BALCASKIE HOUSE, FIFE, AND THE EARLY ARCHITECTURE OF SIR WILLIAM BRUCE

Philip Fitzalan Howard

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of MLitt
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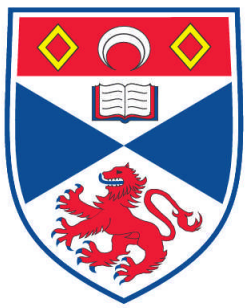

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Philip Fitzalan Howard

1. Balcaskie House, Garden Front

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I, PHILIP FITZALAN HOWARD, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 30,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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and especially
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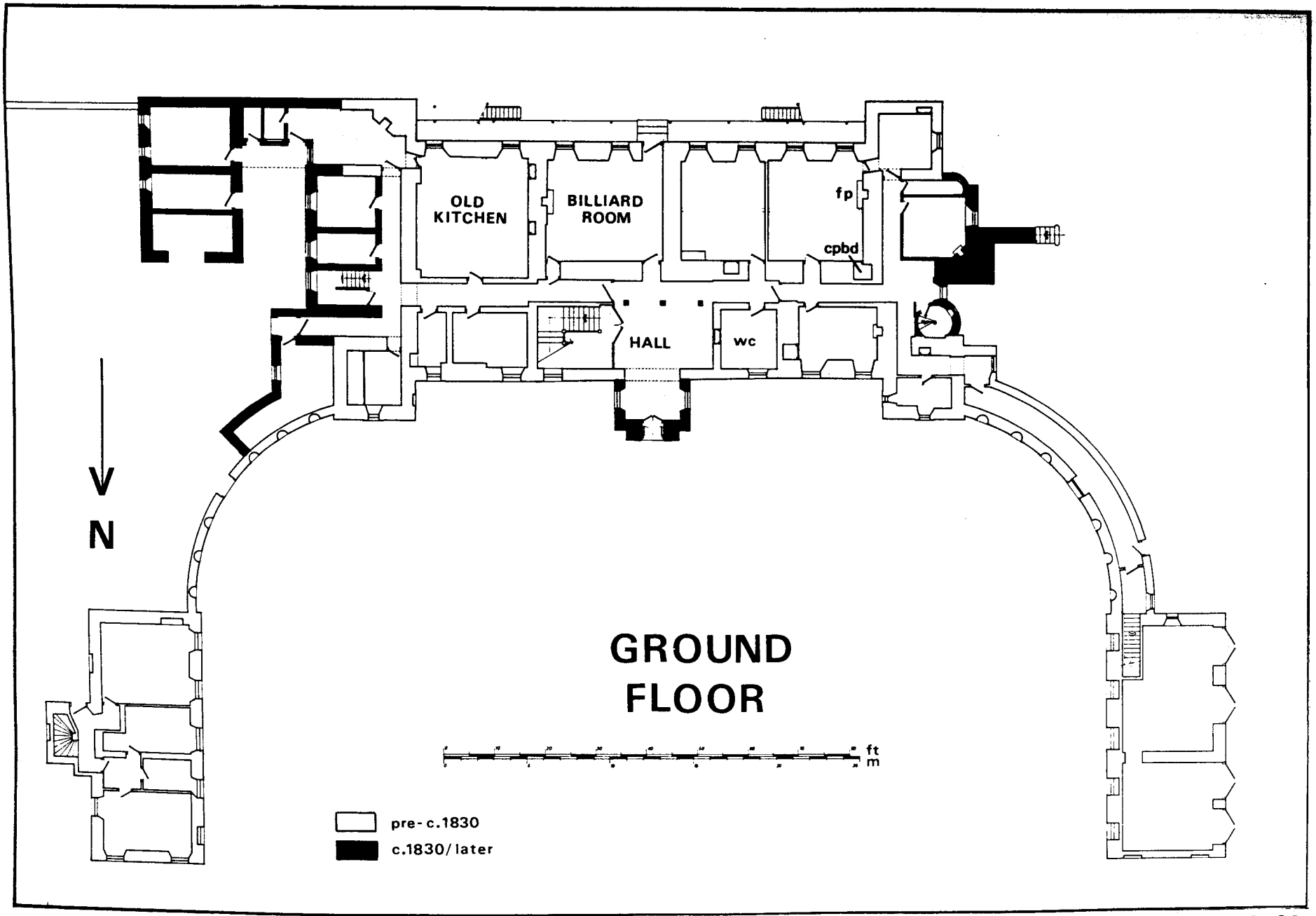

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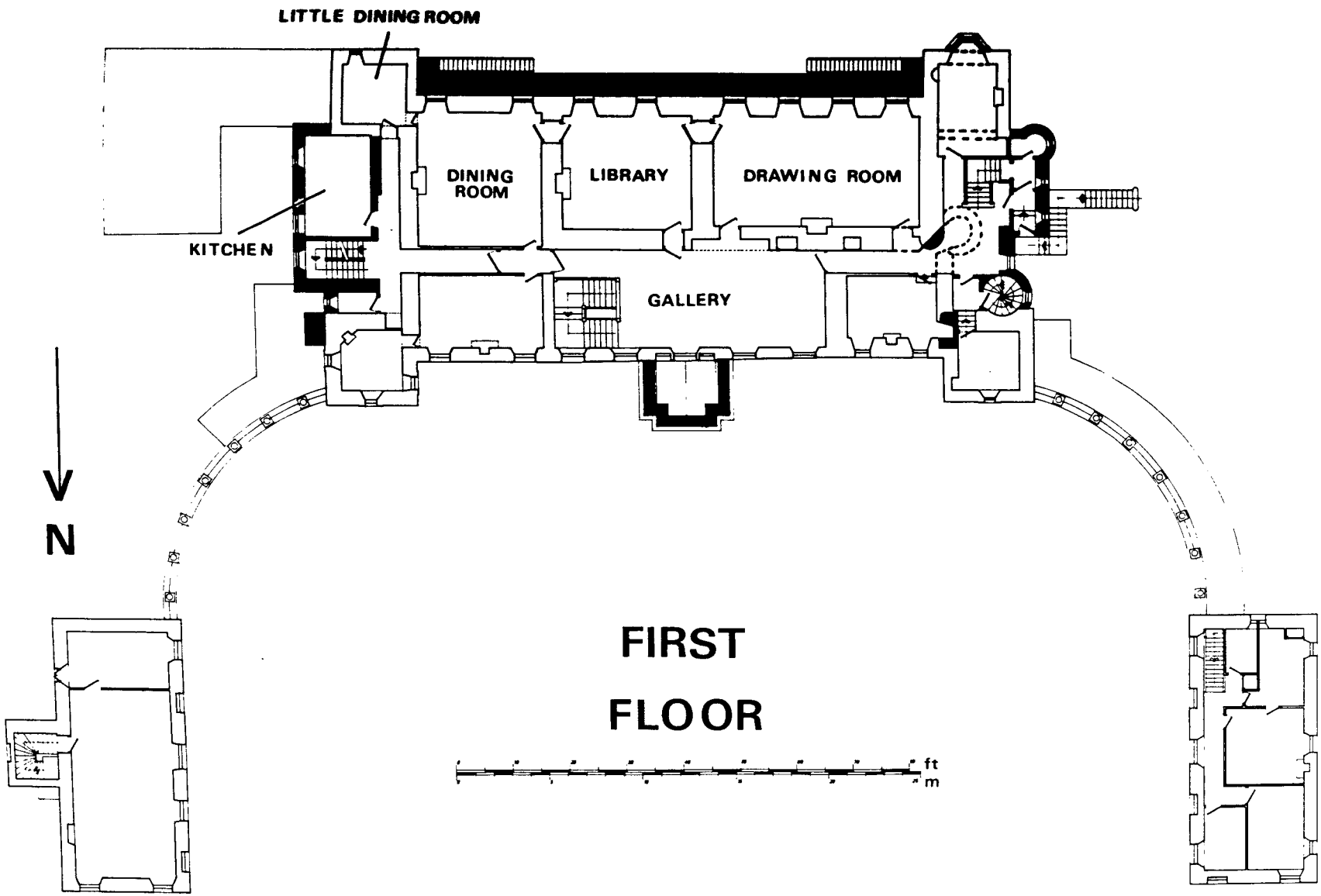

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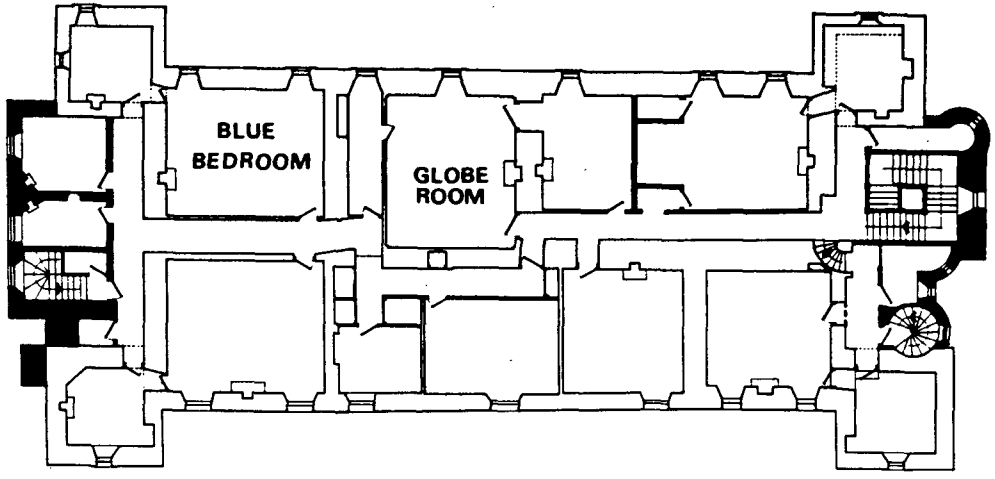

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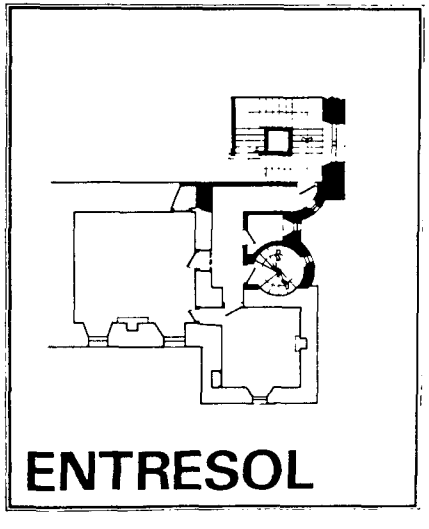

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SYNOPSIS

Chapter 1 attempts to place Bruce's career in a political context and argues that Bruce may not have contributed as much to the Restoration of Charles II as has been suggested.

2 examines Bruce's education and the early influence on his architecture; and his first practical experience in Edinburgh and at Leslie House, Fife.

3 assesses how much of Balcaskie House existed before Bruce bought the property in 1665.

4 attempts to identify what Bruce added to Balcaskie by analysing the surviving building-accounts, concentrating on his remodelling of the interior, the gardens, and the rationalisation of the entrance front.

5 examines what influence Bruce's architecture had on his contemporaries, with special reference to Kinneil House.

I have written this dissertation first because I believe Balcaskie to have been neglected and underestimated by all architectural historians, and secondly in order to find out more about Bruce's early life - and at the same time to question some of the assumptions which have been made about him. I conclude that Balcaskie may claim to be the first Scottish classical house.

This thesis is dedicated, with affection, to my kinswoman Mrs. Robert Anstruther (Marguerite de Burgh) in her ninety-first year.

(1) WILLIAM BRUCE - A POLITICAL CONTEXT

the Restoration of Charles II

Bruce's rise to a position of influence among men of greater rank was achieved first through political manoeuvring, and only secondly through artistic excellence. He was not born into a position of influence, but because he was born into the gentry (his maternal grandfather was a baronet, Sir John Preston of Valleyfield), it is easy to assume that he was well-connected and marked for a successful career. But Bruce came from a minor branch of the Bruce clan, and the distinction conferred on him by his background has been exaggerated.

Perhaps it was this respectable - but not aristocratic - background which gave Bruce anonymity for his supposed intrigues on behalf of the exiled king in the late 1650s and early 1660s, which Sir Robert Douglas describes in his *Baronage of Scotland* (1798):

> '...no gentleman in a private capacity contributed more to bring about the restoration of his *[Charles I's]* son, than this Sir William'.

But he does not explain how Bruce was able to influence events as decisively as this. Bruce was an Episcopalian (and later a Jacobite), and as such must have disliked the Puritan regime forced on Scotland by Cromwell, despite the relative peace which had ensued. But there is a large difference between holding such sympathies, and actively planning the return of the exiled King, and there is little

evidence for the latter. As for his motives, whether he was an ardent monarchist, whether he was ambitious for rewards from the exiled King, and whether he was strongly anti-Presbyterian, remain unanswered questions until more documentary evidence comes to light.

There is one piece of evidence for Bruce's pro-Royalist activities, the 'passport'[1] issued to him by General Monck:

> 'Permitt the Bearer heerof Mr William Bruce with his servant Horses...To passe about his occasions on this side the ffryth, and other ptes of Scotland and to Repasse without molestation. Hee doing nothing prejudiciall to the Commonwealth of England. Given under my hand and Seale att Dalkeith the 7th day of Septr 1659.
>
> You are to permitt him to keepe his sword in his lodging till he Returnes to Holland.
>
> George Monck'.

Bruce <u>was</u> a supporter of the bid to restore the King, even if he were not largely responsible for the move, as Douglas suggests. Douglas also describes how he won Monck round to the idea of restoring the King by tempting him with the glory he would earn. This is speculation on Douglas' part: Monck was already the virtual ruler of Scotland because of his military control, and must have been aware of the honours which he would receive if he helped the King's return. He did not need convincing by the *parvenu* Bruce. Douglas even suggests that Monck eventually opened his mind to Bruce and revealed his desire to serve the King. Anderson, in *The Scottish Nation* (1863)[2] recognises that this is unlikely:

'as it is well known that Monk kept his intentions closely concealed from every one to the very last'.

It has been suggested[3] that it was a great step in Bruce's career to seek an interview with the general, and furthermore, that it was almost miraculous that Bruce should have been sent by an unsympathetic regime to talk with the King. If it were true it would be a miracle, but there is no evidence for this scenario.

An entry in the *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers* IV:1657-60, dated 5 April 1660, records a letter from the King to 'Mr. Bruce'. The King acknowledges receipt of Bruce's letter of 4 April and encloses another letter:

'to the friends from whom Bruce brought one'.

This presumably refers to 'the "Lds" in Scot[land]' on the endorsement. This entry shows that Bruce was acting as a messenger between the Scottish nobility and the King, but little more.

Bruce required from Monck safe conduct while sailing in the Firth of Forth, and not political support for a Royalist plot. Douglas' phrase 'Returnes to Holland' may mean that he was a frequent visitor to the Netherlands, but it is not known whether he visited the King in order to plan his return, or met him among the exiled court while on some other business. The King and his advisers must have been aware that a return from Holland could be engineered by Monck as commander of the Commonwealth forces in Scotland, just as well as by English agencies. An entry in the

Clarendon Papers dated 6 April 1660 records a letter from King Charles to Monck in which he:

> 'Knows Monck's power to do him good or harm too well not to desire him for a friend...Depends on Monck's assistance.

Another explanation of the circumstances surrounding the 'passport' and the supposed intrigues of the King is that Bruce was not an intimate of the King, that he was not yet a frequent traveller to the Continent, and that his approach to Monck was the beginning of his political activities. The 'passport' suggests that it was necessary to have Monck's co-operation to move about freely between Scotland and the Netherlands (unless Bruce belonged to a secret service). It has come to be known as a 'passport' in the modern sense of a political authorisation, but it was only a practical measure to help Bruce pass the ports of the Forth without hindrance.

It is Monck and not Bruce who provided the catalyst for the Restoration. His action in leading the Coldstream Guards south to London was a decisive show of strength. And the Restoration remained a peculiarly Scottish affair: the King had been crowned at Scone before his exile, and he was, after all, a Stuart.[4] General Monck was rewarded with the title of Duke of Albemarle, and Bruce was given a knighthood: an entry in the *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)* for 1663[5] specifies 'Sir Wm. Bruce' as having carried a dispatch to Charles II, so he must have been knighted soon after the Restoration.

If Bruce had played as big a part in the Restoration as Douglas suggests, he should have received a greater reward than this in the years following. Instead, he had to wait eight years before being granted a hereditary title, a baronetcy, in 1668.[6] However, in the intervening years he did at least find employment, for example as Clerk to the Bills. A letter to Bruce from the Earl of Rothes, dated 5 December 1663[7] says:

> 'But he *[Lauderdale]* and I never lighted in London till we Cam to whythall, we are all wery weell, and I shall wish you a great many clark bills...'

This suggests that the job would be lucrative - Bruce was to receive a standard fee for every measure passed by the Scots parliament. He was not ennobled for his part in the Restoration,[8] but his income must have increased, and he was within reach of the status which commentators have tended to assign to him as early as 1660. His next post came in 1665: Clerk of Supply to the Lords in Council, which entailed the collection of fees from those bringing actions in the Scottish Court of Session (not for himself but for the Exchequer).

An entry in the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland for 1666[9] shows the appointment of Bruce to a witch-hunting commission along with other members of the Fife gentry, including Sir Philip Anstruther. Another appointment which shows his growing distinction in Fife circles is as Shire Commissioner: John Lamont of Newton's *Chronicle of Fife* has an entry under 5 October 1669 which

lists:

> 'Att Cupar, Sr John Wemys of Boggie, and Sr William Bruce of Balcaskie, were chosen commissioners for Fyffe, for the ensewing parliament, appointed to sitt att Edb. Oct.19,1669, where the Er. of Lawderdaill was his Maj. commissioner'.

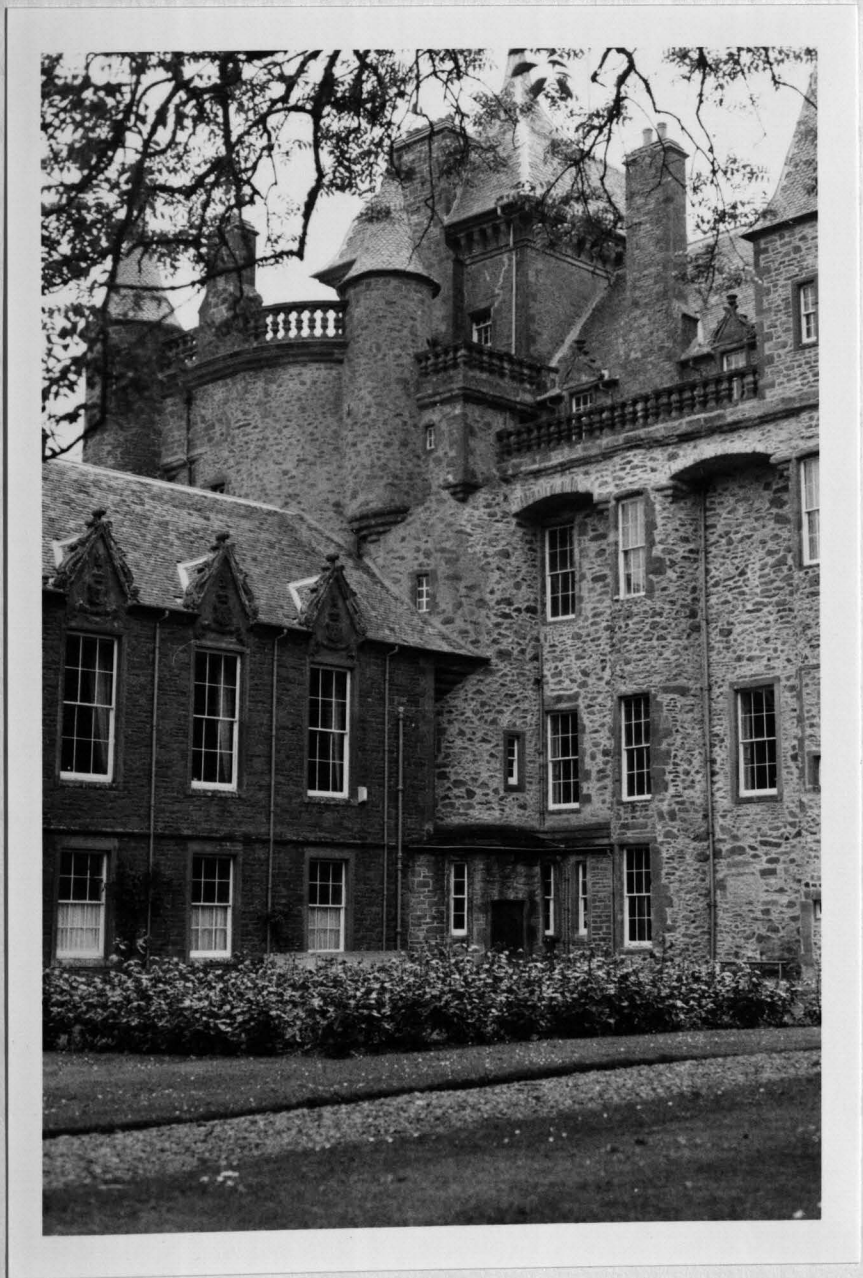
And Bruce's 'civil service' jobs did not stop here: in 1667 he was appointed Collector of Taxes for the payment of the King's forces.[10] Finally, in the following year came the consolidation of his political career, the Royal patent creating him a Baronet of Nova Scotia, and a charter under the Great Seal dated 21 April 1668:

> 'domino Willielmo Bruce de Balcaskie'.[11]

Bruce and Lauderdale

The newly-created Sir William still required patronage from more powerful men for his personal advancement. His chief mentor in this respect was the Earl of Lauderdale, whose nominal power after the Restoration derived from his position as Secretary of State for Scotland, but whose real power was as virtual ruler of Scotland. After his coronation at Scone, Charles II never returned to Scotland to take up residence at the Palace of Holyroodhouse, so Lauderdale's position was not challenged.

We do not know exactly how or when Bruce was taken up by Lauderdale. It was not a matter of financial support, but a sponsorship of his emerging architectural talents. Their association dates back to at least 1663[12], and their (surviving) correspondence to 1665,[13] most of which consists



2. Thirlestane Castle, Berwickshire

of Lauderdale's letters to Bruce because few of Bruce's replies survive. The Earl was a prolific correspondent: there are some months between 1671 and 1673 when the stream from his pen seems endless. Lauderdale's patronage of Bruce's architecural expertise did not start, though, until Bruce had at least one of his building-projects underway, at his own estate of Balcaskie in Fife. Lauderdale was aware of Bruce's capability before he commissioned anything himself.

One of the most important of the surviving letters from Bruce to Lauderdale is dated 3 January 1671,[14] in which he thanks the Earl for his favours. He goes on to say that the work at Thirlestane advances well. It is the first mention of Bruce's involvement with Lauderdale's Berwickshire house. Unfortunately, although it proves that the rebuilding of Thirlestane was underway at least as early as 1670, it does not prove that Bruce was the architect at this early stage. It is also the first letter to link Bruce with the job of reconstructing Holyrood.

Two months later Lauderdale wrote again[15] to Bruce requesting his plans for the proposed rebuilding in order that he might show them to the King (who appears to have shown some interest, even if he never stayed at the Palace). Bruce's plans evidently met with approval, because on 3 June[16] he was appointed to the post of:

'Surveyor-General of HM the King's Works in Scotland'.

This title[17] was, in effect, official recognition of his

3. Bass Rock, Modern Lighthouse & Ruined Fortification

appointment as architect at Holyrood, though in theory the job covered other crown properties in Scotland: Edinburgh Castle, Dumbarton Castle, Stirling Castle,[18] and the Bass Rock fortification (which Bruce was instructed to repair at the end of the year).[19] According to the warrant, the job carried a salary of £300 per annum (approximately Scots£3600), which represented a rise of 200%.

Work on Holyrood began almost immediately, speeded, presumably by the fact that Bruce had drawn up elevations for inspection prior to his appointment. The first thing to be done was by particular order of Bruce's employers, and reads like an epitome of one of Bruce's own methods:[20] defortification.

> 'The Lords Commissioners of his Majesties Treasurer in pursuance of his Majesties comands do appoint Sir William Bruce his Majesties Surveyor Generall forthwith to proceed to the repairing of his Majesties Pallace of Holyroodhouse by ordering the taking down of all the iron grates of the windows in the front of the house...'

It is difficult to determine whether or not Lord Lauderdale was personally responsible for Bruce's appointment. It is not even certain how much experience in architectural practice Bruce already had. His own house of Balcaskie, and Lauderdale's house of Thirlestane were underway and Bruce was involved with the re-modelling of Leslie House, Fife.[21] He had already proved himself capable and reliable, but the relationship between Bruce and Lauderdale, as revealed in their correspondence, was such that Bruce was dependent for now on Lauderdale's patronage.

It has been suggested[22] that Lauderdale and his wife Elizabeth[23] were responsible for the appointment of Bruce to the task of re-building Holyrood, but not responsible for him obtaining the official post of Surveyor-General, and furthermore that the Surveyor-Generalship came to Bruce as a matter of course after his previous appointments. However, first, there was only one job in question, and secondly, it was very different to the 'civil service' jobs which Bruce had already obtained, by virtue of its weighty historical associations with the old Masters of Works. It was not a matter of course that Bruce should have become Surveyor-General, and Bruce owed his appointment to Lauderdale, as the King's representative in Scotland.

In his letters to Bruce, Lauderdale's tone is cordial. On 7 November 1672[24] he wrote from Ham House, Surrey (the home of his new wife, Elizabeth):

'be so well to me to believe I am your real friend'.

More important, though, is the sometimes confidential tone in which he writes to Bruce. On 23 October 1672[25] he wrote, also from Ham:

> 'the reason why I recommended secrecy to you when I first called for the draught(26), was because I stood in awe of Sir William Sharpe(27), and was unwilling to give him an alarme before I had taken my resolutions...I hope he will not beat you, the worst is but a chiding and clawing of his lugg divers times...'

Without more of Bruce's replies, it is impossible to tell whether Bruce was merely grateful for Lauderdale's undoubted

4. Brunstane House, Edinburgh

kindnesses and practical support, or whether he responded more closely to his patron's intimacies. Another of Lauderdale's letters from Ham, dated 15 April 1673,[28] which comes at the end of a long string of correspondence concerning his own building projects,[29] suggests that Bruce was not as punctual and conscientious about answering Lauderdale's seemingly endless letters as he was about his building-work.

Lauderdale's patronage of Bruce from the late 1660s onwards may have been partly inspired by his recognition of the architect's talents and wish to encourage them. But there is another explanation for why he should have re-created the post of Surveyor-General for him: Bruce's job at Holyrood placed him in the best position possible for directing the building-operations at Thirlestane, Brunstane, etc., because he had access to a huge supply of building-materials at the Royal Works,[30] and of course his remodelling of the four buildings for Lauderdale between 1670 and 1676 coincides almost exactly with the rebuilding of Holyrood. It is the proof of Lauderdale's power in Scotland that he was never called to account for misappropriation of government resources. This is not to say that Lauderdale backed the plan to rebuild Holyrood and had Bruce appointed in order that he might obtain free materials for himself, but the inevitable process by which Bruce's time and Royal resources became channelled into Lauderdale's houses was his own doing.

Lauderdale knew he was open to charges of

misappropriation. One of his letters of October 1672 (already quoted above) shows his nervousness towards Sharpe, the King's Cash-Keeper, and he sycophantically asks Bruce to intercede with Sharpe on his behalf:

> '"Even where you please, you are wise and know better where to get the money than I do".(31) This was Diego's answer when they asked him where the money was towards all the great legacies he had made, and this is my answer to Sir Wm Sharpe as to the building of Brunstein *[sic]*, which I doubt must be built, and even this year too'.

Until Bruce was given the Surveyor-Generalship there was nothing irregular in his work for Lauderdale. We know that he was already engaged in some capacity at Thirlestane by 1670.[32] This means that as well as being under Lauderdale's influence by 1670, he may have received a salary from him. It is not then surprising that Bruce continued in Lauderdale's personal service after his government appointment. And he was already in the service of other members of the Scottish aristocracy: a document survives in the Lauderdale papers dated 25 February 1671[33] and concerning the voyage of the ship *Anna* of Pittenweem (the nearest port/burgh to Balcaskie), to transport Lauderdale's coal to Rotterdam for sale; more importantly, it was to bring back building-materials for Lauderdale's Thirlestane project, including marble, cement, tiles and wood, and for the Lords Rothes and Kincardine too. Also preserved is a bill of lading, dated 14 May 1671,[34] for further materials shipped by Bruce's agent in Rotterdam on the same 'Anna off Pyttinweams', bound for Leith. This bill indicates which goods were destined for Lord Lauderdale,

which for the Lord Chancellor (the Earl of Rothes), and which for Bruce himself,[35] respectively. These documents show two important things: first that, already Bruce was not just Lauderdale's man but was running errands for others, and secondly that Bruce was acting as an agent for building-materials independent of the Surveyorship, and hence free of any charge of misappropriation.

It is after the work at Holyrood began that Lauderdale's priorities were revealed. This applies as much to manpower as it does to materials: Thomas Alborn of Glasgow,[36] who, along with William Lindores, was probably responsible for the plainer plasterwork at Thirlestane, started work there in June 1671.[37] It was not until he had finished the secondary rooms there that he moved to Holyrood in the summer of 1673[38] (with this kind of delay it is not surprising that the work at Holyrood dragged on to the end of the decade). A letter from Lauderdale to Bruce dated 15 April 1673[39] mentions the Dutch joiners in his service at Ham House. These so-called 'Germanes':[40]

> 'have made the double Chassees *[sashes]* (41) for the windows...most excellent workmen, both at that trade, and for making of cabinets.... They shall also bring paterns both for Hinges & Bolts...and the rest of my building Committee...'

The itinerant joiners were sent to Thirlestane & Brunstane. If they were in Lauderdale's sole employment, then there was nothing irregular in that, but as this is the first documented reference to peripatetic Dutch craftsmen, it is likely that their services were obtained through Crown agencies. It is certainly the case that they were sent up

to Scotland at government expense, as were the English plasterers George Dunsterfield and John H(o)ulbert in October 1673, because they went to Holyrood first, but not for long.

Bruce did as well as Lauderdale in using Dunsterfield's talents for his own ends: Dunsterfield was employed for at least three months[42] in spring 1674 at Balcaskie, assisted by William Lindores, among others. Since we also know that Dunsterfield was working at Thirlestane by July of this year, and stayed there until January 1676, it does not leave time for him to have executed anything substantial at Holyrood. As a master-craftsman, he would not have worked anywhere just for the occasional week, and much of the plasterwork at Holyrood would have been time-consuming work; between 1674-7 the Holyrood building-accounts[43] itemise 153 loads of coal, which were provided for baking plaster and warming the rooms,

'for putting up the work in the winter tyme'

- some of the plaster detail was too heavy to be applied *in situ* and left to dry; instead it was modelled on the ground, baked, and then attached to the ceiling. The laboriousness of this work indicates that Dunsterfield possibly did not have time for any work at Holyrood in 1674 and 1675. John Hulbert, who was responsible for the plasterwork of the Great Staircase at Holyrood,[44] was still working there in 1678, the year of Bruce's dismissal. Given

Lauderdale's known misappropriation of manpower, it is difficult to believe that Hulbert was working at Holyrood continuously between October 1673 - when he first arrived - and 1678. He may well, for instance, have accompanied Bruce at Lethington during the 1676/7 phase of operations there.

After Bruce had left the Surveyorship in 1678, he received an order[45] to surrender all materials not already used at the Palace to the Treasurer Depute (Charles Maitland). It is difficult to determine whether this is a piece of bureaucratic jargon, or evidence that Bruce himself was unscrupulous in capitalising on the resources at Holyrood. Whatever the case, this order of Lauderdale's is ironic in face of his own lack of scruple. And, in Bruce's favour, there was an advantage to the Crown in his own scheme at Balcaskie: he had his own network of suppliers. He used the same sources of material and manpower at Holyrood as he had used and was still using at Balcaskie.

In the Bruce of Arnot papers[46] is a volume marked on the cover:[47]

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which contains the accounts of timber, glass, lead, etc. bought for Holyrood in 1671/2. Several entries show that Bruce used his private suppliers in the East Neuk of Fife to transport materials to Holyrood, for example on 3 August 1671:

'Ane Accompt of tries *[trees]*; Called 12 Ells(48)

Received from James Booy 292 double tries brought from Georg Russell in Pittenweem for his majesties work at Holyroodhouse'.

Elsewhere, it is difficult to trace the destination of some of the materials listed in the building-accounts. Bruce's personal contacts brought advantages to the Crown Treasury, but on balance the advantages were to Bruce - and Lauderdale evidently did best of all.

Another of Bruce's patrons/clients was Elizabeth Murray. Their first recorded correspondence concerns building - Between 1673-5 she had her house at Ham in Surrey remodelled by the architect William Samwell (1628-76), but as early as 21 January 1671[49] she wrote to Bruce at Balcaskie, saying that she would send him a draft of the proposed gate-posts for a new entrance at Ham, and asking him for advice. Bruce disapproved of the draft and a month later wrote to the Earl of Lauderdale[50] with the news that the gate-posts could be cut in Edinburgh, but that he was worried that the whole business would be too expensive because of the cost of 'fraght' *[freight]*. On 17 April 1671[51] Elizabeth wrote to Bruce from Ham saying that Lauderdale had shown her the designs and that she approved of them, especially his suggestions for their size and placement. Finally, in September 1671, Lauderdale wrote to Bruce, mildly scolding him for the delay in the gates' arrival at Ham; they were then delivered, after being cut and dressed at Longannet Quarry, Kincardine-on-Forth.[52]

Four years later, Elizabeth (now Duchess of Lauderdale) ordered three more pairs of gate-piers.[53] This was at the

end of her remodelling scheme, when more garden walls were constructed, and more gateways were required for perspectives through a 'wilderness' and beyond. There was also a delivery of 'Scotch marble' chimneypieces and statues sent down from Scotland for the new forecourt, loggias and 'wilderness', almost certainly through Bruce's agency.[54] It is not know whether the gardens were actually designed by Bruce, or by John Slezer, or by both men.[55]

Lauderdale was behind Bruce's involvement in Ham too. The strength of Elizabeth Murray's family tie with Bruce has been exaggerated.[56] Her mother was a Bruce, Catherine Bruce of Clackmannan,[57] but only a distant cousin of Sir William.[58] No other of his Murray relations was his patron. It is possible that Elizabeth Murray only met Bruce through Lauderdale. After being widowed by the death of her first husband, Sir Lionel Tollemache, she then set her sights on Lauderdale, and according to Sir George Mackenzie's *Memoirs*:[59]

> 'She had such an ascendant over his affections that neither her age, nor his affairs, nor yet the clamour of his friends and the people, more urgent than both these, could divert him from marrying her within six weeks of his Lady's decease'.

Despite her notorious strength of character, she was not the originator of Lauderdale's building-schemes, and was not the link between Lauderdale and Bruce. Lauderdale's schemes started as early as 1670 (at Thirlestane), whereas Elizabeth Murray's first venture into building was not until 1671 (the first pair of gate-posts), and the remodelling of Ham not

until 1673. When Bruce was executing the gate-posts commission, his corrrespondence was with Lauderdale as well as with Elizabeth - his first letter on the subject was to Lauderdale,[60] who was already at Ham in February 1671 (Lauderdale and Elizabeth were not married until February 1672). It is Lauderdale who provided the strongest link between Elizabeth Murray and Bruce.

The question of Lauderdale's character aroused strong feelings among his contemporaries. W. C. Mackenzie quotes[61] the opinion of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury in the latter's *History of his own Times*:

> 'He was haughty beyond expression, abject to tho'e he saw he must stoop to, but imperious to all others'.

although Burnet had once written to Lauderdale:

> 'The noble character which you do now so worthily bear, together with the more lasting and inward character of your princely mind'.

An action of Lauderdale's which is often quoted against him is his dismissal of Bruce from the Surveyor-Generalship in 1678. The argument is that if he were responsible for Bruce's appointment in the first instance - which he was - then he was equally responsible for the termination of the appointment; the order for terminating Bruce's contract is certainly signed by Lauderdale.[62] The rebuilding of the Palace to Bruce's design was not even complete when he was dismissed. Part of the evidence for this is that Charles Maitland, Lord Hatton (Lauderdale's brother) succeeded Bruce

in the job in 1679, so there was surely a job still to do?

Bruce's ill-treatment at Lauderdale's hands has been exaggerated. When Lauderdale gave Bruce the task of remodelling Thirlestane, he was at the beginning of his architectural career. Since then he had not only completed all seven of the buildings listed above (n.29), but had also struck out on a new tangent with commissions which were nothing to do with Lauderdale and which were designed in a totally different style to those he designed for Lauderdale. Holyrood does count as one of the buildings he completed between 1667-78, because, although we know work was still in progress in 1679 (after he had been dismissed), his main job of producing the designs was long over; since then the Surveyor-Generalship had been something of a sinecure - there were small jobs directed by the Lords Commissioners, for instance repairing the water supply from St. Anthony's Well in Holyrood Park. But the building-work which remained after 1678 was the job of the mason-contractor[63] and not the architect.

1676 was a year of change for Bruce, when he moved away from Lauderdale's patronage. By this year Balcaskie was almost complete, and his contributions to Leslie and Holyrood were probably complete; for Lauderdale he had finished Brunstane and Lauder Kirk. The works at Lethington & Thirlestane, which were evidently not all Bruce's responsibility anyway, finished approximately one year later[64] under the supervision of a new master of works, John Slezer, who had completed his work at Ham. It is therefore

5. Moncreiffe House, Perthshire, Entrance Door dated 1679

possible that Bruce did not submit another design to Lauderdale after 1676.

However, this does not mean that they became enemies. Their correspondence, surviving in the Kinross papers,[65] shows their close relationship. Any serious disagreement they might have had would have concerned Bruce's building-designs, and yet on this subject they were in full co-operation. It was a double-sided affair: Lauderdale did not always accept Bruce's designs without questioning them. He had plenty of suggestions to make, including specific details of design. It is true that he tended to persist with new ideas, for example the heightening of the new pavilions at Thirlestane,[66] but Bruce never seems to have shown any irritation, and, more importantly, never gave up a project.

It is unlikely that Bruce and Lauderdale could have continued in such claustrophobic co-operation for much longer. Just in the year 1673, for instance, Bruce was asked for advice on - if not complete designs for - as many as four buildings.[67] After 1676/7 Lauderdale probably could not *afford* to build any more, so he did not need Bruce. And Bruce did not need Lauderdale - at the same time, he was becoming self-sufficient as an architect, pursuing a more overt classicism, the first examples of which were Dunkeld House (from c.1676) and Moncreiffe House (c.1679), both in Lowland Perthshire, for the 1st Marquess of Atholl and Sir Thomas Moncreiffe Of That Ilk respectively. Lauderdale took no part in these commissions; he had been content with

Bruce's techniques of remodelling, never commissioning an entirely new house from him. Under Lauderdale's patronage, Bruce never had the chance to develop his purer classical style.

The appointment of Charles Maitland, Lord Hatton, to the post of Surveyor-General in 1678 is no evidence that there was still a job to be done at Holyrood. Maitland, though he built Hatton House[68] for himself in c.1675, was not an experienced architect. Lauderdale did not dismiss Bruce so that he could give his younger brother a sinecure. There is no reason to read anything into the offical jargon of the document terminating Bruce's employment.[69] It has to be taken at face value:

> 'there is no further use of any...office of Surveyour Genll'.

FOOTNOTES TO (1)

1. Scottish Record Office GD 242 (Bruce of Arnot papers)/ Box 36.

2. p.436.

3. By Hubert Fenwick in *Architect Royal* p. 4-6.

4. Cf. The Rev. Robert Scott Mylne *The Master Masons To The Crown Of Scotland And Their Works* (1893): 'Perhaps the close association for so many years with the Royal House of Stuart was the principal reason that prompted the large expenditure of ill-spared money *(on Holyroodhouse)* that actually took place'.

5. Under 9 September.

6. GD 29/7/1.

7. GD 29/1896/9; also in the S. R. O., in the Register of Deeds (a discharge to Sir William Scott dated 8 September 1665), Bruce is referred to specifically as 'clerk to the bills, recaller of fines'.

8. Though the *Journal of The Hon. John Erskine of Carnock* (1683-7) edited by W. MacLeod in *Scottish History Society* 154 (1893) refers to Bruce as 'Viscount of Kinross'. One possible source for this mistake is the surviving series of accounts to Bruce as Sheriff of Kinross from 1672-88 (GD 29/10) authorised by 'Computum vicecomitis de Kinross'. 'vicecomes' means 'sheriff', not 'viscount'.

9. *Country Life* March 1912 on Balcaskie.

10. GD 242/Box 36 contains a list of Royal warrants for payments to Bruce in 1667/8: 'To Sir William Bruce, Collector of the Fines and of the Cess imposed by our last convention'. Bruce is to accept all the 'praecepts' drawn on him 'by the Commissioners of Our Thesaurarie'.

11. Douglas' *Baronage*.

12. GD 29/1897/2 : see chapter (2).

13. GD 29/1897/1; 26 May: 'I must beg yor pardon for my seldone wryting...'.

14. British Museum, Lauderdale papers Add MSS 23134 f. 170.

15. GD 29/1897/2; dated 16 March 1671.

16. GD 242.

17. There seems to be confusion over the date, title and nature of Bruce's appointment. The author of *Architect Royal* distinguishes between <u>two</u> appointments:

p. 25 'It was in 1667 that Bruce...received his appointment as King's Surveyor in Scotland'.

p. xvii '...1671, when he was appointed King's Surveyor'.

Bruce was of course appointed to the position in June 1671. The issue is confused further on p. 9/10:

'In 1667 he...was appointed Superintendent and Overseer of the Palaces of Holyroodhouse, Stirling, Edinburgh Castle, The Bass Rock, Dumbarton Castle, Falkland Palace etc. within the Kingdoms of Scotland, France and Ireland'.

No documentary source is given; the wording of this mysterious post makes it sound the same as the documented Surveyor-Generalship of 1671, except for the reference to France and Ireland.

18. R. S. Mylne quotes a letter from the Lords Commissioners [the Lords Rothes, Tweeddale, and Kincardine, and Charles Maitland] instructing Bruce to repair Stirling Castle, dated 20 July 1671.

19. GD 29/93 : A warrant to repair 'the house on the Bass' dated 6 September 1671. According to Joseph Roberston's 'Notice of a Volume of the Accounts of Sir William Bruce ...', the flagstones were quarried at Dirleton, East Lothian, and the lime from Broomhall, Fife.

20. see n.18.

21. see chapter (2).

22. *Architect Royal* p.26.

23. Elizabeth Murray, Countess of Dysart in her own right and widow of Sir Lionel Tollemache.

24. Quoted in R. S. Mylne's *Master Masons...*; Lauderdale was now the (first and only) *Duke* of Lauderdale.

25. "

26. Of Bruce's remodelling of Brunstane House, Midlothian, the second of his commissions for Lauderdale.

27. Sharpe was the King's 'Cash-Keeper', i.e. Chancellor of the Exchequer, in Scotland.

28. GD 29/1897/9.

29. At this stage it is possible that Bruce was working on as many as seven buildings: Leslie, Balcaskie, Thirlestane, Holyrood, Brunstane, Lauder Kirk in Berwickshire, and Lethington in East Lothian.

30. John Dunbar, in *The Building-activities of the Duke and*

Duchess of Lauderdale 1670-82, says the same thing with expert euphemism:

> 'the Earl *[of Lauderdale]* evidently expected Bruce to supervise his own building-operations in Scotland,taking full advantage of any special facilities for the provision of craftsmen and materials that might be available to him by virtue of his office'.

31. Quoted from *The Spanish Curate* by John Fletcher (1622) one of the most popular plays after the Restoration.

32. B.M. Lauderdale Add MSS 23134 f.170.

33. B.M. Lauderdale Add MSS 35125 f.238.

34. GD 29/427 and GD 29/1903/1.

35. Bruce obtained 24 flowerpots, among other items!

36. Who also worked alone for Bruce at Craighall, Fife, as late as 1697-9, according to Dunbar's *exhibition catalogue*, p.16.

37. S.R.O. Lauderdale 26/14.

38. According to Dunbar's *The Building-activities*...

39. GD 29/1897/9; see below, n.66.

40. Including a 'Matthias Jansen'.

41. Lauderdale also had sash-windows introduced into Scotland during the remodelling of Lethington in 1673/4, again by Jansen (source: S.R.O. Thirlestane 14/11 & 63/15).

42. GD 29/263/6: Dunsterfield's accounts stretch from 19 February to 8 May.

43. Source: Geoffrey Beard *Decorative Plasterwork in Great Britain.*

44. GD 29/263/11.

45. GD 29/102; dated 13 March 1679.

46. GD 242/36.

47. Possibly the 'M' should be inverted, making 'W B' for William Bruce?

48. An ell (now obsolete) = 45 ins.

49. GD 29/1905/1.

50. 25 February 1671, from Edinburgh; B.M. Lauderdale Add MSS 35125 f.238; see above, n.33.

51. GD 29/1897/3.

52. From where most of the new stone for Balcaskie was quarried.

53. Dunbar's article in *Archaeological Journal* 132 (1975).

54. Leicester Record Office, Tollemache papers (from Buckminster) 16/12ff.

55. see (2).

56. *Architect Royal*, p. 10.

57. And her father William Murray, 1st Earl of Dysart.

58. GD 242: The 1675 matriculation in the Lyon register of Bruce's arms describes 'the familie of Blairhall' as 'lineallie descended of the house of Clackmannan'.

59. Quoted by W.C. Mackenzie in *The Life and Times of John Maitland Duke of Lauderdale* p. 310f.

60. See above, n.33.

61. *The Life and Times of John Maitland*...p. 496/7; Bruce is not mentioned once in this book.

62. GD 29/100; dated 30 May 1678.

63. Robert Mylne.

64. Colvin *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*.

65. GD 29/1897/1-10 - admittedly, only up to 1673.

66. 'This I know will cost money, but without it I shall never endure the front of my house, & therefore of necessity it must be presently done'. Written from Ham, 15 April 1671; GD 29/1897/9.

67. Thirlestane, Brunstane, Lauder Kirk and Lethington.

68. In Midlothian; now demolished, surviving plans and photographs show a strong Bruce influence: four square, ogee-roofed pavilions at each corner of the main block. This consisted of two large towers topped by crow-stepped gables, with a lower facade slung in between. George P. Bankart in *The Art of the Plasterer* says that there were two fine ceilings, both with a large, central oval and with festoons of fruit and foliage in high relief. They were very similar to the contemporary ceilings at Holyrood.

69. GD 29/100.

(2) BRUCE BEFORE BALCASKIE

'influence' I

Bruce's architectural education remains a mystery, and so does his general education. He may have studied at the University of St. Andrews: several men by the name of William Bruce are entered in the matriculation registers of St. Salvator's College and St. Leonard's College for the early seventeenth century. The traditional birthdate of Bruce is c.1630. The only one of these William Bruces who fits even approximately with the birthdate is the one matriculating at St. Salvator's for the academic year 1637/8, and he must have been born in the early 1620s. This candidate is a 'seconder', i.e. he belongs to the second group of students signing their names - the first group is made up of the sons of peers. This distinction fits with what is already known about Bruce's background. The difficulty lies with the handwriting: the entry in the register is signed in a 'secretary' hand,[1] whereas Sir William Bruce's signatures are all, without exception, in a mixed italic hand. The truth is that not one of these signatures is likely to be Sir William's.

He was familiar with contemporary theoretical works on architecture. It is difficult to believe that the architect of Kinross House received his grounding in architectural practice from these alone, but since there is no evidence for a formal architectural training, the books on theory are all we have to go on. An undated bill[2] survives from an Andrew Hyslop for books, including items:

'Architectura Curiossa, Architectura Militar'.

Another, dated 28 May 1672[3] from the same Andrew Hyslop (who is described as 'stationer'), mentions:

'one book of architecture, one book of fortifications, one book of the Abbey(4) draughts'.

And Bruce paid a bill on 13 July 1675[5] for, among other books:

'Vignola's Architecture
More of fortification'.

Bruce also owned a copy of Palladio's *L'Architettura* (1570). Interestingly, he bought it in the same year, 1676,[6] as one of his most significant progressions in style, to the overt classicism of Dunkeld and Moncreiffe. However, while his purchase of Palladio may explain his move to a purer classicism, it has little bearing on his earlier education, or on his earlier work at Balcaskie, Thirlestane, etc.

The other means by which he may have acquired experience in architecture was Continental travel. This has led some commentators to compare specific Bruce buildings with specific foreign examples,[7] and yet the documentation of Bruce's journeys to the Netherlands and France is slight, such as the 'passport' from General Monk in 1659, guaranteeing his safety until he 'Returnes to Holland'. There is, though, a better piece of evidence: Lord Lauderdale's letter of 16 March 1671,[8] requesting Bruce's plans and elevations of Holyrood, also thanks him:

'for amongst other kindnesses of yors I can not forget yor franc *[french]* journey in the year 1663'.

It is possible that Bruce was in France in 1663 for the purpose of studying Continental architecture on a prototype 'Grand Tour'. He may have undertaken the trip on behalf of Lauderdale, in preparation for the latter's great building-programme of the 1670s. He may even have been buying architectural ornaments, garden furniture, etc., as we know that he did for Lauderdale, Rothes, and Kincardine in 1671.[9] The journey cannot be ascribed to Bruce's supposed intrigues on behalf of the King, because it happened after the Restoration.

Lauderdale is evidently involved, and this is their first documented association with each other. But it is probably too early for Bruce to be buying antiques for Lauderdale's houses, or gaining practical experience in Continental design. If either of these explanations were true, it would be strange to thank Bruce all of eight years later. The journey, coming so soon before his purchase of the Balcaskie estate in 1665, and so long before his work for Lauderdale, is more likely to have been made for his own benefit, though he may have taken the opportunity to run a personal errand for Lauderdale.

A further journey of Bruce's is documented, indirectly: on 26 April 1683[10] his son John wrote from Brussels:

> 'There is a great many things that renders this place very agriable especially the great abudance of persons of quality there is also a very good Acaddemie for the toun and the situation of it I belive you know it better than I am able to give you a description of it'.

John may be making an oblique reference to his father having studied at the academy in Brussels. However, we do not have a date, and can only conclude that Bruce did visit Flanders as well as France and the Netherlands.

Whatever the truth about his visit(s) to the Netherlands before the Restoration in 1660, given that we know he made a journey of some sort in 1663, the French and Dutch influence on his work, and the fact that he was practising architecture from at least 1667 onwards, it can be assumed that he was familiar with Continental models in the early 1660s. It is when attempts are made to pinpoint specific buildings which Bruce visited that difficulties arise - it is impossible to ascribe individual buildings of Bruce to particular Continental antecedents if we cannot demonstrate that he visited them.

There is more use in comparing Bruce's work with illustrations of buildings in books which he possessed, or may have possessed. The west front of Holyrood, for instance, which Bruce built in about c.1672, consists of a French-style classical corridor-wing stretching from the old tower[11] of James V to Bruce's replica, and centring on a porticoed entrance; it resembles[12] an engraving of the Château de Verneuil in France featured in Androuet du Cerceau's *Des Plus Excellents Bastiments de France* (1576-9). This book is not mentioned in Bruce's surviving booksellers' accounts, but it was available in Britain, and influenced British architects into the eighteenth century. Similarly, Sebastiano Serlio's *Architettura* (1545ff), which was

available in an English translation, contains an illustration of Ancy-le-Franc, which has several features in common with the new front at Holyrood. Finally, Pierre le Muet's *Manière de bien bastir pour toutes sortes de personnes* (1647) was translated into English and published in London in 1670. This second edition contains a set of engravings of all the main features of Holyrood. It is easier and safer to trace Bruce's designs for Holyrood to these pattern-books than to speculate on which French châteaux he may have visited.

In looking for precedents for Bruce's early work, we are repeatedly diverted away from English architecture. The impermeability of Scottish architecture to English trends is equally true of early Bruce as it is of the development of the fortified Lowland tower before him. There are few enough journeys of Bruce to the Continent documented, and not many more to England. His monopoly of influence in Scotland is shown by the fact that he did not have to go south of the border to obtain commissions, and his only English commissions were the gateway which he designed for Elizabeth Murray in 1671,[13] and possibly the copies in 1675, at Ham House in Surrey. Bruce's work there is his strongest link with England. He was not the architect, but his influence on the remodelling of the house (from late 1670), and especially the gardens, may have been great. We do not, though, know whether or not Bruce visited Ham, let alone whether he advised the architect Samwell - or received advice from him.

Samwell converted Ham from a typical Jacobean *H* plan of c.1610 to a Restoration 'double-pile' plan.[14] One aspect of his remodelling is close to Bruce's ideas: the concave wing-walls on the north front with classical busts in round niches. These resemble the earlier ones at Balcaskie, although at Ham the niches are inserted between the ground and first floors of the whole facade.[15] In addition to the gate-posts which Bruce designed, he may have been the supplier of some classical statuary for the new gardens and 'wilderness' area. It is possible that the busts of Roman emperors for the entrance front were part of the consignments which Bruce had shipped from Edinburgh, and that they derive from the same source as those which he inserted in his new wing-walls at Balcaskie, at the same time. Bruce may also have influenced the garden design, of which the wing-walls were already a part. Using gateways and flanking walls to create vistas is a device of Bruce's later houses, such as Kinross, and the classical statues which he supplied via Scotland were placed along or at the end of these vistas, which in turn were planned axially from the house.

The Lauderdales' draughtsman was John Slezer, who took over from Bruce as director of operations at Thirlestane and Lethington in 1676. Drawings of Ham, Thirlestane and Lethington survive in Slezer's hand and that of his assistant, Jan Wyck. It is possible that Slezer rather than Bruce was responsible for carrying through Samwell's ideas to Thirlestane, for example in the ground-floor arrangement

of bedrooms and closets.[16]

Apart from the gate-posts and classical statues, the extent of Bruce's involvement at Ham is unknown, and it does not help to disentangle the problem of English influences on Bruce's architecture. In order to trace any English influence, it is necessary to move on to Bruce's new houses, the first of which were Dunkeld and Moncreiffe in the later 1670s. There is a group of English houses which most commentators suggest as a direct influence on Bruce's work of this period - the early Restoration houses of Hugh May and Roger Pratt.[17] May served the Duke of Buckingham as an architectural adviser both in Britain and in the Netherlands, where Buckingham was a member of King Charles' exiled court. Buckingham's account-book, kept by his steward, Sir Charles Cottrell, and preserved at Rousham Park, Oxfordshire, lists for the year 1650/1:

> 'My charges to Rotterdam and the Hagh, going to meet Mr May when he came out of Scotland'.(18)

And it is possible that May's promotion after the Restoration to the posts of Paymaster and Surveyor of the King's Works (in England) was his reward for pro-Royalist services before the Restoration.

May's first house was Eltham Lodge, Kent (1663/4). His use of brick and stone, including stone - usually Ionic - pilasters, has a distinctly Dutch feel, more so than any of his contemporaries' work.[19] He also introduced lavish interior carving in partnership with Grinling Gibbons during his remodelling of Windsor Castle, from 1673, and he was one

of the translators (along with Roger North and John Evelyn) of Fréart's *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et moderne* (1664).[20]

Chevening House, Kent, which was built before 1630 and is therefore not strictly a member of the Pratt-May school (Colen Campbell thought it was Inigo Jones' work), is often cited as an influence on Dunkeld and Moncreiffe; it is true that Chevening does give a foretaste of the stark 'blockishness' of Bruce's two houses, i.e. a 'double-pile' plan so deep that the whole is practically a cube, and all three shared what Campbell calls[21] 'a block cornice at the eaves', with the roof over-hanging and no frieze below. Coleshill, Berkshire (1650; demolished), by Roger Pratt, is cited by all commentators on Bruce's work as a direct forerunner of Kinross. Both houses have obtrusive chimneys and a central cupola.

However, the similarity between Bruce's post-1675 houses and the Pratt-May group has probably been exaggerated. This was not a period of great country-house building in England, and no one has pretended otherwise. Stylistically, the Pratt-May group fill the gap between Inigo Jones' proto-Palladian classicism, and the 'English Baroque' of Christopher Wren and his contemporaries (though the Pratt-May groups are themselves sometimes called 'Wren-style'). Most English Restoration houses do not belong to the group; they are based on the old Jacobean *H* plan, untouched by Jones' budding Neopalladianism. Most importantly, there are only a few features common to all

the Pratt-May houses, and in turn to Bruce's Dunkeld group: they all had two main storeys of equal, or almost equal height, a basement, an attic, and a hipped roof, and they all conformed to the 'double-pile' plan.[22]

Edinburgh and Leslie

Before Bruce bought Balcaskie, he lived in Edinburgh. His occupation there prior to taking up the Surveyor-Generalship is not known - he may, for example, have undergone legal training - but he had lodgings in the city from at least 1664, right through to the 1680s. Most commentators refer to his lodgings in the High Street or in Canongate (strictly speaking, outside the city proper) without being more specific, and yet it is possible to trace his movements more closely, and even to demonstrate his earliest architectural experiments in the form of alterations and renovations.

His first house in Edinburgh was on the south side of the High Street, next to the Netherbow Port. It is still known as Tweeddale House or Tweeddale Court, after the 2nd Earl (later 1st Marquess) of Tweeddale, to whom Bruce sold the house. Its building-history is complex - it was even altered by the Adam brothers in 1752/3 - and nothing remains from the 1660s except some fireplaces and a moulded doorway. The manuscript showing Lord Tweeddale's purchase from Bruce[23] lists the owners of the house and this dates Bruce's purchase to 13 December 1664:

> 'disposition grantit be the...Thomas Hamiltoune of Reidhous...to the sd Sir Wm Bruce and dam

Marie halkett his spous the...great lodging & tenement dwelling house adjacent'.

The main part of the house dates from the sixteenth century;[24] it was built by the Laing family, who by 1602 had added on to its north side. The 'tenement' may be the building lying even further to the north, on the High Street itself, which Bruce recast in 1669:[25]

'Sir William Bruce, Clerk of ye Bills...one great ludging or tenement of lond which laitly pertained to the laird of Ridhous lyond on [the s]outh syd of the hie streit now the nether bow which tenement I am repairing And for my better accomodation...'

The usual date given for Bruce's sale of the property to Lord Tweeddale is 1670,[26] and yet there are references to Tweeddale in the building-accounts from 1669, for instance a bill dated November of this year[27] from James Baine, 'wright at Edinburgh' to Tweeddale:

'for workmanship...one stable...at Edr'

and another in the same month[28] from a James Thomsone:

'at the Earle of Tweddalls Coath House in St. Marue Wynd'.(29)

Baine was the wright who worked extensively for Bruce at Balcaskie and Kinross. He continued to make various alterations to Tweeddale House up until 1674, and he also worked for Lord Tweeddale at his country house of Yester, Midlothian.[30] His activity in the vicinity of Tweeddale Court from 1669, though, suggests that he either bought the house then, or that he already owned one of the adjacent

houses. Confusingly, the reverse of the document which lists the various owners of Tweeddale Court[31] reads:

'Inventar of the wrytts of the tenement of land...bocht be Johne E: of Tueidaill fra Sir William Bruce...1671'.

While Bruce was living in Tweeddale House he owned further property - the earliest account concerning Bruce in all the Kinross papers is one dated March 1667, a receipt[32] from a 'Jeane Wemyss':

'Sir William Bruce of Balcaskie in parte payment of this halfyears rent of the house which my Lord and I lodges in of his'.

The next Edinburgh house which Bruce lived in after selling Ridhouse Tenement and its older counterpart to Lord Tweeddale was rented. An account paid on 12 August 1671[33] refers to :

'a housse hyre ffurnished be George Monroe ffor the usse off Sir Williame Bruce...'

This house must have been near Tweeddale Court, because a bill of April 1671[34] to Bruce from James Standsfield, Merchant, lists in the middle of items such as 'a Ruber brandy sent to Balcaskie':

'3 years rent for ye house at ye Netherbow'.

Bruce's last lodgings in Edinburgh were situated further towards Holyroodhouse: there survives a series of accounts from 1677[35] for Bruce's rent of lodgings in 'Barlzie deanes House', Canongate. There is an earlier

reference to Bruce's presence in the Canongate: a bond of 6 June 1665[36] by a James Bald, called 'girdlesmith burgess of Culross' describes Bruce as 'indweller in the Cannogait'. This is contemporary with Bruce's documented ownership of Tweeddale House, and there is no other source for Bruce living in Canongate this early, though it is possible that he was letting Tweeddale House temporarily and renting smaller lodgings in Canongate.

Bruce remained a tenant of Bailie Dean's House for the rest of the time that Balcaskie was his principal residence (i.e. until 1679, when he moved from Fife to Newhouse of Lochleven) and beyond, for there is (dating from 1682) an 'inventory and notes of household furniture sent from Sir William Bruce's lodging in Bailie Dean's House at the foot of the Canonegate to Balcaskie and Newhouse...'[37] Clearly Bruce did not wish to buy another Edinburgh residence once he had sold Tweeddale Court in c1669 and bought Balcaskie. And when Kinross House was underway he does not seem to have sought further lodgings in Edinburgh. The last reference in the Kinross papers to Bruce living there is the letter from his son addressed to Canongate on 26 April 1683.[38]

At his own house of Tweeddale Court, there is no evidence to suggest that Bruce did anything more than basic renovations during his five or six years of ownership, 'for my better Accomodation'. He bought Balcaskie six months after Tweeddale Court, and evidently concentrated on the former. However, there is a third house which was remodelled in the 1660s and 1670s, either by Bruce or with

6. Leslie House, Fife, West Front (1)

7. Leslie House, Fife, West Front (2)

his help - Leslie in Fife. This huge house was referred to as a palace as early as 1606[39] and later became known as Rothes Palace after the Earls of Rothes who owned it. In June 1667[40] John, 7th Earl (and later 1st Duke) of Rothes, the Lord Chancellor, commissioned John Mylne, principal master-mason to the Crown, to remodel the house. John Mylne died in December of the same year, when his nephew Robert took over and completed the project; this was probably to John's designs, but with the advice of Bruce, who appears to have been drafted in by Rothes from the beginning.[41] Many of the house's fittings, destroyed in the fire of 1763 which razed three sides of the courtyard plan, are attributed to Bruce, but the surviving west front is still generally considered to be John Mylne's work,[42] although it is now much altered. Other remnants of the 1667-c.1672 house[43] include the classical entrance with four Tuscan-Doric pilasters (specified in the original contract), a vaulted ground floor of storehouses and kitchens in the north-west corner of the house, and the whole of the courtyard side of the surviving wing up to first-floor level.

William Adam illustrates Leslie in *Vitruvius Scoticus*. His plan of the house[44] shows that the surviving wing of the house was the main one, and is considerably wider than the others were. The engraving of the east front[45] is the most interesting: it has four pairs of heavy-looking Ionic pilasters supporting a large moulded cornice and pediment at dormer level, topped by a balustrade and urns - it is a strikingly neo-classical arrangement, but it may of course

never have been built.

There is plenty of documentary evidence for Bruce's involvement in the remodelling of the house, including a collection of letters from Anna, Countess of Rothes to Bruce in London during the autumn of 1670, when he was looking out for furnishings on her behalf. One letter, written from Balgonie (another Leslie family house, near Markinch, Fife) on 19 September 1670,[46] reads:

> '...the speedie despatch of them hom will much hasten the furnishing of lesly, since ther is not onder 9 roums th[at can] not be quite in order till that com hom that i[ ]or, I hope ye will let me know my lordsmind a[bou]t the panteing of the windows & the marbell chimney peic...'

Another letter from a few weeks later[47] acknowledges to Bruce:

> 'the acount ye have given me of thes things that are to be provyded for lesly...'

The same letter mentions that her 'penter' is hard at work on the 'Galarie'. The plan of the house in *Vitruvius Scoticus* shows that the gallery was 157' long, occupying the whole of the first floor of the north front - even longer than the gallery at Holyrood (126'), which it was probably intended to rival. In the same letter, Lady Rothes mentions:

> 'the stons that should com from holand and the blak and whyt...ye know this keeps the hous that no rowms in it can be quyt finished, so I shall intret ye meay let me have your advice what shall be don in it...'

If 'blak and whyt' refers to 'the stons', it could mean the old chequered black and white stone floor still visible in

the entrance hall and two porches. And the mention of stone from as far away as "holand" may be significant, because it is known that Bruce obtained material for Lord Rothes on at least one of his trips abroad, in the same way that he did for Lord Lauderdale.[48]

Despite this body of evidence, the extent of Bruce's involvement at Leslie is not known. John Mylne died six months after he was commissioned to build the house, so it is unlikely that he was solely responsible for the complete design. Leslie was not completed until at least 1672, so there are far more references in the manuscript sources to Bruce's and Robert Mylne's involvement with the project than there are to John Mylne's. On stylistic grounds, it is difficult to believe that the elder Mylne was the designer of the two classical fronts illustrated by William Adam. His last house before Leslie was Panmure (1666/7), which Adam also illustrates. It has nothing of the Palladian classicism of the Leslie designs (apart from the quadrant wing-walls[49]), and is closer to the early Renaissance style of Heriot's Hospital. The problem of Leslie's design is almost exactly the same as that of Holyrood's - there, it was John Mylne's idea to extend the building by reproducing the old James V tower on a courtyard plan,[50] under Charles I, Bruce's job to see this plan executed, under Charles II, and almost certainly Bruce's influence which produced the pure classical courtyard elevations and entrance facade.

However, though it is tempting to conclude that Bruce must have designed the classical elevations (which William

Adam illustrates) to John Mylne's basic courtyard plan, there is nothing in the surviving documentary sources to support it. What can be said is that when the elder Mylne died, the younger did not assume complete responsibility for the project: Bruce was certainly advising on Leslie all the way through the remodelling, and there is nothing to suggest that Robert Mylne had any more say in the design of Leslie than he did at any of the other buildings on which he worked with Bruce (Holyrood, Thirlestane, etc.) - he was the mason-contractor. Lady Rothes even complains to Bruce that Robert is too busy elsewhere to carry out his duties at Leslie properly. On 22 October 1670[51] she wrote to him blaming Robert for not giving enough thought to the question of ventilation:

> 'I am sadly affrayed for smok in lesly therfor I intret you inquyr after all remadies for that'.

Bruce's influence is best demonstrated in the gardens. Under the original contract for the rebuilding of the house in June 1667, Bruce was appointed as a kind of referee to determine which trees needed to be cut down during site levelling, prior to the building operations. Bruce appears also to have 'lent' his own factor/head gardener, John Tait, for advice: a letter survives from 7 January 1673,[52] written by Tait at Balcaskie, to Lord Rothes on the subject of the gardens at Leslie.

We know that the gardens were ornamented with classical statues, because of an account dated 17 May 1677[53] for the painting of them by James Alexander; since Bruce seems to

8. Leslie House, Fife, Lower Terrace

have had a monopoly over the supply of statuary in Scotland at this time, it is probable that he obtained these ones for Lord Rothes as well. Another part of the gardens which is typically Bruce is the terrace leading down from the demolished south side of the house to the River Leven. The plan of Leslie in *Vitruvius Scoticus* shows that the space immediately in front of the south wing formed the top level of the terrace, between the projecting south-east and south-west corners of the house (which were virtually corner-pavilions). Now there are three terraces and there is no clue as to how they were arranged; they are dilapidated, and bare except for eleven clumps of box hedge.

The terraces at Leslie are considerably smaller than those which Bruce created at Balcaskie, but given Bruce's known involvement with the Leslie gardens at the same time, it is tempting to ascribe them to him. However, it is not certain that the terraces even date from Bruce's time: the *Tours in Scotland 1677 and 1681* of Thomas Kirke and Ralph Thoresby mentions 'Lashley' *[Leslie]*:

> 'On one side of the house are gardens with little statues; in the middle of the fountain stands Apollo. On another side of the house are good gravel alleys, and walls with fruit-trees...'

The author goes on to describe in detail the gardens on both of the other two sides of the house as well, and there is no mention of the terraces. It is difficult to believe that such an important part of the gardens would have been omitted from this detailed description, raising the possibility that the terraces are a later creation.

Bruce's role at Leslie from the very start of the re-building in June 1667 is his first documented entry into the field of architecture, although he had bought his own estate of Balcaskie eighteen months previously. Since he had no architectural experience at all, Lord Rothes' appointment of him was an act of patronage, pre-dating Lauderdale's commissions by about three years. However, the remodelling of Rothes' house and gardens was not completed much before the comparable remodelling of Bruce's Balcaskie. Bruce's preoccupation with Balcaskie is one reason for not exaggerating his role at Leslie. The importance of Leslie to Bruce's career is that it was the first time that he was placed in the position of gentleman-adviser.

FOOTNOTES TO (2)

1. As is the signature of the William Bruce matriculating for the year 1631/2, but he is almost certainly too old to be Sir William.

2. GD 29/263/9.

3. "

4. Of Holyrood.

5. GD 29/263/10.

6. GD 29/263/10; dated 15 December, instructions to pay George Leslie an account for books, including "Palladio's Architecture in 4°'.

7. As Hubert Fenwick does in *Architect Royal* p.13-27, citing Vaux-le-Vicomte, Balleroy and Brécy, among others; for instance, 'If Bruce did not see Brécy, then all I can say is that he must have dreamt he did'.

8. GD 29/1897/2.

9. GD 29/427 and 29/1903; see (1), n.34.

10. GD 29/2192; John Dunbar *exhibition catalogue* p.7.

11. Built 1528-32.

12. John Dunbar's observation, *exhibition catalogue* p.8.

13. See (1).

14. i.e. at least two rooms deep, usually with a corridor partitioning the whole house.

15. As they are at Honington Hall, Warwickshire (c1671) - P. Leach *Archaeological Jnl*. 1971 wrote on Honington: 'a prime example of English late 17th-century domestic architecture...it has one highly atypical feature in that above the ground-floor windows of the entrance front and the south side, twelve busts intended to represent Roman emperors were introduced...'

16. Dunbar *The Building-activities...*

17. One of the reasons why this comparison has been repeatedly drawn may be that Pratt, May and Bruce were all 'gentleman-architects', and both May and Bruce held Surveyorships.

18. Quoted by Colvin in *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*; May and Bruce may have met in both the Netherlands and Scotland.

19. John Summerson *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*: '... at a

time when numerous repatriates were arriving in England after a period of exile largely spent in Holland, this style had many ready sponsors'.

20. Which Bruce owned, according to Dunbar *exhibition catalogue* p.2.

21. In *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

22. Coleshill was the first country house to conform to the 'double pile' arrangement, but the first building of all to do so was Inigo Jones' Queen's House, Greenwich (1616-35).

23. National Library of Scotland, Ch.11492.

24. John Gifford, etc. *The Buildings of Edinburgh*.

25. N.L.S. MS Acc. 3495; 22 June 1669.

26. e.g. Colvin *Biographical Dictionary*...

27. N.L.S. MS Acc. 14637.67.

28. N.L.S. MS Acc. 14637.117.

29. Widened into the modern St. Mary's St. in 1868/9.

30. N.L.S. MS Acc. 14637.67.

31. See n.23.

32. GD 29/263/1.

33. GD 29/263/3.

34. GD 29/263/4.

35. GD 29/263/9.

36. GD 29/1413.

37. GD 29/429/1.

38. GD 29/2192; see n.10.

39. Charter quoted in R.C.A.H.M.S. *Inventory* for Fife, etc.

40. Kirkcaldy Museum, Rothes papers.

41. Dunbar *exhibition catalogue* p.10: Bruce was put in charge of the working drawings (the 'draughts and mapes').

42. For example, the projecting pedimented centrepiece of three bays.

43. It is not known how much of the present house dates from before this remodelling.

44. *Vitruvius Scoticus* Plate 66.

45. Plate 68.

46. GD 29/1901/1.

47. GD 29/1901/2; 3 October 1670, from Balgonie.

48. See (1).

49. See (4) n.97.

50. R. S. Mylne *The Master Masons..*: Bruce never used the old-fashioned courtyard plan again.

51. GD 29/1901/5.

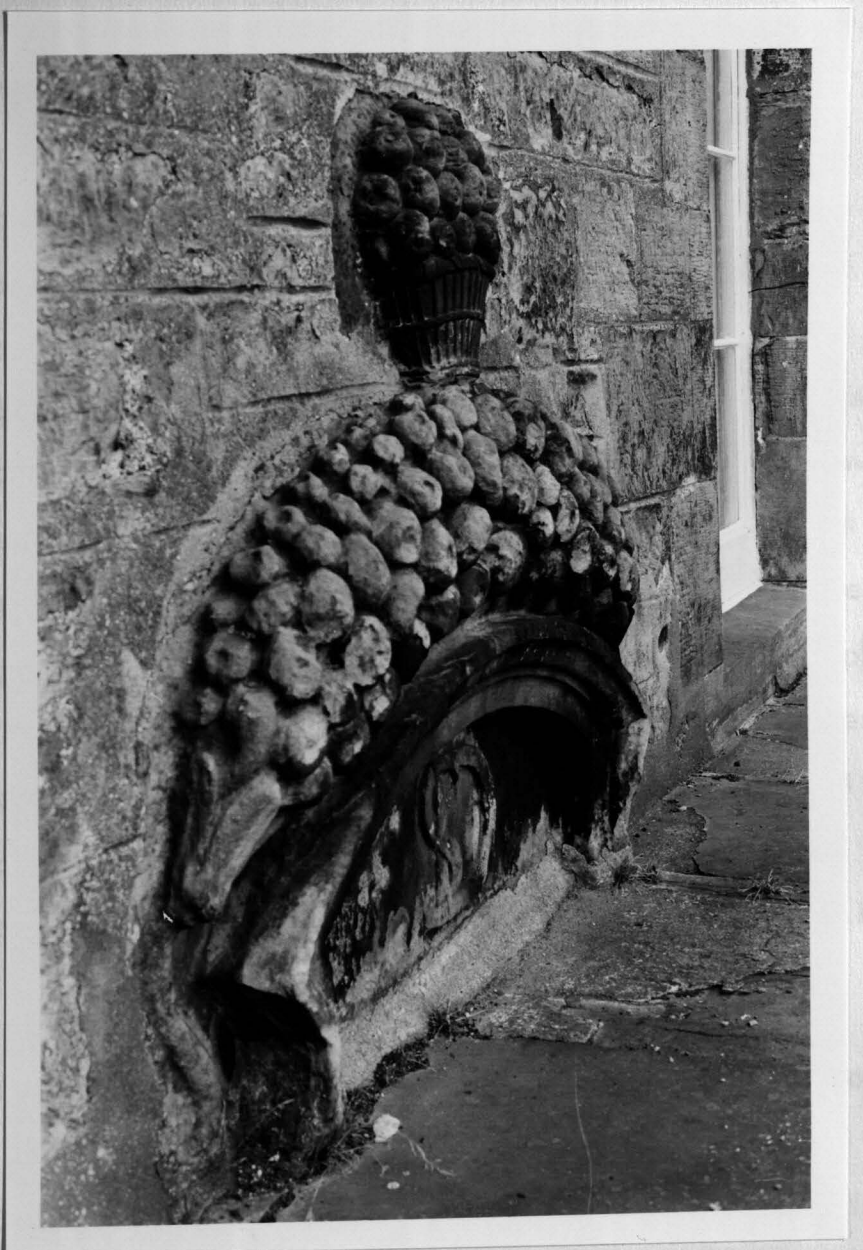
52. GD 29/263/4; see Appendix, no. 1.

53. Rothes papers, quoted by Dunbar *exhibition catalogue* p.10; Bruce is usually held to have ended his associations with Leslie by 1672.

(3) BALCASKIE BEFORE BRUCE

The earliest maps of Fife, R. Gordon's *Fyfe Shyre* (1642) and two maps in J. Blaeu's *Atlas*, all show 'Balchasky' but give no indication of the size of the house. According to the Rev. Walter Wood's *The East Neuk of Fife*, the earliest name recorded in connexion with the lands of Balcaskie is that of Thomas de Balcaskie in 1221; he mentions several other members of the family, who evidently took their name from the territory itself. The oldest surviving document to mention Balcaskie, which has been taken from the charter chest in the house and framed next to it, is a charter of 1223 by Alexander II, King of Scots (1214-49), confirming to Juan *[John]*, son of Nigel Cook, the lands of 'Balcaskin in the territory of Kellin *[Kellie]*'. Wood also says that there were Cooks in the neighbouring Abercrombie, but there is no documentary evidence for any building on the lands at this early date.

However, it is certain that there was a building at Balcaskie before Bruce bought the estate - there is literary and physical evidence for an older house, and Bruce's design for Balcaskie is based on it. There is a single clue to the author of the original building, or at least of a significant enlargement of the original building: the monogram *D.I.S.* in the tympanum above the garden entrance. In the charter chest inside the house there is a collection of sketchily catalogued manuscripts which shows that the first independently named family to hold Balcaskie after the Cooks was the Strangs.



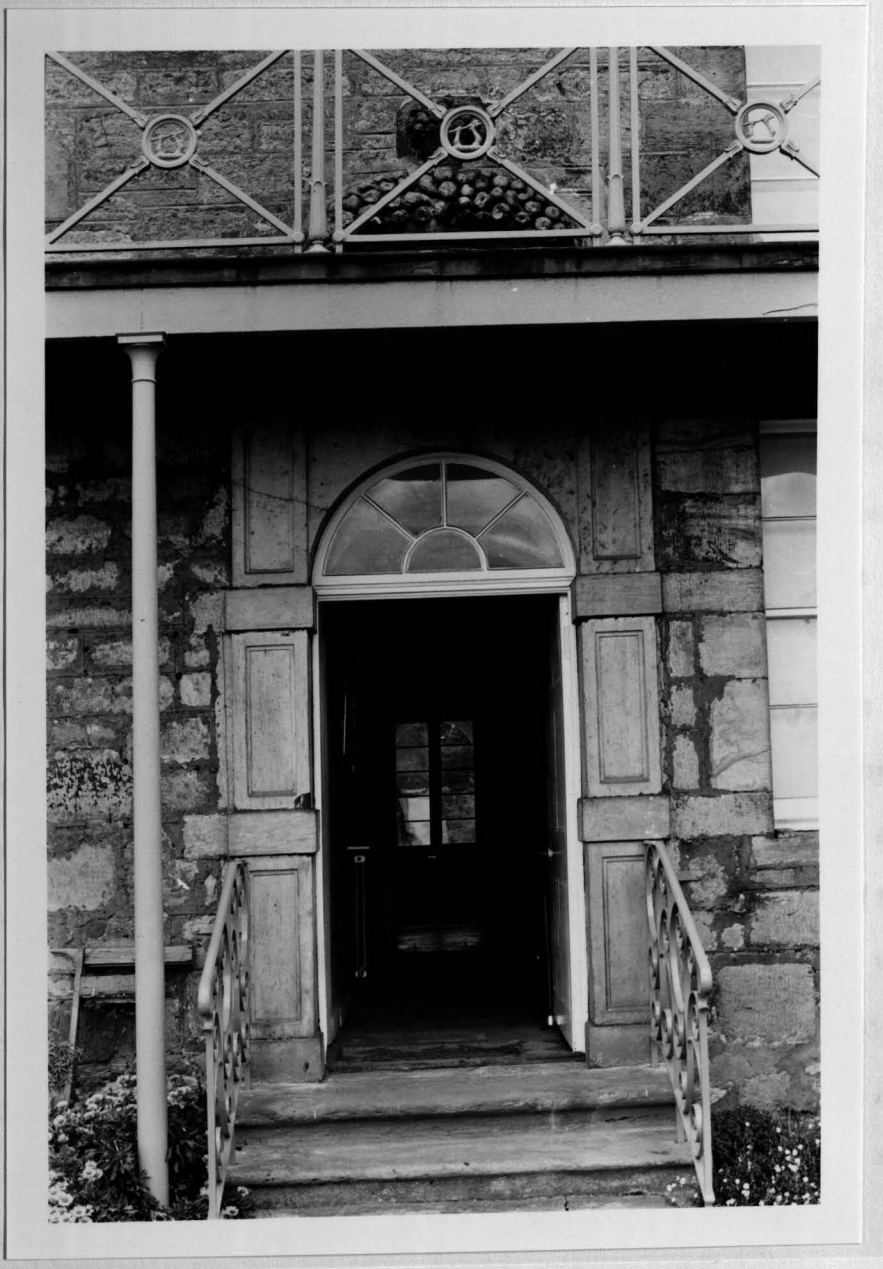
9. Balcaskie House, Tympanum of Garden Door

A document dated as early as 7 November 1442[1] mentions a 'Williame Strang of Balcaskie'. Almost two centuries later, in c.1615,[2] it was a John Strang who sold Balcaskie to Alexander Moncreiff. Apart from the coincidence of the surname-initial *S* above the door on the garden front with the surname 'Strang', two centuries of ownership by one family in an age of laird's tower-building is likely to have produced building activity. A sasine[3] of 17 September 1575[4] mentions a David Strang, as does another of 1587;[5] the last mention of a David Strang is as witness in a manuscript of Christmas Day 1613.[6] Although it is not possible to ascertain whether all these are one and the same man - only the last example carries a signature - 'David' is the only Strang forename beginning with *D*, and Wood describes a David Strang in 1591 as either the son or brother of John Strang of Balcaskie: 'John' is the commonest Strang forename, and this explains the *I* [7] of *D.I.S.* The sasine of 1575 is in favour of David Strang, i.e. it records the grant of property to him. Was it after this that he built on the land?

There is one more candidate for the *D.I.S.* monogram, a David Stirling mentioned in a charter of 1514[8] of the lands of Balcaskie. Part of the difficulty in tracing identities is that at this time there were several portioners[9] of the lands of Balcaskie. For example, this David Stirling, though now owner of a portion of the Balcaskie estate, is still described by Wood as 'of Easter Brakie'. He had a grandson of the same name who appears in 1564 on Wood's list.

David Strang remains the favourite candidate by virtue of his family's long and well-documented association with Balcaskie. It is likely that the two sasines of 1575/87 refer to the same David Strang, though the namesake of 1613 less so. There is even a coincidental link with Bruce's documented ownership of land in Orkney and Shetland,[10] because another branch of the Strangs settled there: Wood records a Sir David Magnus Strang as subchanter of Orkney from 1544-65; Wood even suggests that this Sir David Magnus was a younger son of the Strangs of Balcaskie because they share the same arms. It is then (remotely) possible that Bruce's possession of land in the Northern Isles was in some way consequent on his purchase of Balcaskie. Finally, Wood says that the crest of Strang of Balcaskie is a cluster of grapes. The arch which bears the Strang monogram is decorated with carved fruit, surmounted by a basket of the same fruit; the fruit resembles apples rather than grapes, but whatever it is, it may be the Strang crest and Wood may be mistaken in specifying the kind of fruit.

The next family to own Balcaskie was that of Moncreiff, starting with Alexander Moncreiff, through Sir John, Sir William, Sir David, and ending with the Sir John who sold Balcaskie to Bruce in 1665. The monogram may be scanty evidence for suggesting that David Strang built the old house, but there is no evidence at all for any building activity by the Moncreiffs. A manuscript of 1647[11] relating to Sir William Moncreiff (who is usually referred to in these MSS as 'Lord Balcaskie' and signs himself thus,



10. Garden Door

too) mentions 'the manor place of Balcaskie', but we already know that there was a house at Balcaskie by at least 1647.[12]

None of the documentary material, not even the manuscripts in the charter chest at Balcaskie, is of any assistance in attempting to decipher the components of the original house - all it does is provide names. Reconstructing a picture of the old house has to be done by 'reading' the masonry and measurements.[13]

The garden facade door, whose tympanum of carved fruit and Strang monogram are now partially obscured by a cast iron and Arbroath stone balcony dating from the early nineteenth century, lies fractionally off-centre of the short axis of the house, but may not be in its original position. The door-frame itself is made up of panelled blocks of stone which is of a lighter colour than the arch above, and could therefore be of later date. The masonry surrounding the doorway has also been disturbed, and again is lighter in colour than the rest of the front (this is a rare example of a change in masonry in a house which has remarkably uniform masonry, despite various remodellings). The doorway gives on to the old Servants' Hall, now the Billiard Room, which is roughly square in shape and which has thick walls ranging from 3'9" to 3'5" deep; next to this is a much longer room[14] (now divided by a modern partition-wall) with equally thick walls. At either end are stone fireplaces of massive construction, undecorated apart from an ogee-shaped rib on the mantle of the western one. There are no other fireplaces resembling these anywhere in

the house - Bruce's are less heavily proportioned.

These thick walls continue all the way to the top of the house. Looking at the plans of all three floors it is easy to view them as individual units: on the first floor are Bruce's Library (the smaller room) and Drawing Room (the larger), and on the second floor the Globe Room and adjoining bathroom, and then two bedrooms divided by a thin modern partition.

However, there is another part of Balcaskie which is even more masive in construction, the four-storey crow-stepped tower on the west side of the north front. Again, this rises as a self-contained unit, although a modern corridor runs through it on the ground and first floors;[15] its eastern wall is approximately 4'10" thick at ground level, which makes it the thickest wall in the house, and its southern wall (which it shares with the 'fireplace' room) 4'4"; at the re-entrant angle of the four-storey block with the 'fireplace' room, the wall of the latter returns to the 'standard' 3'9" thickness.

Of the parts of the house already discussed, one has been greatly altered, namely the south-west corner of the four-storey tower. We know that there was a spiral stair-turret here: it appears on one of David Bryce's plans of 1856,[16] when he was apparently trying to decide whether or not to retain it as well as inserting another turret by the side of Bruce's north-west pavilion. One small arc of the old stair-turret still survives, connecting the second floor

11. Arc of old Stair-Turret

12. North Drive from Entrance Door

of the main house to the top floor of the Victorian extension (and probably to a parapet-walk or a cope-house originally). It is built into the thickness of the wall of the west tower, and there are more clues to its position: the upper two floors of the west tower both have entries on to it, now blocked off and used as cupboards. Finally, in the 'fireplace' room at the bottom of the house there is a large cupboard in the north-west corner of the room, where the stair-turret must have begun, and the roof of this cupboard forms the underside of a step. The cupboard takes up most of the thickness of the wall, and may have been the entry to the stair from the 'fireplace' room.

One of the nineteenth-century plans still preserved in the house showing the proposed additions and alterations at first- and second-floor levels makes it clear that, even in Bruce's day, there was no entry on to the stair-turret from the Drawing Room. However, this has no bearing on whether the stair served both the west tower and the south block, because of the problems of investigating floor-levels: the west tower, of course, has four storeys; its ground and first floors are now both a step down from the more recent corridor which ploughs through their southern end.

In trying to determine which are the older parts of the house, there are certain areas which can be excluded: first, of course, the nineteenth-century extensions. In simple terms, these consist of the infill between the corner-pavilions at either end of the house, plus the porch. Secondly, the four corner-pavilions, the two side-pavilions

which face each other across the forecourt, the quadrant walls which connect these to the main house, and the east tower[17] - all the work of Bruce. This leaves two parts whose building-history is confused: the Gallery, or 'barti-san' as it is often called, which takes up all the space between the two towers,[18] and the unit consisting of old kitchen/Dining Room/Blue Bedroom. At first sight the latter appears to be a continuation of the Billiard Room/'fireplace' room block. But there are two reasons to think that it is part of Bruce's remodelling and no earlier in date: firstly, the thick wall which runs down the long axis of the house, and forms the north wall of the Billiard Room/'fireplace' room block, ends with the Billiard Room. The north wall of the old kitchen/Dining Room is so thin that it is really only a partition wall. It does not carry on up to the top of the house: the Blue Bedroom is smaller than the equivalent rooms below, cut off by the central corridor running further to the south on the second floor. Secondly, the east wall of this unit forms the east wall of Bruce's house. This wall used to continue in a straight line to form the east wall of Bruce's matching tower, and was only pierced by the central corridor (in c.1830) running into the new extension. It seems certain that the old kitchen/Dining Room/Blue Bedroom unit was built together with the east tower and is therefore Bruce's work. On the other side of the house, the west retaining wall was never continuous (before the Victorian extension): the west walls of the 'fireplace' room and the four-storey tower are on different alignments and used to be separated by the old

stair-turret. Consequently the spacing of Bruce's corner-pavilions is not entirely symmetrical.

The old south block formed by the Billiard Room/'fireplace' room is almost certainly not the oldest part of the house but represents an extension of a very early and very plain single tower, the four-storey west tower, with its own spiral staircase. If it was all built at the same time, we might expect the stair to have been inserted in the re-entrant angle, the usual arrangement. Instead, it is in an awkward position in relation to the south block - in that we cannot be sure that the Drawing Room had access to it. Another factor which isolates the west tower is, of course, the number of floors, the emphasis of the medieval tradition being on vertical growth, for purposes of defence. As discussed above, the extra storey confuses the floor-levels at this end of the house. When the original stair-turret was replaced by the Victorian staircase, another stair-turret had to be built as well, for the benefit of the west tower and adjacent corner-pavilion. Lastly, the walls of the west tower are significantly thicker than those of the south block. The tower must have been built before the main south block because of the way that the narrow walls of the latter 'thin out' from the tower walls. The dispute concerns only how much older.

The argument against this tower being a substantially earlier, self-contained unit is merely that it is small, approximately 15' square. This is probably too small for any of the rooms to be divided in two, and the resulting

four compartments seem sparse - unless, of course, there were lean-to structures within the walls of enceinte, which the present south block replaced. With this option, the feasibility of an original, single tower is strengthened.

The similarities between the old house at Balcaskie and the earliest parts of Kellie Castle are becoming increasingly evident. The more we try to isolate the oldest parts of Balcaskie, the closer the parallels with the recognised pattern of building at Kellie, just two miles to the north. At first sight Kellie appears to lie on the Balcaskie/Bass Rock axis, and it is true that the tree-lined avenue which runs roughly due north from Balcaskie and through the North gates is a direct route to the castle, but the axis runs some distance to the west of the castle. This is typical of how the comparative histories of Balcaskie and Kellie never seem to coincide; another example is the refurbishment of both houses in the 1670s with excellent plaster ceilings/frieze, and yet there is not a single piece of manuscript evidence to link the two, not even evidence of the same craftsmen, let alone the common hand of Bruce.

It is generally agreed that the very earliest part of Kellie is the lowest ten feet or so of the north-west tower, plus the lower part of the adjoining structure's west wall.[19] Also included is the bottom of the turnpike-stair, where the steps are more deeply, and more unevenly cut than the rest. The walls of this early tower are approximately 5' thick and the interior is approximately 23' x 19'

square.[20] Professor James Lorimer, in his *Red Book of Kellie*, estimates that the earliest part of Kellie dates back from the middle of the fourteenth century; MacGibbon and Ross, in their *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, consider it a century later, for the simple reason that the wall thickness of 5' is very slight for such an early date - after all, even in the late fifteenth century, 10' is not an uncommon thickness for castle walls, and some of the great fourteenth-century strongholds, like Threave Castle, Kirkcudbrightshire, have walls of 14' thick. Whatever the true chronology, the dimensions and shape of the earliest part of Kellie are broadly comparable to those of the west tower at Balcaskie.

The next part of Kellie to be built appears to have been the east tower (which is oblique of the long axis of the castle), rather than the main block now strung between the two, though the apparent old age of the west wall of the so-called 'crypt' suggests that there was something there to connect the two towers. The main block of the castle today dates from 1573.

Chronology apart, though, the plan of early Kellie (ignoring the east tower) is almost exactly the same as that of Balcaskie: firstly, a pele-tower[21] was built with a turnpike-stair in its south-west corner which it shares with, secondly, a much larger 'wing' built on its south side and running due east. This 'wing', which truly speaking is the main block of the house, is divided roughly 2:1 in accordance with the medieval castle tradition of both

Scotland and England, that of *hall* (the larger compartment) and *solar* (the smaller).[22] It would be as well perhaps to name the differences in this comparison straightaway, and one obvious one is that the turnpike-stair at Kellie is built entirely within the thickness of the wall between the north-west tower and (what is now) the Drawing Room, as opposed to forming a separate small tower on its own and only partly built into the walls, as at Balcaskie; we can also be sure that the Kellie turnpike-stair was constructed to serve both the tower and the main block, something which is far from sure at Balcaskie.

There is the possibility - admittedly remote - that Balcaskie even has an equivalent to the second of Kellie's towers, the east tower. As discussed above, the entrance to the house on the garden side leads into the Billiard Room, the walls of which rise up straight to the top of the house, with the Library on the first floor and the Globe Room/bathroom[23] on the second. It is a self-contained block, and in addition, its west wall (which separates it from the 'fireplace' room/Drawing Room unit) is topped on the roof by a line of crow-steps down the south side, from chimney to eaves. They are not cosmetic - the wall-head is visible in the attic underneath them. Is this great wall the retaining wall of a separate, eastern tower? Was the Drawing Room block slung out at a later date between the two towers?

The fact is, that the crow-stepped wall-head could equally well be the retaining wall of the earlier Drawing Room block; this is more likely, because once it is

accepted that Balcaskie's west tower is the oldest part of the house, the logical development[24] of the house was to build on to the tower gradually - first the Drawing Room block, and only then the Library block; the line of crow-steps may represent a pause in the building programme, with the Drawing Room block being consolidated before the Billiard Room/Library was added. What these niceties do not mean, though, is that the Library block is Bruce's work and only the Drawing Room block belongs to the original structure. The comparative measurements of the Billiard Room's wall thicknesses preclude that possibility. In conclusion, the line of crow-steps on the roof of the south front is no evidence of a different chronology for the two units of Drawing Room and Library.

There is a further possible permutation of the original plan: it is feasible that the house which Bruce bought in 1665 did follow the lines of the west tower and the Drawing Room/Library, but only to first-floor level in the case of the latter. The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland,[25] starting with the forecourt side of Balcaskie, comment:

> 'The north front of the main block...it is clear, was originally a storey lower'.

The general opinion, which goes further, is that the entire north side of the house between the two crow-stepped towers is a later infill; but the masonry does not appear to have undergone a further change between first and second floors here. Secondly, the R.C.A.H.M.S. *Inventory* says that

13. West Section of Garden Front ('fireplace' room/Drawing Room)

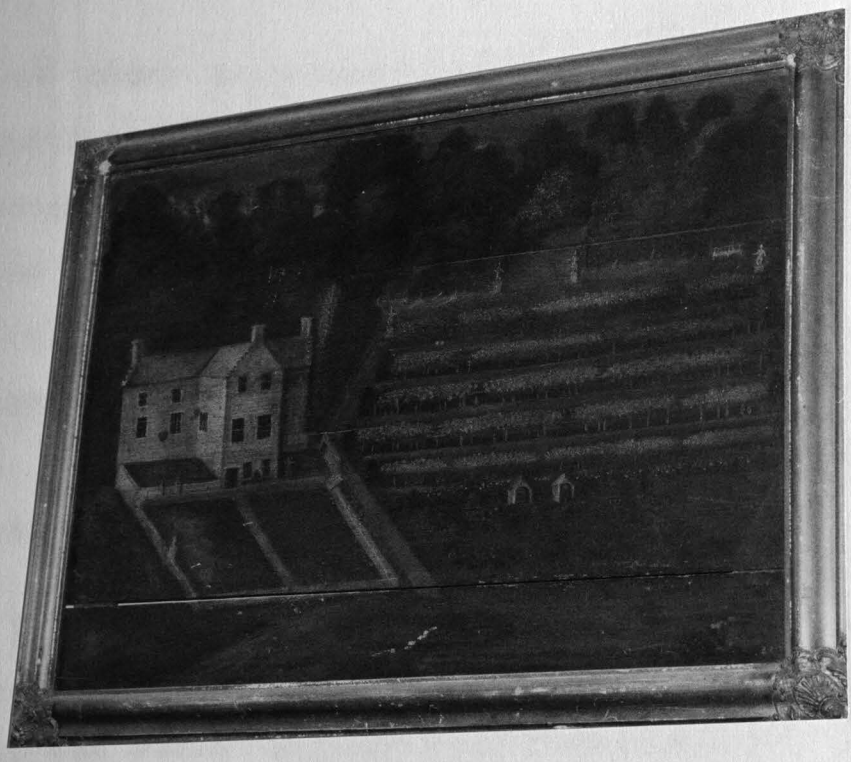
the western gable of the north front (i.e. the crow-stepped west tower):

'has obviously been heightened'.

No evidence at all is given. Again, the masonry is intact and evenly dressed - perhaps the east tower is being used as the 'control' and the west tower criticised accordingly? But one thing we do know is that the west tower was not raised a storey from being symmetrical with the east tower - instead, the east tower was built at a later date, out of symmetry with the old west tower.

Returning to the Library and Drawing Room blocks, the Royal Commission poses the question of whether the wall-head has been raised on this side too. The roof-line here is interrupted by a row of semi-dormer windows spaced along the whole front; the spacing is uneven, but it does follow the pattern[26] of the windows in the floors below (with a single exception). Presumably, the R.C.A.H.M.S. is suggesting that the whole of the second floor is a later addition. This is feasible, although the change to its present shape could not be later than Bruce's ownership because of the Blue Bedroom on the second floor, which bears the intertwined initials of Bruce and his first wife, Dame Mary Halket of Pitfirrane.

It is, admittedly, tempting to wonder whether the second floor on the south front has been tampered with because of the curious 'false' window among the semi-dormers (the exception referred to above), situated third from the left, looking from the garden. At first sight this looks



14. Painting of Balcormo

15. Balcormo, Terraced Garden

like an older structure which has been altered, but the explanation is simple: there was a semi-dormer window here (presumably identical to the others at this level) which was blocked off sometime in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the thin partition wall dividing the two bedrooms above the Drawing Room was moved further to the east, i.e. against the third window. This window was therefore sacrificed.

The closest we will probably ever get to the true picture of what Balcaskie looked like when William Bruce bought the estate in 1665 is by comparison with a surviving picture of a neighbouring house, Balcormo, by Arncroach, at the top of the Victorian west staircase at Balcaskie. Balcormo, now demolished, was a medium-sized laird's house with elements of the transition between defensive pele-tower and unfortified house: i.e., in addition to a tall crow-stepped tower, a longer wing is built on to its side. Apart from this wing projecting on both sides of the tower, the similarity with the most likely plan of Balcaskie during the same period is remarkable.[27]

The tall, single, crow-stepped tower, common to both houses, may also have been the starting point for both houses. At Balcaskie it looks certain that the west tower was the earliest part to be built, and it provides the key to Bruce's design. Leaving aside the classical symmetry of Bruce's design, at Balcaskie Bruce went through the feudal ritual of laird's tower-building to startling effect by creating a double tower-house.

FOOTNOTES TO (3)

1. Balcaskie House, charter chest Box K.

2. Wood says 1615 precisely, but Balcaskie MSS recording the sale (Boxes C & G) vary between 1613-17.

3. *Sasine* = term of Scottish Law for the act of giving possession of feudal property.

4. Balcaskie B.

5. Balcaskie C.

6. Balcaskie G.

7. *I* = Ioannis/Joannis = John.

8. Balcaskie G.

9. One of the most frequently mentioned of these is William Melvill, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, between 1540-58; often recorded in legal transactions with the Moncreiffs, he never appears to have owned the house of Balcaskie.

10. GD 29/188, a note of objections by the Lord Advocate to Bruce's renunciation of the lands and barony of 'Orknay and Zeatland', dated 1698.

11. Balcaskie M.

12. *Inquisitionum...in Publicis Archivis Scotiae* I (1811) uses the same phrase, 'cum manieris loco de Balcaskie', in connexion with 'Joannis Moncreiff de Balcaskie', no. 728, 13 October 1647.

13. Valuable assistance in this respect has been provided by drawings executed by David Cope for a Mackintosh School of Architecture thesis in 1983, though it should be stressed that these have been supplemented by independent measurements and have resulted in different conclusions to those arrived at by Cope.

14. Together, these two rooms measure approximately 66' x 27'.

15. The plans of these two inter-connecting blocks are complicated by the fact that the main corridor of the house switches between either side of the wall common to both blocks.

16. Preserved, uncatalogued, in the house.

17. *Architect Royal* evades a conclusion on which of the two towers is original and which is a copy, by

labelling the photograph of the north front (Plate 9) 'showing duplication of original tower, left and right'.

18. See (4).

19. Harriet Richardson *Kellie Castle*.

20. Compared to the 15' sq. of the west tower at Balcaskie.

21. Though we do not know for how long the NW tower of Kellie has been four storeys high.

22. And Balcaskie keeps to this tradition closer than Kellie by virtue of the smaller room being fitted as a library, i.e. the laird's private withdrawing room.

23. The famous Globe ceiling is coved in a manner which would suit the top storey of a tower, but then it does not fill the whole top storey of the block, which includes a long thin room, now used as a bathroom.

24. Harriet Richardson's study of Kellie's NW and E towers suggest the opposite there, i.e. that at one stage there were the two towers joined only by the walls of enceinte.

25. *An Inventory of the Counties of Fife, Kinross and Clackmannan* (1933).

26. This pattern is, simply, 4 + 2 + 2 for Drawing Room + Library + Dining Room. The crow-steps on the roof and the door at ground level both bisect this arrangement, so the pattern is symmetrical. The spacing is not : the Libary + Dining Room (= 2 + 2 windows) are together longer than the Drawing Room (= 4 windows).

27. The picture of Balcormo shows a terraced garden too - artistic licence has put it in the wrong place (vestiges still remain) and possibly made it grander than it was.

(4) BRUCE AT BALCASKIE

The earliest reports of Bruce's scheme at Balcaskie when it was near completion were favourable. For example, in the spring of 1676, John, Lord Murray (later 2nd Marquess of Atholl, and son of the man for whom Bruce built Dunkeld House) wrote to his mother, while studying at the University of St. Andrews, of a visit to Balcaskie:[1]

> 'Sr William & his lady wer very kind to me. I am alwayes the longer the more taken with the place. I wish my deare Mother were but in it. I am sure you woud like it very well, thoug it were only for the extrodinary neatness of it & uniformity, & besides, it is very richly furnished'.

Bruce had bought the house and estate of Balcaskie from Sir John Moncreiff of That Ilk in 1665. The first mention of Bruce and Balcaskie together in the Register of Deeds[2] is under 14 December of that year. Bruce did not buy the whole of the estate at once: the manuscript evidence is scattered with references to his periodic purchase of surrounding farms and smallholdings, for instance his acquisition of the neighbouring Easter Grangemuir in 1672.[3] Our knowledge of Bruce's activity at Balcaskie is almost totally dependent on the building-accounts for the main house which survive in the Kinross House papers;[4] these give a comprehensive, if unspecific picture of how Bruce set about remodelling the old house and creating the new terraced gardens.

the building-accounts

The earliest of Bruce's bills dates from 8 May 1668:[5] he owes to James Hamilton for 'whyt & black marbill'. The

bill is paid in Edinburgh - most of the Balcaskie accounts are paid either from Edinburgh or Canongate right up until the 1680s, when he moved from Balcaskie to Kinross; and most of the bills from the 1670s are headed 'Holyroodhouse'. This is a reminder of Bruce's continuous activity in Edinburgh, even during his busiest periods of building. Occasionally, it is difficult to detect exactly which of Bruce's building-projects a particular bill is referring to. This earliest bill, for example, does not mention Balcaskie, and the 'whyt & black marbill' referred to matches the receipt for marble tiles which Bruce supplied for Leslie House in July of the same year.[6]

The first bill which survives from Balcaskie specifically is one dated 27 November 1675[7], but which dates right back to 24 May 1668 in the period of account. It concerns the quarrying of stones for 'pavement' in the house and includes:

'naills to put up a bridge for the meassons'.

And a bill from 1669[8] indicates that the quarry in question was Longannet, by Kincardine-on-Forth.

One of the longest, and at the same time most tantalising bills to survive is that of the rents of the lands of Balcaskie for the 1670 crop, including some old arrears.[9] These date back to October 1668 and appear to refer to the supply of (French) glass to the house at Grangemuir, which was also being re-built; it is not clear whether the whole account refers to the smaller property of

Grangemuir, or whether mention of the 'hal and chamber' and 'galdrie' is a reference to Balcaskie itself. This is a common problem: a whole series of accounts dated October 1669[10] do not specify which house they belong to. Many of them are sums owing to his footmen, in which case it is understandable that the 'place' is ignored - but when the subject is building activity, it is frustrating, especially at the early stage of Bruce's ownership of Balcaskie, when the first work is being investigated. There is no documentary evidence for any building, or even garden development before mid-1668, and commenting on what Bruce did with the property between 1665, when he bought it, and 1668, when the accounts start, remains speculative.

From 1670 onwards the bills are plentiful: in October[11] Bruce was charged 'for 5 Carpetts the sum of six pounds of me John Dutton'. In the same month[12] he was charged by a James Jardin 'for ingraving 11 Cutt of arms', and between July 1670 and April 1671[13] a bill from William Thomson, smith, includes the item of '20 pound of yronworking'. It is in 1671, the following year' that the bills start being headed 'Cannogait' or 'Hallyrudehouse', even when they belong to Balcaskie, for instance the account paid:

> 'to ye Coupar att Pittenweem...a iron buket
> a handbuket...'.(14)

Occasionally it seems as though Bruce has moved back to Edinburgh altogether: we even have a printed receipt from an Edward Gillespie for Bruce's rent of a seat in the Tron Kirk, Edinburgh, from Whitsunday 1671 to Whitsunday 1672.[15]

When a bill for material supplied to Balcaskie is paid from Balcaskie, it is noticeable for its rarity.

Bruce has not of course moved back to Edinburgh - rather, he is attending to his new job as Surveyor-General, based at Holyroodhouse. But the system of paying accounts for Balcaskie at his office in Holyrood may mean that the accounting was not always done scrupulously. An account from September to October 1673,[16] for instance, of wages owed to the wrights at Balcaskie, including Andrew Paterson (the head wright), shows that Paterson acknowledged payment from Holyrood. However, if the account-books were not rigorously kept and if some building-materials destined for Holyrood found their way to Balcaskie, it is the last information we should expect to find recorded.

Bruce's priorities did not shift from Balcaskie to Holyrood, but with his recent appointment as Overseer of the works at Holyrood, the years 1672/3 must have been two of the busiest of Bruce's life. Thus from July 1672[17] there survives a bill from Thomas Cook(e), who is described as 'wright att Balcaskie'; from May of the same year[18] survives a comprehensive bill for various materials, with an archivist's cover note:

> 'The acount of moniy...aboutt the Woorke of Balcaskie from the 13 of may 1672 to the 12 of agust'.

The bill continues:

'The acount of Lime Stones and Sand and Workmenes dayes on Wagis...the keairing of ane hundred deailes from the shoor of enster *[Anstruther]*...Item, for custom and shor deue of them',

and finally, towards the bottom,

'for fraught of the kitchen chimly'.[19]

There was also a large number of stones still being shipped in 1673:

'Att Balcaskie the 15 of July 1673 Received from John Caddell skipper...14 long stones att 6 foutt long...126 pice of shortt stones'.(20)

Even the most basic building-materials are accounted for: from 1673 in particular there are seemingly endless bills for nails.[21] At the other end of the scale, there are a few bills which show Bruce's aesthetic considerations, like the choice of colour for a room; these bills also name some specific rooms:

'to David Mackleath, painter to Sr Wm Bruce at his house Balcaskie...for two pound of flanders ocker *[ochre]*...for painting of the seat in Carnbie,(22) and prymeing of the work...and the great window in the galrie And for the door of the grein roome, And also that door, that goes into my Ladys chamber And for all the rest of the work that was readie at present'. (23)

The Balcaskie bills provide concrete evidence for what has always been suspected - the wide-ranging nature of Bruce's resources. Some of these were local, starting with the basic building stone from Kincardine, Fife[24] (though even this had to be shipped down the Forth to Pittenweem harbour[25]); other material came from further afield in Scotland: for example, there is a bill paid on 5 February

1675[26] for 500 roof slates brought to Pittenweem from Wm. Brugh, merchant in Dundee. And it does not stop there: there is a series of bills[27] from a Wm. Garrioch, ship-master, for the freight of items such as white lead and linseed oil from Holland. The 1675 year of account is particularly rich in bills for the shipping of materials, and some are revealing, for instance one concerning:[28]

> 'The voyages plyed by David Bynning in Pittenweem skipper of the Speedwell "fugett in annis" 1674 & 1675 with the profits therof which was not counted for before the dues of the said debit to the owners of the said ship and dividend of the said money...
>
> ffraught from Burdeux to Rotterdame...
> for 2700: daills from Noraway...
> fraught of 60. oak boards...
> Rest to be divided among the owners...
> To Sir Wm. Bruce for ane halfe
> To Hamilton...for a quarter which is left in Sr Wms hands
> To the Earle of Kellie for a eight pairt
> To the skipper for a eight pairt'.

As well as being one of the very rare mentions of Lord Kellie (let alone Kellie Castle) in the whole Kinross collection, and showing Bruce's involvement with James, Duke of Hamilton outside the context of Holyroodhouse, this bill indicates how building-materials for Balcaskie were selected from far away in Europe. France was evidently as frequent a source as the Netherlands - there is another bill[29] almost identical to the last one mentioned which shows that French glass was still being used in c.1675, as it had been in 1672 when the house of Grangemuir was being refurbished:

> 'money for 25 chists of Freainch glaiss...
> money for custom and portradge of ditto
> glaiss at Rouane *[Rouen]*'.

Bruce bought the Kinross estate in 1675. The compromise forced on him by being laird of two estates is something of a mystery. Until the ambitious plans of Kinross eventually crippled him with debt, there is no record of Bruce suffering financial hardship - he must have been well able to afford to buy the estate on Loch Leven. What is clear is that there was not a sudden switch of manpower and resources from Balcaskie to Kinross; after all, he did not sell Balcaskie until as late as 1684. Nor were the building-operations in Fife after the concentrated activity of 1672/3 of a cosmetic nature: a bill from John Caddell, skipper in Alloa, Clackmannanshire, dated 1677[30] records the freight of lime to Balcaskie from the lime kilns. Another of July 1677,[31] and headed 'Balcaskie', continues:

> 'This is the acount of the stons that John Cadel brought last from dalgatie *[Dalgety Bay]* quarrie'.

It includes items of pavement, specifically.

There was one project at Balcaskie which was not even started until 1677: from this year there is frequent mention of:

> 'the tuo sumer houses of Balcaskie'[32].

One bill from this year,[33] for mason work wrought by Archibald Wallace 'and them that was with him' is more specific:

> 'the rebuilding of the wester sumer house again to the height that it was before it was taken down...'.

16. Balcaskie House, East Pavilion

17. Blue Bedroom, Ceiling, Central Panel

The only surviving pair of buildings of Balcaskie is of course the two side-pavilions, but it is unlikely that they would ever be described as 'summer houses', although it is possible that the two pavilions were not built until 1677, when the main house was nearing completion. The information in the latter bill that the summer houses were being rebuilt may mean that they were an older, pre-Bruce feature. Whatever the answer, there is now no trace of any such structures in the gardens. There are other bills too which refer, tantalisingly, to parts of the house now altered beyond recognition: one dated 8 October 1673[34] reads:

> 'Agreed this day yt Allex Scot & Archibald Walace masons that they shall presently enter to work at Balcaskie... & lay the number of thirtie four pallusters *[balusters]* eiaght pillasters with the whoill bass & ruell therto ...& finish the same natelie *[neatly]* all as smooth as paper...to set up upon ye charge upon ye plate-form at Balcaskie...'.

There are no traces of pilasters in Balcaskie now. Another, dated 11 November of the same year,[35] from Andrew Paterson, mentions:

> 'the working and cladding of the belhouse'.

If this means some kind of belfry or campanile, then there is nothing left of it today. Another of Paterson's bills, dated 3 June 1671,[36] lists some of his fellow joiners at Balcaskie: Andrew Waddell, Thomas Oliphant, Peter Forest & James Maclaggan.

The first year in which it is possible to detect a change in the emphasis between Balcaskie and Kinross is

1679; a large number of the bills surviving from this year concern either Kinross or Newhouse of Lochleven. Between 1675 and 1679 it is generally agreed that, at Kinross, Bruce concentrated on planning the vistas, woods and gardens. This is always cited as an example of Bruce's understanding of the integration between house and garden - the necessity, for instance, of planting trees and shrubs before laying the foundations of a house, for the reason that trees and shrubs take time to mature. The building-accounts do not contradict this hypothesis. But once building at Kinross was underway there was the unusual situation of work being carried out for Bruce at three houses, not only Balcaskie and Kinross, but also at Newhouse. The latter is never cited as an example of Bruce's work, but it is evident from the building-accounts of 1679 onwards that Bruce made substantial alterations to the old house there in order to make it suitable for himself and his family. A surviving plan of Bruce's layout of the Kinross gardens shows Newhouse to have been less than half the size of Kinross House, forming three sides of a square, plus a short projection to the south and a turnpike-stair in the northern inner angle; the house is situated on the shore of the loch. There is no reference to the age of the house, but, going by this plan, it looks like a typical 'pre-Bruce' laird's tower.[37]

An account for nails specifies that they were bought for Balcaskie between September 1676 and December 1677,[38] and for Newhouse between July 1677 and January 1678; we also have the receipts for the same nails[39] catalogued in

two bundles, for the two houses respectively. Those in the Balcaskie bundle stretch to as late as January 1680. Finally, and most telling of all, is the last bill in the Kinross papers to refer to Balcaskie:[40]

> 'Acct of wright work wrought to the Rt honourable Sr William Bruce of Balcaskie fra September 1681 to June 1682 By Alexr Eizatt...
>
> It: for ane Box for Carying of furnitur to Balcaskie
>
> It: for taking down hingings and packing up goods to goe to Balcaskie and newhouse'.

In conclusion, while the building-accounts are rarely specific enough for us to be able to judge the order in which individual parts of the house were built, or to be able to fit the various rooms, which the bills mention by name, with the rooms at Balcaskie today, what we are left with are accurate dates of when the work was done; these indicate the logical order of development. Furthermore, the accounts tell us the craftsmen's names. And, while it is broadly true that the main building-operations at Kinross date from after those at Balcaskie, the move from Balcaskie to Kinross was by no means a case of abandoning one for the other.

the remodelling of the interior

The most important of Bruce's legacies inside Balcaskie are the elaborate plaster ceilings. These are usually - with good reason - divided into two groups: the heavily decorated and (on the whole) beautifully executed ones in the Drawing Room, Library and Dining Room on the first floor, and the simpler two in the bedrooms on the second floor. One of the latter has softly-moulded ribs, the devices of cherubs, roses

18. Globe Room, Ceiling

and thistles, and, in the middle, a panel containing the intertwined initials of Bruce and his first wife: Sir/Dame William/Mary Bruce/Halket, so we can be certain that the ceiling dates from Bruce's remodelling. This room is commonly known as the Blue Bedroom where now Chinese hand-painted blue wallpaper lines the walls, which was bought in Hong Kong in the 1950s. The verdict of the *Country Life* article on Balcaskie of March 1912 is that the ceiling of the Blue Bedroom 'seems to be the oldest in the house'.[41] Bankart, in his book *The Art of the Plasterer* (1927) omits mention of this ceiling for no apparent reason, but joins in the general consensus that the ceiling of the other bedroom in question, the so-called Globe Room is earlier than the three elaborate ceilings downstairs.

The Globe Room, which is roughly square, has a jointed ceiling - jointed, in that it rises from a moulded cornice at an angle and then breaks at a wider angle[42] before meeting in the middle to form a bulging square with a large globe-shaped pendant. This pendant has a girdle around it, and bands decorated with the signs of the zodiac. The ribs which divide the whole into panels are all moulded differently, and some of them have rounded corners, which has the effect of softening the joints of the roof and making it look like a slightly rounded coved ceiling. The applied decoration (roses, leaves, thistles, scroll-work, and even peas bursting out of their pods), which is on a small enough scale to have been done *in situ*,[43] lies in bands between the dividing ribs.

In an attempt to discover the identity of the plasterer of this ceiling, commentators have picked on William Lindores as the most likely candidate. Lindores, possibly taking his surname from Lindores in Fife, is known to have worked as apprentice to the master-plasterer Thomas Alborn of Glasgow from 1667, and again at Thirlestane. He also worked with John Nicoll, a Dane, at Wemyss Castle in Fife, in the years 1672/3.[44] We know he worked at Balcaskie because his name appears in the building-accounts in February 1674[45] under a bill headed:

> 'George Dunsterfield his Account for work att Balcaske
> 71 working days Att 3ss 6 a day
> William Lindore
> 16½ working days Att 18d a day...'

Dunsterfield is the English master-plasterer who, we can be sure, was responsible for the work of superior quality on the first floor. It seems reasonable to assume that Lindores was less accomplished than Dunsterfield, if only because he was being paid less than half the wages. The other plasterers listed on the bill are only being paid half a mark per day, so we can deduce that Lindores was Dunsterfield's principal assistant.

It is another thing to say that the ceilings of the Blue Bedroom and the Globe Room are probably Lindores' work.[46] It is true that there are similarities between the Balcaskie ceilings and Lindores' and Nicoll's work at Wemyss: the King's Bedroom there has a plaster ceiling with ribs heavily enriched with fruit, including pomegranates,[47] small

pendants, and square panels containing heads of King David with his harp, and of Alexander. The Wemyss ceiling, though, is closer in style to that of the Drawing Room at Balcaskie, or even to the plasterwork in the King's Room at the House of The Binns in West Lothian,[48] than to the Globe room ceiling. Is it likely anyway that Bruce would have been content with an inferior plasterer making the upstairs ceilings at Balcaskie (including that of the master bedroom) in the same year that he was receiving Dunsterfield's expertise downstairs? The bedroom ceilings may, therefore, date from earlier in Bruce's ownership.

There is a further possibility for the Globe Room. Sheila Forman, in her article on Balcaskie in *Scottish Field* touches on it when she writes: 'an almost medieval coved ceiling with plaster bands'. Perhaps it dates from *prior to* Bruce's purchase of the property? It is certainly in the old part of the building, on the top floor of the thick-walled, self-contained unit containing the Library and Billiard Room. The proximity of the Globe Room to the Blue Bedroom, which we know dates from Bruce's time because of the intertwined initials of Bruce and his wife, is irrelevant. The design of the Globe ceiling, which is not strictly coved (it is jointed rather than rounded), is reminiscent of medieval rib-and-panel vaulting; more specifically, it is like a plaster model of a medieval vault.

There is nothing innovatory about the Globe Room ceiling, nothing to match the classicism of Bruce's architectural approach. The central pendant, for example, is

a retrospective device, a left-over from the medieval roof boss, where a join needed to be masked and was then elaborated on. Repeating this process in plaster ceilings, in the form of pendants, was one of the commonest features of early seventeenth-century ceilings, and virtually all of the great pendant ceilings in Scotland date from this time.[49] In his exhibition catalogue John Dunbar points out[50] that until the advent of Bruce, the static nature of Scottish architecture was matched by the equally static design of ceilings in Scotland, arguing that plaster ceilings from the early 1660s are almost indistinguishable from those of half a century before. The implication of this is that from the early 1660s onwards their design did change - and one only has to look at the Library and Dining Room ceilings to see that. It is difficult, then, to believe that Bruce would insert into his new house a ceiling which resembles a medieval roof. However, there are no surviving building-accounts for Balcaskie from the early seventeenth century, when the house was owned by the Strang and then the Moncreiff families, so there is no documentary evidence to date the Globe Room ceiling from before Bruce's time,[51] and it remains a stylistic consideration.

Finally, it is possible that the Globe Room ceiling does date from the time of Bruce's remodelling, but that the panelling and cornice are older. The latter are extremely uneven, and the ceiling proper sits on the cornice uneasily. Perhaps the decoration of the ceiling was applied by Bruce's plasterers to an earlier jointed shape? This would account for the old-fashioned form of the ceiling and at the same

time explain the similarity of some of the applied decoration to that in both the Blue Bedroom and the Drawing Room.[52]

A photograph of 1969[53] shows how the Globe Room was split up during the last century: a partition wall cut off the northern end of the room, so that the central corridor might continue uninterrupted down the length of the house. The partition did not rise above the height of the cornice, so the ceiling was not spoiled. Since the photograph was taken, the partition wall has been removed by the present laird, and the corridor re-routed on the other side of the old house's retaining wall. The Globe Room is now as it was in Bruce's scheme - and perhaps as it was before then.

The elaborate ceilings of the Drawing Room, Library, and Dining Room have been described already in detail by Bankart. He suggests that the mouldings in the Drawing Room and those in the Globe Room were designed by 'kindred spirits', but goes no further. The fact is that the design of the Drawing Room ceiling is in some ways closer to that of the bedroom ceilings upstairs than it is to that of the Library and Dining Room ceilings, and the usual grouping of the three *piano nobile* ceilings together as a stylistic unit is mistaken. The Drawing Room ceiling is much less revolutionary than, say, the Library ceiling, without being positively antique, like the Globe Room ceiling. In effect, it represents a transitional phase: on one hand there are old-fashioned pendants, a large star-shaped one terminating in a bunch of grapes and vine leaves in the middle, and four smaller ones inside panels at each corner. The latter are

19. Drawing Room, Ceiling, Small Pendant

20. The House of The Binns, West Lothian, King's Room, Frieze

21. Balcaskie House, Drawing Room, Ceiling, Detail

22. Library, Ceiling

23. Library, Ceiling, Detail : Octagonal Panel & Garland

also shaped as bunches of grapes[54] but are so small that they hardly count as pendants at all. The design of the frieze-like rectangular panels here is remarkably similar to that of the real frieze in the King's Room at The Binns - another unoriginal feature, because the latter dates from c.1630. On the other hand there is the large oval of fruit, berries and clasps, outlined by regular moulded ribs - altogether more modern; the design of the oval is then repeated in the small central oval from which the pendant springs. However, the Drawing Room ceiling as a whole is closer in feel and design to the early Renaissance or even Jacobean style of The Binns' ceilings (the style which was repeated in the King's Bedroom at Wemyss Castle at the same time as Bruce's work at Balcaskie), than to the other first-floor ceilings.

The Library ceiling is the most elaborate of all, which is probably why Bankart assigns it to c.1680, although none of the surviving plasterers' bills date from this late. The basic design is octagonal: five heavily enriched octagonal ribs, with sunken panels at each corner of the room, in the spandrels created by the outer octagon. Between the inner two octagons is one of the most remarkable features of the room, a garland modelled in the round and swagged between collages of fruit and flowers; there are even ribbons to hold the arrangement together. It is possible that this ceiling was executed some time after the Drawing Room because the Library garland is more technically advanced than the Drawing Room garland (which is not modelled fully in the round). The former appears to drop further than it does because above it

24. Library, Ceiling, Detail : Winged Female Figure

is a deep concave moulding.

The octagonal pattern rules the rest of the design: between the main ribs are eight small octagons, which in turn contain diminishing octagons. Between these is a series of winged female busts, springing from skirts made out of leaves and rosettes. They were not cast in moulds because each one is modelled differently. They are grotesque, and not executed with great skill, which is in line with the criticism, voiced by Sir Roger Pratt,[55] that English plasterers were not skilled in modelling the human figure. The human form is not a common feature of Scottish plaster ceilings, and its appearance in ceilings at Holyrood and Balcaskie may have been at Bruce's suggestion.

The human figures at Holyrood are in the ceiling of the Great Staircase, which lies in the south-west tower (the duplicate of the old James V tower). There are four winged, horn-playing figures at each corner, executed by Hulbert - an account of 2 March 1679[56] shows that he was paid for:

> 'the plaister work of the roof & the corneiches of the great...stair on the S W corner'.

They are not the work of Dunsterfield, whose name has disappeared from the Holyrood accounts by this time, and they are of a much better quality than the gargoyle-like figures in the Library at Balcaskie, which are almost certainly Dunsterfield's work,[57] as there is no record of Hulbert having worked at Balcaskie. Hulbert's figures at Holyrood, dating from 1678/9, are probably four or five years later than Dunsterfield's figures at Balcaskie, which would partly

25. Dining Room, Ceiling Panel Daedalus and Icarus

26. Entrance Front

explain the stylistic difference, and warn against making false conclusions about the two plasterers' relative skill at the human form.

The Dining Room ceiling is much less elaborate than that of the Library, although it too bears a succession of octagonal ribs (they are a pair, and quite different from the Drawing Room ceiling). There are even equivalents of the eight small octagons in the Library, though here they contain bosses and rosettes. Bankart dates it as an earlier composition. There is a single wide band of applied decoration: the usual flowers, leaves and berries in deep relief. It is in many ways a simple version of the Library ceiling, and one consequence of this is that the eye is drawn more quickly to the fresco in the middle. This was painted by the Dutchman, Jacob de Wet(t) in c.1675, who was another of the travelling craftsmen to have worked at Holyrood, where he devised and painted the series of (mainly fictitious) portraits of Stuart ancestors in the Long Gallery. Several of de Wet's receipts at Balcaskie survive,[58] though not for the two surviving inset ceiling panels. Instead, they record what has since disappeared; there is an undated receipt[59] from de Wet:

'for a Coppie of ye kings pourtract
Coppied for ye sd Sr Wm by me',

and a similar receipt mentions:

'2 pictures of landscape'.

Finally, an account written (in Dutch) by de Wet himself and paid at Balcaskie on 17 August 1674[60] mentions a 'Neptune', a

'Mercury' and a 'Polyphemus'. Unfortunately, none of these pictures survive, nor do the overdoor panels and pictures of Jason and Susanna mentioned in a receipt of 25 September 1676.[61] However, there is another de Wet painting at Balcaskie, which is not mentioned in the surviving accounts, of two Roman women by a fountain, one half-naked and holding a sickle, and thus presumably reperesenting Ceres, the goddess of crops & fertility. De Wet's signature appears on the base of the fountain. It is now situated at the foot of the Victorian west staircase.

The Library ceiling panel, which represents Venus and cherubs in clouds, though less conspicuous in the middle of the luxuriant plasterwork, is painted on canvas, and not straight on to the plaster, as in the Dining Room, which again shows how much care was taken over the Library ceiling.

One of the greatest problem areas in the building-history of Balcaskie is the space between the old tower and Bruce's duplicate on the entrance front. This space is occupied on the ground floor by the gents' cloakroom and entrance hall/staircase, on the first floor by the gallery/staircase, and on the second floor by two bedrooms and a bathroom. The porch in front of the entrance hall is certainly a nineteenth-century addition - various designs for it survive among the plans in the house, including a projected three-storey tower - but the rest is not so certain: all commentators conclude that the section of the house between the two towers dates from after Bruce's

remodelling, although they vary on exactly when it was built. The Royal Commission maintains that the second floor of this part of the house is relatively modern, but suspends judgment on the lower two storeys. The nineteenth-century plans of the house do show the whole central section of the entrance front as it is today, so it does not date from after c.1830, but we do not know how different it is from Bruce's structure. Attempting to decipher changes in the masonry does not help: there is no change visible between the first and second floors to back up the Royal Commission's report, but there is none either, as might be expected, between the central section and the two towers. However, there is a slight change beyond the inner bays of the two towers, where the stone is laid in larger blocks. This slight alteration may be the result of the central section being 'grafted on' to the two towers, in which case the first bay of both towers would have needed resurfacing. As a whole, though, the masonry of the entrance front is remarkably uniform, and the only great change comes with Bruce's corner- and side-pavilions, where the masonry is considerably rougher. The roof over the central section is of no help either: it is a separate roof from that of the old south block, but then all the disparate elements of the house have their own roofs, and these have all been re-slated and -lined over the past century; the roof of the central section therefore appears no newer than any other part of the roof.

The gallery on the first floor, which is sometimes referred to as the 'bartisan', serves partly as a corridor

between the east and west ends of the house. In the nineteenth-century plans a thin partition wall blocks off the staircase, but this has been removed. As the room is now, while hardly on the scale of the great English Elizabethan long galleries,[62] it is the longest room in the house, and 'gallery' is a legitimate name for it. The name does appear in Bruce's building-accounts for the house, for instance:

> 'Accompt to balcaskie aprill 27: 1672 for glas... for dresing of the east window in the galdrie... to the west window about the hall...'.(63)

Here the 'gallery' is distinguished from the 'hall'. The 'gallery' could represent what is now the Drawing Room, but the latter is more likely to be the 'hall' if it were the main room of the original pre-Bruce house. 'Gallery' is also mentioned in one of Jacob de Wet's receipts.[64]

It is possible that the gallery, or something similar to it, was part of Bruce's remodelling. One reason for this is the position of the adjoining staircase, which also appears in the nineteenth-century plans. The stairs which were inserted in the 1850s are those connecting the first and second floors at the south-west corner of the house, the outside stair on the west front, and the new turnpike-stair at the north-west corner; these three new stairways all replaced the original turnpike on the west side of the old house. *Country Life* (1912) incorrectly attributes them to Bruce:

> 'The house itself is not notable for any special features in its plan, though the provision of a main staircase of straight flights and a subsidiary newel stair at the west end suggests that the house was almost wholly rebuilt by

> Bruce, for that arrangement of stairs is characteristic of his day'.

As far as what is 'characteristic' is concerned, the place where we might expect Bruce to have built a stairway is in one of the corner-pavilions, which are the right size for a newel- or scale-and-platt stair,[65] particularly in one of the eastern corner-pavilions, because until William Burn's eastern extension was built, there was no kind of stair to serve the east end of the house. However, no traces of such a stair exist.

There must have been a stair in the entrance hall/gallery in Bruce's scheme, or the old turnpike-stair would have been the only stair in the house, and it was not large enough to serve the whole building. Furthermore, in one of Andrew Paterson's bills,[66] there is mention of:

> 'the casmentes of the two windows of <u>the great stair</u>',

though there is no proof of whether this was situated on the north side or not. The fabric of the entrance-stair which exists today is definitely not Bruce's work, and may date from the early nineteenth century - all we know is that it was in place by the time of Burn's extension, because it appears on the surviving plans. Other parts of the gallery block which are post-Bruce include the wooden ceiling, painted in *trompe l'oeil* to resemble panelling, and the wooden cornice, carved to an egg-and-dart design. The central Venetian window,[67] which contrasts strongly with the plain, regular fenestration[68] of the rest of the entrance front, is a pure Palladian device, and as such may seem too

advanced even for Bruce's programme of classicisation; furthermore, its masonry is depicted as new on some of the nineteenth-century plans, although this is undetectable on the outside. However, the two gallery windows on either side of the Venetian window have been visibly restored with a red sandstone surround.

There is an alternative to the modern layout for Bruce's scheme: a central entrance-staircase rising to first-floor level and terminating at either the Drawing Room or Library door - there may even have been a paved terrace, as at Thirlestane. There is a seemingly purposeless arched bay outside the Drawing Room door, which may be connected with such an entrance, though it is more likely to be a device for avoiding the awkwardness of double doors through this otherwise very thick wall.[69] If there was a terrace here, it would have followed the line of the present central corridor, of which the gallery is an enlargement.

It is important to examine what existed between the two towers on the entrance front, because if there was some substantial structure here, something more substantial[70] than a Thirlestane-type terrace/staircase or an empty courtyard, then Bruce's Balcaskie was built on a double-pile plan, several years before his double-pile plans of Dunkeld and Moncreiffe in Perthshire in the later 1670s. It is true that all the main first-floor rooms at Balcaskie have inter-connecting doors, but it is also probable that the house's central corridor, which now runs through the house on all three levels and which Bruce inserted between the two towers

and the southern half of the house, has always existed on the site of the present gallery/entrance-staircase too. A central corridor is one of the prerequisites of the double-pile plan. In addition, there must have been a staircase of some sort here because the old turnpike-stair could not have served the whole house, so the present entrance-staircase cannot be dismissed as a nineteenth-century idea. Balcaskie's plan challenges the consensus that Dunkeld and Moncreiffe were the first double-pile plans in Scotland, and Bruce's classicising experiment was further-reaching than has hitherto been imagined.

the gardens

A bill in the Kinross papers paid on 11 April 1679[71] records Bruce's purchase of 'Hughe's flour garden enlarged', i.e. William Hughes' *The Flower Garden*, first published in 1672. Another item on the same account records simply 'Nurseries, Orchards &c', presumably referring to books. Bruce was evidently keen to learn about the theory of horticulture[72] as well as that of architecture. He may have been familiar with the works of the Englishman John Evelyn. Evelyn, who in 1664 had translated Freart's pro-Palladian *Parallèle de l'architecture antique avec la moderne* into English with the help of Hugh May (incidentally, one contemporary book on architecture not recorded in the Kinross accounts), also in 1673 translated the Frenchman René Rapin's *Of Gardens* (written in 1666). Evelyn was certainly influential in the world of English Restoration gardening, having travelled widely around French and Italian

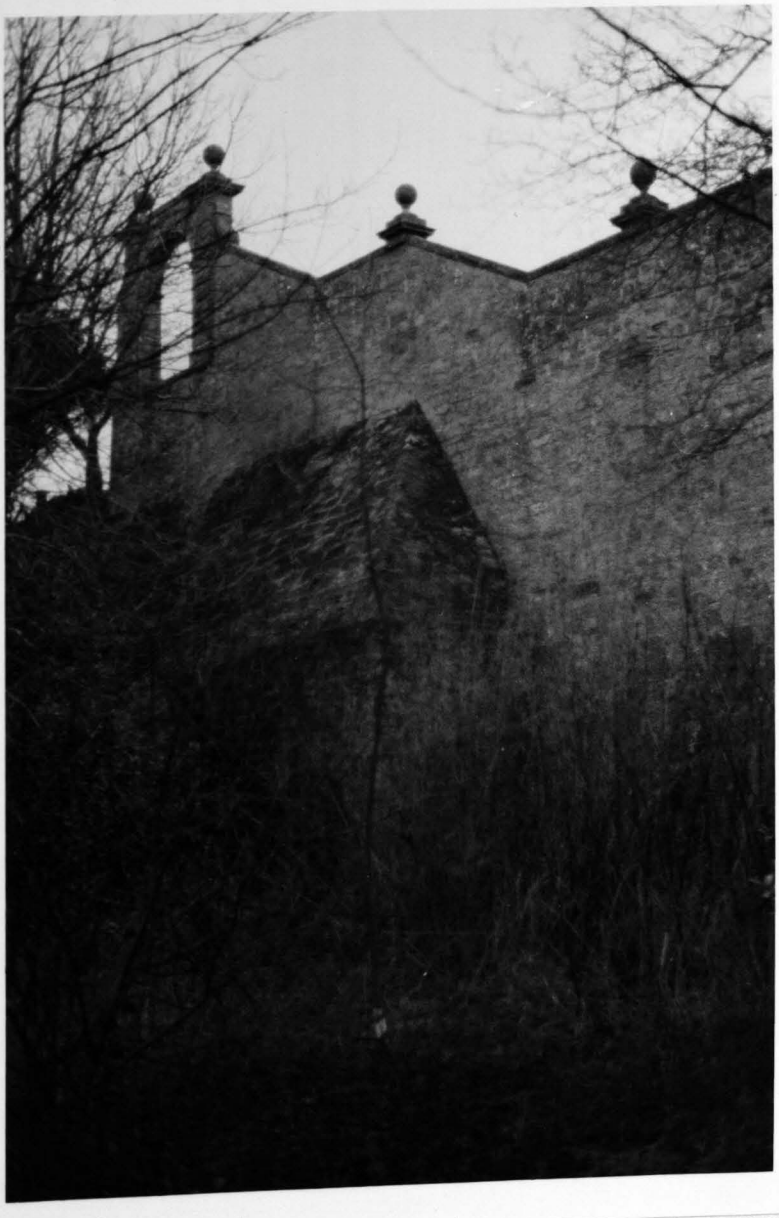
gardens. His edition of Rapin covered all aspects of gardening, with numerous French examples.

Another book on gardening which is often discussed with Bruce's work is John Reid's *The Scots Gard'ner*, published in Edinburgh in 1683, the first book on gardening to be published in Scotland. Reid advocated that the separate components of house, garden and woodland should be integrated as closely as possible,[73] which is broadly true of Bruce's efforts at Balcaskie. Reid's book is not a wholly original piece of work: it codifies the practice of the Frenchman Andre le Nôtre, who achieved this effect of integration with the device of vistas, at estates such as Vaux-le-Vicomte (c.1660). Reid's book is obviously important in bringing the French idea to Scotland in published form, but it had no bearing on Bruce's gardens at Balcaskie because it was published one year before he sold the estate. It could be argued that Reid's book was a codification of the trends set by Bruce at Balcaskie as much as by le Nôtre. At Kinross the building-accounts tell us that the first stones of the main house were not laid until the gardens - and vistas - were well developed. The reason for this was that the trees and shrubs needed longer to mature than the house needed to be built. It is likely that a similar process occurred at Balcaskie: to begin with, the development here was almost as far-reaching as at Kinross. We know that Bruce bought the estate in 1665, and the building-accounts do not begin before 1668. Were these three intervening years spent site-levelling and planting? Whatever the answer, when the climax of building-activity

was reached in 1672/3, at the same time as Evelyn's translation of Rapin and Hughes' book were published, it looks as though the gardens at Balcaskie had already been planned, and, from the chronology alone, it is doubtful whether Bruce could have relied on these theoretical works. Bruce may have seen the Continental precedents of le Nôtre and others in person, but his Continental travels are so scarcely documented, and it is rash to compare Balcaskie to specific French precedents. Bruce may have brought Italian and French ideas of garden design to Fife, but he applied them according to his own understanding of the site, and of the integration of house and estate. Bruce's Balcaskie does not follow the principle of Reid, for example, to the letter: for Reid, uniformity of design is the overriding consideration even at the expense of sacrificing an impression of vastness. Bruce creates the latter by tying the house to a focal point all of twelve miles away.

As for vernacular precedent, at Balcaskie Bruce moved further away from it with the garden design than he did with the house design. It is true that there was an old house here already, but not on the scale of Bruce's new garden: with the former he was obliged to respect precedent, whereas with the latter he did not need to. Bruce completely ignores a type of garden which nineteenth-/twentieth-century designers like Robert Lorimer considered to be the 'national type' (if there were such a thing): the small walled garden.[74]

However, it would be wrong to suggest that Balcaskie,



27. Exterior of Garden Wall, West Side

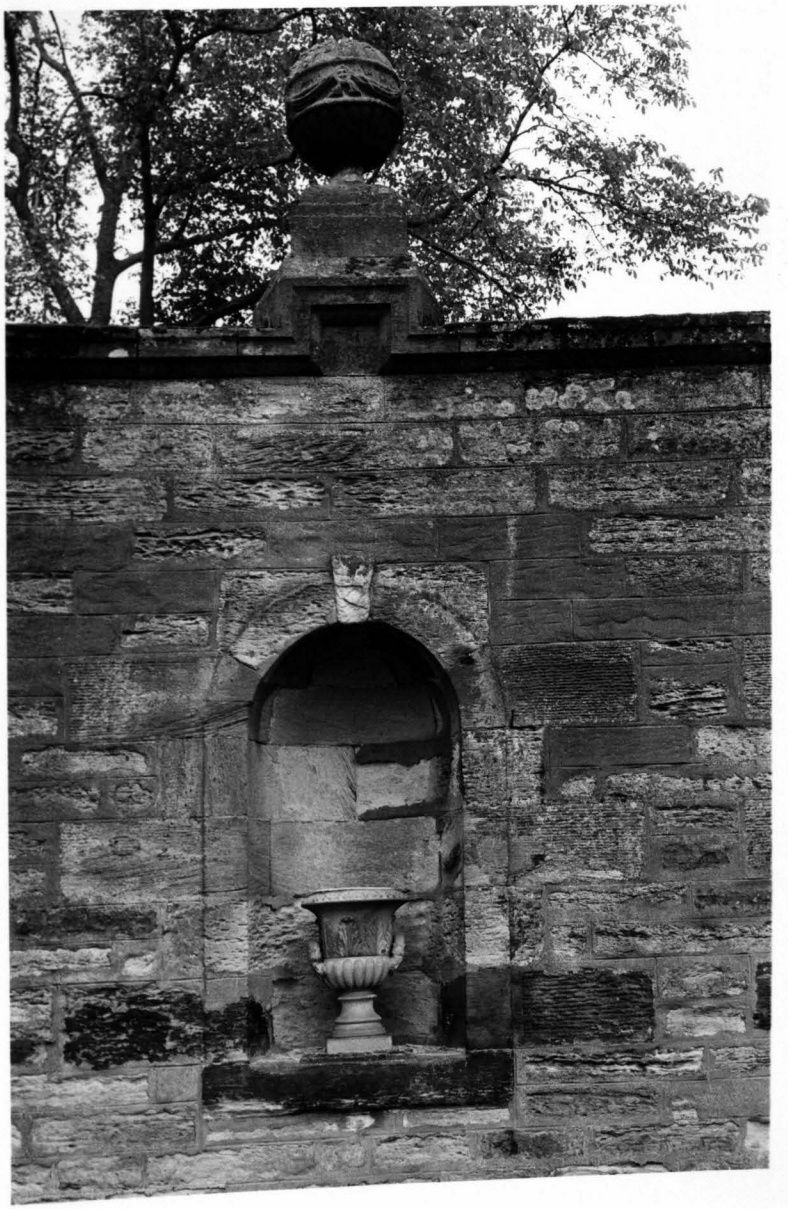
in going against vernacular precedent, represents the first formal garden in Scotland. There are parterres at Dundas Castle in West Lothian which date from the early seventeenth century, and there is even a precedent for the terrace at Balcaskie: at Barncluith in Lanarkshire there is a terraced garden on five levels above the River Avon; here each terrace is so narrow that they are more like 'hanging' gardens, with each retaining wall heavily buttressed. The garden dates from about 1600, which makes it the first of its kind in Scotland. The relative steepness of the terracing both here and at Balcaskie is dependent on the lie of the ground, but the two gardens are quite different: Barncluith is precipitated above a river, whereas Balcaskie presents a long and broad sweep out to sea, and the terraces are part of a greater scheme. The gardens at Barncluith are, if anything, closer in scale to those at Leslie.

The Country Life article of 1912 comments on Balcaskie:

> 'The slope of the ground gave great opportunities not wholly grasped by Bruce'.

This is incorrect. The construction of the terraces involved a considerable feat of engineering, because not only does the ground slope naturally from the house southwards, towards the Forth, but there is also a slight decline to the west. This means that the east side of each of the terraces is level with the ground outside, but the west side rises high above it. The top terrace, for example, has a massive buttress propping it up on the west side. It is also buttressed on its south side - a buttressed parterre is part of many formal gardens, but here the buttresses

28. Middle Terrace



29. Entrance Front, East Wing-Wall, Detail : Niche & Urn

30. Garden Front from (modern) South Gate of Orchard

extend so far from the retaining wall (6'9"),[75] it is clear that they are being made a feature of. They are now highlighted by the classical busts[76] taken from the wing-walls on the entrance front. And Bruce was still buttressing his garden walls in 1677, because a bill from that year mentions:

> 'the building of a butrich at the south gate[77] of the orchard'.

Within the confines of the garden wall, which is a rectangle enclosing the three terraces, a large amount of planting was done in the early 1670s. None of the surviving garden bills mention plants or shrubs, but there are bills for seeds for garden vegetables: one dated 1 April 1670[78] from Richard Henderson in Edinburgh mentions seeds of 'leekes', 'spinage', 'latteice' and 'parsneips'. And for the orchards fruit-trees were ordered. A bill dated 26 January 1677[79] from William Garrioch (most of Garrioch's bills consist of items for building-materials like white lead, and linseed oil from Holland, etc.) mentions:

> 'ye fraught of one hunde appell triess from London...for fraught of ye sd triess and to ye bott-man to have a care of them to bruntsland *[Burntisland, Fife]* they being sentt by land to balcaskie'.

There is also a letter from Hugh Wood, gardener to the Duke of Hamilton, written from Hamilton on 3 February 1674,[80] concern his supply of 22 pear-trees to Bruce, including 8 English bergamots and 2 Cambusnethans.

There is an account submitted by John Taitt, Bruce's head gardener and factor, for the period 25 April to 13 May 1672[81] which itemises all the wages owed to various workmen. However, a majority of the Balcaskie accounts which refer to the gardens concern grass-seed, of which a great deal was evidently required. A bill paid on 15 August 1671[82] mentions '63 loads of grass', and then just a fortnight later, on 2 September,[83] a bill is paid (to the same supplier, a William Campbell) for another 21 loads. And grass was still being supplied in equally large loads in 1676.[84]

It is impossible to tell how the three terraces were laid out in Bruce's day. The top one may have been laid out in the form of a triple parterre, as it is today, but *Country Life* suggests that both the lower terraces were orchards. It is difficult to believe that the middle terrace was ever a mere orchard - the division into three terraces suggests that their contents were different, but on the other hand, the middle terrace is much narrower than the top one and could have been part of the lower orchard.

In addition to the busts on the buttresses supporting the top terrace, other pieces of classical statuary are dotted around the gardens; more recently some busts have been mounted on pedestals outside the garden wall. Some of the statuary is Bruce's and it is likely that it came to Scotland in his consignments from the Netherlands, at the same time as he was acting as his patrons' agent for these fittings. The Greek urns are original, and so are the

31. Greek Urn

32. Aryan

33. Diana

34. Spinarius

35. Avenue

36. Bass Rock

Negro and the *Aryan*; of the two figures which face each other at either end of the long gravelled walk on the top terrace, the *Apollo* is original but the leaden *Diana* was recast in bronze in the 1940s by Giorgio Mancini. The female statue in the nineteenth-century Rose Garden is a sentimental copy, and the *Spinarius*, which has been drastically restored, is not part of Bruce's collection either. *Sight* is the work of Hew Lorimer.

Bruce's development of Balcaskie did not stop at the garden wall. Attempting to untangle what may have lain beyond in Bruce's day is largely speculative. The most striking feature of the estate, which Bruce was almost certainly responsible for, is the great vista out to the Bass Rock, whose castle Bruce fortified in 1671. The vista is created by an avenue of small sycamores, recently re-planted, which stretches to the Colinsburgh/Pittenweem road. The earliest map of this part of Fife which shows Balcaskie after its remodelling by Bruce is dated 1744.[85] This shows the avenue of trees and the parkland surrounding the gardens laid out in formal blocks. Another map of 1775, the first edition of John Ainslie's 'The Counties of Fife amd Kinross with the Rivers Forth and Tay survey'd and engraved',[86] features all the great vistas and avenues in the East Neuk, centring on the large grid-patterns of Airdrie and Thirdpart, by Crail, including Airdrie's long vista towards North Berwick Law. It even shows north-south & east-west avenues at Balcormo, part of the axial arrangement of the grounds there. Strangely, the map

37. Balcormo, Remains of Avenue

38. Balcaskie House, North Drive & Kellie Law

39. Avenue and Park

ignores the south avenue at Balcaskie, but does show the north drive from Balcaskie to Kellie - not strictly a vista because it takes a turn at Commielaw. It is strange, because the axis of Balcaskie's north drive does not run through either Kellie Castle or Kellie Law and its Iron Age encampment (*pace* Land Use Consultants' recent report *A Study of Gardens and Designed Landscapes in Scotland*), whereas the southern vista is plain to see. However, the 'Map of the Counties of Fife and Kinross surveyed in the years 1826 and 1827' (1828)[87] by Sharp, Greenwood & Fowler shows the southern vista clearly.

It is impossible to measure the position of the Bass Rock in relation to the short axis of the house because the Rock appears to move, according to the weather. In times of approaching rain the rock appears to move to the left (looking out from the garden front), out to sea, and in good weather, vice-versa. This optical illusion may be caused by the level of heat on the water of the Firth. It has been suggested[88] that there may have been two further vistas on either side of the main one, at a diagonal, one on the east towards the May Island, and the other on the west towards North Berwick Law - both destroyed by Victorian re-planting. This is pure speculation, and there is no trace of either vista on any eighteenth-century, or later maps.[89]

We do not know whether the house had a view-line of the Bass before Bruce bought the estate. With or without his terraces, the house has a very commanding position above the Forth, which would partly explain the medieval choice of

site. It does not look as though the old house centred on such a vista, and it was Bruce who made the house into a symmetrical composition, but more importantly, symmetrical on the axis of the avenue south to the Bass.

In G. Allan Little's *Scotland's Gardens* (1981), William Brogden writes in an essay on *The History of Garden Design in Scotland* that Bruce's overall scheme at Balcaskie was so regular that the disposition of his planting in the park could afford to be more varied and intricate, presumably referring to the individual trees dotted throughout the park, on either side of the main avenue. However, most of these randomly planted trees are the legacy of William Gilpin, who re-designed the park in c.1827. The trees which date from before Gilpin are those at the edge of the park: they run in two straight lines parallel to the main avenue, almost as a wider continuation of the garden walls, though the lines are now broken in places and distorted by Gilpin's planting. It is possible that in Bruce's scheme there were four lines of trees stretching towards the Forth, with the outer two lines framing the avenue formed by the inner two. This generous placement of trees was itself an introduction of Bruce's - trees are not an essential component of Fife's gardens, and Fife is not copiously wooded. Most of the woodland on the estate, which dates from c.1830, is deciduous, including ash and hawthorn, though there are plantations of Scots pine. Other conifers near the house are more recent additions.

Sir Walter Scott visited Balcaskie while Gilpin was

40. Staircase between Orchard & Middle Terrace

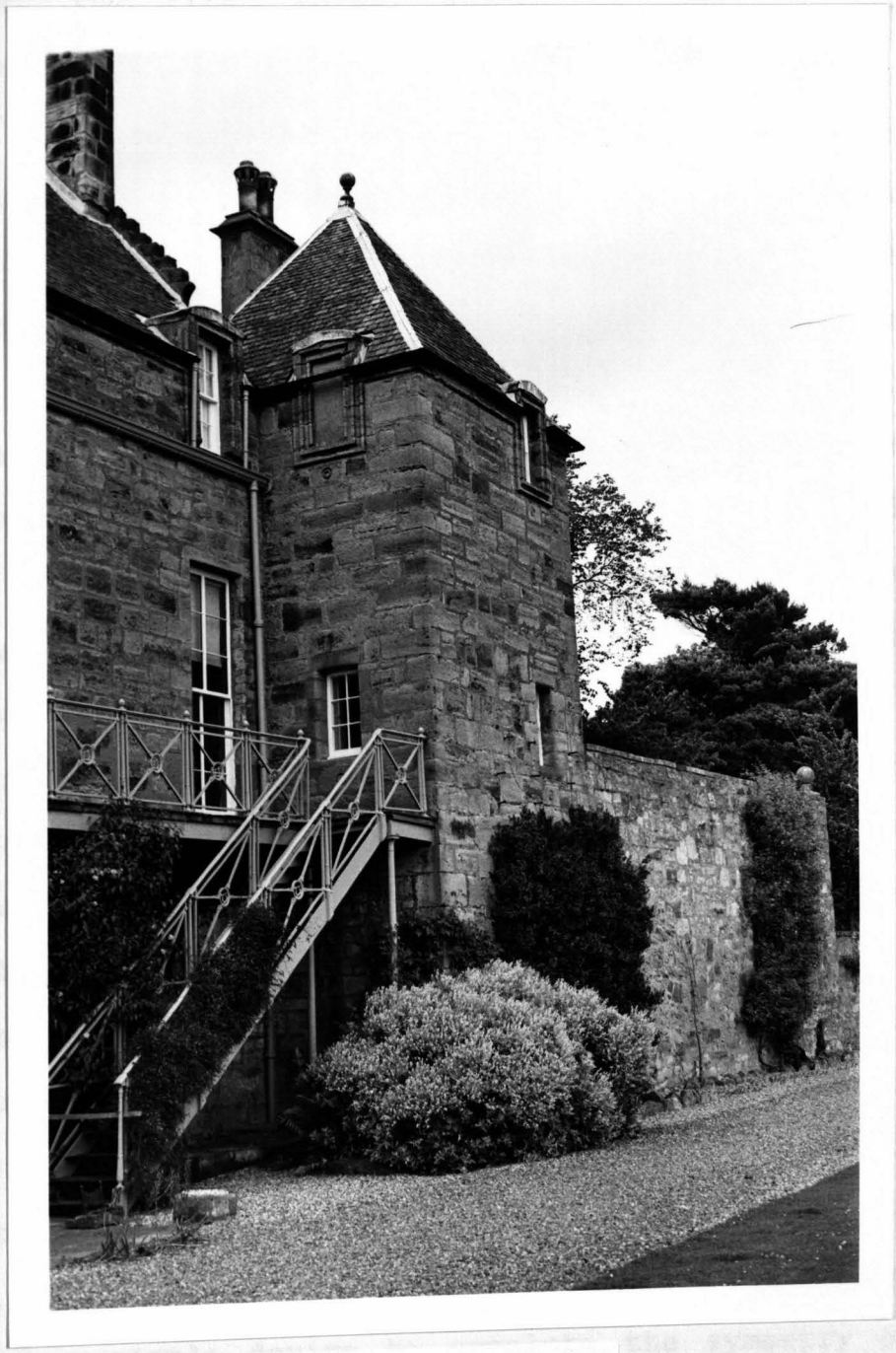
41. American Garden

still re-designing the gardens and park. In 1827 he praised Gilpin's achievement in restoring the gardens:[90]

> 'in the good old style with its terraces and yew hedges. The beastly fashion of bringing a bare ill-sheared park up to your very door seems going down'.

Sadly, these hedges are now infested with holly. Also dating from Gilpin are the two stone staircases which connect the upper two terraces at either end. In Bruce's design there may only have been a single stair in the centre, above the one connecting the lower two terraces.

The yew hedge which borders the forecourt on the north side of the house dates from slightly later, c.1850 (during David Bryce's remodelling of the house).[91] The garden designer during this later remodelling was W. A. Nesfield, and it is probably to him that we owe the present layout of the terraces.[92] Gilpin had already (re)constructed the gardens on the upper two levels, and it is sometimes difficult to determine what we owe to him and what to Nesfield (a good example is the Rose Garden, in front of William Burn's stable block of 1831). The verdict of A. A. Tait in *The Landscape Garden in Scotland 1735-1835* is that Nesfield's approach was more formal than Gilpin's. A few areas of planting survive from the former's scheme (c.1848), but much of the planting in the flower gardens dates from 1900-30. Most significantly, the uppermost terrace is still divided in the way that John Reid advised, i.e. into (roughly) equal sections,[93] separated by hedges, and therefore probably according to Bruce's plan.



42. South-East Corner-Pavilion

It appears that the overall pattern of the gardens at Balcaskie has not been so altered since the 1670s that we cannot visualise his plan any longer. Although Balcaskie was not the first formal garden in Scotland, it was certainly the first Italianate or French-style garden to be built on such a grand scale. The house and garden at Balcaskie are more closely linked to each other than ever before in Scotland. The method which Bruce applied to his rebuilding of the house had to be applied to the gardens as well: classical principles could not be applied to one without the other. And if Bruce planned the gardens first, which seems likely, the same is still true: the regularity of the garden design demanded that the house be converted into a symmetrical composition. Fortunately, Bruce's creative sense was not cramped by obsessive symmetry: there are minor irregularities in both the house's exterior and the gardens. And within the garden the central vista is west of the central axis. Owing to the irregular shape of the old house, the two western pavilions are aligned differently to the eastern ones - this cannot be detected now that both ends of the house have been added on to, but it must have been visible until the nineteenth century. The pavilions themselves are part of the architecture of the garden. They may not be aligned in precise symmetry, but they are a simple device to complete the symmetry of the house, and lying, as they do, at each corner, they 'pin' the house to the garden.

But Bruce's greatest *coup* was the grand central vista. Placing the Bass Rock in the scheme of Balcaskie was an

43. Entrance Front

ingenious combination of the complete uniformity which Reid was to advocate in his book, and the devotion to sheer grandeur shown by contemporaries like Alexander Fletcher at Saltoun. Bruce may never have looked on Balcaskie as a potential family seat, but in 'anchoring' it to a natural feature such as the Bass, he gave the house a feeling of permanence.

the entrance front

It is generally acknowledged that the entrance front of Balcaskie is less innovative or less classical or less French than the garden front. The latter is not without antiquated features itself, for example the false gun-loops underneath some of the windows. These are not all a survivor from the old house because they appear in Bruce's additions - a consciously retrospective touch on Bruce's part. But what the entrance front does have is the old crow-stepped west tower and its eastern duplicate; these inevitably 'date' the composition of the front. Bruce did his best to integrate the old tower into the design - though his method, duplication, is an extreme solution to the problem of how to include an old feature into a new building. He did not succeed entirely, hence the awkward floor levels where the floors of the old tower meet the modern corridors, and the inconvenient entresol. And the exterior still has the massive appearance of an old tower-house. On the other hand, it is feasible that this is what Bruce wanted - there is certainly no attempts at Balcaskie to disguise the great mass of the old tower, and the smaller corner-pavilion added

44. Stoke Bruerne Park, Northants. Corner-Pavilion & Wing-Wall

45. Balcaskie House, East Wing-Wall, Rear

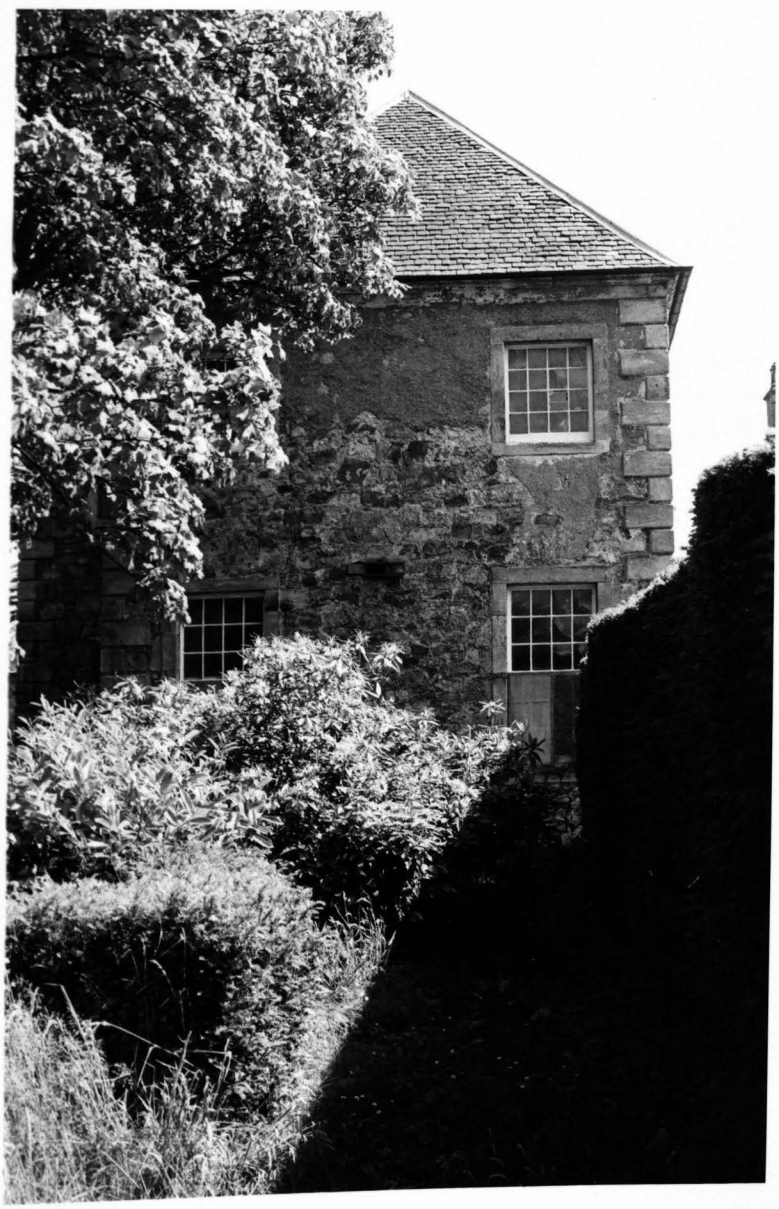
on to it only serves to emphasise its bulk by framing it.

The wing-walls are an original touch of Bruce's, though they are not the first quadrant walls in Britain to be added to an earlier building: Stoke Bruerne Park in Northamptonshire has concave colonnades which the owner, Sir Francis Crane,[94] added on to an existing Tudor house from 1629-35. The colonnades are backed by solid walls, which are in turn divided into bays by Ionic pilasters (reflecting the columns in front), and each bay contains a niche. At the end of the quadrant colonnades are large, pedimented pavilions (which are on the same axis as the proposed main facade).[95] These contain the Library and the Chapel, so they are not subsidiary to the main house, either in their size or use. This device of framing a house with curving side-walls is a pure Palladian one: there is an engraving of the plan of the Villa Trissino at Meledo, complete with side-walls, in Palladio's *L'Architettura*, though this was not translated into English until the beginning of the eighteenth century and there is no evidence that Crane possessed a copy of the Italian original. The addition of colonnades and pavilions to Stoke Park was an architectural *coup* on his part - they are the first use in Britain of a device which was to become in the next century the standard method of 'Palladian-ising' countless houses.

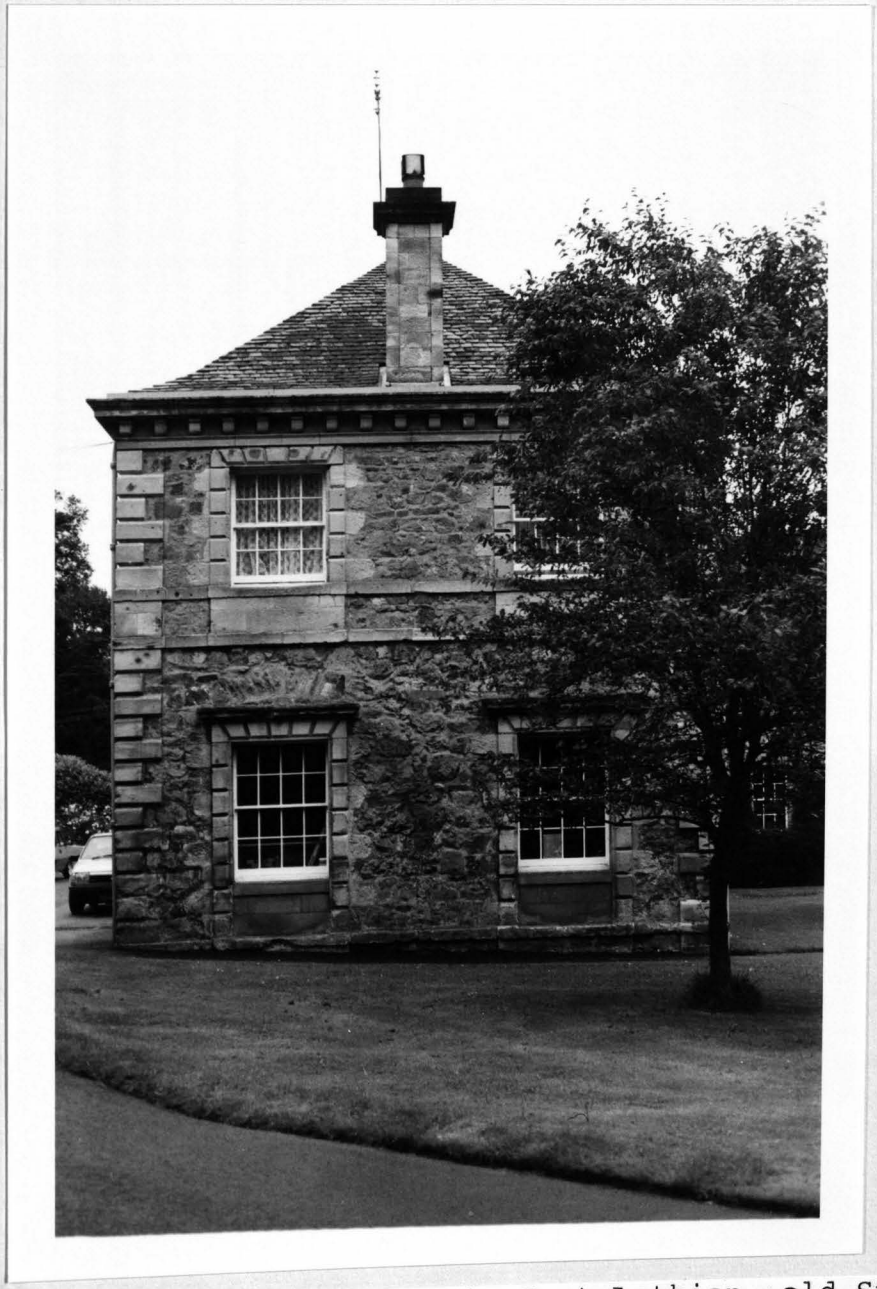
Colen Campbell published the plan of Stoke Bruerne in his *Vitruvius Britannicus* eighty years later (1715/17) and Bruce did not buy a copy of Palladio until 1676, so if the wing-walls and side-pavilions at Balcaskie were planned

46. East Pavilion

47. East Pavilion, Side Elevation (North)



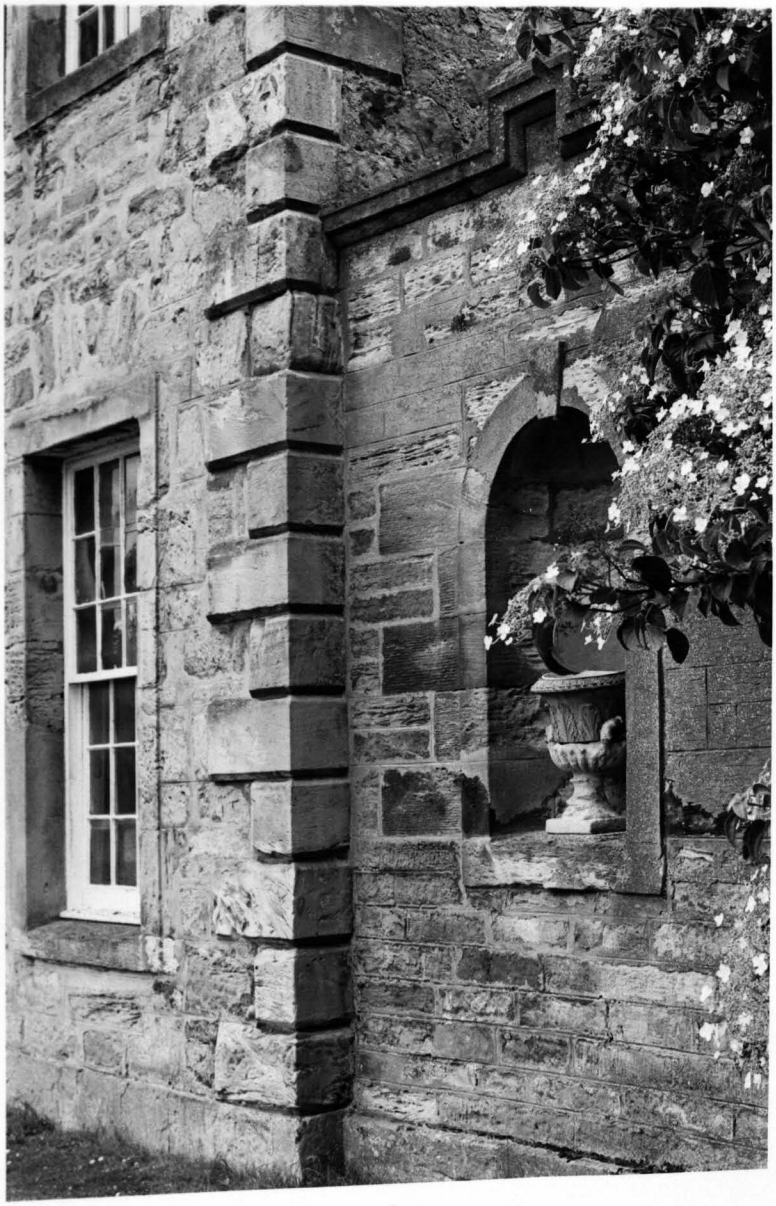
48. East Pavilion, Side Elevation (South)



49. Lennoxlove (Lethington), East Lothian, old Stable Wing, Side Elevation

50. Lennoxlove (Lethington), East Lothian, old Stable Wing

51. Balcaskie House, North-West Corner-Pavilion, Windows



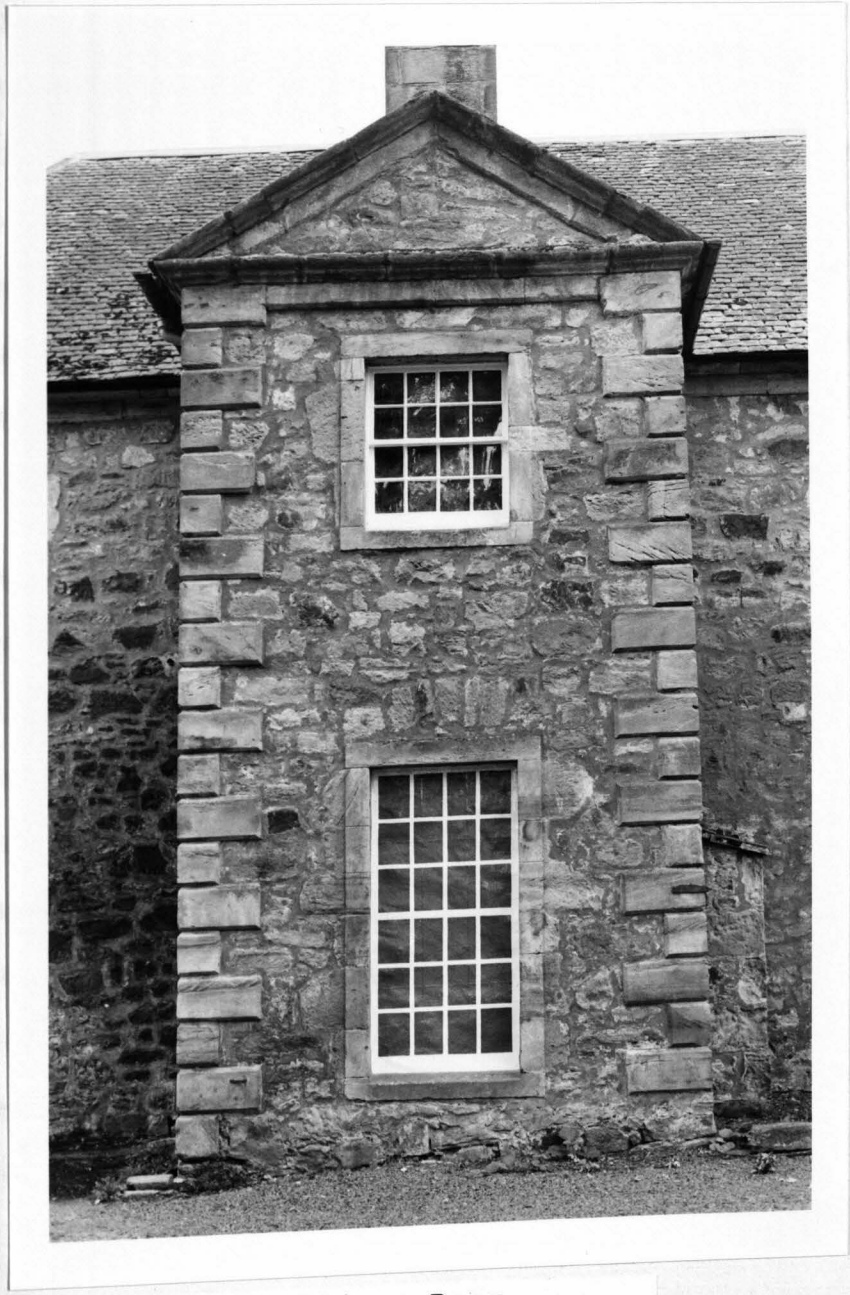
52. East Pavilion, Join of Wing-Wall

early in Bruce's ownership of the house, they must have come from another, unknown source.[96] They are earlier than the wing-walls at Ham House and probably earlier than anything comparable in Scotland.[97] Much has been made of their functional importance, i.e. the fact that they are not merely a cosmetic addition but serve a purpose. This may be true of the wing-walls at Kinross but here at Balcaskie it has been exaggerated: the western wall, it is true, does conceal a covered passage to the side-pavilion, which was built as a stable.[98] The eastern one, on the other hand, is for most of its length just a single wall joining side-pavilion to corner-pavilion.

The side-pavilions are large enough[99] to dwarf the wing-walls, and large enough to be individual houses themselves.[100] In design they are different from any other part of the house, except the corner-pavilions. They are rigidly symmetrical, with two rows of five sash windows, those on the upper floor slightly more than half the size of the lower. Every part of their facades is 'framed': the windows by margins,[101] the roof-line by moulded eaves-courses, and the sides by chamfered quoins. Here is a classicism of a purer kind than anything in the main house.[102]

The independence of the side-pavilions is highlighted by the apparently arbitrary way in which the wing-walls join with them: the walls merely 'hit' the pavilions a little to the rear of the pavilions' main fronts.[103] The east pavilion has an impressive rear aspect - in the centre is a

53. East Drive & Entrance-Gates



54. East Pavilion, Rear

projecting stair-tower, again with smooth, channelled quoins, and with a small pediment. This rear facade is of course at the end of the more recent east avenue (1745). It is possible that the pedimented facade was created for the purpose of providing such a vista, and that it was as plain as the main facade in Bruce's scheme.[104] The symmetry and general effect of the rear has been restored in summer 1987 by the painting of white frames on the blocked-up windows, to excellent effect. The main facade of the west pavilion also has some of its windows blocked, but here the white-painted windows have remained outside the blocking stones, so the facade is intact.

Unfortunately, one of the most interesting views of Balcaskie has been lost: the grouping of the main house's side-elevations with the backs of the side-pavilions. These groupings have been spoilt by Burn's stable block and Bryce's additions on the west, and by Burn's extension on the east. The original west elevation of the house, for example, with the two square corner-pavilions (of different heights), the old circular staircase-turret, the convex passage, and finally the regular aspect of the side-pavilion, must have been an impressive sight.

Finally, it is significant that the entrance front grows more classical in style as the eye moves away from the old tower, with the bare, regular side-pavilions at either end (regarding the front as a single elevation) diminishing the remaining medievalism of the house. The bare space formed by the elevation has never been disrupted. The whole

area is gravelled, from the front door as far as the side-pavilions. It is a massive space, and the sheer void is as impressive as the elaborate top terrace on the garden side. The side-pavilions demonstrate the uniformity of classical design, and the vacuum which they embrace emphasises the massive appearance of the main entrance front, true to vernacular tradition.

conclusion

It is possible to identify an approximate chronology for Bruce's remodelling of the house & gardens at Balcaskie. While the surving building-accounts rarely name specific rooms in the house, and while it is impossible to fit those which they do mention with the present arrangement of rooms, we are still provided with accurate dates of when the work was done.

There is no documentary evidence for any building-work at Balcaskie between 1665, when Bruce bought the estate, and 1668, when nails were required to construct a bridge for the masons, and when stone was brought from Longannet Quarry. This, then, is the year in which the main construction work seems to have begun. Work on the gardens was evidently underway also (it is possible that this had started even before work on the house) because by 1670 garden vegetables were being purchased, and in 1671 grass.

However, it is possible to isolate the peak of building-activity at Balcaskie to the two years of 1672/3. The majority of bills for stone stretch from May 1672 to July

1673, and there are seemingly endless wrights' bills from July 1672 to October 1673. By 1672 glass was being fitted in the 'gallery' and in 1673 thousands of nails were bought. But though these years may have seen the greatest activity, the work certainly did not stop there - from 1674 onwards the more decorative aspects were ready to be concentrated on: Dunsterfield's bills for plasterwork date from 1674 and de Wet's painting commissions from 1674-6.

In 1675 Bruce bought the estate of Kinross and began planning the gardens there, but this seems to have had no effect on the progress of the operations at Balcaskie, where roof-slates were bought in the same year - a sign that the main construction work was being finished off. By 1677 the New House of Lochleven was being refurbished in readiness for Bruce's planned move to Kinross, but at the same time he was building the two summer houses at Balcaskie and planting fruit-trees in the orchard. It is not until 1679 that a change of emphasis between Balcaskie and Kinross is apparent, and Bruce's bills become almost entirely concentrated on Kinross.

The bills show one important thing: the logical order of development at Balcaskie. The record may be far from complete, but with the surviving bills, from 1668, when the nails were bought to build a scaffold for the masons, through to 1677, when roofing-slates were bought, we are provided with a revealing, coherent picture of how Bruce went about his scheme for remodelling, and when the main tasks were started and finished.

FOOTNOTES TO (4)

1. Atholl papers at Blair Castle, 29 I (3a) 11.

2. S.R.O.

3. GD 29/263/4.

4. GD 29.

5. GD 29/263/1, see Appendix, no. 2.

6. See (2).

7. GD 29/263/7, Appx 3.

8. GD 29/263/7, Appx 4.

9. GD 29/286; dated 1671, Appx 5.

10. GD 29/263/1/*passim*.

11. GD 29/263/2.

12. GD 29/263/2.

13. GD 29/263/3, Appx 6.

14. GD 29/263/3; 5 June 1671, Appx 7.

15. GD 29/263/4.

16. GD 29/263/5.

17. GD 29/263/3, Appx 8.

18. GD 29/263/4, Appx 9.

19. The kitchen may have been on the ground floor of the Blue Bedroom/Dining Room unit, where there is a fireplace of massive proportions (5' 8" x 4' 8"); this room was used as a kitchen until the 1960s, when the present kitchen was created in Burn's extension, next to the Dining Room.

20. GD 29/263/5, Appx 10.

21. GD 29/263/5: 'doubell ffloweringess, blinde ffloweringess, headed planchiness'.

22. Carnbee is the parish in which Balcaskie lies.

23. GD 29/263/4; paid 8 February 1672, Appx 11.

24 Longannet Quarry.

25. Cf. GD 29/263/7, an account to Bruce from a James Bruce in December 1674 which, in the middle of several charges for wine, includes : 'payd for fraught of a boates loadeing up stones from dalgatie *[Dalgety Bay]* to Elie for use at Balcaskie'.

26. GD 29/263/7.

27. GD 29/263/5.

28. GD 29/253/7.

29. GD 29/263/7; date is illegible.

30. GD 29/263/9.

31. GD 29/263/9.

32. GD 29/263/13.

33. GD 29/263/9.

34. GD 29/263/9.

35. GD 29/263/5.

36. GD 29/263/3, Appx 12.

37. Bruce is even described in a gardener's receipt at Kinross, dated 20 August 1680 (GD 29/263/12), as 'Sr Wm Bruce of Lochleven'.

38. GD 29/263/13.

39. GD 29/263/13.

40. GD 29/263/12.

41. Sheila Forman, in *Scottish Field* June 1962, is even surer on this point.

42. Bankart *The Art of the Plasterer* says that this makes it look like a mansard roof.

43. As opposed to being baked on the ground first.

44. Geoffrey Beard *Decorative Plasterwork in Great Britain.*

45. GD 29/263/6, Appx 13.

46. Dunbar *exhibition catalogue* p.11.

47. A symbol of luxuriance, like the cornucopia.

48. The King's Room ceiling at The Binns has the same heads of David & Alexander; the plaster ceilings here date

from about 1630, as inscribed on the ceiling of the High Hall, considerably earlier than the remodelling either by Bruce at Balcaskie, or by David, 2nd Earl of Wemyss, at Wemyss.

49. For instance at Winton House, East Lothian and Auchterhouse, Dundee, both from the 1620s.

50. p.3.

51. Not that there is any to evidence date the ceiling from the 1660s/70s either.

52. For instance, the device of peas bursting out of their pods.

53. *Architect Royal* Plate 13.

54 Coincidentally, the crest of the Strang family, who owned Balcaskie before the Moncreiffs was a bunch of grapes, according to Wood's *East Neuk of Fife*, but there is nothing else to suggest that the ceiling may be this early in date - except the old-fashioned style of much of the detail.

55. Beard *Decorative Plasterwork...*,quoting from R. T. Gunther's *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt* (an edited version of Pratt's notebooks).

56. R. S. Mylne *The Master Masons...*

57. In addition to the account submitted by Dunsterfield & Lindores (Appx 13),there is a receipt from later in the same year: GD 29/263/6, Appx 14

> 'Balcaskie the 8 of May 1674...I have Received from John Taitt Upon Sir Wim Brusseis acountt...George dunsterfield'.

58. GD 29/263/9.

59. Appx 15.

60. Appx 16.

61. Appx 17.

62. Or even the rare Scottish example of nearby Earlshall, Leuchars.

63. GD 29/263/5, Appx 18; paid to Alexander Greig, glazier.

64. Appx 17.

65. See (5) on Kinneil House.

66. Appx 12.

67. The outer sections and arch of this window are blind, with the result that inside it looks like all the other gallery windows.

68. Almost all the windows at Balcaskie are sash-windows, but there is no indication of their age, or whether Bruce was responsible for their insertion; most of the frames and sash-cords have been periodically renovated, for instance those in the eastern extension were renewed in July 1987. By coincidence, it was Lauderdale who was responsible for the introduction of sash-windows into Scotland, at Lethington in 1673/4 (John Dunbar *The Building-activities...*, quoting a voucher of 13 January 1674, Maitland MSS at Thirlestane, 63/11). It is possible that, as Bruce had a hand in this remodelling of Lethington, he may have copied Lauderdale's sashes at Balcaskie, but there is no mention of these in the Balcaskie accounts. The windows of the *piano nobile* on the garden front were not as tall under Bruce: they were lowered in the 1840s in order that the family might step out on to the balcony. This enabled them to descend to the garden without going through the Servants' Hall (now the Billiard Room).

69. Approx. 4'4"; the Library has just such double doors.

70. Paterson's bill (Appx 12) does show that 'the great stair' had windows.

71. GD 29/263/10.

72. And this interest was kept up: a receipt of Bruce's survives, from James Sutherland, Keeper of 'the physicall garden' at Edinburgh, for 'subscribeing to my proposall annent the physicall garden, and printing the Catalogue', dated 18 June 1683 (GD 29/263/15).

73. e.g. p.2 'As the sun is the centre of the world: as the Heart of man is the Centre of the man: as the nose the Centre of the face and as it is unseemly to see a Man wanting a leg, one arm and ec...Just so with House Avenues, Gardens, Orchard ec. where regularity or uniformity is not observed'.

74. For example, 'The Pleasance' at Edzell Castle, Angus, built as late as 1604, with Romanesque arches and false semicircular 'dormers' built into the wall; the central area was occupied by a small garden and topiary. This type of garden, though formally organised, is altogether different to Bruce's at Balcaskie.

75. The slope from a height of 12' to 9' and are 4' wide.

76. These represent the 1st century AD Roman emperors in chronological order from west to east: Julius Caesar, Octavius (Augustus), Tiberius, Gaius Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus and

Domitian.

77. The old south gate is one of the few asymmetrical elements of the garden, lying quite far to the east of the central axis.

78. GD 29/263/2, Appx 19.

79. GD 29/263/5; cf. n.27.

80. GD 29/1908.

81. GD 29/263/4, Appx 20.

82. GD 29/263/3.

83. GD 29/263/3.

84. GD 29/263/8.

85. R.C.A.H.M.S.

86. N.L.S. Maps.

87. "

88. Fenwick *Scotland's Historic Buildings.*

89. Apart from any other consideration, the two smaller angles formed by these three vistas would not be equal: North Berwick Law lies only a short distance to the west of the Bass Rock, looking from the house, whereas the May Isle appears a long way to the east.

90. *Journal* p.316; the (young) laird of the time was Sir Robert Anstruther, 3rd Bart.

91. Under Sir Ralph, 4th Bart.

92. A plan in the house drawn by L. Rome Guthrie showing the house and gardens, and dated 1902, indicates that little has changed since.

93. The symmetry of the gardens is disrupted by the fact that the house lies slightly west of centre within the perimeter of the garden wall, with the consequence that the American Garden, eastern half of the middle terrace, etc., are all longer than their western counterparts; the original shrubs of the nineteenth-century American Garden have been replaced, but it remains randomly planted.

94. It has sometimes been attributed to Inigo Jones' influence, e.g. by J. Bridges in his *History of Northants* (1791) (quoted by Summerson): Crane 'brought the design from Italy, and in the execution of it received the assistance of Inigo Jones'.

95. This central block was not built until after Crane's death in 1635; it has since been demolished, leaving the old house isolated, some distance to the rear. The colonnades now come to an abrupt halt in the middle of the garden.

96. There is an undated sketch at All Souls College, Oxford, which John Summerson suggests (*Architecture in Britain 1530-1830* 7th ed., p.258/9) is by William Talman (1650-1719), depicting a rectangular main block, whose corners are pyramid-roofed pavilions, linked to stable/service blocks by short (admittedly straight) colonnades. This design is almost certainly too late to have influenced Balcaskie, but Hugh May's Berkeley House, Piccadilly, London (1664-6), which had quadrant colonnades on either side of the entrance front (it is now demolished) is not. Fenwick suggests that Bruce was inspired by the forecourt of St. Peter's in Rome by Bernini (1656-67) and that he may also have met Bernini himself in Paris! (*Architect Royal* p.13).

97. With the possible exception of Panmure House, Angus. *Vitruvius Scoticus* illustrates the west front and plans of this house, including the miniature quadrant covered walkways on either side of the entrance front, pierced by double gateways and leading to the two service courts. The house has a similar history to Leslie's: begun in 1666 by John Mylne, it was completed after his death the following year by the master-mason Alexander Nisbet; see (5) on Bruce's design for the west gate at Panmure.

98. Adjacent to William Burn's additional stable block of 1831.

99. Approximately 50' x 19'.

100. The western one is now a self-contained flat.

101. Though the margins of the windows in the corner-pavilions are more heavily rusticated than those in the side-pavilions.

102. John Dunbar (*The Building-activities...*) has remarked on the similarity between the side-pavilions here, and the old stable wing at Lennoxlove, which was built to the north-west of the old fifteenth-century tower in about 1676, probably by Bruce; the window-lintels have chamfer-arrises like those in the corner-pavilions at Balcaskie. The side-pavilions also have a close resemblence to the main block at Auchindinny, Midlothian (which itself has smaller side-pavilions), with its hipped roof and two principal floors of five windows each. Auchindinny was built from 1702-7 and has often been attributed to Bruce.

103. Very different from Stoke Bruerne, where Crane's Ionic columns appear to run through the pavilions, at which point Ionic pilasters take their place.

104. The only pediment at Balcaskie. If it is original (to Bruce's remodelling), then Kincraig House, Elie (c. 1680; demolished) and Raith House, Kirkcaldy (c.1692) are not the first examples in Fife of a pediment against a hipped roof.

(5) 'INFLUENCE' II

Bruce's rise to a position of influence among Scotland's leading men after the Restoration has been overstated, but his status as a national figure is still undeniable. His ownership of land as far away as Orkney and Shetland,[1] for example, shows that his interests were not confined to the mainland of Scotland. His shipping ventures went beyond the Continent; obtaining building-materials for his houses and those of his patrons was not his only concern abroad. One of the undated Kinross accounts is endorsed:

> 'Scroll of account anent the shipe Hope of Leith, Sir Wm Bruce and other owners'.

The *Hope* is the ship which was used for another, more ambitious enterprise, leading to a unique relaxation of the Navigation Acts. This was a journey to New York in 1669 carrying Scottish traders and planters,[2] on which the Scottish Privy Council also arranged for prisoners to be transported.[3] In the end the ship was wrecked[4] and never made America; apart from the four hundred Scotsmen on board there is no record of what cargo the ship was carrying, but whether it was important cargo or not, it is clear that Bruce and the other sponsors of this voyage were acting as influential entrepreneurs. Bruce was one of the partners in the monopolist Royal Fishery Company in 1670,[5] so even at this relatively early stage in his career he was acting as a national figure.

As for the influence of his own architecture within

Scotland, it was unequalled; the often-repeated maxims about Bruce's contribution to the development of Scottish architecture are generally true. What has perhaps been understated, though, is the extent of his indirect influence. Apart from his documented buildings, there is the fact of his apprentices and successors purveying his style into the eighteenth century, and the more subjective consideration of how far his immediate contemporaries took notice of his innovations.

It did not, of course, take any time at all for the aristocracy of the day to recognise the originality of his work and come to him for advice. Part of Bruce's personal triumph was the way in which the landed gentry were persuaded to follow his lead - at Balcaskie - and adopt his revolutionary attitude towards house-building in Scotland. Their 'co-operation' in this respect was partly a sign of the times, independent of Bruce's agency: after the Restoration had brought prosperity to a country depressed by the spartan decades of Puritanism, there was a mood for change among the Lowland lairds who realised that the pele-tower was no longer a suitable dwelling in the days of gunpowder and increased wealth, just as there had been a new spate of building after 1560, when Queen Mary returned from France, heralding a new confidence. Now, it was Bruce who provided the catalyst.

A collection of letters survives[6] from Bruce to the Earl of Cassillis on the building of a house. On 16 August 1673[7] Bruce wrote to him from Balcaskie:

'I have sent this bearer John Hamilton according to my promise to wait upon your lop. I have fullie instructed him to survey your hous, gairdons and grounds, to informe himself of your quaries & ye Condition of them and to give directions how to work them & ye usfull proportions of stons for windows...'

and a further letter from Balcaskie written on 16 March 1674[8] contains Bruce's estimate of timber which Cassillis would require for his new house:

'I Could not finde my lord duke of Hamilton as beafour to peruse ye draght I Last made for your lop...'.

In 1672 Bruce designed a gateway for George, 3rd Earl of Panmure at Panmure House, Angus. The contract between Lord Panmure and Alexander Nisbet, 'mason at Edr', survives:[9]

'To build a Gate at the cheiff entrie of the court that enters from ye wast at the front of the hous of Panmure With basis pillasters...<u>according to the draught given by Sir William Bruce</u> and Muilds made for that effect'.

A generation later, James, the 4th Earl wrote to him enclosing plans of the house:[10]

'you was pleased to desire the draughts of this house...I shall be glad to have your opinion both as to the offices which are yet to build as also what reformations you think might be made within the house...'.

This is a good example of the Scottish aristocracy coming to Bruce for advice but not actually commissioning him as an architect.[11]

Bruce provided similar help to James, 4th Duke of Hamilton. A letter from Hamilton to Bruce dated 2 April

55. Kinneil House, West Lothian

1675[12] concerns the proposed alterations to the Duke's 'lodgings'. The reference is probably to the Duke's suite of rooms at Holyroodhouse, of which he was Hereditary Keeper and where Bruce was still working. However, an account from Andrew Hyslop, stationer, dated 14 July 1673[13] mentions:

'an ffolio of duck hamellns: draughts',

which is more likely to refer to a private building-project of Hamilton's than to his 'grace-and-favour' apartments in Holyrood. One of his houses which would fit these two references is Kinneil House, near Bo'ness in West Lothian. On this house, Hamilton wrote to Lord Queensberry, 10 November 1677:[14]

> 'I haue sent you a draught off the Tower of Kinneil with the two new pavillions I have builded to itt...'.

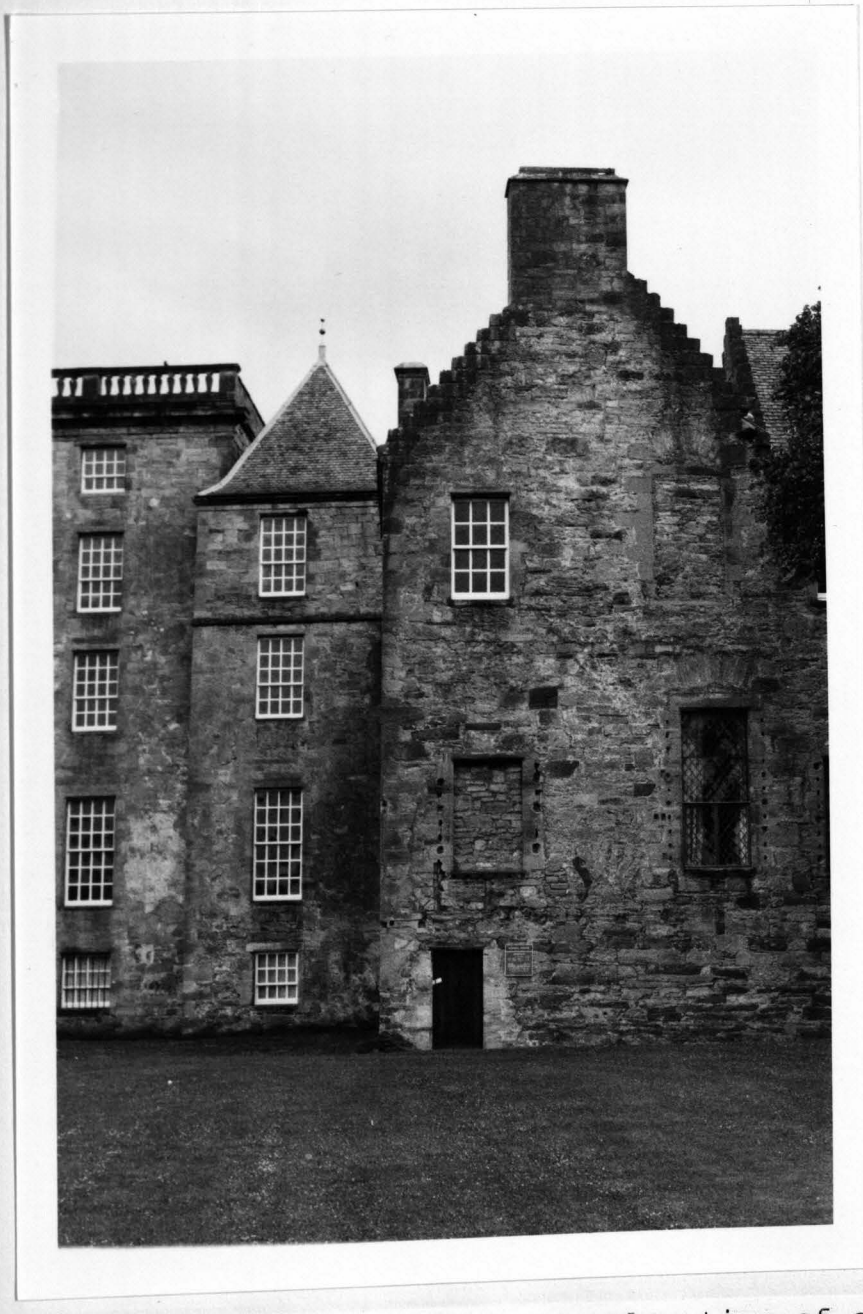
Kinneil consists of two blocks, a mid-sixteenth century tower-house, which was blown up by Regent Morton in 1570, and a later north wing (known as the 'palace'), which has famous painted wall-decoration. What Hamilton did in the 1670s was to rebuild the tower to its five-storey height, creating a symmetrical entrance front with regular sash-windows, and a classical cornice supporting a balustraded parapet around three sides of the roof. The entire front is well dressed with ashlar, and has a plain Renaissance doorway. Not content with this simple regularisation of an old pele-tower, he built the two four-storey pavilions on either side of the front, projecting slightly, with turnpike-stairs in the re-entrant angles behind. These

corner-pavilions originally had pyramid-shaped roofs, which have been restored, along with the whole exterior, by the Scottish Development Department in 1980/1.

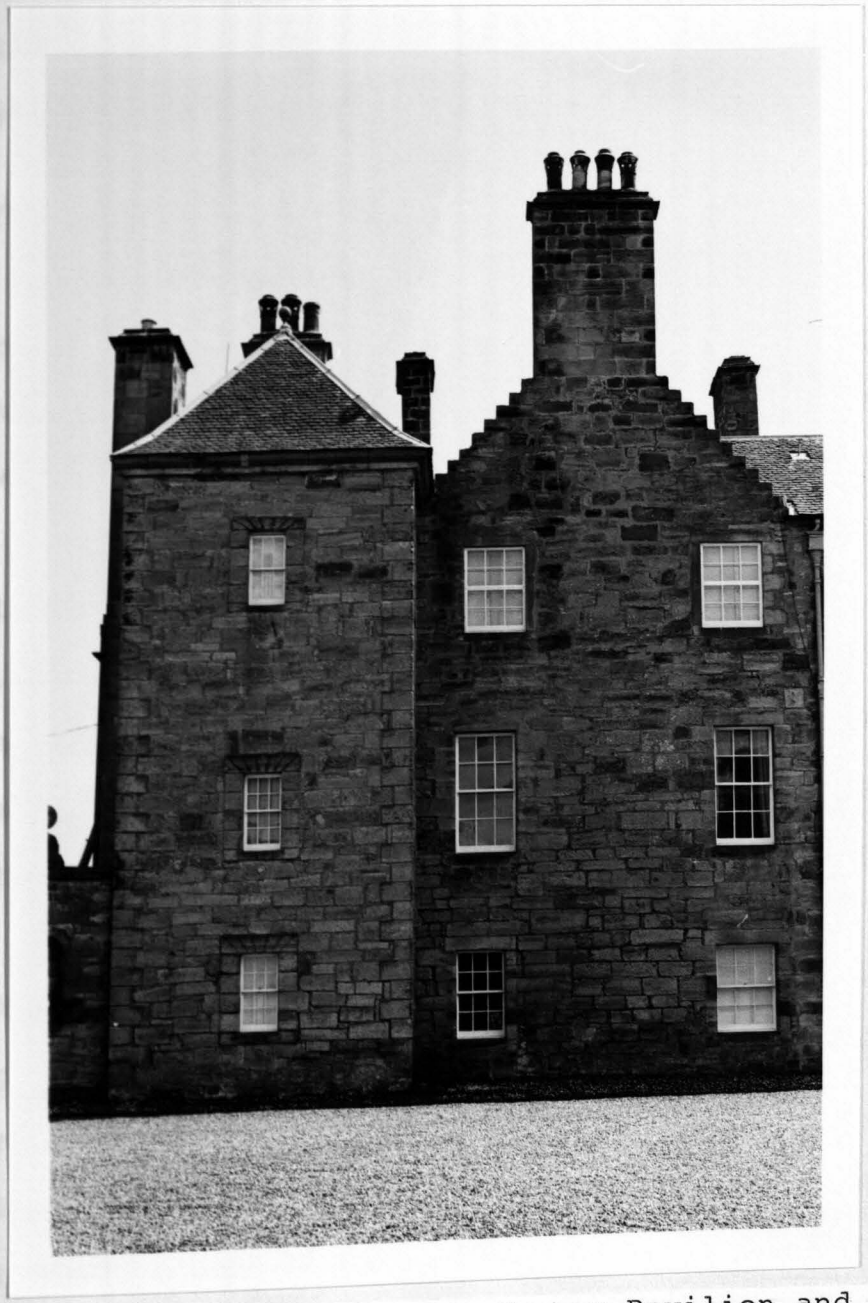
Inside the south pavilion a large, modern staircase was built, with a plaster cornice at first-floor level (now very decrepit).[15] This led to a large new hall on the first floor of the old tower-block which was, apparently, elaborately decorated, and lit by the three tallest windows of the new front.

In accordance with the new axial planning introduced by Bruce into Scotland, a long avenue was planted on the old tower's short axis in the direction of Bo'ness; this is roughly the same line followed by the Roman Antonine Wall, or rather the ditch in front of the Wall, which can still be seen in the fields on the other side of the house. The site must have been levelled when the avenue was planned, but it is interesting that the same axis was used, the ancient Wall and ditch providing a direction for the new layout.

The corner-pavilions, apart from adding a classical symmetry to the new front of the old tower, have another important function. According to the Royal Commission's *Inventory*, James Hamilton planned another wing to the south, along the lines of the present garden wall;[16] this means that the two pavilions would have served the purpose of connecting the old tower to the north wing and prospective south wing, thereby creating a classic forecourt layout. Until then, the north wing and old tower had always been



56. Kinneil House, West Lothian, Side Elevation of old 'Palace' and North Corner-Pavilion



57. Balcaskie House, North-East Corner-Pavilion and Duplicate Tower

separate buildings. It was a superficial exercise: at the junction of the two pavilions and the old tower, the masonry of each unit does not inter-lock - this is visible even where the walls have been harled[17] at a later date. More importantly, though, the old north wing, now old-fashioned with its crow-stepped gable, etc., has been integrated into a classical composition.

The design of Kinneil after the 1670s remodelling has been called a mixture of seventeenth-century Scottish vernacular and the early classicism of Heriot's Hospital,[18] but there is nothing of the latter at Kinneil, no pedimented windows for example, as at the early seventeenth-century north range of the neighbouring Linlithgow Palace. The classicism of Kinneil is, of course, the classicism of Bruce. It must be said that there is no manuscript evidence linking Bruce with Kinneil in particular among the documented correspondence between him and the Duke of Hamilton, but his influence is there all the same.

Even if Bruce knew nothing of Kinneil, Hamilton is taking advantage of Bruce's innovations at Balcaskie: the corner-pavilions, with their restored pyramidal roofs breaking into a slight curve before reaching the eaves, are almost identical to those at Balcaskie.[19] Looking down the avenue at Kinneil towards the house, and the varied massing of vertical elements - crow-stepped gable over wide, older block and pyramid roof over thin, new pavilion - the similarity with Balcaskie is striking.

Once it is accepted that Bruce's classical style was a turning point in the history of Scottish architecture, and that his influence was widespread, it is impossible to limit discussion of Bruce's importance to his known body of work. And the importance of a house like Kinneil is that it shows Bruce's early style, as well as his more famous later work, was an influence on his contemporaries.

FOOTNOTES TO (5)

1. GD 29/188.

2. Peter Gouldesborough *S.H.R.* XL; copy of an Order in Council, dated 5 May 1669, GD 29/106.

3. *Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial)* i, 848.

4. 'upon the sands of Cairnbulg': GD 29/1459, letter from Alexander Fletcher of Saltoun, 23 April 1673.

5. *Register of Deeds*: Durie.

6. GD 25/9/44/3; I am grateful to Mr. John Lowrey for this information.

7. GD 25/9/44/3/2.

8. GD 25/9/44/3/3.

9. GD 45/18/599/1; dated 22 June.

10. GD 29/1944; 12 February 1693.

11. There is no evidence that the whole house 'was partly built to Bruce's designs by John Mylne', *Architect Royal* p. 73/4, let alone that Panmure was one of Bruce's 'irons in the fire' as late as 1676 (p.19), though Bruce may have been responsible for the embryo wing-walls there - see (4) n.97. Fenwick also attributes the oriental-style 'marriage-column' at Panmure to Bruce in 1693, although the marriage (of the 4th Lord Panmure to Margaret, daughter of the 3rd Duke of Hamilton) took place in 1687, and the column bears the date 1694.

12. GD 29/1909.

13. GD 29/263/9.

14. Hist MSS Commission Report XV App Part viii, p.231, quoted in R.C.A.H.M.S. *Midlothian and West Lothian.*

15. There is a similar cornice on the north pavilion, but no staircase.

16. And this is confirmed by the tuskings in the masonry of the south pavilion.

17. The corner-pavilions are only rubble-constructed.

18. T.W. West *Discovering Scottish Architecture.*

19. This similarity has also been noticed, recently, by Fenwick in his new book on the history of Scottish architecture prior to the 'Scottish Baronial' revival,

confusingly called *Scottish Baronial Houses*: 'square-capped side-pavilions *[incorrect]* in imitation of Bruce's at Balcaskie'.

58. Entrance Front, View from North-East

CONCLUSION

Balcaskie was Bruce's first house, and therefore marks the culmination of his early architectural development.[1] Here he created a classical composition by the intelligent and sensitive handling of a variety of masses: on the entrance front, for example, there is the great bulk of the old tower (and its duplicate), then Bruce's corner-pavilion, next the low wing-wall, and finally the side-pavilion, a small house in itself. The corner pavilion is Bruce's contribution to the vernacular emphasis on the vertical, and at the same time a refinement of this emphasis. The most ingenious grouping of all is his placement of the two types of pavilion so close to one another - the corner pavilion is a taller but thinner version of the side-pavilion. And because each of these features has its duplicate the effect of various masses being juggled around is doubled.

Some of the proportions of the entrance front have been carefully considered: the angle of the corner-pavilion's pyramidal roof, for instance, is the same as that of the tower's crow-steps. The roofscape is therefore distinguished by two triangle-shapes at either side. But it is not always a subtle treatment: the various elements are often lined up alongside each other, with little attempt at integration (for example the haphazard junction of wing-wall and side-pavilion). On the other hand, the west side-elevation must have been a subtle composition before David Bryce's additions: the two square corner-pavilions of different heights and the old cylindrical stair-turret.

The garden front is very different - it is a horizontal composition and therefore less distinctly Scottish. Bruce's extension of the old house eastwards and his addition of corner-pavilions at either side make up a classical front, whose symmetry is only threatened by the occasional lapses in the regularity of the fenestration. Here, Bruce was almost successful in disguising the old house completely under the long, continuous sweep of the remodelled front.

Country Life wrote of Bruce in 1912:

> 'His buildings are rather heavy and do not show a very clear grasp of the principles of classic design or any marked sense of proportion'.

But Balcaskie, his first house, shows both his facility with classical design and his sense of proportion. It is too easy to dismiss Balcaskie as Bruce's workshop,[2] where he received his architectural grounding, or even as a series of architectural exercises. Most commentators on Balcaskie suggest that it is unfair to assess Bruce's talent on the basis of his early houses, such as Balcaskie, because he was only 'remodelling an older house', and that we should look to the Dunkeld/Kinross group for an examination of his real achievement.[3]

Balcaskie does not need to have excuses made for it. If Bruce were constrained by already having a house on the site, then he certainly capitalised on the problem. It is true that the means of duplicating an older feature for

classical ends was borrowed from John Mylne's plan for Holyrood, and was not Bruce's original idea, but Balcaskie's design does not stem from pattern-books, as Holyrood's does, and Balcaskie was well underway by the time that work on Holyrood began. If Bruce did build a gallery/staircase on the site of the present one, creating an early Scottish 'double-pile' plan, then Balcaskie's growth from an old tower-house was planned more ingeniously than has hitherto been acknowledged. With or without such a plan, Balcaskie can still claim to be the first classical house in Scotland.

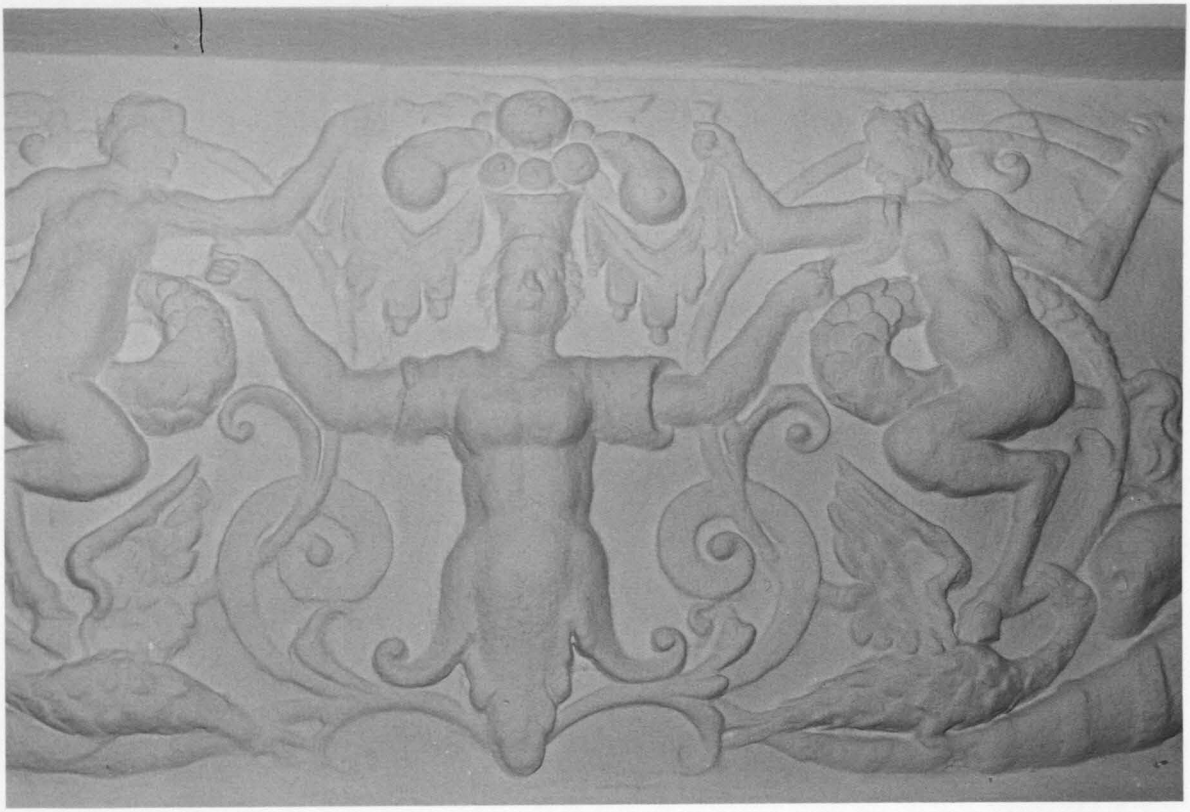
FOOTNOTES TO CONCLUSION

1. The history of Leslie House is too uncertain for it to rank as Bruce's first work.

2. *Architect Royal*, p.12.

3. For instance H. M. Colvin *Biographical Dictionary*... 'At his own house of Balcaskie...he was obliged to improvise in a manner which hardly suggests the mastery of his later works'.

59. St. Mary's Kirk, Grandtully, Perthshire, Ceiling, Detail



60. Balcaskie House, Little Dining Room, Frieze, Detail

61. Little Dining Room, Frieze, Detail (2)

POSTSCRIPT

Balcaskie was a failure for Bruce in one respect only - as a family home. Having bought the house in 1665, it was only ten years before he bought the estate of Kinross (although it was another nine before he sold Balcaskie, to Sir Thomas Stewart of Grandtully).[1] The house has, though, proved a very successful home to the Anstruther family. According to Wood's *East Neuk of Fife* John Strang of Balcaskie married a Cecilia de Anstruther (c.1362). This is the first mention of the Anstruther family in connexion with the house, sealed in 1698 when Sir Thomas Stewart sold Balcaskie to Sir Robert Anstruther.[2] It has remained in the Anstruther family ever since.

It is sad that Balcaskie did not escape the nineteenth-century scourge of 'baronialisation': the Victorian additions at the west end of the house add very little extra space or convenience, and have obliterated the simple elevation of Bruce. This century, Balcaskie has fared considerably better, owing to the sensitive restorations of the present laird, Sir Ralph, 7th Baronet.

The latest, and most successful of these has been the refurbishment in 1987 of the first floor of the south-east corner-pavilion as a small dining room (adjacent to the main Dining Room). This has a remarkably elaborate plaster frieze ignored by all writers on Balcaskie. It is in a similar style to the ceiling of the Drawing Room, except even more luxuriant, with satyrs, winged heads, female figures with arms outstretched and carrying baskets on their heads, and

winged birds with long necks. This is the only frieze in the whole house, and yet in a room measuring, approximately, only 11' square. The room was used as a scullery before renovation, but must have been built by Bruce for a more important purpose - as Bruce's own study? Unfortunately the frieze is not specified in the surviving building-accounts. It has been carefully re-whitened, and the west window of the room, which looks along the nineteenth-century balcony to the south-west pavilion, has been re-inserted.

FOOTNOTES TO POSTSCRIPT

1. GD 29/229.

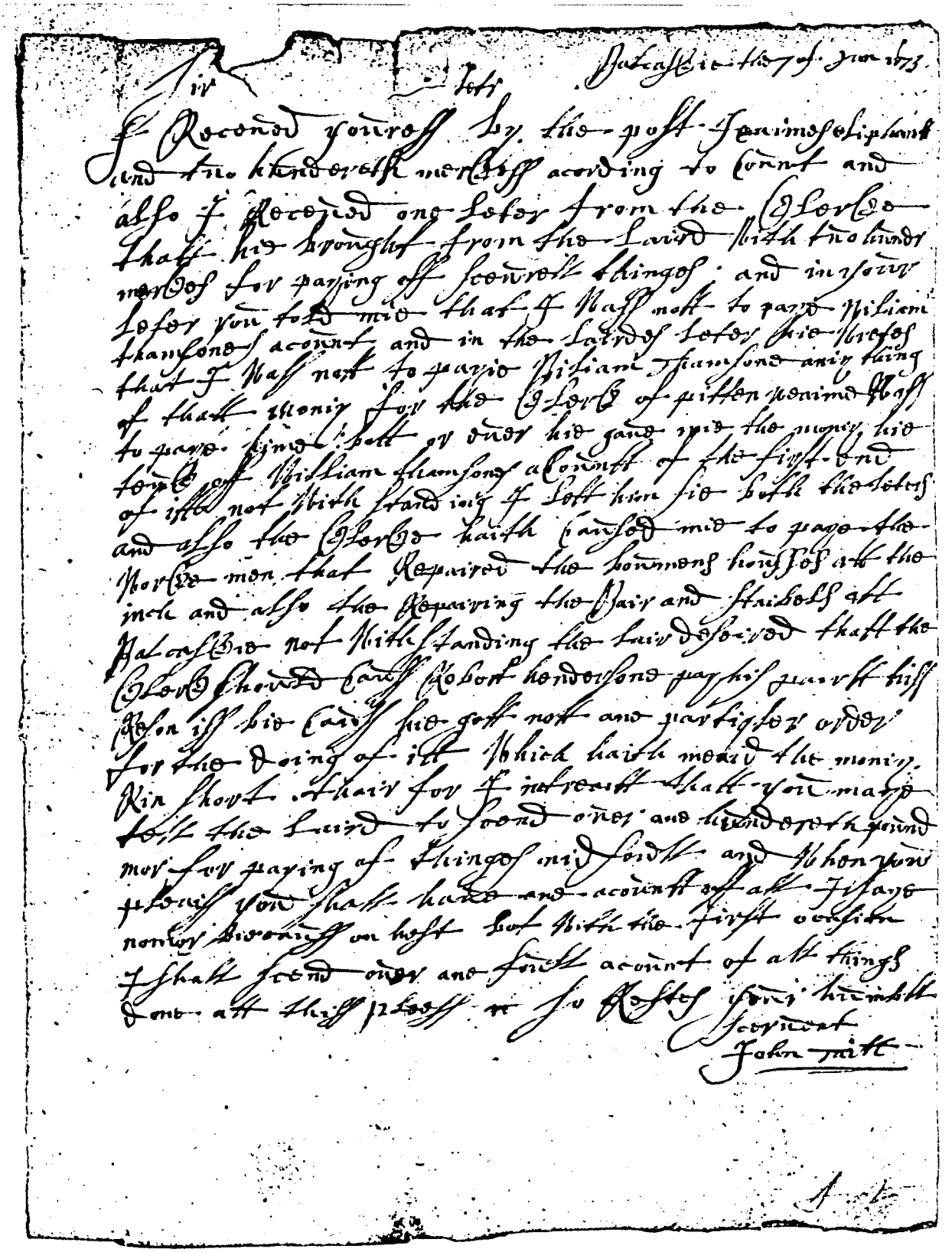
2. A. H. Millar *Fife: Pictorial & Historical* I (1895) attributes the building of Balcaskie to Sir Robert, and not to Bruce, on the basis of a remark on Balcaskie by Sir Robert Sibbald in his *Fife and Kinross* (1803):

> 'a pretty new house, with all modish conveniences of terraces, gardens, parks, and planting'.

APPENDIX

Selected building-accounts of Sir William Bruce at Balcaskie in the Scottish Record Office.

1. GD 29/263/4



Edinb
May 8th 1668

Sr William Bruce Debr
To
James Hamiltone

	lib	s	d
To a parcell of whyt & black Marbill stones cost 1484 : 14 at : 22s per gmd	1633	4	00
To : 200 of stokfish is	12	0	00
To : 4 gallons of Sack wt ye barrells at 30s per gaul is	50	00	00
To ane particular accompt	140	5	00
To Rent of the hous	75	00	00
To 1/8 pt of 100 stons for 1/8 of ye ship	150	00	00
Julij To : 3552 : Cobill at 22s per 100	781	8	8
To Alexr clitchisons proccept for 56 ells bitoyie at : 14s per ell is	39	4	00
23 dcr 1668 To abill from Londonderrie	276	00	00
To 1/6 pt of chairgis of the ship Malmo at two sessions at Law yet depending qrk was taken by Captane Stondry & Capt Swattone Londonderry with timber	40	00	00
	lib	s	d
	3197	1	08

(?)

Per Contra

	lib	s	d
To Birkit upon demand stock money 147 lib 8s 4d 1 grott	1769	00	00
To 1800 pair of stockins at 6s per pair	540	00	00
To 1/6 pt of frei money of said stock vide pryse ye ship Malmo gubrand gibon	470	00	00
To the Remainder of the salt money of David Dynings pryse	120	00	00
To Ballance payd be ready money	298	01	08
	lib 3197	1	08

Wee undersubscryvers Wm bruce of Boulcaskie & James Hamilton mert in Edr doe by these presents mutuallie discharge each uther of the abovewritten accompt and of all other accts, tickets, bonds, contracts, bargaines, debts, soumes of money, claimes or other sums preceiding the dait hereof In witnes qrof wee have subt thir pnts (written be James Kennowie servitor to me the said Wm bruce) wt our hands att Edr the third day of febry Jaj vic fourtie nyne years before thir witnesses Gilbert Muir servitor to me the sd James Hamilton & the sd James Kennowie

J Kennowie witnes
Gilbert Muir witnes

Wm Bruce
J Hamilton

Accompt of stones wining payit out by
John Callender for Sr William Bruce

24 may 1668

for naills to putt up a bridge for the masons — 2 : 00 : 06
for and James mallochs putting up the bridge — 0 : 16 : 08
for 3 draught of dealls carying to the bridge — 0 : 06 : 00

27 decr 1668 James [illegible] & Jon [illegible] for stones [illegible] — 3 : 00 : 00
for pavement wining — 2 : 06 : 8
more for 4½ yairds pavement wining — 18 : 09 : 06

5 Sept 1669 for stones wining — 07 : 10 : 01
Jon Smith smith for irons to masons & [illegible] att the quarrie — 05 : 08 : 00
James [illegible] & Jon [illegible] for their stones and pavement leading — 15 : 10 : 00
for masons irons sharping to James and John and William Smith — 3 : 10 : 00

[illegible]7 10

The 27th Nor 1675 Receaved from James [illegible] the abovewritten somme of fiftie eight pond seven shilling ten penneys Scotts money and that in full of the accompt abovewritten by me

J Callender

I John Burn yr measson in Dunfermlin grants me to have received from John Callender in Kincardin the somme of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] shilling four pennys scots money and that in name and for the [illegible] of Sr William Bruce of Balcaskie conforme to ane agreement past betwixt [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible] in name of the sd Sr William and me [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] on the [illegible] [illegible] for [illegible] at [illegible] and laying at Balcaskie [illegible] [illegible] good and sufficient pavement for the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] from the sd Sr Wm twentie pound scots for each [illegible] which is 104 lb for the 4 [illegible] [illegible] a third part at [illegible] to [illegible] the samen at the sd quarrie of [illegible] and a third part [illegible] they were [illegible] at the sd quarrie, and the other third part [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] they are layed at Balcaskie of the which two third pts conforme to the sd contract I grant the rec[ei]pt from the sd John Callender in name of the sd Sr Wm and discharges him thereof and all others whom it effeirs of the samyn and obliedges me to warrand this [illegible] By these presents subt with my hand at Kincardin the twentie two day of may 1669 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
John Burn
Jon Callender

James [illegible]   [illegible]

Pay to yt abovewrn John Callender yt above summe of [illegible] punds & a merk and yt abovewrn discharge wt this p[re]sent & his recept shall be yor warrant & place ye same yor discharge act of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 22 Dec 1676 W. [illegible]

Acompt to the right honarabell lord of borgkie

to graiing mone for glas october 26 1668. lb s

It to the lo house 2 lights of glas did mesur 14 fot 3/4 — 2 — 19 — 0
It to the hal and chamber in the med roome 3 windows } 11 — 8 — 0
did mesur 57 fut — } 8 — 8 — 0
It to the right roome 3 windows did mesur 17 fut — —) 2 — 11 — 0
It to the gam head 3 windows is 12 fut and 2/1 is — —) 0 — 16 — 0
It to the turn pipe 4 fut — — — 2 — 8 — 0
It to the mid roome of the gam 2 windows is 12 fut — —) 1 — 8 — 0
It to the stair head 1 fut and ahalf — — —
24 — 18 — 0

Agust 15 1669

It for frenc glas soting in lead on litoll windon to the } 0 — 7 — 0
alcole chamber 3 fut 1/2 — —) 1 — 12 — 6
It to the sonth nast game 3 hight lightes 12 foot 3/4 — —) 1 — 14 — 0
It 2 hight lights in the lo chamber 14 fut — —
It 40 losons puting in — —
~~3 — 0 — 0~~
~~2 — 8 — 0~~
6 — 06 — 6

November 9 1669

It for frenc glas furnished be me — —) 1 — 10 — 0
It to the litol windon in the hall 6 fut — —) 2 — 2 — 0
It to the kasment in the hall 17 losons — —) 12 — 7 — 0
~~It to the ... chamber 21 foot 1/2~~ —) 1 — 2 — 0

Novembor 29 1669 It and 9 losons at 2 ... —) 3 — 12 — 6
It an glas to the kasment of the galerie 15 fut —) 0 — 7 — 6
and 3 losons — —) 4 — 2 — 6
It to the sonth nast gam 6 kasment 16 fut 1/2 — — 14 — 12 — 0
It 4 chamonts in the lo chamber 19 foot — — 2 — 3 — 8
It an chasmont to the grin closot 8 fut 3/4 — — 1 — 12 — 0
It an glas to the lonadroup 7 fut — —
~~24 — 16 — 8~~
28 — 11 — 6

It to the chldrin chamber 3 kasments 14 fut 1/2 — —) 3 — 12 — 6
Agust 4 It an kasment to the kitchon did mesur 2 fut 1/2 — — 0 — 12 — 6
~~It to ... litoll closot 1 fut~~ —) 0 — 12 — 0
It 12 losons — — — } 1 — 17 — 6
It to the door head of the hall 9 fut 1/2 — —) 2 — 7 — 6

20 Septembr 1670 It 2 glas windons to the otosthonse 26 fut 1/4 — — —) 12 — 12 — 0
It 3 yor toolchios did mesur 29 fut — — — 12 — 16 — 0
Januar 1671 It an windon to the nast gams of inglos glas 12 fut — 1 — 0 — 0
... 1671 It an windon to the nast gam to the nast 12 fut — — 3 — 0 — 0
It an yor to the hen hons did mesur 7 fut — — 1 — 8 — 0
It an glas soting in lead to the chldrin chamber 9 fut } 2 — 12 — 0
and 6 losons that day — —
6 — 12 — 0

februar 12 1671 (cont.) GD 29/286

		lib	ß	d
	Itt 7 losens of frenq glas that day	0	17	6
	Itt an casment to the lower most roume of frenq glas	1	0	0
aprill 9 1671	Itt an casment to the [illegible] did mesur 4 fut			
	Itt an nindon mending in the new kichen 14 losens	0	16	0
	and 2 strings of lead	1	6	0
	Itt to Iohn Watt 6 fut 1/2 of glas and new		10	0
may 11 1671	~~Itt 2 casments to the stear fut did mesur [illegible]~~	1	10	0
	Itt to giveing mour 7 fut 1/2	3	10	0
	Itt 40 losens and 2 strings of lead	[illegible]	[illegible]	6
may 30:10	Itt to the stear kes 4 casments glases 10 fut 1/2	6	[illegible]	0
Aprill 22 1671	Itt to the nord nast gain 6 casment glases 2 2 fut	[illegible]	12	6
	Itt to the thurvrs 3 glases did mesur 18 fut 1/2 at 2 sholina fut and 4 pond of lead	0	12	0
		31	11	0
	Soumeal	117	14	6
	Receved	36	0	0
	Remensmal	81	14	6

1st Summe . . . . 124 18 —
2d Summe 62 6 6
3d Summe 28 11 6
4th Summe . . . . 26 17 —
5 & last Summe of accompt . . 31 11 6

118 04 6

1670 Receaved from John Moncrieff } 24 — — } 36 — —
1669 from [illegible] } 12 — —

Rests yet due . . 82 4 6

August 9 1671

received from Robert Smeth in name of Sir William Bruce fower scor and two pounds 4 5 — 6 d [illegible]

[illegible] 1671 [illegible] — 43:10:0

Sr William Bruce his Comptis of work wroght be William Thomsone Smyth in Aberstonne begining on ye second day of Junii 1670

	lib	s	d
Imprimis for pattone horse 5 gang one shoe mde	05	15	00
more for removes [illegible] mde	00	13	00
Item for ye stoned horse 5 gang one shod mde	05	05	00
Item for him of removes 3 gang mde	00	12	00
Item for ye ald geldine 7 new shone & 5 removes	02	00	00
Item for ye young geldine 11 new shone	02	15	00
Item for him 2 removes mde	00	02	00
Item for ye young stoned horse mde	00	02	00
Item for ye browne horse a gang of shone	01	00	00
Item for ye black horse 10 new shone	02	10	00
Item for him 7 removes mde	00	07	00
Item for humby horse 4 gang new shone	04	00	00
Item for him 5 removes mde	00	05	00
Item for ye Irish horse 2 gang new shone 2 shone	02	10	00
Item of removes one gang mde	00	04	00
Item for ye whytt poynay 10 new shone	01	10	00
Item of removes 7 mde	00	07	00
Item for ye English geldine 4 new shone mde	01	00	00
Item for ye secund geldine 9 new shone	02	05	00
Item for him 6 removes mde	00	06	00
Item for ye gray poynay 6 new shone 2 remov:	01	00	00
Item 2 shovell yrons mde	00	14	00
Item 20 pound of yron working in 2 bushes & 2 strakes mde	01	00	00
Item for a mattock laying to ye laboreris	00	10	00
Item for a spade yron to Johne Tait	00	10	00
Item 20 pound of yron working for breaking of ye gravell mde	01	00	00
Item 16 batts of my owne yron mde	00	16	00
Item 2 racks of my owne yron	[illegible]	10	00
Item for ane shovell mending	00	03	00
Item for 6 pound of yron in two crampits & 2 lime pinnes mde	00	06	00
Item 20 pound of my owne yron for ye loft doore at ye kyrk mde	04	00	00
Item for ane shovell yron to ye quarrell	00	07	00

	lib	ß	d
Item ane other shovell yron to ye Cavellers mde	00	07	00
Item for a pair of raxes 2 stone of my owne yron in made work mde	06	08	00
Item half a hunder double naills to ye kyrk	00	10	00
Item for half a hunder quarrell pick sharping	01	00	00
Item for working of 3 stone 3 pund of yron for ye parkyett, ye byre door and henhous door mde	03	00	00
Item for ane Cravatt to ye new kitchen & one to ye brewhous mde	01	12	00
Item 3 new locks for ye gardin yett, ye new kitchen, henwyffes door & hensons & one for ye byre ande	05	00	00
Item for 12 pair of window bands to ye office houses		06	00
Item for mending a lock to ye Cavellers	00	04	00
Item for a Coalrack of my owne yron	01	00	00
Item for 3 stone & half of yron working in a frame to a wealing stone mde	02	16	00
Item for ane shaver of my owne yron	01	04	00
Item for ye Coatch 30 tand naills and 5 wound bands and 4 clitts mde	02	05	00
Item 14 pound of yron in two new spits	00	14	00
Item ane axe & ane Itch for cutting of ye chimney	01	04	00
Item for mending ye fountaine lock	00	06	00
Item for two keyes fuedering mde	00	06	00
Item for 10 glassbands & 6 batts of made work of my owne yron received by Alexr Grey for ye kyrk	01	16	00
Item of naills 11 hunder for ye plasterer at 5 ß per hunder mde	02	15	00
Item for a new sythbacking mde	00	08	00
Item for a band to ye wattering pig	00	04	00
Item to ye mill two hunder & half of double naills and two hunder plansh naills mde	03	10	00
Item a new band to ye mill door of 3 pund yron	00	12	00
Item a stone of made work of my owne yron to Thomas Crmick shank his hinges in crooks & bands & staples to his doores mde	03	04	00

	lib	s	d
Item for the doores 3 lockes made	02	08	00
Item for the doores 2 hunder plensh naills	01	00	00
Item a new lock for William Browne's door	00	16	00
Item for John Smart in Balhousie 2 stone of made work of my owne iron in the bands & 2 crooks	06	08	00
Item to him more halfe hunder band naills	00	10	00
Item a new key to the barne door lock	00	08	00
Item to Robert Black in Grangemoor a new lock and ane hunder plensh naills made	01	10	00
Summa totalis is	103	19	00

This compt written on the 26 of april 1671

I William Thomsone smith [illegible] grants me to have received from James [illegible] the soume of [illegible] pundis [illegible] in full [illegible] this [illegible] written with my hand att Balcaskie the 3d of Julie 1671

William Thomson

Sir William bruce compt
the 5 of june

It 2 girds on a ponshon o win — 0 — 2 — 0
It 11 girds on water ponshons — 0 — 11 — 0
It 5 girds on a water ponshons — 0 — 5 — 0
It a new bukit — 1 — 4 — 0
It a scother — 0 — 6 — 0
It a haird buket — 0 — 6 — 8
It 5 girds on a buket — 0 — 2 — 6
It a scother — 0 — 6 — 0
It a bothom to a firlet an girds — 0 — 9 — 0
It 4 girds on a water ponshon — 0 — 4 — 0
It a bothom an 5 girds on a water tob — 0 — 9 — 0
It 9 girds on a water tob — 0 — 9 — 0

Summa — 4 — 14 — 2

Thomas Cook his Compt of work wrought by Thomas
Cook to the Laird of Balrasskie beginning the 8 of Jany 1672

Imprs 3 dayes of my self and 3 dayes and ane half of
my man making Cartes and whiel barrowes & ane rower to — 03 — 08 — 00
the garden — 2 shooles to hou Cart — 00 — 14 — 00
Item 2 ax trees to two whiel barrowes & 2 shooles — 00 — 06 — 08
Item ane Cart saddell —
Item 6 dayes of my self and 4 dayes of my man making and — 05 — 12 — 00
mending seates in the kirk — 00 — 08 — 00
Item ane hand to the kirk bell and ane spade shaft —
Item ane shaft to a pik shaft and ane quarrell mall — 00 — 10 — 08
Item a quarrell pik shaft and ane stone hammer shaft — 00 — 05 — 04
Item ane hammer shaft ane Cart sadle and a stone barrow — 00 — 19 — 04
Item half day of my man mending Cartes — 00 — 04 — 00
Item 2 shooles to the masons a quarrell mall shaft — 00 — 16 — 00
Item 3 shooles and ane stone barrow to the quarrell — 01 — 08 — 00
Item a day of my self and twoo of my man in Hot Blakes — 01 — 09 — 04
Item a day of my self and my man in Houn Roddes — 01 — 01 — 04
Item ane half day of my self and my man at Balrasskie — 00 — 10 — 08
Item 5 shooles for the use of the work — 01 — 10 — 00
Item 3 pik shafts to the quarrell — 00 — 08 — 00
Item a half day of my self and my man — 00 — 10 — 08
Item 3 dayes of my self and 3 of my man making ruples
to the washin houses — 03 — 04 — 00
Item a day of my self and four of my man making
frames and sarkin houses and sundrie other things — 02 — 05 — 04
Item a day of me and my man ~~making~~ sowing dailes
at Balrasskie — 01 — 01 — 04
Item a shool to hou Cart — 00 — 06 — 00

Summa 26 — 26 — 18 — 08

Compted The 27 dayes of october and all Compts
Clearly payed preceeding the daye and datt hereof
26 witnes my hand att balraskie the daye forsaide

TC

8 6
4 28 8
27 26 8 28

The acount of moniy deburssed about the woorke at Balcaskie from the 13 of may 1672
to the 12 of agust 1672 yeares of moniy —— 560 – 10 – 4

of the which I have Receved

In the first from Sir by the post —— 29 – 00 –
Mor Receved from Sir by the post —— 48 – 00 –
Mor Receved from from Sir by patrik Jonston —— 100 – 00 –
Mor Receved from my laidy at Balcaskie —— 58 – 00 –
Mor Receved from my laidy at Balcaskie —— 58 – 00 –
Mor Receved from my laidy at Balcaskie —— 08 – 14 –
Mor Receved from Sir by William Sa[illegible] —— 200 – 00

suma of the Receving is 501 – 14 – 0

So Restes to the Counter unpayed —— 58 – 16 – 4

560 – 10 – 4

for the ten Rex dolleres I have given in acount to my laidy. Nota yt this ten dollers mentioned heir is meant by ~~[illegible]~~ 10 dollers wch he wrotte (beside ye 29th wch is ye 18 article of this acct) wch is not charged in this acct be cause ye same was paid out for Cools ye acct qrof he did give up to my lady

[illegible] Edinburgh

Hallyrudehouse 14 Sept

[illegible]

Att Balcashie the 15 of July 1673
Received from John Caddell Skipper of the
Lyioll Subiectt of Alloa the whole
Number of stones thatt Walter Coultt
~~[illegible]~~ scoritt a noott aff that is 40 sayd
14 long stones att 6 footte long agiro
More 126 pice of shortt stones being full
in number as witness My hand
John Tullis

Balcashie the 23 Julli 1673
Receaved fra John tait in part of payment of the
fraught abovewritten three pounds scots be me
J C

Ja Cameron Hallyrudhouse 25 July 1673
Payit to Jon Caddell for ye abovewrittin fraught fiftie punds
[illegible] ye same to yor discharge acct of
my proper Cash

I John Caddell grant me to have Received from James
Cameron the summe of thretty seven pounds scotts [illegible] three
pounds scots [illegible] as witness my hand Hallyrudhouse the 28 July
day [illegible] written yeare

Ane compt of work, wrought
be David Makbaith painter
to Sir Wm Bruce at his house of Balcaskie

	lib	β	d
Item for a barrell of Lamb blak	00	12	00
Mair for two pound of flanders orker	00	14	00
Mair for two pound of Umber	00	12	00
Mair for painting of the Seat in Carnbie, and priming of the work in the two chambers and the great windows in the gallrie And for the door of the great roome, And also that door, that goes into my ladys chamber And for all the rest of the work that was wadie at present	15	00	00

Suma is — 16 lib — 18 β — 0 d

Edr 8th Feb: 1672

James ~~Lommonie~~

Pay to david Mcbeath painter ye abovewritin soume of ~~[illegible]~~ sexteinpunds eighteinshillings scots & place ye same to my acct

W Bruce

I David Mc beath granttes me to have the somme of — — 016 – 18 – 0 of the abovewritin compte

DMB

the accownt of wright work att balcaskie 1671

tusday the 18 of Aprill to satterday the 22 therof

Andrew Waddell that week 5 dayes — lb3 — 6 — 8

thomas oliphant that week 5 dayes — 3 — 00 — 00

petter fforett that week 5 dayes — 1 — 10 — 00 ; 07 ; 16 ; 8

Monday the 24 of Aprill to satterday the 29 therof

Andrew Waddell that week 4 dayes — 2 — 13 — 4

thomas oliphant that week 4 dayes — 2 — 8 — 00

petter fforett that week 4 dayes — 1 — 4 — 00 ; 06 ; 05 ; 4

Monday the first of may to satterday the 6 therof

Andrew Waddell that week 3 dayes — 2 — 00 — 00

thomas oliphant that week 5 dayes — 3 — 00 — 00

petter fforett that week 5 dayes — 1 — 10 — 00 ; 06 ; 10 ; 00

Monday the 8 of may to satterday the 13 therof

Andrew Waddell that week 5 dayes — 3 — 6 — 8

thomas oliphant that week 3 dayes — 1 — 16 — 00

petter fforett that week 3 dayes — 00 — 18 — 00

James macklangen on day — 00 — 6 — 8

— 6 — 00 — 00

mair for planting the hall dore — 6 — 00 — 00 ; 18 ; 07 ; 4

mair for planting the [illegible] dore — lb00 — 8 — 00

mair and grinder dore naills and [illegible] grinder windonailles — sua — 16 — 13 ; 07 ; 4

mair and plaisk to be the crooks to the casments — 00 — 16 — 00

mair for [illegible] betwixt the ceiling rowme and the [illegible]

chamber — 4 — 00 — 00 — 44 ; 3 ; 4

summa is — 28 — 3 — 4

mair for ane pund of candell — 1 — 10 — 00

mair for [illegible] the taking downe the hall [illegible] of the two rowmes

and [illegible] of them [illegible] and frames [illegible] from 10 — 00 — 00

mair for [illegible] of the [illegible] — 2 — 8 — 00

mair for the casments of the two windoes of the great stair — 7 ; 4 ; —

and [illegible] bolls meall of [illegible] — 07 ; 5 ; 4

mair for [illegible] makeing 12 [illegible] sua [illegible]

[illegible] commit and [illegible] — 31 ; 10 ; —

and [illegible] bolls meal — 35 ; 07 ; 4

[illegible] [signature]

Resting of yᵉ within wᵗⁿ acct as by yᵉ oyʳ page 135 : 7 : 4

Deof to be [illegible] for yᵉ [illegible] of ~~five~~ two bolls of [illegible] of yᵉ foure bolls mentioned on yᵉ oyʳ syd yᵉ oyʳ two bolls being allowed for yᵉ [illegible] mentioned yron | 10 : ~~7~~ : 1[illegible]

Rest still dew to yᵉ sd Andrew 125 : 7 : 4

It: for 29 elnes 3½ inches square work of lyn [illegible] in [illegible] parts of yᵉ house conform to particullar acct at 12ˡᵇ Scots each elne | 17 : 9 : 6

Sua — 142 : 16 : 10

To be defaulked 2 ~~lb~~ Scots [illegible] too much on yᵉ oyʳ syde in yᵉ article of 10ˡᵇ for taking down yᵉ wall plates & putting [illegible] | 2 : — : —

Inde restes — 140 : 16 : 10

major Andrew Naddell [illegible] yᵉ 31 of may ~~[illegible]~~ — 13 — 4

major thomas oliphant and his [illegible] yᵉ 31 of may and yᵉ first of Junne two dayes — 1 — 16 — 0

I Andrew Naddell grant me to [illegible] Sua — 43 [illegible]
have received from James Kennoway in the name and behalf of [illegible] Junne ~~[illegible]~~ of [illegible]
& William [illegible] of the above written ~~[illegible]~~
pounds [illegible] sterling [illegible] in full payment of the same and all other of the above written account and discharges the same and all [illegible] preceding the [illegible] of Junne 1667

Andrew Naddell

40 : 16 : 10
13 : 4
1 : 16
43 : 6 : 2

(32)

And: Naddell

ffebruary ye 17 1674

George Dunsterfeild his Account for wark att Balcaskie

	lb	s	d
71 working days att 3ss 6d a day	12	08	06
William Lindors			
16½ working dayes att 18 pence a day	01	04	09
John Smith			
73 working days att half a mark a day	02	00	06
william Gordy			
8 working days att half a mark a day	00	04	05
Barnard Anderson			
73 working dayes att half a mark a day	02	00	06
Summa	17	18	08

Q Reseaved by Wm Garrioch to ye said George dunsterfield at two severll tymes four pound sterl for wch ye receipts said to be left in Custodie of My Lady Balcaskie — 4 — —

Item payed by Jas Kennedie to ye sd George upon ye 19th febry 1674 fourtein sh: sterl for wch ye receipt is now retired to ye sd George to Cancell — 2 16 8

Item payed by John Tait Gairdner to ye sd George One hundreth tenpunds scots wch I am to repay to ye sd Jon Tait — 9 3 4

Item Restis yet dew to George dunsterfield to Compleit this accompt — 2 15 4 — 13 18 8

17 18 8

Hallyrudhouse 11th May 1674

Jas Kennedie

Pay to George dunsterfield Plaisterer ye above remaining two pounds fyfteine shillings four pennies sterling yet dew to him of ye above written acct, And place ye 13 lb 18s ... payed which be pay[ed] by ... as above, To yor discharge acct of my proper Cash the other four pounds abovementioned having bein payed out of my Cash att Balcaskie

Wm ...

I George Dunsterfield Grantesse to have received from Jas Kennewie two pounds fyfteen shillings ffoure pennies sterling mony the which wt in wine ~~[illegible]~~ is in full & Compleat payt of ye schells wt in wine and In witnes qrof I have subd thir pnts wt my hand att Cannongate this 13 day of May 1674 Before yr witness

George Dunsterfield

Robert greinhorne wittnes:
Edward Kennewie witnes

Acct Geo: Dunsterfield for Blackstoring al Balcaskie
Recd 13 May 1674

Balcaskie the 8 of Maye 1674
Thes ar to declair that
I have Receaved from John Baill
Upon Sir William Bruce's acount the
soume of ane hundreth and
ten pound pound Scots Money as
Witnes My hand of the Receaving of
of the above Writen soume the 8 daye
of Maye 1674 yeairs

George Dunsterfeild

att Balcaskie the 23 of may 1674
Receaved by the post from Edv and
James [illegible] in name of the laird
of Balcaskie the above writen soume
of ane hundred [illegible] scots and ten pound
scots Upon George Duncirfeild's acount
as Witnes My hand John Baill

The above summ 110 lib scots is allowed to me by Sir Wm bruce in my
discharge booke of his proper Cash as a [illegible] of Geo: Dunsterfields
ord yt im placed [illegible]

Hallyrudhouse 26 Nov:r 1675

Receaved from Jas Sommervile at order of Sr Wm bruce of
Balcaskie eight pounds sterling and yt for a Coppie
of ye Kings portract Coppied for ye sd Sr Wm by me

Jacobus de Wett

een Icarus die uit de lucht valt -- 8 rixdal

vier stuckiens die boove deuren staen
het stuck 4 rixdal is te samen --- 16 rix

een stuck van neptunus ------ 20 rix

een stuck van merqurius ------ 16 rix

een stuck van polifemus ------ 8 rix

is te samen 68 rix

Balcarkie 17 May 1674

~~There is formerly payd of this accompt~~
tuentie Rexdollers and eight dollers payd
by me this day rests fourtie dollers.

James Konning

17 May: 74
Pay to Monsr De Witte fourtie Rixdollers
in compleet of accompt above written
& yis present wt his recept sl be allowd
to you on my accompt.

Aldus Stukiens voor het orgel — 6 rixd

Aldus Stukiens boove de deuren in de galdery 8 rix

den Stuklen de Storij van Jason de
den draek verjaeght — — — — 6 rijxd

de historij ~~de~~ van Susanna — — 8 rixd

Balcaskie 22 Sepr 1676

James Cannaway pay to Mr de Witte the sume of
twintie eight Dollers wch at his writ I shall
alow in your accompts — Wm Bruce.

Cannongate 25 Septbr 1676

Receaved from James Cannawie Twentie eight pix dollers
Conform to the abovewrin acct & receipt by me
Jacobus de Wet

58
23:4
81:4

Accompt to [illegible] aprill 27: 1672 for glas lb — s — d

	It to the womans house two south windows of inglish glas	1	0	0
	It is measur foot 20 is at 4d p. fut ... 5 foot at 2s p. foot		10	0
	It for the west windows setting in new lead	0	16	0
aprill 30	It for dressing of the east window in the gallerie	1	0	0
	It for 30 losens putting in of your own glas	0	12	0
	It for 6 losens of inglish glas of min own	0	12	0
	It for 2 foot setting in lead to the lower meal rowm of your own	0	4	0
28	It to the west window about the hall two kasmonts glased ~~[illegible]~~			
	It mor of your own glas 10 losens	0	6	8
July 29 1672	It an kasmont setting in new lead in the low rowm of the nort west same did measur 3 fot ¾	0	7	6
	It to the stabool and coch hous of inglish glas 24 fut ½	4	18	0
	It for 12 losens putting in of your own	0	8	0
	It for 10 pund wight of [illegible] to the woldrie at a mark the pund	6	13	4
	It for glas to the woldrie 200 ~~and~~ 10 foot at 4 shilling	42	0	0
		~~64~~	~~19~~	~~6~~

I acknowledg This compt as written rescud be me. Soume in all 64 — 15 — 6

[illegible]

Ja. Johnston [illegible] this abovewritten acct of Sixtie four punds 15sh Scots to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] proper Cash
place ye same to my acct in his discharge of [illegible]

Wm. Bruce

I Alexr Grey Grants me to have receaved
the Above writen summe of 64 lb fyften shill-
ings sex pennyes from James Johnstoun in name
of his master as witness my hand at Hally-
Rudhouse Janu 21th 1673 yeares

Alexd Grig

Not of garden seeds for Sr Willm Bruce furnished at [illegible] the 1st Apryle 167[illegible]

2 ounces, Sybbon seed	½ – ½ 5½ –
2 ounces, beeks	½ – ½ 4½ –
2 ounces, Spinage	½ – ½ 4½ 6
1 ounce Lattice	½ – ½ 6½ –
2 ounces, Carets	½ – ½ 6½ –
½ ounce, parsneps	½ – ½ 6½ –
½ ounce purslie	½ – ½ 2½ –
4 drop Margellum	½ – ½ 3½ –
1 ounce Reffoords	½ – ½ 4½ –
2 ounces pasigell	½ – ½ 4½ –
~~[illegible]~~	½ – ½ 5½ –
Bo[illegible]	[illegible] ½ 2½ 6½ 2
	½ ½ ½ 4½ –

For Sr William Bruce of Baltaskie

Not off seeds for Sr Wm Bruce furnished for Baltaskie garden

½ 1 lb onyions	1 – 8 – –
½ 1 lb Leekes	.. – 18 – –
4 @ Carrots	.. – 18 – –
2 @ [illegible]	.. – 8 –
2 @ turneps	.. – 8
	3 – 18

[illegible] 2d

Summa of both accompts [illegible]

Received fra James Kennoway Campbell [illegible] 1 lb Apryle 167[illegible] payment off the accompt [illegible]

Richard Henderson

The acount of Work mens daies wrought
about Balcaskie and other nessessaries
from the 25 of aprill to the 13 of Maye 1672 yr

	lib	s	d
John Abercrombie 22 dayes	06	12	0
William Morice 6 dayes	01	16	0
David Wilson 23 dayes	06	18	0
John Wilsone 23 dayes	06	18	0
to William Fressell for 93 Rudes of Stables [illegible]	04	13	0
Mor for a Ridell to sift gravill	00	04	0
Mor to Robert Bompt 22 load of sand	01	02	0
Mor to Thomas Barclay for 24 bolls of lime stones	28	16	0
Mor to Nicoll Moffon for 12 dracht of stones [illegible]	01	04	0
Mor to William Fressell for going to Dysert for [illegible]	00	08	0
Mor to John [illegible] in the [illegible] for 28 double trees	26	00	0
Mor to John Wilsone in [illegible] for 8 double trees	08	00	0
Mor to harie Mincris tenpound of green to the loft and [illegible]	01	10	0
Suma is	94	01	
Mor to Robert grig	49	01	
Mor to William Thamsone	51	03	
It [illegible] to Andrew walker [illegible] his accompt to this day in ye great accompt 33lb 16s 8d in a small accompt 9lb 4s both amounts to	43	00	0
	237	5	0

on the 17 of may Received of this acount
from the Laird of Balcaskie eight Leaige dollor,
as witnes John Tait

Jas Kennedie

Hallyrudhouse 27 May 1672

Deliver to Jas Oliphant post to take to Balcaskie to Jon Tait two hundreth
fourteen punds sevinteen shilling eight pennies with the aforewritten
eight Legge dollers does compleet ye pay of ye aforewritten soume of
two hundreth threttie seven punds 5s 8d

W. Bruce

Acct payed to John Tait gardener for his workmen wages
22:8:–
214:17:8
237:5:8
27 May 1672

214:17:8
22:8:–
237:5:8

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