic country houses (eg at Dunkeld (from c 1676) and Moncrieffe (1679; attrib); clean-fronted box-shaped houses – for Scotland, a wholly new formula – with simple quoined angles (this perhaps an English Jonesian detail later

picked up by James Smith)) and public works in Edinburgh, the 'heid burgh of this realm', or capital, where during the 1670s he was involved (usually with Robert Mylne) with several projects. For instance, Bruce designed and Mylne executed a series of cisterns or fountains in 1674–5 as part of Edinburgh's new water supply; and in 1676, Bruce designed the Exchange, built from 1680 (to a modified design) in Parliament Close: its appearance unknown, though it appears to have had a low arcade to the street like its 18th-century successor.²²

By the later 1670s Bruce was supreme within the architectural profession. He was royal architect, building a great royal palace; he was the automatic choice of architect for Edinburgh Town Council; and the preferred choice of architect for many of the country's richest people, including Lauderdale himself. Commensurate with his status, he registered arms with the Lord Lyon in 1675, and in or by the same year had acquired a second estate, at Kinross, where he would build his principal country seat; a new-build, thus allowing him total liberty of choice in terms of ideas used (although – according to the *Official Guide Book* – he appears to have acquired Loch Leven Castle so early as 1672: (Tabraham 1994, 9).²³ By the 1670s a new confidence amongst the nobility had been recovered, mortgages were being cleared and estates consolidated: and Bruce was the man sought after to serve the most prestigious architectural needs (Brown 1992, 163–4). For Bruce all was well, God was in heaven, the sky, emphatically, blue. This would not continue.

In 1678 Lauderdale dismissed Bruce, his reason being that Holyrood was complete. But it was not, and Lauderdale's real reason is not known, though Bruce's version is given below. Not only was Bruce's position as king's architect taken from him, but he lost the patronage or preferment of Edinburgh Town Council and ceased to be the obvious first choice of architect for the aristocracy. Because Holyrood was incomplete, Bruce's post was given

to Lord Hatton, Lauderdale's brother; and following the arrival upon the scene of the Duke and Duchess of York, who wanted alteration work done to the palace, it was in 1683 given to James Smith. Possibly the case of Drumlanrig spells out the situation, for in 1673 the Duke of Queensberry regarded Bruce as the person to consult or advise on house-plans for reconstructing Drumlanrig. Yet the earliest (currently known) mention of an architect engaged there, in 1686, is of James Smith. Bruce's advice, though, continued to be sought, and his influence is therefore unquantifiable; for example at Hamilton in 1692, by which time Bruce's favoured mason was no longer Robert Mylne but Tobias Bachup, builder of a Bruce-inspired house for himself in Alloa. Mylne – related through marriage to Smith since 1679 – escaped this change in fortune; but what of the royal works?

Lauderdale, as noted, bestowed the post of surveyor upon his brother, Lord Hatton. While the appointment reeks of nepotism, Hatton, as Treasurer-Depute, had already been overseeing and inspecting progress on the work at Holyrood, and was therefore familiar with the building programme.²⁴ From an architectural perspective Bruce's more significant successor was James Smith. By 1677 Bruce had engaged him within one of his projects, possibly in connection with the royal works. Smith, possibly a qualified mason, was newly-returned via France from Rome where he had gone to study for the priesthood, but whence he had returned as an architect. By 1679 or 1680 Smith was engaged on his own account within the royal works. Hatton fell from favour in 1682, freeing up the post of surveyor, and in 1683 Smith was recommended by Queensberry for the vacancy. In 1685, when Edinburgh acquired a statue of Charles II, it was Smith and Mylne – not, as it would have most likely been 10 years previously, Bruce and Mylne – who oversaw its being set in place.

But in no way was all lost to Bruce. On the contrary, he was able to send his son John on

a European tour in 1681–3 and even in the 1690s the family (the investment was made by John) was able to invest an aristocrat's measure (£500) in what was to become the Darien project.²⁵ As a loyal supporter and part of the establishment when a conventicle (illegal presbyterian service) had been held in Kinross-shire in 1682, he had dutifully rounded up and fined those who had attended. The Privy Council concluded that Bruce in that respect 'hes done his duety' and deserved its thanks.²⁶ He held local positions of authority, being a commissioner of supply in 1678, 1685, 1689 and 1690. But more significantly, by successfully outmaneuvering Lauderdale, his political career continued in the ascendant. Lauderdale, in 1678, as part of his vilification of Bruce, and using Rothes as his instrument, had bullied Bruce into abandoning ideas of representing Fife in Parliament (Napier 1859, vol i, 365). But Bruce was resourceful and turned to a little-known or little-used legal procedure. By 1681, he had enlarged his landowning by purchase of neighbouring lands from the Earl of Morton and Lord Burleigh (each of whom sat as barons in Parliament) and (at the 'expense' of Fife and Perthshire) negotiated the enlargement of Kinross-shire, bringing the shire the right to send a commissioner to Parliament; and, elected by himself and the other freeholders, it was a right Bruce won for himself. He presented himself at the 1681 parliamentary session with a letter from Charles authenticating his claim (Rait 1924, 216–7). Thus he was again a commissioner to Parliament, this time for Kinross-shire, both in 1681–2 and 1685–6, in the latter instance being a Lord of the Articles (ie one of the committee elected to steer legislation through Parliament) (James Smith represented Forres at the same Parliament), and as a shire representative would have been elected by the nobility. In 1681 he resigned the post of Master of the Rolls in favour of James Anstruther.²⁷ In 1685 – the year James VII was enthroned – his political career seemed to rally: he was appointed General of the Mint (Lauder 1848,

vol ii, 677, 684), was again a commissioner for the Plantation of Kirks, commissioner of the Game Laws, was granted heritable role as sheriff of Kinross, was appointed a commissioner to treat for trade with England, and briefly, he sat on the Privy Council, the special committee responsible for advising the crown and implementing the royal will in government. In company on 4 September 1685, and perhaps slightly embarrassingly, Erskine of Carnock reported seeing 'Sir William Bruce, now Viscount of Kinross'. For this anticipated or promised elevation never came. On the contrary, on 17 May 1686, the Privy Council read a letter from James VII instructing that Bruce be ejected from 'his' Privy Council. The reversal in James' attitude is explained by the difficulties he encountered with his first Scottish Parliament. At this time the King's Advocate was sacked, Pitmedden dismissed from the Session, Glencairn and Bruce from the Privy Council. 'Thir warning shots', noted Lauder of Fountainhall, 'ware to terrify and divert other members of Parliament from their opposition' (Lauder 1848, vol ii, 723). Before the year's end the King's yacht had arrived with the altar, etc, 'for the Popish Chapell in the Abbey' – ie the Chapel Royal being built for the King by James Smith within the first floor of the south-west tower: in the palace designed by Bruce, and the room in which the Privy Council had until then normally met.

Balcaskie was sold in 1684, presumably in consequence of the outlay necessary to win his way back to Parliament and to enable construction of his new seat; for by 1677 Bruce had already acquired 'Kinross and Bishopshyre',²⁸ while by 1679 landscaping work at Kinross had begun (typically, gardening/landscaping work at French houses, including Vaux le Vicomte, was in hand well before construction of the house – the former taking longer to develop) and by 1684 the nearby Flow Moss, east of the house, was being drained for incorporation within Bruce's gardens (Henderson et al 1990, 28, 33). The implication is that the house's location and

orientation at least were determined by 1679, while perhaps it was 1686 before building work upon it began. Bruce – as the Hamiltons did at Kinneil in the 1670s (and Nicolas Fouquet from 1656 at Vaux) – re-located the old town, its site to-day marked by the old parish kirk-yard, standing alone immediately outwith Bruce’s formalized policies. This implies a hand in creating or developing the present town, and perhaps he had a role in establishing there the cutlery trade, in existence by 1680, for he is believed to have brought tradesmen to the new, expanding town (Henderson et al 1990, 28, 33). His Fife links continued and in 1678, as ‘Lord Balcaskie’, he was one of a committee (which included nationally-important figures such as John Graham of Claverhouse (‘Bonnie Dundee’) and the Archbishop of St Andrews – James Sharp, murdered on Magus Moor in 1679) in a submission to the Privy Council for help in repairing Guard Bridge outside St Andrews.²⁹ In 1682 he approached the Privy Council for assistance with repair of the Guillon Bridge over the Leven,³⁰ while in 1687 he built a three-arched bridge over the Queich, south of the town (Henderson et al 1990, 30). To the Privy Council, he was in 1682 Sir William Bruce ‘of Balcaskie’, and the next year ‘of Kinross’.³¹

One tradition holds that the estate at Newhouse, the old Morton residence replaced by Kinross House, was intended to be a residence for James VII had he been unable to claim the throne (because of his Catholic faith) (Henderson et al 1990, 29). James, as Duke of York (or Albany, his Scottish title) had held court at Holyrood intermittently from 1679–82, suggesting the tradition may hold some weight, although this is a tradition also associated with Leslie – (temporarily) re-named ‘Rothes Palace’ (Fenwick 1970, 19).³²

Bruce’s Kinross was one of the greatest milestones in Scotland’s architectural history. A sleek yet emphatic *palazzo*-like formula, clean-roofed and devoid of roof ‘clutter’ or balustrading, and minus pavilions, abruptly rendered old-fashioned all that had been built

before – including Bruce’s own work of the 1670s for both the crown and his ex-patrons, the Lauderdale. Unlike Thirlestane, which essentially comprised apartments set within an old castle, Kinross (rather as Vaux le Vicomte, begun 1656 near Paris, had been in France) was a startling showpiece of modernity, house and landscape wholly inter-dependant and complex. Lauderdale had dismissed Bruce and his old post was by then occupied by Smith. Bruce’s response to those who had rejected his talents could hardly have been more positive.

The collapse of James’s administration from late 1688 and the acceptance in 1689 of the Scottish crown by William and Mary opened up both a new phase in architecture and the third dramatic assault upon Bruce’s fortunes. In contrast with James’s rhetoric, which highlighted Scottish lineal antiquity and her unbroken line of kings, the new monarchy could have no such ideology. Neither had it interest in building or occupying Scottish royal palaces. On the other hand, finances in the 1690s may not in any case readily have run to palace-building, especially after the collapse of the Darien enterprise. In any event, the post of royal architect would henceforth have little further significance and Holyrood’s principal governmental role was as official residence of the royal commissioner to Parliament.

As Smith was Roman Catholic he was unable to hold onto his official post; it was given, probably as a sinecure, by William and Mary in December 1689 to Sir Archibald Murray of Blackbarony, one of the commissioners at the 1689 Convention (Parliament in one of its variant forms) which had forfeited James and offered the crown to William and Mary. An entire order – Bruce, Smith and even Mylne – were all now officially sidelined (though Mylne did some interiors at Holyrood for the Convention of Estates 1689–90), and when Smith was called upon once more to work for the crown, it was to build anti-Jacobite fortifications in the Highlands (for which the crown, he claimed, swindled him).

Bruce, by his own action, got off to a bad start with the new administration, though there are ‘snapshots’ of normality in his life – for instance, meeting up with Sir John Foulis of Ravelston and others ‘for coffee’ and playing golf, while work at home included repairs to Lochleven Castle in 1690 (Hallen 1894, 140; Henderson 1990, 30). More seriously, also in 1690, the Privy Council investigated Bruce’s failure to exercise the duties of Sheriff Principal of Kinross-shire without having taken the oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, while he had also disputed the appointment of presbyterian ministers to the parishes of Portmoak and Kinross. Kinross’s minister, Henry Christie, had been deprived in 1689 by the Privy Council for neither reading the proclamation of the estates nor praying for William and Mary; instead, he prayed for the restoration of James VII. This was a serious offence which could not pass unchallenged. Bruce evidently supported Christie and challenged William Spence, the incoming minister, who complained to the Privy Council he had been denied his living and also the church keys. Bruce, who at the time exclaimed himself ‘excommunicat’, had in fact led a riot against the imposition of Spence – the ‘horrid act and tumult’ of successive Sabbaths in March 1691. Rioters included Bruce’s own employees, both household servants and masons, wrights, plasterers and barrowmen. There were:

persons . . . with swords, guns, pistols, halbarts, and durks, and long staffs, and other such wapons, the women having long staffs and litle ones gathering stones to them. Sir William being on the head of them himself, did come and meet the minister most furiously.³³

Clearly, this was a serious challenge to authority, and Bruce was pointed to as the ringleader. An official visit to Bruce at Kinross House followed, during which he talked himself out of immediate punishment, concluding the affair. But he was not forgiven by officialdom. Thus, for reasons of principle and opposition to the new monarchy, Bruce had

set himself up as a target for official victimization: harassed for non-compliance by what looks to our generation like a paranoid presbyterian establishment, and occasionally imprisoned as a suspected Jacobite, sometimes for lengthy periods. Perhaps his first imprisonment was that of 1693 when he was confined within Stirling Castle; and he was there again the next year. Further imprisonments were either at Edinburgh or saw him confined to Kinross: though official anxiety can be partly explained by the settlements of 1689 and 1707 each representing a whole – but in no way universally popular – new system, and the natural ambition to safeguard what their creators saw as their hard-won achievements.

Bruce’s chief office assistant about then was Alexander Edward, another episcopal minister ejected in 1689 (who went on to establish himself as an architect); but Bruce’s energies were divided now between trying to complete his new country seat at Kinross and a last series of new commissions, foremost among which, arguably, was Hopetoun. This was a composition which could not have failed to impress even Smith. But still Bruce had a difficult time. He had become involved with Lord Melville’s proposal for a new seat in Fife where he lost out to Smith: and yet, ironically, Melville’s son, the Earl of Leven, as Lieutenant General and Commander in chief of the militia, had a hand in Bruce’s arrests, thereby hindering the project (albeit perhaps his interventions saved Bruce being sent to imprisonment in London). However, he still retained private business interests, possibly including continuing investments in the maritime trade.

The construction of Kinross House proceeded slowly in consequence of Bruce’s changing fortunes, and was part-incomplete, albeit roofed, on his death. Its compositional lineage is complex. Its monolithic block-like *palazzo* form, with small windows relative to wall area, lends it an Italian quality. The idea of a recessed centre between powerful, almost tower-like ends perhaps derived from French architecture, by such as Salomon de Brosse,

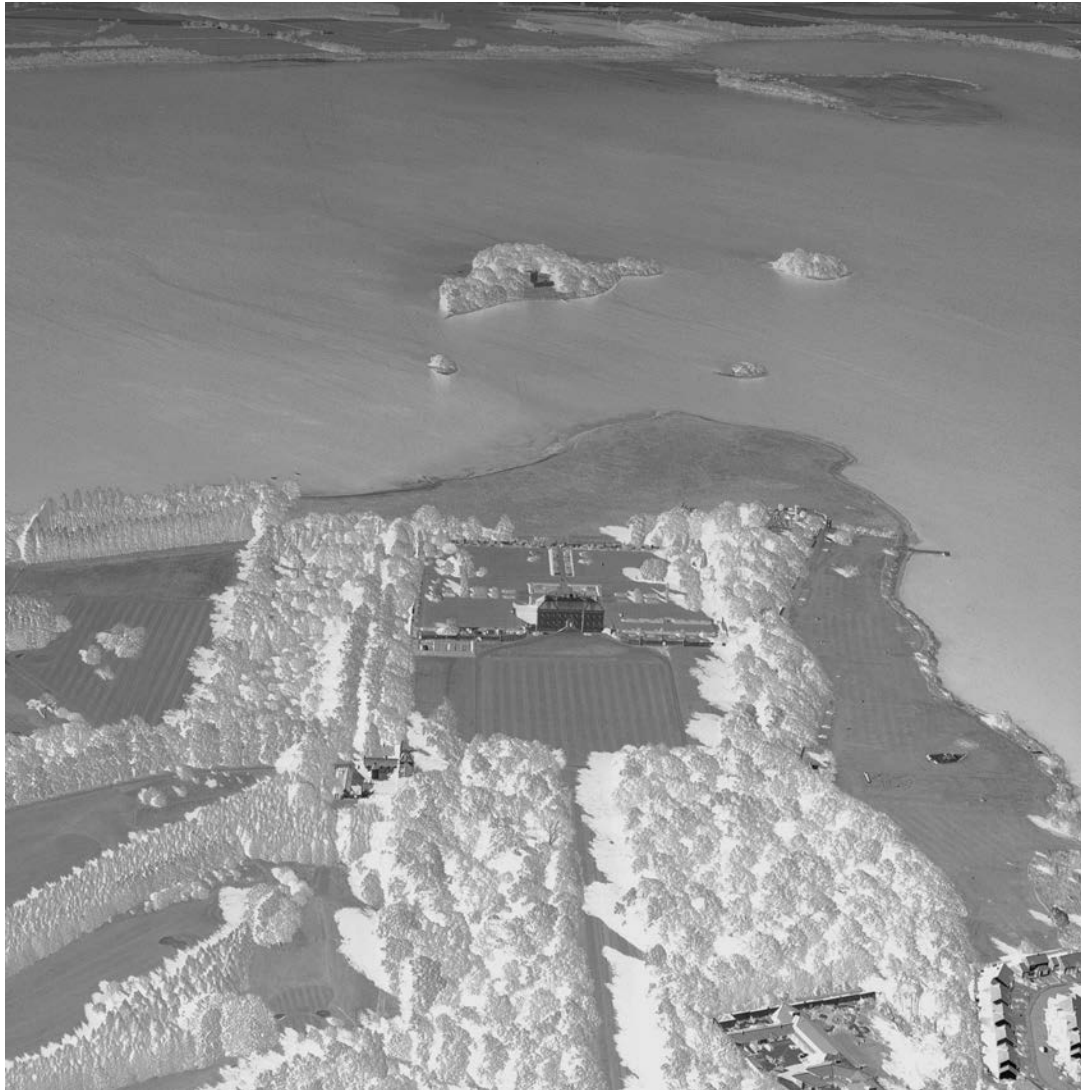


ILLUS 2 Kinross House: garden front, facing Lochleven. (Crown copyright: RCAHMS)

for instance, at the Palais de Luxembourg or the Palais de Justice at Rennes (1618). The idea had been more recently used at Cheverny (1634), combined with channelled facades, such as Bruce would later introduce to Scotland at Hopetoun. Le Vau's Collège des Quatre Nations (1662–70) fronting the Seine in Paris, opposite the Louvre, might similarly have suggested the idea to Bruce. Kinross's profile perhaps owed something to mid- to third-quarter-century English houses such as Thorpe Hall; and the spinal, or 'double-pile', formula is often said to derive from the same source. Coleshill (c 1650–62, by Inigo Jones and Sir Roger Pratt) has been traditionally cited in this connection.³⁴ But the story is clearly more complex; not least because a

much greater and more widely-known exemplar existed elsewhere, at Vaux, designed (for another government financier) by Louis Le Vau (1612–70), together with André Le Nostre (1613–1700), designer of the gardens.

Bruce may or may not have seen it, though his son might have in the early 1680s – but it can be argued that for Bruce Vaux might more generally have been an important reference point. His Hopetoun courtyard front (1699), for example, possibly owed something (eg the porch) to Vaux's garden front, while Kinross resembled the latter building in several respects. For instance, externally, the idea of combining a giant Order with a small-scale Order on the porch (a feature neo-Classical critics criticized), is seen at both houses, while Vaux's



ILLUS 3 Kinross House and Lochleven Castle: aerial view from the west. (Crown copyright: RCAHMS)

flank elevations almost resemble compressed versions of Kinross's main fronts. (Scotland's only other country seat of the time to employ a giant Order was Drumlanrig, to which we will return.)

The idea of setting apartments or suites like satellites in a symmetrical arrangement at each corner of a house was developed in 15th-century Italy, but seen, for example, at Chambord, of 1519 (the similarity of whose plan to

Hopetoun is obvious). The formula was probably introduced to Scotland by Bruce at Thirlstane (1670), albeit in intention rather than in execution. Like Kinross (and Vaux), Coleshill's main floor contained four symmetrically-disposed apartments, each set at a corner. Like Vaux, though, Kinross had no spinal corridor on the main-entrance floor (nor, indeed, on the floor above – though Vaux and Coleshill both did; at Kinross, this was the



ILLUS 4 Hopetoun House: East (main entrance) front designed by Sir William Bruce. Elevation published in Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, ii (London, 1717), pl 76

state floor). Also like Vaux, the paired lesser staircases on the spine were set inwards from the ends (at Coleshill, and Vaux's basement level only, stairs lie beside the end-walls). Again like Vaux – and unlike Coleshill – each apartment at Kinross was served by a small, private or service stair. While Coleshill was flat-fronted and externally plain with massive stacks, Kinross's design was more showy, sophisticated and vigorous, with emphasized end 'blocks'; albeit not as vigorous – nor as rich – as Vaux, eschewing the baroque curves of contemporary France (though the flanking screens were curved on plan).

The complexity of Bruce's – and aristocratic – quest for new fashion embraced both national and a range of foreign sources. Thus in France, Le Vau seems to have introduced what the French called rooms *à l'italienne* – that is, having coved ceilings as against the traditional joisted form – and at Vaux, he introduced (again, from Italy) the idea of a 'salon', the term being documented in France by 1656 (Pérouse de Montclos 1997, 70).³⁵ It replaced the gallery (though, of course, as demonstrated at Versailles, the gallery had still a role). At Kinross, the main reception room was placed centrally over the entrance front at the head of the stairs: single aspect, two floors in height (like Vaux's *sallon*) and cove-ceilinged. This was the 'high dining room'. Its formula was developed from the arrangement

at Panmure and Leslie (whose equivalent room measured 47ft (14.33m) by 29ft (8.84m) – proportioned to the 'Golden section'), where in each case the corresponding room was instead set cross-ways, and full-depth. Kinross probably replicated the arrangement at or intended for Balcaskie, but, regardless, it set the pattern for the future, for example, at James Smith's Melville and, more explicitly, Dalkeith. In the 18th century this room (as was its equivalent at Panmure) came to be denoted by the French term 'Salon' possibly indicating its use – as the two-storey void alone implies – having been equivalent from the outset.

Externally, the idea adopted by Bruce of a suppressed attic (which he used previously at Moncrieffe and Dunkeld) was used also at Skokloster in Sweden, 1669 (also by Jean de la Vallée, with Nicodemus Tessin the Elder). At the Palazzo de Montecitorio in Rome (1650–97), Bernini and Fontana employed the idea of sparing use of a giant order to define the ends, and a low attic storey with an emphatic cornice.³⁶ Rome's renaissance *palazzi*, such as the Palazzo Farnese, may have provided the model for the forward-leaning stone crests set high over Kinross's doors.

The inter-relationship of house and garden is central to the composition at Kinross, especially the alignment upon the ancient castle on Loch Leven, in which the Catholic

Queen Mary had been imprisoned (and of course from 1679 James, a Catholic and heir to the throne, had held court at Holyrood). This key feature of Kinross – the combination of new house plus vista upon a historic building – was not new in Scotland. For instance, James Murray’s Kilbaberton (dated 1622 and 1623) – re-named Baberton – had its flank aligned upon Edinburgh Castle. As Burleigh Castle lay some 2.5km roughly to the north of Kinross House, there may have been the intention to use or encapsulate it as a focal point from the northward avenue abutting the main avenue. In addition to the immediate vista, which highlighted a historic building, the main garden view at Kinross – unlike Vaux, which was contained – was channeled by trees towards a wide, wholly open landscape, hills and loch. The effect, and attitude towards nature, related to what in the next century became the style known as *picturesque* – exemplified by, say, Raasay House (whose main view, facing Skye’s mountains, is framed by plantations, like a picture).

But back to politics. A report was sent ‘Last Feb. 96’ to the Earl of Findlater ‘of a designe of murdering the King; and . . . Sir William Bruce [was] put in close prisone about three this morning’ (Grant 1912, 187). Aged about 80 he was again ‘secured in [Edinburgh] castle’ in 1708, at the time of the attempted Jacobite landing (Grant 1912, 466, 473). (The Castle was a prestigious place of confinement; poorer people were imprisoned in the tolbooth.) While Leven intervened to save Bruce being sent to London to face trial, the worth of imprisoning him can be set against a report in a letter of 8 September the same year from George, first Duke of Gordon, to Tarbat:

you have quite forgot your appointment to go to Hopetoun House. I am quite in conceit to see it, by Sir William Bruce, who I was to visit the other day. He is really ill, but not in sudden danger . . . duly strengthened men are not soon taken away, though lean and languishing. Your lordship and I have known him a vigorous little man as could be (Fraser 1876, vol ii, 98).

Meanwhile, between confinements, Bruce – presumably unknown to Smith – was surreptitiously angling for a return to an official post in the context of an again-anticipated post-Union Great Britain. In a congratulatory letter (it opens: ‘Your old friend comes to wish you joy of your present office . . .’) of 28 November 1702 to Sir George MacKenzie, Viscount of Tarbat, joint Secretary of State, Bruce staked his claim. In their last discussion:

accidentally the Master of Works Office drop in our discourse. . . . It was my office some years, wherein I wrought more for my fie then has been since or for a hundred of years it has been wrought. The Duke of Lawderdale took prejudice at me for adding to the number pleaded redress of grievances, and knowing well my master would allow nothing of prejudice to be don me, cunningly got my office suprest as useless, and revived it in favours of his brother [ie, Hatton] by a letter without comision. Its like the Queen may minde me, however. I served her uncle and father 50 years faithfully, not without banishments, etc . . . excepting Broomhall, I have not touched this matter to any till now to your lordship (Fraser 1876, vol i, 163–4).

Blackbarony had died in 1700, the post given on 3 October the same year (largely as a sinecure) to James Scott of Logie (Mylne 1896, 62–3). Bruce’s career as official architect was over, and his only outlet was outwith the state system: notably at Hopetoun, where family ties helped bring him a major commission and opportunity to excel.

Confessedly a crude measure, the relative status of Bruce and Smith over the years can to an extent be charted, as shown on Table 1. The figures support one argument of this paper, namely, that by the 1680s (and most likely with James’s support) Smith had established himself as the country’s foremost architect. Within that decade Bruce is known only to have begun or continued work at his own Kinross and been suggested (together with Robert Mylne) as a possible designer for a new

TABLE 1 Number of identified projects listed by Colvin (1995) as having commenced in the decades shown.

	1660s	1670s	1680s	1690s	1700s
Bruce	2	12	2	4	5
Smith	0	0	7	9	2

house at Invermay (Dunbar & Davies 1990, 313), while Mylne began work at possibly no major structure outwith Edinburgh or Leith. Smith, on the other hand, worked extensively in Edinburgh, notably for the Town Council (where Mylne was seldom far from the scene) or with the speculative builder Thomas Robertson, helping to re-shape the city, including the creation a new *place royale* at Parliament Close. Also within that decade Smith had in hand a massive project for the Duke of Queensberry, several works for the crown, besides all of which he seems likewise to have begun construction of his family seat. Ironically, the modern tenement introduced after 1671 by Robertson (d 1686), associated with Smith and Mylne, and represented by Mylne’s Court might well have been helped on its course by Bruce.

Loss of government income while seeking to finish a sizeable country seat would by the 1690s have made Bruce’s life comparatively difficult. At the instance of Sir George Hamilton of Tulliallan and others – presumably for non-payment of debt – Bruce was on 30 December 1703 put to the horn, his goods and gear gifted to his neighbour, James, Earl of Morton (NAS GD86/798).³⁷ On the other hand, as we have seen, architectural commissions still came his way, and in or by the early 1700s he employed Alexander M’Gill, James Smith’s future partner, as his draughtsman. Furthermore, the 1680s drainage at Kinross implies not simply estate consolidation, but agricultural improvements, and, implicitly, increased rentals which might also have helped compensate for loss of official income.

And briefly, I want to touch upon Hope-toun. The main vista was, as is well known, upon North Berwick Law and, less well-known, taking in Inchgarvie, on the way. (To the north, Rosyth old church appears to be set

also on direct alignment with the house’s flank.) Inchgarvie had been important to James IV who built a fortification there and a tower on either side of the Queensferry, securing the Firth to protect his navy, which lay upstream. After military defeat at Flodden in 1513 the Castle was enlarged or completed in defence of the realm, for invasion was feared. When Clerk of Eldin visited there late in the 18th century, he sketched a massive castle.

It can now be suggested that of what (arguably) might be singled out as Bruce’s three most important works – Holyrood, Kinross and Hopetoun – the entire composition was in each case crucially determined by the presence of ancient buildings, each of these with a significant history. (Dunkeld House had been tucked into an angle between both the medieval cathedral and Stanley Hill.) It can further be argued that a response to or dialogue with nature likewise constituted a crucial component in locational decisions and house orientation. The combination of history and nature as compositional determinants seems demonstrated above all by Hopetoun; although also, it is suggested, by Kinross. The idea of using alignment upon historic buildings relates not only to Scottish precedent and derivatives, but to buildings outwith the country, such as Vanburgh’s Blenheim (from 1705) whose garden axis – aligned upon the ancient (if restored) Bladon church steeple beside which the client family was later buried – seems to have helped dictate the house’s location and orientation.

With the substitution of James as king, royal palace building was effectively ended in Scotland, and it was the aristocracy and the professions who were in the following generation to employ Bruce, but more frequently the younger, Italian-trained Smith. It was effectively these two designers – combined, of

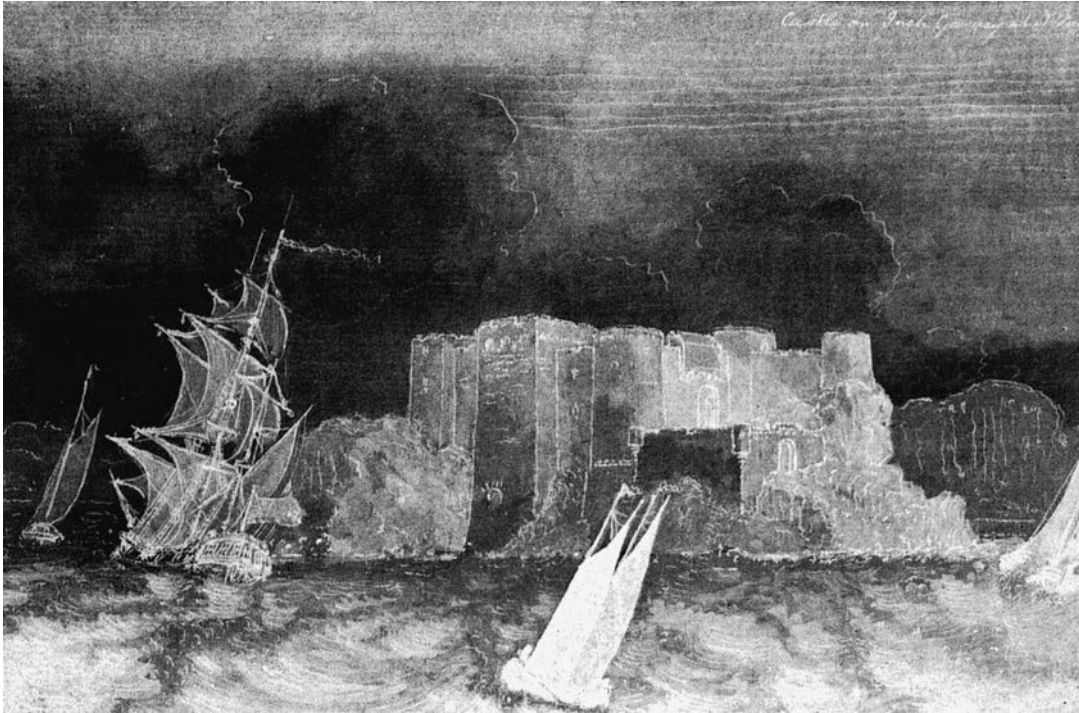


ILLUS 5 Hopetoun House: view from roof showing vista towards Inchgarvie and (not seen) North Berwick Law, beyond

course, with a clientele receptive to or themselves advocating such ideas – who confirmed the classical house as the only fashionable option. In the same decade that witnessed a royal architect (Smith) building one of the last great castles (Drumlanrig Castle), Bruce had validated the ‘anti-castle’ at Kinross House, relegating the concept of the ‘castle’ to an object to be viewed in the landscape, like a garden monument or pavilion. The viewing of both nature and the national ‘antique’, exemplified by Bruce’s works, was reproduced elsewhere; for instance in 1708 at Corra Linn where a viewing pavilion overlooks both the Falls and the ruins of Corra Castle. The status of the castle remained that of a lesser building, unsuitable for occupation, until the first new castle, Inveraray, was built in the 1740s, and ancient castles came to be re-occupied, as at Castle Huntly, from 1776.³⁸

CONCLUSION

In this brief outline we have seen Bruce, the successful and vigorous young politician, turned successful royal architect after Sir William Moray of Dreghorn’s mysterious departure from the scene. We have seen his architectural career ruptured by the very man to whom he owed his advancement within the architectural world: Lauderdale – and his place taken thereafter by a presumably pushy and ambitious James Smith. We have seen his political career re-invigorated, especially after Lauderdale’s fall from power in 1680, and then ended abruptly by James VII in 1686; and from 1689, we have seen him harassed by the whig, presbyterian state as a suspect Jacobite. Neither Catholic nor presbyterian Scotland had a place for him – a man who would not abandon his Stuart episcopalian principles when it would have been prudent to have done



ILLUS 6 Inchgarvie: engraving of island and castle drawn by John Clerk of Eldin (1728–1812)

so for reasons of personal advancement. We have seen him – 24 years after his dismissal – seeking, and failing, to find a way back into an official architectural role. We have seen a complex inventive talent, from a man whose readiness to import ideas helped him transform Scottish architecture, yet to whom dialogue engaging nature, classicism, national history and historic Scottish architecture were all crucially important; a man shaped both by his own country's culture and history while embracing a cosmopolitan internationalism. And here was Bruce at the end of his career in a Scotland which had witnessed architectural interventions of international worth, possibly for the first time since James IV or James V, such as Smith's Hamilton Palace and Dalkeith, and Bruce's Holyrood, Kinross and Hopetoun. It was surely the abrupt and colossal change in Scottish architecture and landscape design played out above all at Kinross, and developed at Hopetoun, which gives muscle to

the description of Bruce made by Sir John Clerk – an architectural enthusiast who knew Italy and France, and his world's best architecture at first hand – as 'the chief introducer of Architecture in this country'.

NOTES

- 1 Said of Bruce by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 1717. John Lowrey has added the point that Bruce was also 'chief introducer' of the formal garden.
- 2 This paper is extended from a lecture given at the tercentenary seminar at Hopetoun House on 8 May 1999. Its purpose was not to provide an architectural account, but instead to put a fresh cast upon Bruce's career.
- 3 The immediate sources used were: Colvin 1995; *DNB* iii, 131–2; Dunbar 1970; 1975; Fenwick 1970; Lowrey 1988; Young 1993.
- 4 Blairhall, following boundary changes, is now in Fife.

- 5 His son John died the same year (Paton 1893, 484).
- 6 *Register*, 1661–4 (third Series), 101–2. Edinburgh’s provost was ‘to speak to the Master of Work anent the faultie and defective pairts of the palice of Hallirudhouse so much as is presentlie habitable and under rooff’. Mylne’s confirmation charter, dated 31 December 1664, referred to his duties ‘wherewith he [Mylne] should be employed be his Majesties master of work with charge and commandment over all meassones’; ie, his position was subordinate to Moray, in the same way as William Wallace was in the early 17th century subordinate to James Murray. Robert Mylne’s appointment likewise carried this clarification (cf Mylne 1893, 147). Possibly Moray would direct Mylne to prepare plans in the same way as Bruce, later, was to do with Alexander Edward.
- 7 *Acts*, vii (1661–9), 90, 504.
- 8 *Register*, iv (1665–9), 165.
- 9 *CSP Dom*, 1663–4 (London, 1862), 265. Bruce’s errand was also to consult the king on issues such as fining, and action to be taken against non-conformists, notably those who were more prominent (M’Crie 1848, 451–2).
- 10 Amongst ‘debts restand be the defunct’ in the will of James Grant of Freuchie (d September, 1663; will confirmed 27 July, 1665) is included ‘Item, to Lieutenant Colonell William Murray, £1,333.6.8 (Fraser 1883, vol iii, 349).
- 11 *Register*, iv (1665–9) (third series), 224.
- 12 Historical Manuscripts Commission, ‘Report on the Laing Mss preserved in the University of Edinburgh’, i (72nd Report) (London, 1914), 371, 372; Kinloch 1830, 213. The tolbooth occupied the island site where the mercat cross now is.
- 13 *Register*, iv (1673–6), 105, 589.
- 14 Robert Mylne acquired Balfarg as his country seat from Rothes in 1673 (Mylne 1893, 237). Nothing is known to suggest Bruce – or Moray – to have been involved with contemporary Mylne projects such as Wood’s Hospital or the additions to Wemyss Castle.
- 15 There seems to have been a cover-up, as suggested in a letter of 4th February 1669 from Lauderdale to Tweeddale: ‘[Sir Robert Moray] presses me to say some thing as to his brother, & [I] know not what well to say. His fault is great, but he is [Sir Robert’s] brother. If yow turne him out I hope yow will pay him bygones & suppres the office.’ Moray resigned 15 October 1669 (Paton 1939, 199–200).
- 16 The same letter says, ‘What you did for my brother [ie, Sir William Moray] was good and well’, maybe indicating a linkage between his no longer to be treated as Master of Works, while demonstrably consulting instead with Bruce, the new favoured person in architecture. Reference is also made to adding a staircase to Tweeddale’s Edinburgh House (Tweeddale Court). The new Yester House was in the event delayed for over a generation, when the contract went to James Smith and his then partner, Alexander M’Gill, although massive plantations were made on the estate (possibly advised upon by Bruce).
- 17 One tradition states Bruce ‘trained as an architect abroad’ (Rogers 1883, ccxiii). To this grouping might be added Sir Robert Moray, who in May 1666 advised the 9th Earl of Argyll on both garden design and replacement of (or possibly alteration to) the old Inveraray Castle. Moray favoured ‘a kinde of wilderness composed of all sortes of trees, with thickets and variety of walkes’, rather than a ‘Laberynth or Seige of Troy’ (RCAHMS 1992, 29, 288, 559). To convey an insight into aristocratic discussion concerning architecture, on 24 October (probably 1677) the Duke of Hamilton wrote to Queensberry, his sister’s husband, ‘I can not till I be att Kinneill give you the account of the agriement I made for the last piece of building there, which you shall have, tho I believe it will be no reull [rule? rival?] to you.’ Then, on 10 November 1677, he wrote again to his brother-in-law, ‘I haue sent you a draught off the Touer of Kinneill with the two new pavillions I have builded to itt, and ther is a scale will lett you know the measures. That with tuo stares [each pavilion had a turnpike tucked in behind] was dearer than the other, being 1,000 merks Scots for the workmanship of the ston worke onely. The particulare agreement I could not send you, itt being att Kinneill, but it can be little reull to you. If you will bring with you a draught of what you intend to build, with the measures and proportions of itt, [that] will be the best way how to advise you in itt.’ Here were two of the country’s greatest aristocrats, near-contemporaries (separated in age by two years) related

- by marriage, their estates crippled by the Cromwellian years, which they were building up, and each by the late 1670s also embarking on ambitious building programmes, pooling ideas and exercising their minds with issues such as architectural proportion, demonstrating an aristocratic interest in architectural theory. Hamilton saw himself as able to advise Queensberry, whose project was evidently at an earlier stage, albeit perhaps more ambitious, than Kinneil (Historical Manuscripts Commission, 'The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, KG, KT, preserved at Drumlanrig Castle' (15th Report, App Part viii) (London, 1897), 229, 231).
- 18 *CSP Dom* (1670 with addenda, 1660 to 1670) (London, 1895), 540.
 - 19 The spelling following Mary Stuart's stay in France.
 - 20 *CSP Dom* 1671 (London, 1895), 30, 296–7.
 - 21 *CSP Dom* 1672 (London, 1899), 380, 560.
 - 22 *Edin Recs 1665–80*; 275–6; 396 – 'conforme to ane draught therof to be drawn be Sir William Bruce' (1680).
 - 23 The government, when in 1675 considering where to place garrisons, considered 'the New House at Lochleven, now belonging to Sir William Bruce'. In the event, the Privy Council decided to place that garrison at Dowhill, 'Sir William pleading that he was conform, and lived orderly; which the Laird of Dowhill did not' (M'Crie 1848, 560).
 - 24 Perhaps Hatton possessed some design skill or talent. Two points permit this thought. Firstly, aristocrats in this period were typically knowledgeable about architecture, as demonstrated by the correspondence between the Dukes of Queensberry and Hamilton (n 17, above). The second point to commend Hatton is likewise far from conclusive. He rebuilt Hatton House in a complex way (its terraced garden front not dissimilar to that of the chateau of Bazoches-du-Morvan, reconstructed by Marshall Vauban, who acquired that property in 1675). While this gives little or no indication of actual design ability, it may be significant that pavilions there and at Newbattle, each dated 1679 (ie when he was Surveyor), are virtually identical, suggesting one designer working at both. But my point is not to argue Hatton to have been a talented or actual designer; simply to point out that his role might reward closer study.
 - 25 *Darien Papers*, 372. The investment was made on the opening day, 26 February 1696 – as was that made by Mr James Smith of Whythill, who invested £200: *ibid*, 373.
 - 26 *Register*, vii (1681–2), 362, 384.
 - 27 From 1694, Balcaskie was owned by a branch of the Anstruther family.
 - 28 *Register*, v (1676–8), 154.
 - 29 *Register*, vi (1678–80), 642.
 - 30 *Register*, vii (1681–2), 494.
 - 31 *Register*, vii (1681–2), 384; viii (1683–4), 199.
 - 32 The gallery at Leslie was 10 feet (3.05m) longer than that at Holyrood (the dimensions being 157ft (47.85m) x 23ft (7.01m) and 147ft (44.81m) x 25ft (7.62m) respectively). While the volume of the Leslie gallery may be unknowable, the floor area of the Holyrood gallery was the greater of the two – the measurements being 3611 and 3675 square feet (335.43 and 341.45 square metres) respectively.
 - 33 Historical Manuscripts Commission, 'The Manuscripts of J J Hope Johnstone, Esq, of Annandale' (15th Report, App Part ix) (London, 1897), 190–4. Bruce was reported as the only one to challenge Spence openly, threatening him at one stage to proceed 'Not one foot farder'; and worship instead took place in a nearby field. Rioters included Bruce's 'hail domestick servants, men and women', his barrowmen, gardener (James Shancks – and his wife), masons (John Thomson, John Ballantine, Alexander Miller – and his Mother) and 'his wholl wrights [including John Fair] and plesterers [one of whom was Thomas Alburne] . . . who are strangers and mightie outrageous and violent'.
 - 34 For a traditional view, see Lynch 2001, 326, 'The ensuing, evolutionary [ie, Restoration] period looked rather to the comforts and grandeur of contemporary England . . . Bruce's design for Kinross House . . . brought a further advance, this time in planning, with the introduction of the so-called double-pile plan.' Clearly, though, Bruce's (and, indeed, Smith's) country house architecture was more innovative and sophisticated, and his horizons wider, than stated in that account. For Coleshill, see Mowl & Earnshaw 1995, 48–59.

- 35 The earliest reference to the term in a French dictionary was in 1664.
- 36 It can also be shown that Bruce drew ideas from the architecture he knew best: for instance, the cupola of Stirling Tolbooth is a derivative of that by Murray and Alexander at Holyrood; while his ideas were profoundly influential upon others; possibly even so late as Robert Adam's time, if the two-storeyed three-bay arcade at Culzean derived from Bruce's Craighall, which it indubitably resembles.
- 37 I am grateful to Dr Malcolm Bangor-Jones for this reference.
- 38 The concept of re-occupation of ancient, long-abandoned castles as modern mansions/ homes was possibly inaugurated at Castle Huntly by George Paterson and his wife, Anne. Paterson (1734–1817) was an East India Company administrator who on retirement returned home, wealthy, to Scotland in 1775. The following year, he married Anne, daughter of the 12th Lord Gray, descendent of the Grays of Fowlis who had owned the property until 1614. They acquired, or re-acquired, it in 1776, and restored it for their own use.

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