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**THE RESTORATION OF WILLIAM ADAM HOUSES
IN VARIOUS HANDS**

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Scotland has suffered the loss of a large number of historically and architecturally valuable buildings due not only to neglect, but also to the passivity of an uninformed public. The past decade and a half has seen an increasing movement towards action and awareness in the field of historic preservation. This is a movement which must be encouraged and to which contributions should be made consistently.

William Adam's surviving works document the classical movement in Scottish architecture and should be treated as historical artifacts like those in a museum. Unfortunately, however, buildings require more money and effort to restore and preserve than most artifacts, and their preservation demands that a use be found for them in the present.

The ethical and legal history of preservation is examined to provide a foundation for four case studies of William Adam houses which have been restored in various hands: The House of Dun (National Trust for Scotland), Arniston House (private owners), Duff House (Historic Buildings and Monuments Division of the Scottish Development Department), and Chatelherault (Hamilton District Council). Each case has elements which are admirable, some which are controversial, and some which are clearly mistakes. The decisions which have had to be made by the restoring bodies are not only different in each individual case, but are governed by different motives and priorities as well. The four cases therefore stand as comparison pieces.

Concluding judgements are offered from the point of view of motive. A brief discussion follows concerning national character as evidenced in attitudes towards the past, and the preservation movement in America is mentioned as a leading example.

I, Marion Contee Brune, 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.

July 23, 1990

I was admitted as a candidate for the degree of M. Litt. (Gallery Studies) in October, 1988; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between October, 1988 and July, 1990.

July 23, 1990

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of M. Litt. (Gallery Studies) in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

July 23, 1990

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July 23, 1990

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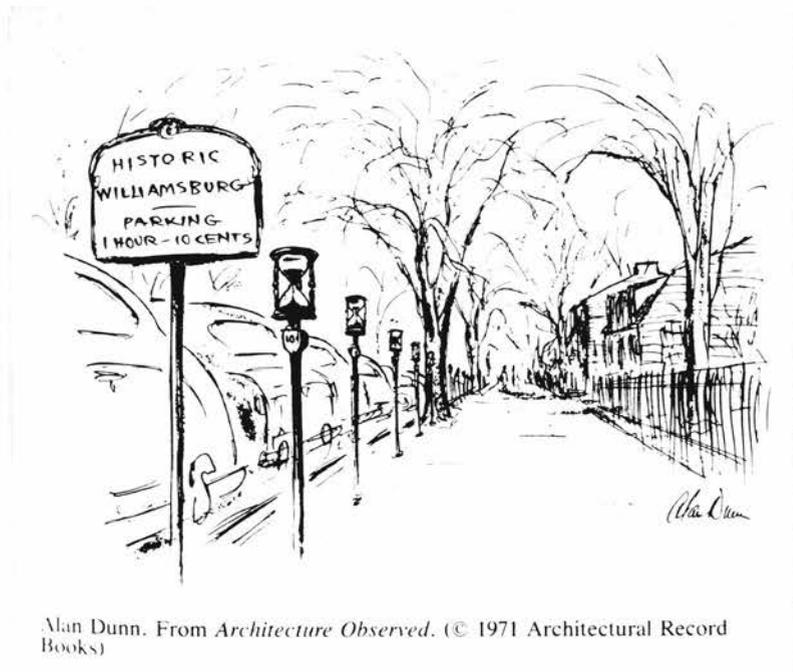
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INTRODUCTION

The topic for this thesis has developed out of an interest in museum ethics which deal with the presentation of the past to the public and the curatorship and preservation of that past for the future. Classical Scottish country houses are the artifacts of a past era, an era which, though not as prolific as its counterpart in England, is of independent architectural importance. William Adam is an important figure in this era, and his surviving buildings are testaments to the architectural heritage of Scotland. Built for a specific class of people, they cannot now function either economically or socially in their former role. Country houses today should and must be available to people of all classes; the money provided through tourism contributes to their ensured preservation, and the houses provide a unique source of three-dimensional, concrete history for public education.

Private owners today must be more curators than mere owners. Costs of maintenance can be met in most cases only with the help of grants, and these grants in turn require opening to the public. In cases where houses have passed out of private hands into local council, government, or National Trust for Scotland hands, a varied set of priorities governs decisions as to their restoration and upkeep. No decision can please everyone; each restoration project will be criticised, but each has its merits as well. Despite the faults and pitfalls of each project, they all must be praised for contributing to and participating in the preservation of Scotland's architectural heritage.

This thesis will discuss the legal and ethical history of preservation in Scotland (which is tied to that in England) as it has developed to the present. Four case studies of William Adam houses will demonstrate the numerous differing tasks and decisions involved in restoration projects and the varying reasons behind choices made. The following buildings have been examined: The House of Dun in Angus, now in the care of the National Trust for Scotland; Arniston House in Midlothian, owned and inhabited by Aedrian and Althea Dundas-Bekker, descendants of the original owners; Duff House in Banffshire, now in the hands of the Historic Buildings and Monuments Division of the Scottish Development Department; and Chatelherault in Lanarkshire, now part of a country park run by the Hamilton District Council. These case studies will be followed by a critical analysis of the restoration and presentation of the four houses, with a concluding discussion of the current state of the preservation movement in Scotland and views towards its continued development.

It must be stated at the outset that this is not an orthodox academic work, but one which uses historical academic research as the foundation for a practical, contemporary argument. Therefore, there are a number of sources which will be of questionable academic value, such as the guide books for the House of Dun and Duff House. Both were actually written by respected scholars in the field (William Kay and A. A. Tait, respectively), but are primarily important because they show how the restoring body has chosen to present the house to the public. Further, while the four projects are intended to be viewed comparatively, it is impossible to present them in parallel

format, not only because each project is inherently different, but also because different points are made in each case which are also relevant to the topic as a whole, and different types of source material was available for each. Illustrations were likewise available in varying quantities for each house. A large portion of information has been obtained through interviews with people involved with these houses and the heritage organisations. These interviews have been given on a confidential basis and often touch on sensitive and controversial ground; therefore anonymity has had to be respected.

For their generosity with their time, practical information, ideas and views I would like to thank the following: Ronald Cant, John Cunningham-Jardine, Althea Dundas-Bekker, Marc Ellington, William Hanlin, William Murray Jack, David Jones, June Marchionness of Aberdeen and Temair, William Kay, John Knight, John Lowrey, Anne MacDonald, Debbie Mays, Richard Miller, Simon Montgomery, Isobel Nicholson, June Pratt, James Simpson, Joan Simpson, and especially John Frew for advising and putting up with me.

I: BACKGROUND

In 1989, the Scottish National Portrait Gallery held an exhibition in honour of the tercentenary of William Adam (1689 - 1748). This exhibition celebrated the life and works of an important Scottish architect, and is indicative of a growing awareness in Scotland of the need to respect and preserve native architectural artifacts of past eras. Architecture is not only an art form but, in its historic context, a documentation of past ways of life. It is the responsibility of each generation to preserve what it can of the past in order to pass it on to future generations. Preservation also implies restoration, an effort to pass on a building in the best condition possible, which will almost certainly be better than the condition in which it was received or inherited. The larger the artifact the greater the difficulty responsibility for it bears, and the preservation of buildings involves far more time, labour, and money than the preservation of a painting. Every organisation or individual undertaking a programme of restoration will have different funds, ideas, priorities, and intended audiences for their work, and many decisions to make involving these criteria. This thesis will examine the restoration of four William Adam houses (Dun, Duff, Arniston, and Chatelherault) held in four different hands (National Trust for Scotland, Scottish Development Department, private owners, and District Council respectively) as a means of discussing the ethics involved in such restoration and the current state of the preservation movement in Scotland.

The preservation movement in Scotland is tied to that in England, where its roots may be traced to 1620, when Inigo Jones was commissioned to survey Stonehenge due to an increased interest in understanding and preserving Roman and medieval remains; the fact that he proclaimed it a Roman monument signals the primitive state of archaeology in the seventeenth century. [1] Over one hundred years later, in 1751, the London Society of Antiquaries received its charter and became responsible for recording and protecting ancient monuments. They were to fight an early preservation battle when they realised that demolition and decay were not the only threats to history:

By the end of the eighteenth century it became clear that the survival of medieval buildings was threatened as much by the way in which they were restored as by their total destruction. James Wyatt restored Salisbury and Durham cathedrals... between 1780 and 1800. His work at Durham, in particular, provoked an outcry from the Society of Antiquaries. The extent of the restoration... was revealed by the drawings done for the Society by John Carter. This first preservation battle was at least partially successful, for Wyatt's design was not completed... [2]

The battle was hardly over, however, and destructive restoration continued relatively unbridled until John Ruskin and William Morris took hold of the issue after another interval of one hundred years.

After more than a century of work in the name of Restoration, it was necessary for these men to lead an Anti-Restoration movement to preserve ancient monuments and protect them from restoration which was altering them

irrevocably. Ruskin, in his 1849 The Seven Lamps of Architecture, said that there was no choice to be made about what to do to an historic building: "*We have no right whatever to touch them. They are not ours. They belong partly to those who built them, and partly to all the generations of mankind who are to follow us.*" [3] His hope was that an awareness rather than any action should be promoted. Morris agreed, and was horrified by the disastrous results of restoration which, though well-intended, was essentially ignorant, like "the Restoration of an old picture, where the partly perished work of the ancient craftsman has been made neat and smooth by the tricky hand of some unoriginal and thoughtless hack of today." [4] In 1877, Morris founded the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) in the hopes of putting "Protection in the place of Restoration" [5] Morris' pushing for lists to be made of valuable architectural and archaeological sites led to the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882. A "schedule" was made of sixty-eight monuments which thenceforward could be controlled by the Government through the Board of Public Works. [6]

The efforts and founding principles of the SPAB were instrumental in the evolution of the preservation movement to its present state. However, the idea of not touching the monuments at all was not as practically efficient as it was ethically impressive.

Theoretically desirable as is an untouched array of old buildings in exquisite and unspoiled condition, we now know from bitter experience that the disused becomes the derelict and soon the irretrievably lost. A majority of the ancient buildings that Morris so loved were the product of more or less continuous adaptation to

circumstances: any building that is artificially deprived of a reasonable degree of adaptation becomes a fossil or a preserved specimen. [7]

Thus, in 1924, the SPAB added some qualifiers to Morris' strict Manifesto which allow for alteration or restoration to be carried out where it is justified for the sake of the building's "adaptation".

In 1895, the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest was founded, but enthusiasm for the Trust and its work was lacking in the public, the government, and even its elected administrators, who after ten years in 1905 only had £837 to show for their efforts. The National Trust (NT) Act of 1907 "made the Trust a statutory body, at the same time empowering it to declare its land and buildings inalienable and to create by-laws for their protection." [8] In Scotland the Trust developed out of the Association for the Preservation of Rural Scotland, an eager organisation but one whose powers were limited in the actual holding of properties. In 1931 it became a Trust, could hold land, buildings, and chattels "for the benefit of the nation" and could also work more directly with authorities. The National Trust for Scotland (NTS) Act of 1935 put the NTS in the same position as the English Trust as a statutory body with rights to declare its holdings inalienable. [9] In 1937, with the passing of the second National Trust Act, the NT was granted the power to acquire land and investments in order to finance the preservation of its holdings and upon gaining this power quickly established the "Country House Scheme,"

...whereby the owner of an historic house could transfer it to the Trust together with its contents and a suitable endowment, while himself and his heirs and assigns after him

could continue to live in it, subject to certain conditions which included opening to the public on regular and specified days. [10]

The NTS established its own Scheme in 1942 which differed in that it states a preference for cash endowments. Born out of the Association for the Preservation of Rural Scotland, the organisation had long had land interests, but these were for protection rather than profit, public benefit rather than private gain. "In consequence, it does not have the problem of administering large agricultural estates, nor indeed has it come under the same criticism for keeping large areas of land inaccessible to the public," [11] as has the English Trust.

The establishment of the Country House Scheme involved two motives: one financial and the other patriotic. When they were first founded, the Trusts were happy to receive any property in order to carry out their duty to preserve and protect the nation's heritage. However, the financial burden incurred through the repair and maintenance of these properties proved too great, and the endowments now required through the Schemes are crucial to the work and survival of the Trusts. The second, less tangible impetus for preserving country houses came with the approach of World War II, when possible damages and potential financial loss on the part of the owners loomed threateningly over an architectural heritage which previously had been taken for granted. The issue of responsibility and concern for country houses moved from the private to the national sector - a shift which acknowledged the importance of history to a nation's understanding of itself. In The Seven Lamps of Architecture, John Ruskin had stated, "We may live without her [architecture], and

worship without her, but we cannot remember without her." In John Steinbeck's 1939 *The Grapes of Wrath*, women who must leave their homes and all of their material possessions behind ask the question, "How will we know it's us without our past?" Indeed, we need physical evidence of the past to provide a sense of continuity and identity:

Society has many built-in time spanners that help to link the present generation with the past. Our sense of the past is developed by contact with the older generation, by our knowledge of history, by the accumulation of art, music, literature and science passed down to us through the years. It is enhanced by immediate contact with the objects that surround us, each of which has a point of origin in the past, each of which provides us with a trace of identification with the past. [12]

Thus, the threat of war and the implied threat of losing the architectural documents of the past inspired a large-scale awakening to the uniquely British genre of the country house and concern for its preservation. Trusteeship of this heritage was therefore a necessary national issue and country houses were recognised as one type of focal point for patriotism.

Many of these houses are architectural masterpieces, collectively the greatest contribution which Britain has made to the visual arts, and comparable in their sustained variety to the body of English poetry. To permit their destruction, wilfully or through neglect, would be as great a crime as to burn half of Shakespeare's works. Indeed it would be greater. For while poetry is constantly renewable, the great house will never be recreated in modern times. The art form itself has disappeared. Never again, unless one day it is decided to rebuild Buckingham Palace, will

domestic architecture on this scale be possible.
It is literally irreplaceable. [13]

An example of what the Country House Schemes in both countries were intended to prevent lies in Duff House, Banffshire (which shall be fully discussed later). Had Duff House fallen to the NTS under this Scheme, the damages it suffered as an army base during the war would have been prevented.

In spite of efforts to protect country houses, many were lost in the war, along with other historic monuments. In 1946 the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Hugh Dalton, set up the Land Fund. This fund was to be created through the sale of excess stores from the war and used "for the acquisition and preservation of property of national interest... As established by the 1946 Finance Act (Section 48), the Fund consisted of £50 million invested in Treasury Stock." [14] The Land Fund may also be used to assist in the payment of death duties to the Inland Revenue, and under the 1953 Finance Act its powers were broadened to allow acceptance of chattels as a form of payment in addition to land and houses, which has prevented the separation of building and contents in a number of cases. The 1956 Finance Act further allowed the Fund to accept works of art which are not necessarily associated with the property in question, but are artistically or historically valuable in their own right; in 1973 the Act extended this to include "all other kinds of pre-eminent objects." [15]

Further efforts were made after the war to take stock of what buildings were left, so that they at least could be looked after. Through the Town and Country Planning Acts of 1944 and 1947, in England and Scotland the Secretaries of State were made responsible for compiling lists of buildings worth preserving.

Owners of buildings included on these lists were required to notify their local planning authorities of any intention to radically alter or demolish their building, and the authorities were given the power to make building preservation orders "in respect of buildings of special architectural or historic interest.' [16] These Acts were the first steps towards realising the idealistic plan put forth by Ruskin in 1854:

An association might be formed, thoroughly organized so as to maintain active watchers and agents in every town of importance, who, in the first place, should furnish the society with a *perfect* account of every monument of interest in its neighbourhood, and then with a yearly or half-yearly report of the state of such monuments, and of the changes proposed to be made upon them; the society then furnishing funds, either to buy, freehold, such buildings or other works of untransferable art as at any time might be offered for sale, or to assist their proprietors, whether private individuals or public bodies, in the maintenance of such guardianship as was really necessary for their safety; and exerting itself, with all the influence which such an association would rapidly command, to prevent unwise restoration and unnecessary destruction. [17]

Despite the innovative post-war legislation, country houses continued to disappear, and a committee was set up, headed by Sir Ernest Gowers, to investigate the matter. The Gowers Report of 1950 strongly recommended that "a statutory body" be created "for England and Wales, and another for Scotland, and entrusted with duties both general and specific for furthering the preservation of houses of outstanding historic or architectural interest." [18] On these principles the Historic Buildings Councils

were established through the 1953 Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings Act and a system of grant aid was established whereby this body could provide assistance with the costs of repair and renovations of historic buildings. The Act stipulated that the Land Fund could be used to assist the Secretary of State in purchasing and maintaining properties in its care. Grants to private owners are allocated through "voted moneys." [19] Owners may apply for a grant when they begin a specific project. For example, Aedrian and Althea Dundas-Bekker of Arniston House, Midlothian, last year received £78,500 towards the re-leading of roofs, the replacement of drain pipes, and the reinstatement of floors in one side of the building which had suffered from dry rot. All of these expenses are for improvements necessary to the maintenance of an historic building. Once the improvements are made, however, the cost of yearly upkeep must be met by the owners themselves. Only the NTS (and the NT in England) is entitled by law to Historic Buildings Council (HBC) grants for annual maintenance.

Despite legal and administrative efforts, the danger to historic buildings continued to exist while the government authorities tended to leave it alone rather than cope with such a difficult problem. In 1966, Wayland Kennet was made the Minister of Housing and Local Government. In his book Preservation, he recounts the situation and his impressions at the time:

It was my job to see that, in the restricted field of the architectural heritage, no less than in others, the structure of public law and administration was adequate to meet this new

and rightful public demand [for preservation]. The first step was to form my own impression of what, if anything, needed doing. The qualifying clause was quickly disposed of; in spite of, and sometimes because of, fifty years of state regulation, plenty did.

The foundation of the whole system of administration and statutory control was "the list". This was the list, compiled under the powers of the 1944 Act, of, at that time, about 90,000 buildings, which the minister's advisors told him were of historical or architectural interest... These, and only these, were the concern of the law. The owner of a statutorily listed building was not allowed to destroy it until he had waited for two months to see if they objected. There was also the so-called "supplementary list", where the minister just asked the local authority to consider whether the buildings might not be worth preserving, but nobody was bound to do anything about it by law. It contained about 10,000 buildings.

I naturally first asked at what rate the listed buildings were being destroyed, to get an idea of where we stood. I was prepared for the shock of a high figure; a hundred a year? Even 200 a year? I was not prepared, though, for the answer I got: "We don't know; and this is because nobody tells us; and this is because we have never asked anybody to tell us." [20]

For private owners, the burden of maintaining a listed building in good condition and without modernisation is a less than economical way to run a house. The Town and Country Planning Acts did not manage to prevent nearly as many losses as was intended. Owners who were notified of the intent to list their house often decided to destroy it before the actual listing came into effect in order to save themselves great expense. Sometimes owners simply demolished listed buildings without asking the

permission required by law. Once the damage is done, there is not much the authorities can do on behalf of the building. Amendments to the Acts in 1969 and 1972 made it not merely mandatory, but a criminal offence to demolish or alter a listed building without consent. Nevertheless, it is still an accepted defence if sentence is served,

...to prove that the works were urgently necessary in the interests of safety or health, or for the preservation of the building, and that written notice of the need for the works was given to the planning authority as soon as reasonably practicable. [21]

Such reasons are relatively easy to fabricate after the fact, and again, once the building has been lost or changed nothing much can be accomplished through legal battles.

Although the laws governing listed buildings are not one hundred percent effective, their effect has been far greater in England than in Scotland. The majority of the great houses in England which have been lost this century were lost before the Second World War. Of the 378 houses which had been lost (not including those lost through fire) this century in Scotland (figures accurate up until 1980), 217 of these losses occurred between 1946 and 1978. [22] The most plausible explanation for this tragedy is lack of education and awareness about the value of the buildings and about the situation which was threatening them. Architectural publications until recently have dealt with the "English Country House" and "British Architecture" in which only passing mention of Scottish Architectural History is made. Macgibbon and Ross's The Castellated and Domestic Architecture

of Scotland (1887 - 1892), pays no real attention to the classical movement which, though now recognised as being of great significance, was then only a century and a half old. It was not until 1966 that John Dunbar produced the first book on The Historic Architecture of Scotland. Although it was a landmark in the field, the book is relatively short; being aimed at a wide audience it had to be a readable rather than an in-depth book. Dunbar's motives for writing the book, which he sets out in his "Introduction," were more concerned with preservation than with academia:

Scottish architecture has never been as accessible as it is today, when even the most distant parts of the country lie only a few hours' journey away from the main centres of population, and when many of the most outstanding buildings of the past are regularly open to public view. Equally, however, it must be acknowledged that historic buildings have never disappeared at a more rapid rate than they do at present. Much of this destruction is inevitable, and indeed desirable, under modern conditions of society, and its progress is unlikely to be significantly hindered by random, and sometimes ill-judged, protests made by various amenity-bodies and by interested private individuals. What is required, rather, is the acceptance and enforcement, at both central- and local-authority levels, of a carefully formulated policy of selective preservation. Despite the multiplicity of official and voluntary bodies directly concerned, in some way or other, with historic buildings, such a policy clearly does not exist in Scotland today, and appears to stand little chance of adoption unless in response to pressure from informed public opinion. It is hoped that this book will help to make

available the raw material upon whose study and appreciation such opinion must be founded. [23]

Up until Dunbar, then, no information existed which would have educated the Scottish public - as well as the owners of the great houses - about the importance of these buildings in their own right.

As late as 1980, the situation was just beginning to turn around:

Apart from a notable small group of historians who have been intensifying studies of Scottish architecture during the past ten years, little had been published that might have contributed to public education. That now notorious remark by a past secretary of the Historic Buildings Council (HBC) for Scotland about Duddingston House, one of the most important neo-classical villas in Britain: "you must admit it's not quite out of the top drawer," just about sums up the state of ignorance in 1959 by a government civil servant who ought to have known better. Things are not like that now with the Scottish HBC. Mentally, of course, onw reflects that the fellow ought to have been thrashed, but the real truth is that in 1959 only the Jacobean tower houses, or primary seats of great Scottish families, had been adequately published, and there was no climate of appreciation for neo-classical houses and especially the great nationalist Baronial piles by the likes of David Bryce. To have said in 1959, or even in 1969, that certain Bryce houses were among Scotland's very greatest contribution to the European architectural tradition, would have brought derision upon one's head. [24]

A surge of publications in the 1970s brought to public attention the threat to Britain's architectural heritage, with a focus on the country houses. Wayland Kennet's Preservation was published in 1972. John Cornforth's Country Houses in Britain -

Can They Survive? was published in 1974, as was The Destruction of the Country House, published in conjunction with the 1975 exhibition of the same title held at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Both of these publications contain substantial information on the Scottish situation, listing alarming statistics which suddenly made Scotland a legitimate concern, not just an incidental arm in the body of British country house heritage as it had previously been treated. Also in 1975 came the threat of the Wealth Tax which could have led to the destruction and dissolution of numerous houses and their contents. This threat was blockaded by the largest petition ever presented to Parliament, organised by the Historic Houses Association, which was founded in the 1970s and which still operates as an important force aiding private owners in the upkeep of country houses.

Houses in England and Scotland alike were suffering from a lack of funding for their upkeep. In 1979 a book entitled Preservation Pays provided a study of tourism and historic buildings to prove that it was financially worthwhile in the long run for Britain to put money into restoration and preservation. The astonishing statistics presented in this book underline the imbalance of government profit and government spending:

Historic buildings and areas were responsible for earning through tourism some £500 million at the very minimum in foreign exchange in 1977. Again at the minimum, at least 360 million of this accrued directly to central government through VAT, and duty on petrol, liquor and cigarettes. By contrast the total available in grants from the Historic Buildings Council for England in 1977-78 was £4.6 million with proportionate amounts for

Scotland and Wales. Even this sum, however, was probably comfortably exceeded by the sums the Government received in VAT on repairs to historic buildings. [25]

This highly preservation-orientated climate of the 1970s caused a dramatic and admirable turn in the efforts and commitment of the Scottish HBC. The HBC Annual Report for 1972-3 stated:

...our chairman wrote to the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Development expressing our concern at the situation... We stressed that if the architectural heritage of Scotland is to be preserved for future generations, we should either be relieved of our responsibilities towards the upkeep of great houses or have our allocation substantially increased.

The Report for the following year states that the Under Secretary refused to comply with these requests. The tide had turned dramatically in the following year, when the seventies movements and publications had gained ground; the HBC now accepted its responsibility and was prepared to struggle with it: "We are committed to help the owners of modest properties as well as the owners of historic country houses... From our limited funds we must endeavour to fulfil both these commitments, and this may result in our doing less than we wish." [26] The financial statistics bear out this commitment. From 1953 to 1973, only ten houses had received grants of over £10,000. In one year, the 1977-8 report documents grants of £16,000 to Carnousie Castle and Mellerstain; £25,000 to Stobo Castle; and an impressive £40,000 to Yester House. The NTS received maintenance grants of £19,000

for Brodick Castle; £8,000 for Crathes Castle; and £6,000 for Craigevar. [27]

In 1980, SAVE Britain's Heritage published Lost Houses of Scotland. A small book with an even smaller (though powerful) written text, this book provides photographic evidence of lost houses both as a record of what was lost and as an incentive to preserve. The eighties as a whole have proved to be a very healthy decade for preservation in Scotland. The 1986 Housing and Planning Act took measures to remedy the easy defence of listing building violation.

The defence of the works being "urgently necessary" has now been narrowed down. The unfortunate dichotomy between a dangerous structure notice served under the Public Health Acts and a listed building has been resolved by requiring that before a Public Health Authority may issue a Dangerous Structure Order it must consider explicitly whether or not it should achieve its objective by the repair and compulsory purchase provisions in the Planning Act. [28]

In 1987 the Historic Buildings and Monuments Directorate published a Memorandum of Guidance on Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas which provides comprehensive information and advice, both legal and practical, on historic building repair, maintenance and use. 1987 was a landmark year with the appearance of James Macaulay's The Classical Country House in Scotland 1660 - 1800. Here at last was an entire book devoted to a subject which had previously only appeared as a chapter. As Macaulay points out, "Sir John Summerson, in his balanced and finely expressed British Architecture, 1530 - 1830, condenses

Scotland's architectural development in the period after 1660 into one short section including a summary account of William Adam and before him of Sir William Bruce." [29] John Dunbar's treatment of Scottish Classicism does not stylistically separate it from the movement in England.

Macaulay hooked on to a crucial link in the chain of the Scottish preservation cause. Scottish Classicism was shown to be a substantial architectural movement, and studies are being now done into the relationships of the Scottish architects of this period with other countries and with each other. In 1988, the St. Andrews Studies in the History of Scottish Architecture and Design held a symposium, the papers from which were published under the title Aspects of Scottish Classicism: The House and its Formal Setting 1690 - 1750. It is becoming evident that architects such as William Adam were not unique specimens, but rather part of a school with pupils such as James Smith. Once enough research has been done to establish this theory as fact, the impetus for restoring and preserving buildings of this period will undoubtedly increase. Indeed, the increased interest in Scotland's architectural heritage has already been evidenced through the increased number of aid-giving bodies; The Scottish Civic Trust's 1989 publication, Sources of Financial Help for Scotland's Historic Buildings, lists no less than fifty-six different grants available.

The 1989 William Adam exhibition marks not so much the high point as the official starting point of a campaign to make Scottish Classicism internationally recognisable as a formidable and separate architectural movement. In addition, the exhibition heightened awareness as to the few Adam houses left and the

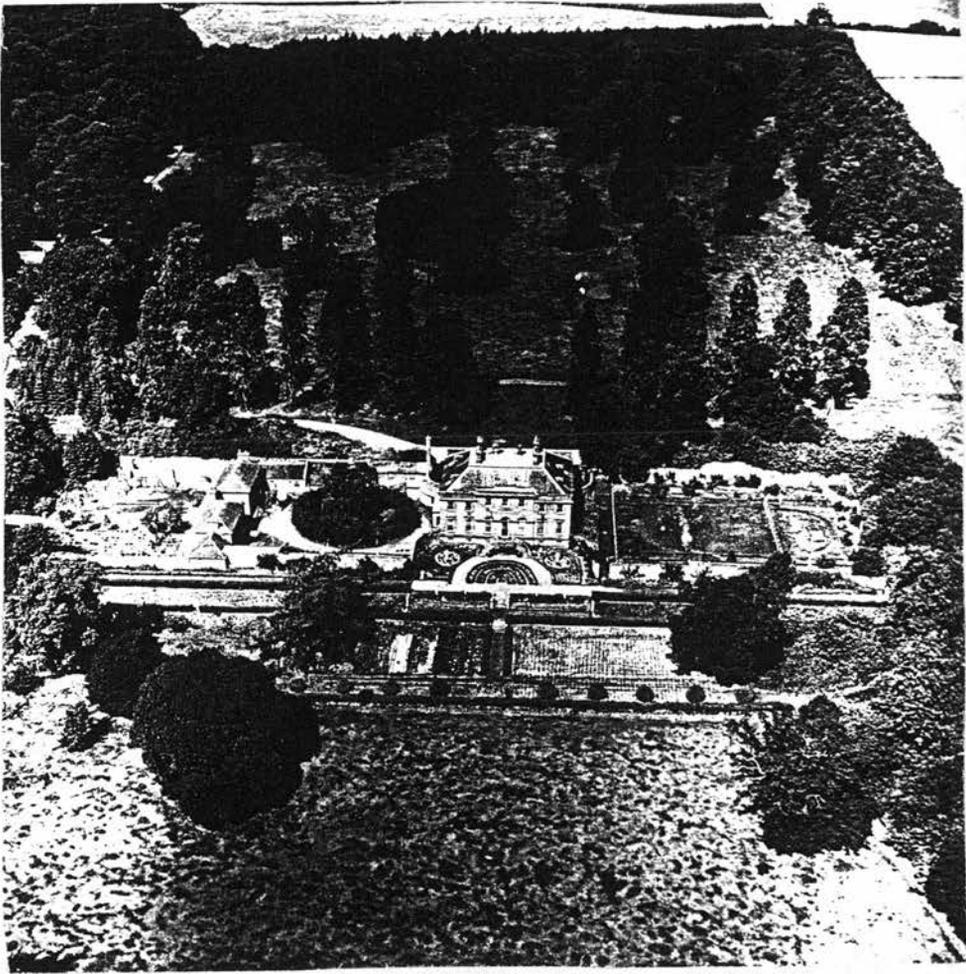
necessity of preserving not only these but as many indigenous buildings as possible in the best way possible in order to pass them on to future generations. The fact that Scottish houses are not merely smaller, remoter examples of English architecture makes them far more culturally interesting. The reasons for building them, and hence the demands on the architect, were quite different from their contemporary English houses. James Macaulay well explains the significance of Adam in the country house genre:

While it is true that in Scotland no domestic commission by Adam displays the princely splendour of Syon House or the wealth of Osterley Park, that does not mean that his work lacks interest. His lesser country-houses are an original genre not found south of the Border. Why? Is it because Scottish clients were not prepared to spend lavishly on architectural embellishment? Undoubtedly it is a Scottish trait to equate plain living with elevated thoughts; scarce funds should not be spent on beauty and adornment unless these are allied to utility...

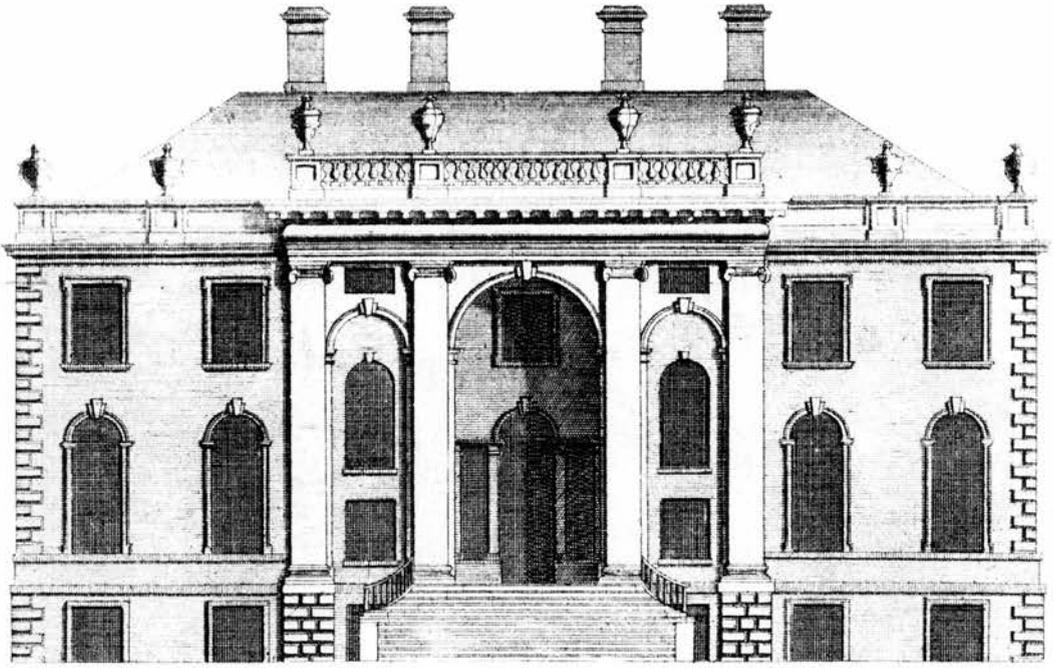
Perhaps Adam's most signal contribution was to provide a new class of dwelling, which combined the practicalities of habitation with a more rhetorical classicism both in structure and in decoration... [30]

If the architectural structure of Adam's houses so proclaims what is a very Scottish type of social structure, is there not then twice as much reason for preserving what remains of them as part of Scotland's history? In the case of Adam this question has been answered affirmatively, and with the exception of Mavisbank, restoration work has been undertaken by various people and

organisations on his surviving houses. If he is indeed one of a group of similarly important architects, then work on their buildings must follow suit so that a body of tangible evidence will exist in good condition to perpetuate architectural history in this country.

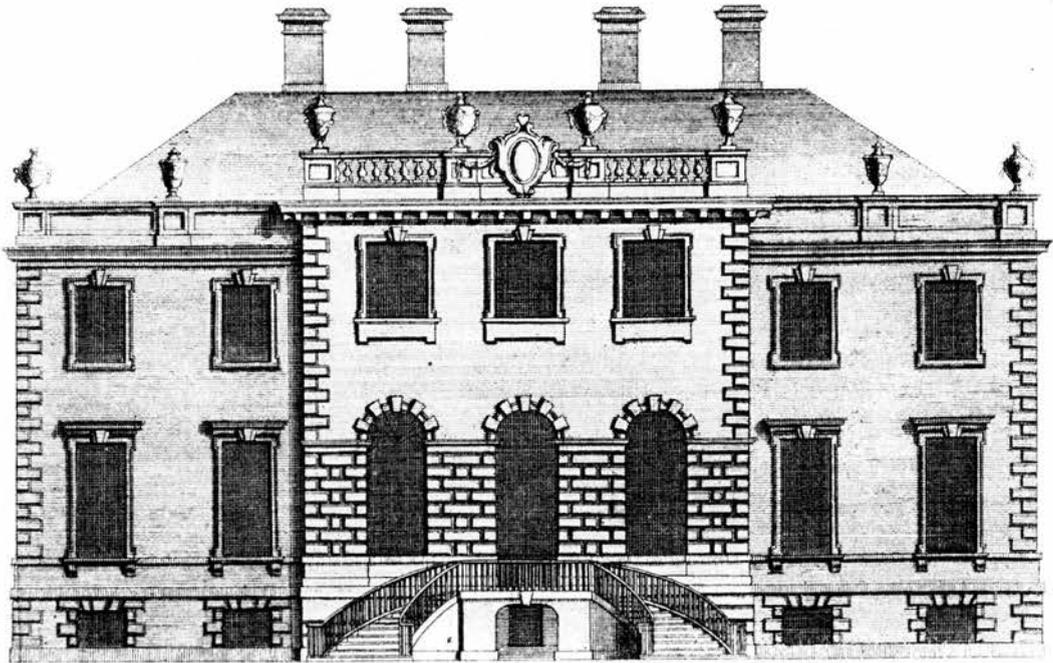


2. HOUSE OF DUN, ANGUS. AERIAL VIEW.



10 5 10 20 30 40 50
The North Front of DUN House towards the Court in the County of ANGUS. The Seat of the Honourable DAVID ERSKINE of DUN one of the Senators of the College of Justice.
Geo. Adam inv. et. Delin. R. Cooper. sculp.

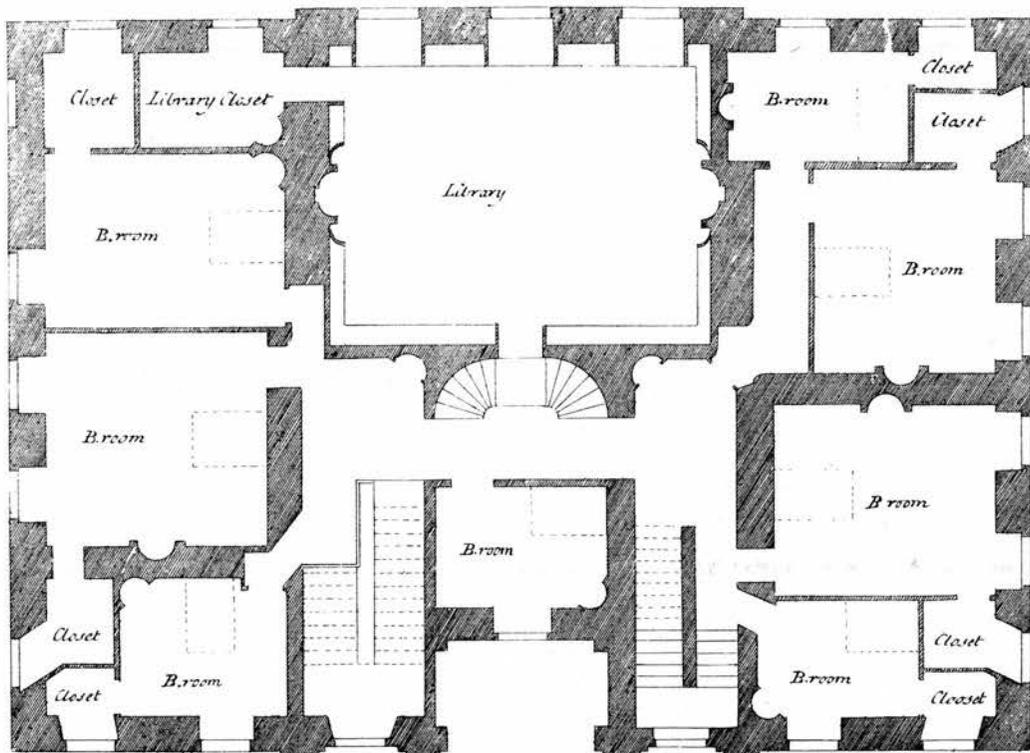
3. VITRUVIUS SCOTICUS ENGRAVINGS.



P. 70

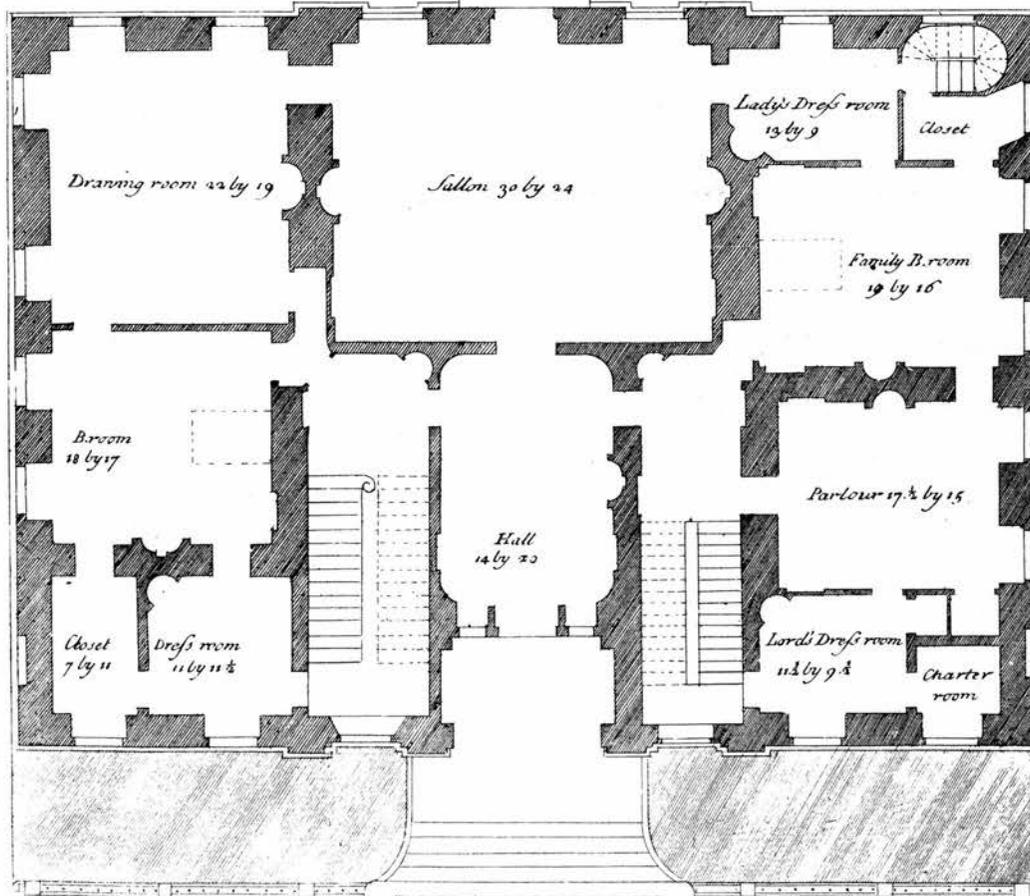
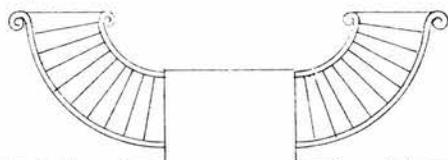
The South Front towards the Garden

These Fronts of the 2^d Design being more ornamented than the former are executed according to



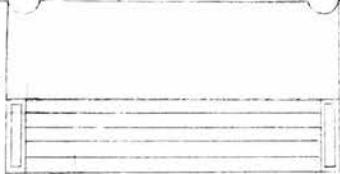
4.

10 5 10 20 30



The Plans of the first and 2^d
now executed differing somewhat

floors of DUNHOUSE as is
from the former



II: THE HOUSE OF DUN

In 1730, William Adam was commissioned to design a house near Montrose for David Erskine, Lord Dun. The twelfth Laird of Dun, he inherited a mortgaged estate with a ruinous castle as the family seat [30]. In 1723 he received a design for a new house from Alexander McGill, the then Edinburgh City Architect. These plans were sent by Lord Dun to his Jacobite kinsman, John Erskine, Earl of Mar, who had been living in France following the unsuccessful Jacobite Uprising of 1715. While Lord Dun had made political amends since his opposition to the Act of Union and had become Lord of Session and Lord of Justiciary under the Hanoverians, he still sympathised with the Jacobite cause of the Earl of Mar. Thus, still in contact with his exiled kinsman, Lord Dun sent McGill's plans to Mar, who also happened to be a gentleman architect.

Mar sent in return some plans of his own design for a square, three-storeyed house with a basement and attic, to be slightly larger and generally grander than McGill's proposal, to which he objected on the following grounds:

The situation proposed for the new house seems to be very good, however there are many objections to the design by Mr. McGill for the house itself... There wou'd scarce be a tolerable good room in that whole house & it would be fitter for a Gingate (as it is named here) for a Burges near to a great town, than for a Gentlemans seat in the Country, which is to go from father to Son, as is hoped for many generations. Where the house may not be large nor great apartments in it, yet aught to have one or two handsome & tolerable large rooms for the

Master to entertain his friends upon occasion &
where some Copels of young folks may dance
when they have a mind to divert themselves at
Peace Yull & high times... [31]

Mar clearly felt that his design "would fulfill the criteria he thought were lacking in McGill's" [32]; however, his plans were not adopted. As John Gifford, Adam's recent biographer suggests, "The design may have been too daring, or Lord Dun's resources too limited, for he did nothing for a further eight years" [33], at which time William Adam was consulted.

William Kay's research has highlighted the dubious origin of the plans for the House of Dun; whether it owes more to Adam or Mar is a debatable matter. If it is Adam's 1730 plan, it was at any rate altered in 1731 due to further suggestions from Mar. These suggestions were "telling in raising the social status and architectural value of the house." [34] A major element in keeping with Mar's more grand approach is the entrance front with Palladian windows recessed behind the triumphal arch frontispiece. The grandiose rounded arch seems somewhat out of place, especially as it faces north. "Mar, however, had justified such a recess on the north front as providing shelter from the wind for the rooms behind and making the house warmer." [35] The rounded arch theme is carried out right across the ground floor of the north elevation, as well as in the centre of the south elevation, where it is complemented by a curved double staircase. Whether misplaced or not, the recession of arches at the entrance provides horizontal as well as vertical movement [36] and thus allows for logical entrance into an interior where most doorways continue the rounded arch scheme. In a similar way the south

entrance's staircase is repeated indoors where a smaller version leads from the first floor landing into the Library.

The basic plan of the interior is very simple:

On the main axis lie the hall and saloon. Down the east side is the state apartment opening from the saloon with the standard progression of drawing-room, bedchamber, closet and dressing-room. On the west side are the parlour and family bedroom with, to north and south, dressing-rooms, a closet and the charter room. A staircase each side of the hall led to the first floor where a library in the centre of the garden front above the saloon provides another grand family room among the surrounding bedrooms and closets. [37]

Even though Adam's design was "more sober", and "the house's resulting appearance lacked the exuberance of Mar's schemes" [38], he still managed to assuage the Earl of Mar's complaints vis-à-vis McGill's design by providing "one or two handsome & tolerable large rooms..." Indeed, the Saloon boasts "the most important interior feature of the property" [39], the plasterwork by Joseph Enzer, which emits an "exuberance" even the Earl of Mar should have been admired. William Kay has researched the cryptic iconography of this plasterwork in relationship to the house and its owner. He writes:

The work which Enzer carried out in the Saloon of House of Dun would not immediately seem to be appropriate subject matter for the house of a judge; rather it reinforces the military associations of the triumphal arch noted by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik in 'The County Seat.' Inappropriate as it might appear, it does contain an intriguing and conscious iconography, the meaning of which must have been quite clear to the more than

Kay's evaluation of the symbolism in Enzer's central panel is worth citing in full, as it demonstrates the socio-political significance of the house as an artifact of the era:

A classical warrior, probably Mars, is standing with one foot on a crown and the other on an orb. Under the cushion on which this regalia sits, a rather pitiful lion is trampled underfoot. To the dexter side (symbolically significant) two cartouches housing shields, bear the 1707 Union flag and below it, a double-headed eagle surmounted by a crown, identifiable as the crest of the Holy Roman Empire... On the sinister side of Mars, two other shields bear the Scottish thistle and the French fleur-de-lis... This distribution would appear to link Scotland as part of the United Kingdom, in alliance with the Holy Roman Empire on the one hand, and Scotland with France on the other. The most obvious explanation of these groupings is the commemoration of the "Auld Alliance" and its associated Jacobitism and protection of Louis XIV, in conflict with the parliamentary and monarchical allegiance of Scotland to Imperial Britain. [41]

Another part of Adam's design was for a balustrade to be placed along the north and south elevations, each supporting eight decorative urns, and the one on the north elevation with a large cartouche in the centre. Probably due to lack of funding, these decorations were never produced. However, the plan shows this as yet another way in which Mar's elaborate vision was not altogether lost in the Adam building.

Begun in 1730, the House of Dun was at least another twelve years in being completed. Records show that in 1741 chimney-

pieces were still being supplied, and as late as the autumn of 1742 "There [were] still some windows and window shutters to be hung, and locks to be fitted on some doors." [42] Over the past two and a half centuries, the house has been remodelled and altered in numerous ways in a process of continuing evolution.

In the nineteenth century the relative simplicity of Adam's design at Dun was progressively undermined by successive alterations. In 1827, John Kennedy-Erskine, the seventeenth Laird, married Lady Augusta Fitz-Clarence, daughter of the Duke of Clarence (King William IV) and the actress Dorothy Jordan. Lady Augusta fell in love with Dun, and although she left the house at the time of her husband's death in 1831, she returned to it with a new husband later in that decade. It is during the 1830s, then, that Augusta's programme of modernising and refurbishing the house according to her own tastes and times wrote a large and different chapter in the history of the House of Dun, one hundred years after its construction.

The east wall of the Hall was opened to expose the staircase. Originally, there would have been two long walls at east and west of the entrance, with small doorways at the southern ends of these walls. In knocking back the east wall, the symmetry of the Hall was lost, although it became a more open and continuing space which makes it feel grander.

What had been the rooms of the state apartment (drawing room, bedroom, dressing room and closet) in Adam's time became the dining room and pantry in Augusta's time. The wall between the drawing room and bedroom was knocked down to add several feet to the now dining room, and two columns were put up in its

place to act as a screen between the table and the sideboard. A mahogany floor was installed at this time, and mahogany chairs ordered from Trotters of Edinburgh. As Damie Stillman points out in the article "The Neo-Classical Transformation of the English Country House," the lifestyle of the well-to-do British classes underwent a change between the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth:

The strict formality of seventeenth century great houses and those of the first half of the eighteenth century, with their series of state apartments, began to give way...to circuits or sequences of rooms more attuned to new modes of entertaining." [43]

Perhaps this transformation has much to do with Lady Augusta's interior alterations which, overall, served to make the ground floor available to be fully public, while the upper storeys now became more private. In keeping with this plan of removing all bedrooms to the upper storeys, Lady Augusta also replaced the Family Bedroom to the west of the Saloon with a Library. The narrow spiral stairway which led down along the south wall to the nursery was blocked off at this time. Two windows were also blocked and transformed into bookcases.

Upstairs, the large room above the Saloon which Adam had designed as a Library, "reflecting the usual Scottish custom of placing libraries high up in houses above the hurly-burly of the reception and service rooms" [44], was remodelled into two bedrooms, and the central window blocked. In the existing bedrooms, the small closets were removed to make the rooms larger.

In decorating the house, Lady Augusta herself did most of the needlework, including that of the mahogany four-poster bed given to her as a wedding present by her father, the embroidered bedspread, and numerous chair seats. She had everything repainted, and rehung the seventeenth century Flemish tapestries from one of the upstairs west bedrooms on the Staircase walls.

Lady Augusta relocated the kitchen from the north-west corner of the basement to the neighboring courtyard building. In so doing she added a wooden porch connecting the kitchen to the main building. What was once a window in the old kitchen became a door to the porch. The floor was raised to the base height of this window/door, and this room replaced the Laigh Hall as a servant's hall, the Laigh Hall henceforward being utilised as a coal cellar. Also in the basement, the former nursery underneath the new Library in the south-west corner, was made into the Housekeeper's room.

The attic was transformed from storage space into servant's rooms, and dormer windows were built into the roof on the north, east and west sides. The three along the north would never have worked had Adam's plan for the balustrades and eaves been carried out, as the external decoration would have blocked the light and view. However, without the balustrade they do work, and are in keeping with Adam's tetrastyle scheme for the building front. The dormers on the sides, however, were done in pairs, running visibly against Adam's tidy scheme. Further, those on the east elevation were placed asymmetrically, corresponding with the layout of the rooms inside, but giving an awkward exterior appearance. This alteration is a clear example of the different

priorities of 1730 and 1830; form being dominant in the former, and function in the latter.

Not only the dormers, but all of the windows, provide yet a further example. In 1730, large plates of glass were not available; hence, small panes were used and separated by glazing bars. These small panes seem to complement the large-scale simplicity of a Georgian design. When in 1830 plate glass was readily available, it was installed in all the windows at Dun, and the complementary form was sacrificed. Similarly, the window and door arches on the north elevation were fitted with plate glass and the decorative fanlight patterns removed. The main entrance door was changed from panes of glass to wooden panelling, sacrificing the recessed Palladian design and horizontal unity in favour of what was undoubtedly warmer: form altered again for function's sake.

A further alteration in the Adam exterior was made not by Lady Augusta, but around the turn of this century when the stonework began to show signs of decay. At this point, the rustication was smoothed out, removing approximately an inch of decayed stone. The vertical rustication of all four corners of the building had provided a balance for Adam's heavy central scheme; likewise, the central ground floor of the south elevation had been purposely weighted with rusticated stonework. The astragall detailing around the windows and doors was also chiselled away at this time. Again, later alteration to Adam's design favours function at the price of form.

At the death in 1980 of Mrs. Millicent Lovett, twentieth and last Laird of Dun, the House of Dun was bequeathed to the

National Trust for Scotland. At this time the house had been run for over thirty years as a hotel on which the lease was not due to expire until 1987. Consequently, the NTS did not begin restoration immediately. In 1985 they began work on the grounds and courtyard buildings, calling this "Phase I" of the overall plan for the property. "Phase II" began in 1987 when the main building was finally cleared. In 1986 a public appeal was launched to raise funds to a goal of £350,000, a goal which was exceeded by £150,000 in a highly successful campaign.

Fortunately for the Trust, the house had been kept in a far better state than may have been expected for a shooting and fishing hotel. Apart from the addition of extra bathrooms, a bar, and heaters, the refurbishing of the pantry into a modern kitchen and pantry and the change of surface décor, no substantial alterations were made to the building.

The furnishings that have survived are original to Lady Augusta's time, not that of Adam, yet fortunately the eighteenth century plasterwork and chimney-pieces remain equally undamaged. This fact highlights the dilemma of the NTS approach to Dun. In restoring a building, unless the markings left by one era have been removed or damaged to such an extent as to prevent reasonable restoration, it is not justifiable to deny an accessible period of that building's life and history. Because the Adam plan and Lady Augusta's amendments to that plan were equally apparent, the NTS had to utilise both. Dun is a 1730 house, but it is also an 1830 house. In their April, 1989 press release, the Trust announced that "the house will be presented in two distinct periods - the William Adam era and the period of

Lady Augusta Kennedy-Erskine." Much of the criticism of the restoration at Dun has been over this word "distinct," and the question is whether or not in the visitor's point of view the two periods are presented in harmony, demarcated yet dwelling together in the house.

At the time of the 1986 public appeal and in the midst of the courtyard work, the Trust published a brochure advertising its intentions and needs, citing costs after various anticipated government and official body grants. The following citations are from that brochure, entitled "A Legacy", and any items not commented on have been restored to plan and are referred to in the press release cited in full in Appendix A:

LADY AUGUSTA'S KITCHEN: £25,000

In the 19th century this was the kitchen. Restored and replenished, it will provide the ambience of a bake-house.

It is now the tea room for the public. The porch connecting it to the main house has been removed, and the original kitchen returned to its former state. After drilling a small hole near the oven to ascertain the original floor level, the built-up floor was removed and the door restored to a window.

GAMEKEEPER'S BOTHY: £11,200

This will provide an insight into the role of the estate Gamekeeper and will relate to the Gun and Rod rooms in the House.

The Interpretation Department of the NTS vied for a dummy gamekeeper to be seated here, and this proposal was adopted against the objections of some of the more purist conservationist staff. [45]

LAVATORY FOR THE DISABLED: £8,900

The Trust wherever possible provides special facilities of this kind.

The Trust also usually gets grants from the Tourist Board for such facilities, as well as for holiday flats created in their properties. The upstairs rooms of the courtyard buildings have been converted into such flats. However, the entire Phase I grant proposal was denied by the Tourist Board on the grounds that the holiday flats were costing too much, and the Board would not reconsider the grant in part after this decision.

SCHOOL ROOM: £6,500

This will provide an assembly point suitably equipped for school parties and other young visitors, so as to prepare them for what they are about to see in and around the mansion house and on the estate.

ESTATE OFFICE ROOMS: £20,100

For the reception of visitors and interpretation of the estate's history including the architecture of the buildings.

This area houses an exhibition of both architectural and family history.

STABLES AND COACH-HOUSE: £10,000

With the original stalls still standing it is hoped to find suitable equipment to show these premises as they would have been in the days of the Lairds.

This proposal remains unfinished at the moment, but will be a tack room and stables.

LOOM AND YARN ROOMS: £15,800

Textiles have been a feature of the locality for many years and here a craftsman of today will be working at his loom.

This was one of the earliest proposals completed, and houses a local weaver's studio.

HEN HOUSE: £5,000

This would have been in the charge of the hen wife and the stone nesting boxes still remain.

It is being debated whether this should be put to use as fully as before, with live hens running around the courtyard.

GARDEN STORY ROOMS: £15,900

These two rooms will feature past and present equipment and reflect on garden history and regeneration of the gardens.

This proposal has not yet been carried out.

EXTERNAL STONEMWORK: £58,300

Very considerable replacement and restoration of external masonry is required and the sum quoted is after allowing for likely grants.

EAST WALLED GARDEN: £12,000

Where once the red-wigged 16th Laird exercised her hunters - now just a grassed area. It is planned to reinstate rose beds and shrubs and restore the fine garden walls.

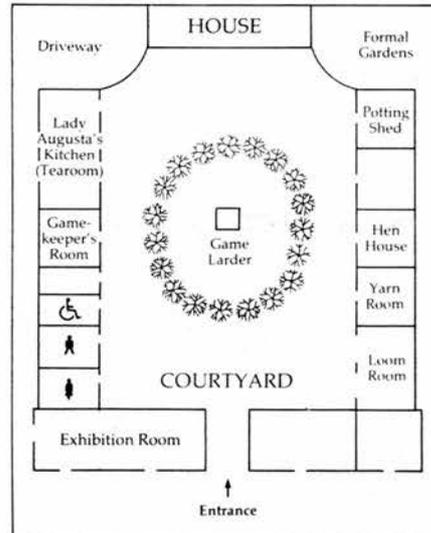
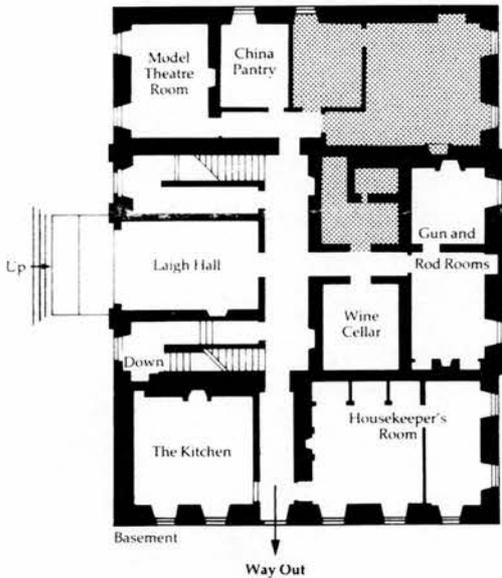
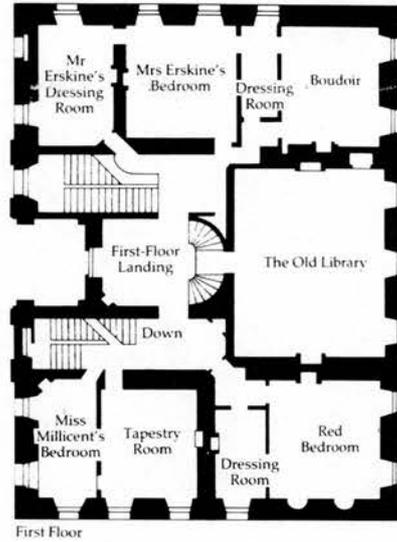
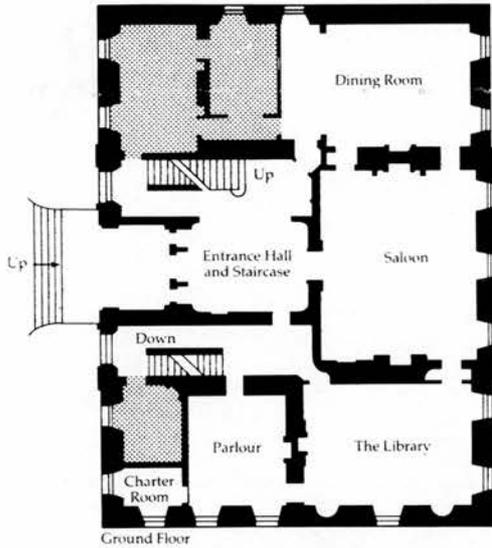
TERRACES: £7,500

The various levels are now in a state which requires complete reconstruction and there is considerable work involved.

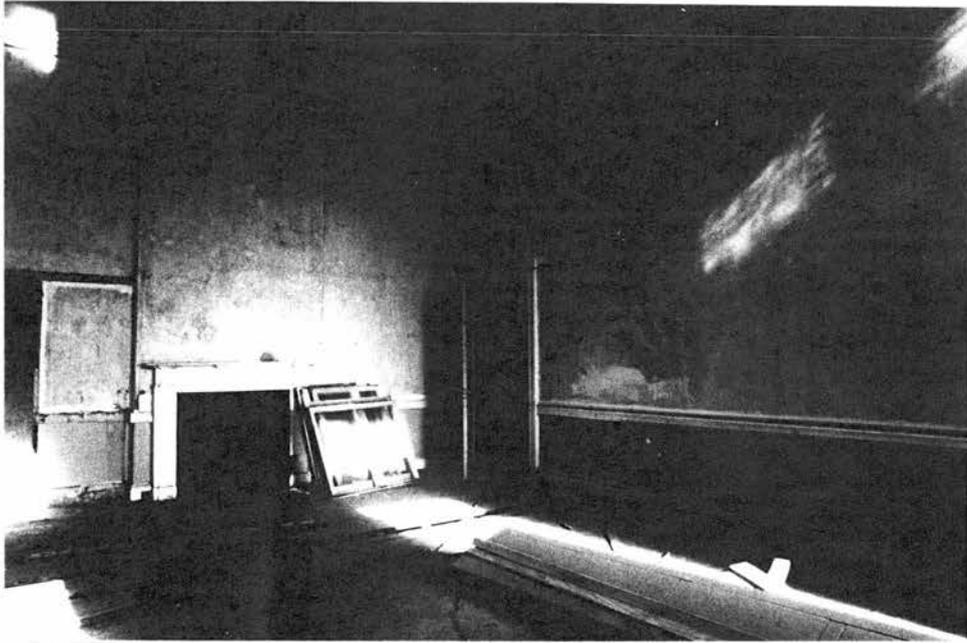
OUTER COURTYARD: £4,300

Here there is a need to take away various obtrusive structures and restore the surrounding walls.

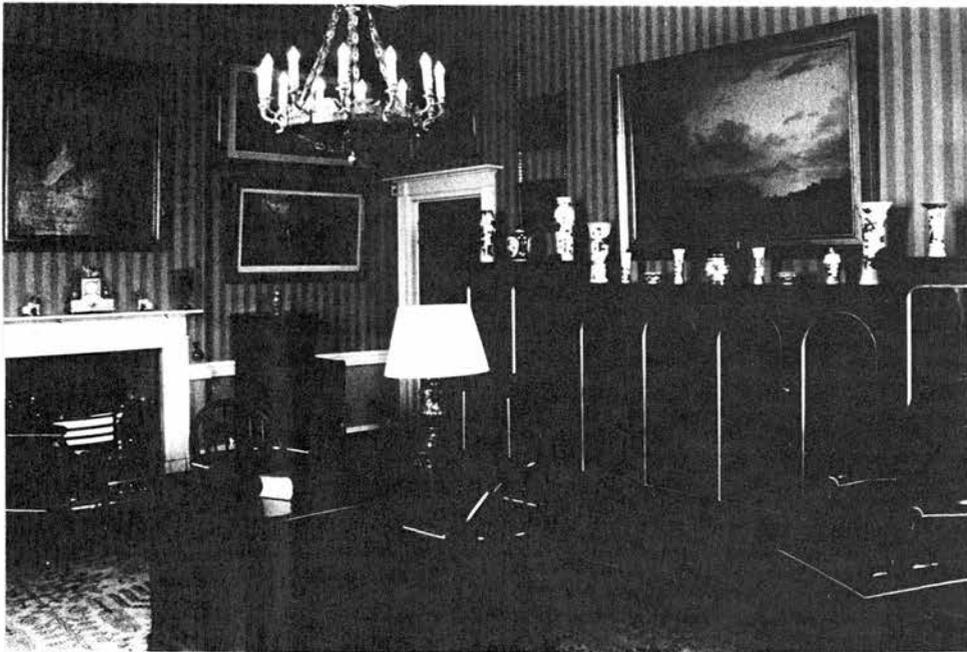
TOUR OF THE HOUSE AND COURTYARD



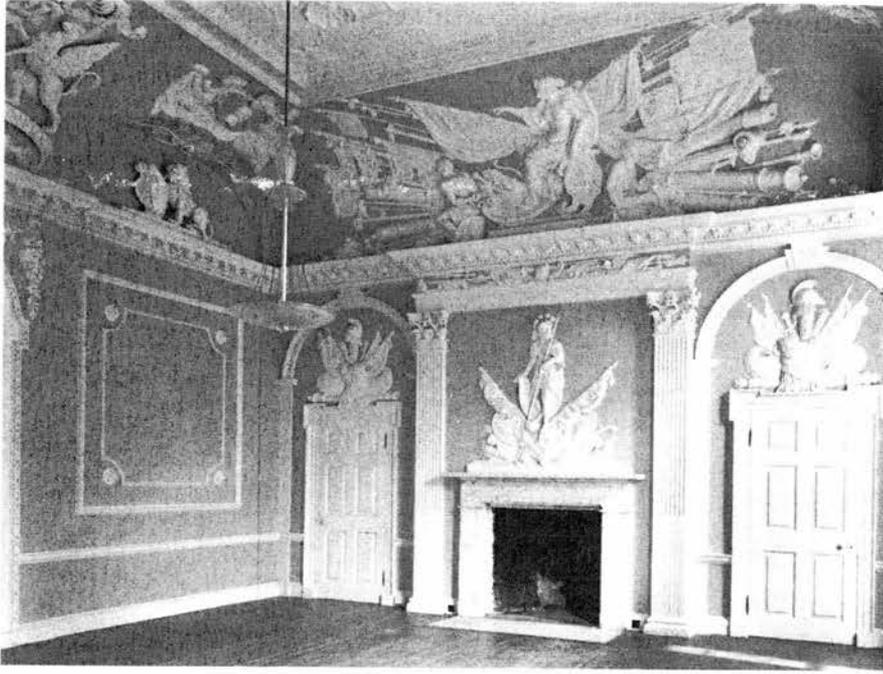
8. PLANS OF THE HOUSE FROM THE
NFS GUIDE BOOK.



9. THE (NEW) LIBRARY PRIOR TO
NTS RESTORATION.



10. THE (NEW) LIBRARY AFTER NTS
RESTORATION.



12. THE SALOON, SHOWING ENZER'S PLASTERWORK, DURING NTS REDECORATION.



13. THE DINING ROOM (ADAM'S WITHDRAWING ROOM) AT THE TIME OF THE NTS TAKE-OVER FROM THE HOTEL.

POTAGERS OR ORCHARDS: £1,500
The intention is to reinstate the orchards and extend such fruit trees as still remain and generally regenerate these areas.

CORDON SANITAIRE: £2,200
The immediate surrounds of the house and gardens require to be extensively replanted and landscaped.

POLICIES AND WOODLAND TRAILS: £4,500
Landscaping, forestry, parking (suitably sited) and woodland trails are in a comprehensive restoration programme including such features as an ice house.

As mentioned, the Trust has created holiday flats in the upper storeys of the courtyard, and there will eventually also be a shop.

Phase I of the plan at the House of Dun was completed in 1987, and the courtyard and grounds were opened to the public on June 1st of that year for one season, while the main house was still being run as a hotel.

Phase II began later in 1987. When "A Legacy" was published in May 1986 there were fewer specific plans for the interior than for the exterior on which work was already underway. Several of the main house room descriptions in this brochure do not even mention any restoration plans (e.g., Lady Augusta's Boudoir). In other rooms, the plans changed during restoration (e.g., the Laigh Hall does not have the interpretive programme described in the brochure). However, it is worth citing the listing of interior plans in "A Legacy" for two reasons: first, to demonstrate the relative division of funds, though it must be remembered that more was spent on each project than is listed for the public appeal; secondly, it is important in the context of

this thesis to see how an organisation like the National Trust for Scotland goes about proposing future restoration plans to potential donors.

LAIGH HALL: £15,500

The meeting place of the domestic and estate staff; a special participating programme will highlight life and the daily work "below-stairs."

WINE CELLAR: £1,500

No great house of note could exist without a Wine Cellar and its care was the pride and joy of the Butler.

GUN AND ROD ROOMS: £3,000

The sporting life has been very much a feature of the life of the Lairds of Dun. The clutter of earlier sporting paraphernalia will be wide ranging.

HOUSEKEEPER'S ROOMS: £5,600

Everything from linens to spices came within the purview of the Housekeeper and household management. Where upper servants took their meals.

OLD KITCHEN: £6,000

This room will reflect an 18th-century culinary scene with the early copper batterie de cuisine belonging to the house. At present there are only four bare walls.

DINING ROOM: £10,500

The family portraits will hang here. The furniture was specially supplied by Young & Trotter of Edinburgh (c1830).

SALOON: £12,800

Here visitors were "made very rosy". There is a wealth of bizarre and outstanding plaster work including militaria and musical

instruments. The room will afford prospects of musical evenings.

LIBRARY: £7,900

Some of the early 19th-Century fittings still exist and this library will complement the old library to be re-established on the first floor.

BUSINESS ROOM: £9,400

This room together with the adjoining Charter Room will echo the presence of past Lairds who ran their estates from here and were attended by their legal or financial advisers.

ENTRANCE HALL AND STAIRCASE: £12,600

The initial reception and welcome to visitors will provide an immediate impact as this area is restored as it used to be.

LADY AUGUSTA'S BOUDOIR: £8,800

Here Lady Augusta informally received her friends in a more intimate setting.

LADY AUGUSTA'S BEDROOM/DRESSING ROOM:
£7,800

A half tester bed will be proudly displayed in this room together with her silk embroidered counterpane.

JOHN KENNEDY-ERSKINE'S DRESSING ROOM:
£4,900

The more masculine furnishings reveal the tastes of a 19th-Century gentleman - in this case Lady Augusta's husband.

OLD LIBRARY: £19,100

Over the centuries this room was divided, its previous use hidden. Restored, this fine panelled room will house a notable collection of books.

THE SOUTH WEST BEDROOM: £7,900

Some of its original architectural features just survive, but restoration and refurnishing are required.

TAPESTRY ROOM:

£8,000

The original tapestries, discovered elsewhere in the house, will be re-instated together with some early Georgian furniture. (The Family Room adjoins).

As was previously discussed, the Old Kitchen was restored to its 1730 state, and now displays the original "DUN" copper *batterie de cuisine*. The Housekeeper's Room of the 1830s has been left as such and not restored to the 1730 use as a nursery. In contrast, the Laigh Hall has been restored from a coal cellar to its original use and shows a view of servant life at that time. The rest of the rooms in the basement house various exhibits for tourists, some of these rooms existing basically as they would have done (the Wine Cellar and China Pantry), and others adapted for tourist purposes, lacking any other necessary function (the Gun and Rod Rooms and the Model Theatre). The issue here is decidedly one of private versus public. If the restoration project at Dun were not being done for public education, these rooms would be left untouched or put to a use perhaps more related to the original, such as storage or work space. Again the debate is between the academic, historical conservationists and the public education-minded interpretationists. During restoration, a baking oven was discovered in the room to the west of the Wine Cellar. At some time, evidently, there would have been another kitchen here, although the date and reason for it are unknown. Here the NTS fell on the side of the conservationists and opened up the oven for viewing even though not much else can be done with the room as such, because there is already a kitchen display.

On the Ground Floor, the Trust chose to keep the Entrance Hall opened in accord with Lady Augusta's alteration revealing the Staircase. The argument for not reconstructing the 1730 wall was three-fold. First, as it is it makes a larger welcome area for visitors. Secondly, the hall furniture from the 1830's remains and is in good condition. Thirdly, as William Hanlin points out in an undated information sheet (at NMRS) "It was felt that it would not be a good idea to attempt to restore it completely because one can never be entirely certain how the original east wall appeared beyond a fairly well educated guess."

In the Saloon, a paint scraping uncovered the original Adam green colour, and this has been recreated to offset the Enzer plasterwork. With these two original elements the room alone stands as a tribute to Adam's style even without the commentary of furnishings. Upholding the classical principles which influenced the architect, the Saloon embodies the Italian "classic proportion" formula by which the square root of the sum of the lengths of the long and short walls equals the height of the mantle-piece. Although it is the most untouched part of the eighteenth century house remaining, the room has been sparsely furnished with furniture from the late rather than early Georgian period. Most notable are a set of chinese Chippendale chairs loaned by the Duke of Atholl from Blair Castle. These chairs were bought for an entirely different setting than that in the Saloon at Dun. It is this sort of ambiguity which has caused certain purists, including members of the HBC, to be so critical of Dun.

During restoration, the room to the east of the Saloon was left as the Dining Room of the 1830s, as the change from the 1730 Drawing Room had been quite substantial. Additionally, the colonnaded screen,

the period furniture, the mahogany floor and the paintings from Lady Augusta's time all serve to make the room dominantly nineteenth century. The only major 1730 item in the room is the chimney-piece, from which twentieth century tiling had to be removed. What had served as the pantry in the nineteenth century (originally the master bedroom suite) was substantially modernised into a pantry and kitchen during Dun's time as a hotel. The NTS did not undertake to restore this area, and as it remains it can be useful in serving any Trust functions involving the Dining Room. Here the entertainment of the membership public (and the great expense and inconvenience of restoring this area to either earlier state) has dominated over the education of the general public. The pantry did contain, however, a chimney-piece and it was decided to remove and reinstall this elsewhere so as not to waste an authentic piece.

To the west of the Saloon, the original Family Bedrooms have been left as the Library into which Lady Augusta had altered them. The original closeted staircase to the nursery which was walled up in the alteration has been uncovered slightly so as to be visible to the public through an opening in the wall.

The Parlour survives in its early Georgian state. While the house was run as a hotel, this room held a bar which was of course removed in the NTS restoration. The unused chimney-piece from the pantry was installed here, the original having been removed to make room for the bar. The Charter Room off of the Parlour also remain and is displayed with a small portion of the original wallpaper on view. However, one can hardly see this wallpaper for the room is cordoned off.

Upstairs, the rooms on the east side of the house pay homage to Lady Augusta, while those on the west side present a combination of eighteenth and nineteenth century material. In the 1830s the bedroom and two closets in the north-east corner of Adam's design were altered to create John Kennedy-Erskine's Dressing Room. The two bedrooms and two closets proceeding along the east wall were also rearranged to form Lady Augusta's Bedroom, Dressing Room and Boudoir. In general on this floor, where the many small closets of 1730 were removed in the 1830s the Trust did not rebuild them, as a larger visible bedroom is certainly more to the tourist's interest and education. The furnishings, accordingly, remain from the nineteenth century. The Trust moved the curtains, embroidered by Lady Augusta, from the Saloon to the Boudoir.

The corresponding suite of rooms on the west side of the building were rearranged in Lady Augusta's time from two large and two small bedrooms into two larger bedrooms - one with accompanying dressing room - and a small bedroom. The setting in these rooms is eighteenth century, in that the original panelling remains, and the tapestries which were removed to the Staircase walls in the 1830s have been re-hung in their original positions (determined by the corresponding wall sizes). The furnishings, however, are all Lady Augusta's. The smallest of the west bedrooms was originally two closets and a closet-sized bedroom. It was refurbished with the rest in the nineteenth century and was subsequently used as the room of Mrs. Millicent Lovett, the twentieth Laird who bequeathed the property to the Trust. The furniture here is again nineteenth century, while the paintings on

the walls were done by Lady Augusta's grand-daughter, Violet Jacobs.

On the first-floor landing, Adam's design of a small bedroom was kept during Lady Augusta's remodelling. One of Adam's alternate designs, however, showed this area as the Billiard Room, and the Trust has adopted this plan, removing the partition wall so that the room opens up on the staircase into the Old Library. This allows, if not for historic accuracy, at least for an Adam-inspired room which is more open for the flow of public, and also provides the space from which to view and appreciate the double staircase and ascent into the Old Library from a better perspective.

Ascending these stairs one enters the Adam Library, now termed the Old Library in comparison to the relatively new ground-floor Library of the nineteenth century. The partitions which had at that time turned this room into two bedrooms and two closets were removed by the NTS and the central window unblocked. To recreate the original setting, the Trust has installed eighteenth century panelling taken from Barnes House, as well as a plasterwork cornice which if not original at least recalls the Adam atmosphere. The furniture post-dates Adam, being mostly from the time of George III rather than George II. One original pier glass remained, and the Trust had it copied to form a pair.

As far as the external restoration, the Trust in nearly all respects restored the house to Adam's design. Unable to remove the attic dormers, as they light the resident Trust representative's flat, they added a third dormer to each side of the house, relocating the misplaced dormer on the east side to a symmetrical

position. Thus the added dormers sit in better harmony above the original windows. In all the windows, the plate glass was replaced with small panes and glazing bars, restoring the 1730 appearance. Likewise the panelled entrance door was reformed to hold panes of glass and the fanlight reinstated overhead.

As the rustication needed to be redone in order to recreate the original appearance of the building, the Trust required large quantities of new stone. Fortunately, the early stages of Phase II at Dun coincided with the demolishing of Rosemount House several miles away, which had been built in the same period with stone from the same area. Thus authentic stone was acquired at little cost to replace all the rustication, involving most of the south elevation, as well as the window and door details.

The level of the garden immediately to the south of the house had sunk considerably resulting in the terrace stairway foundations collapsing and the stairs parting company with the house. This stair was therefore carefully dismantled, new foundations laid and then re-erected, the garden ground being raised to its original level. [46]

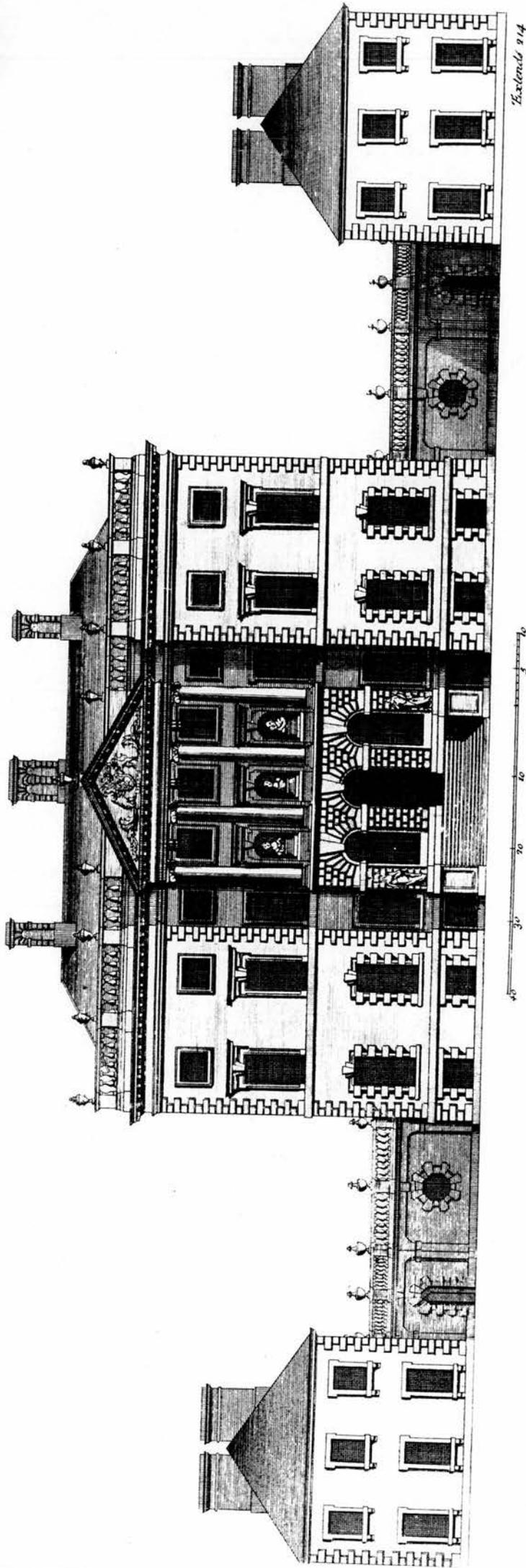
The elaborate plans for decorations of balustrades supporting urns on the north and south elevations which were never carried out in the eighteenth century have been adopted by the Trust. The purists might argue that this is not in keeping with the history of the building. However, as they did exist in Adam's designs, the Trust in consultation with the Historic Buildings and Monuments Division of the Scottish Development Board and with the restoring architects, chose to create these decorations at great expense. The balustrades have gone up on both sides (blocking,

however, the north dormers). The urns, of which there will be sixteen, will cost £30,000 and will be added at a later date when these funds are available. It was decided to spend current funds on the cartouche, which had to be both constructed and mounted in several segments due to its tremendous size and weight. The Trust views the addition of this cartouche, which was secured over the south front entrance on March 2nd, 1990, as the crowning glory, so to speak, and official end of Phase II.

Apart from the £500,000 raised by the public appeal, major funding was provided by the Historic Buildings Council for Scotland, the Countryside commission for Scotland, and the Scottish Tourist Board (Phase II only). Between the time of opening in 1989 when the press release announced a £1 million restoration and the present completion of Phase II, another £0.5 million of expenses have accrued, making the total funds required for the programme £1.5 million (with another £30,000 pending for the urns). [47]

Those desirous of seeing
the Interior of the House,
are requested to ring at the
door of entrance and to
express their desire.
It is wished that the practice
of stopping on the paved
walk to look in at the windows
should be discontinued.

14. NOTICE DISPLAYED BY THE FIRST DUKE OF
WELLINGTON AT STRATFIELD SAYE HOUSE,
c. 1800.

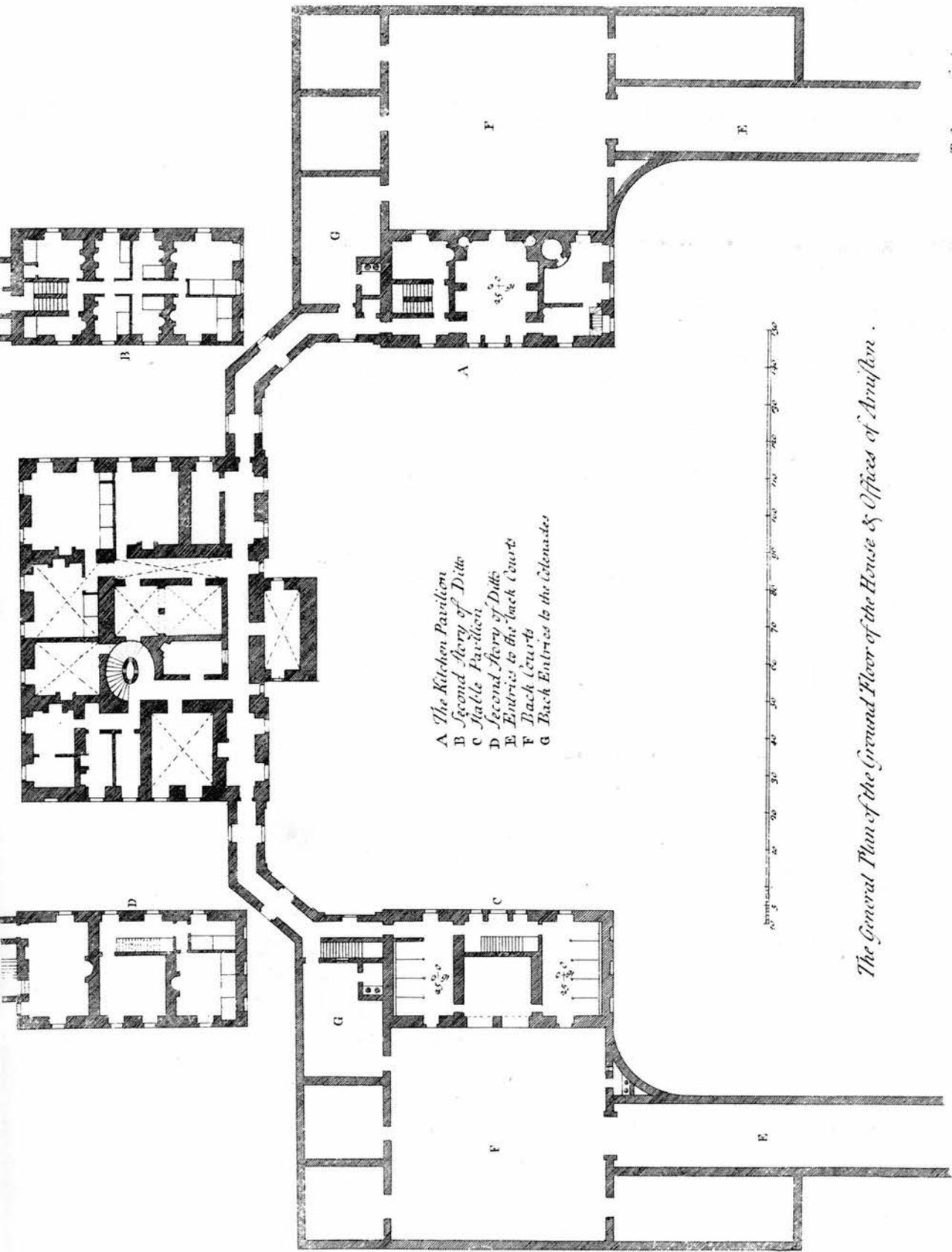


The General Front of Arncliffe toward the Court The Seat of the Honourable Mr. Robert Dundas of Arncliffe.

Jed. Adam Arch't.

R. Cooper sculp.

ARNCLIFF HOUSE, MIDLOTHIAN, FROM VITRUVIUS SCOTICUS.
15.

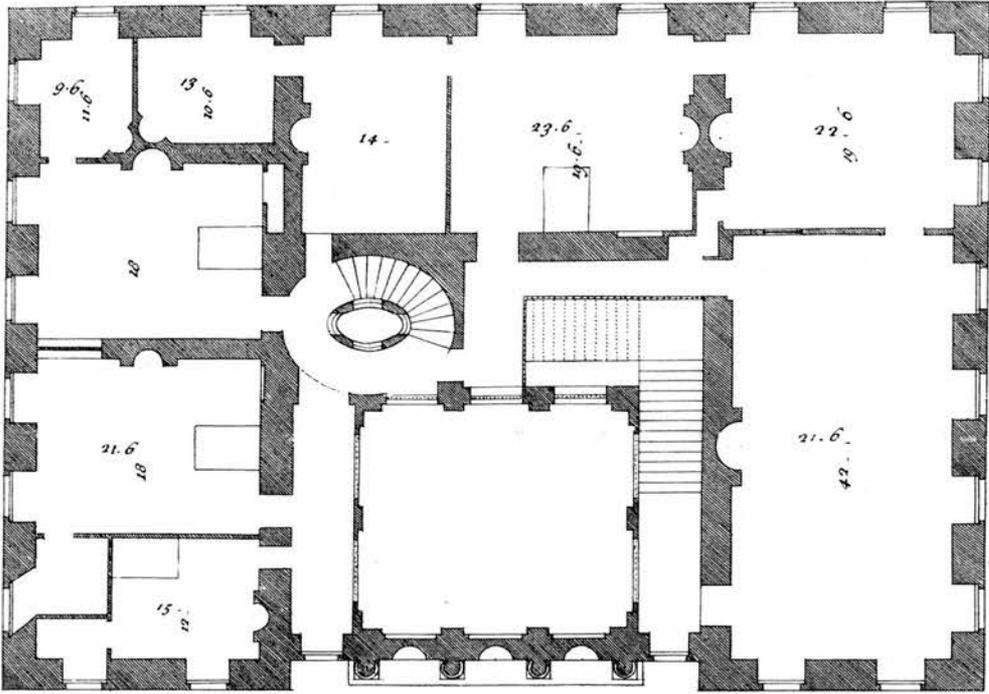


- A The Kitchen Pavilion
- B Second Story of Ditto
- C Stable Pavilion
- D Second Story of Ditto
- E Entries to the back Courts
- F Back Courts
- G Back Entries to the Colonades

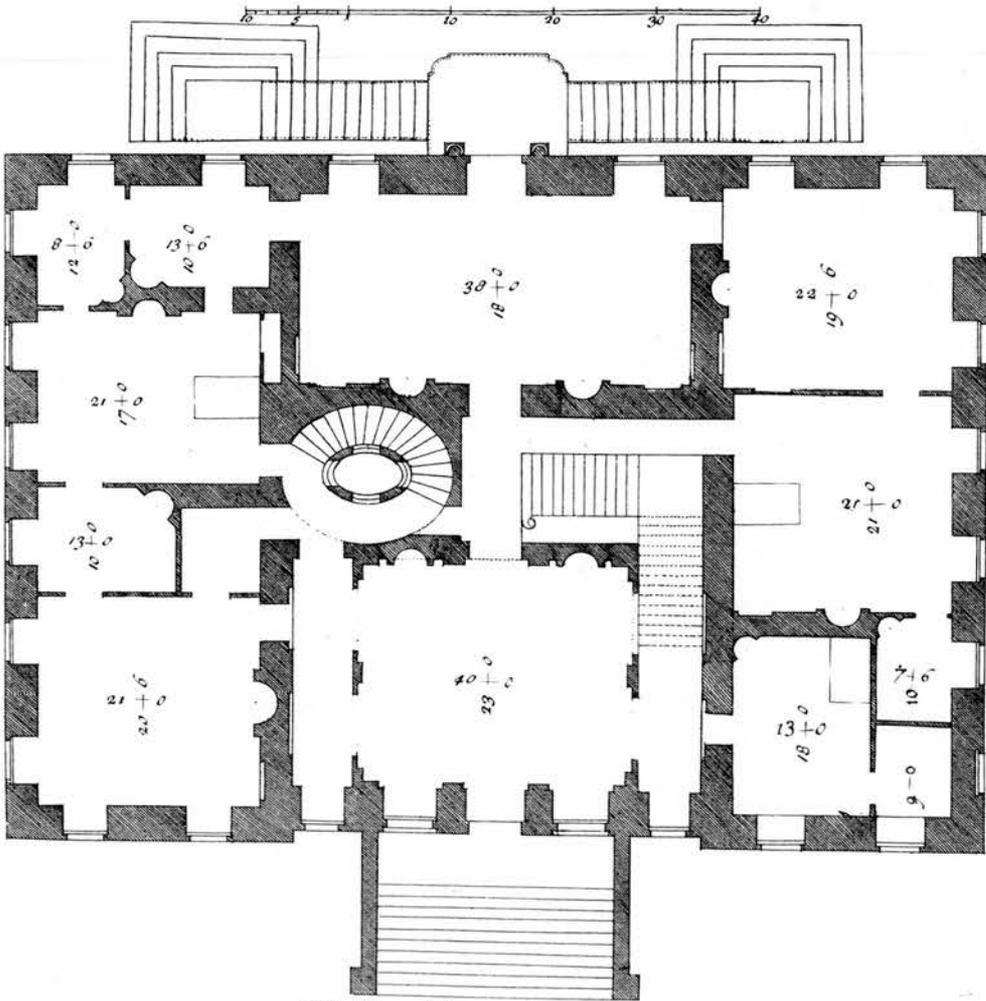
The General Plan of the Ground Floor of the House & Offices of Amulsen .

R. Cooper Archt

Gul. Adams inv. et delin



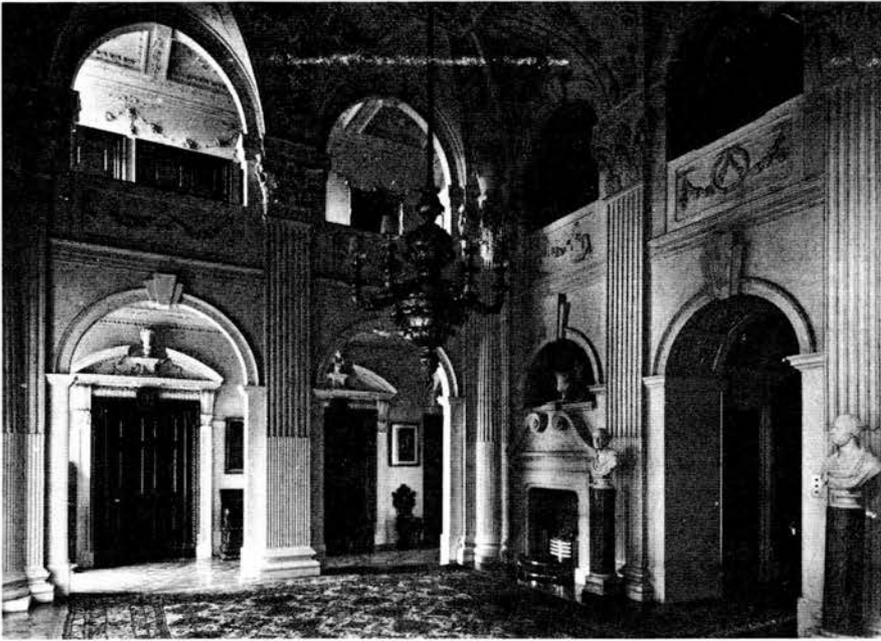
The Plan of the 2^d Floor of Arniston.



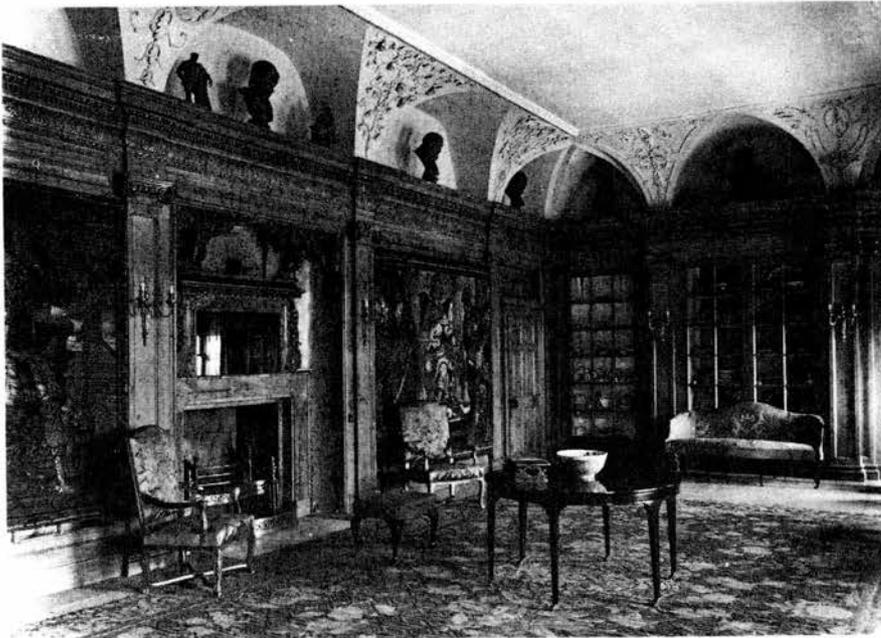
The Plan of the 1st Floor of Arniston.

Gal Adam inv: et delin

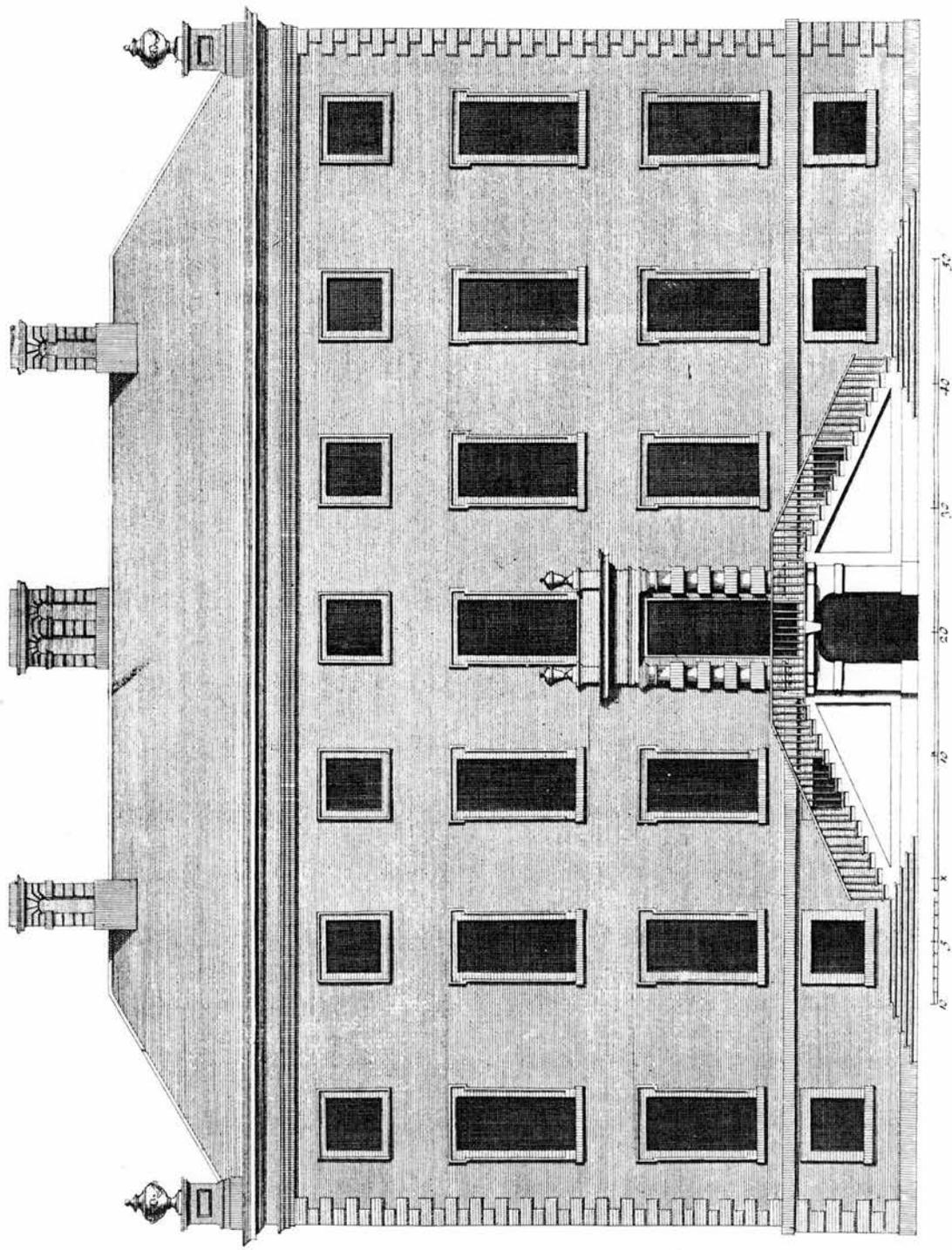
R Cooper Sculp



18. THE HALL, ARNISTON.



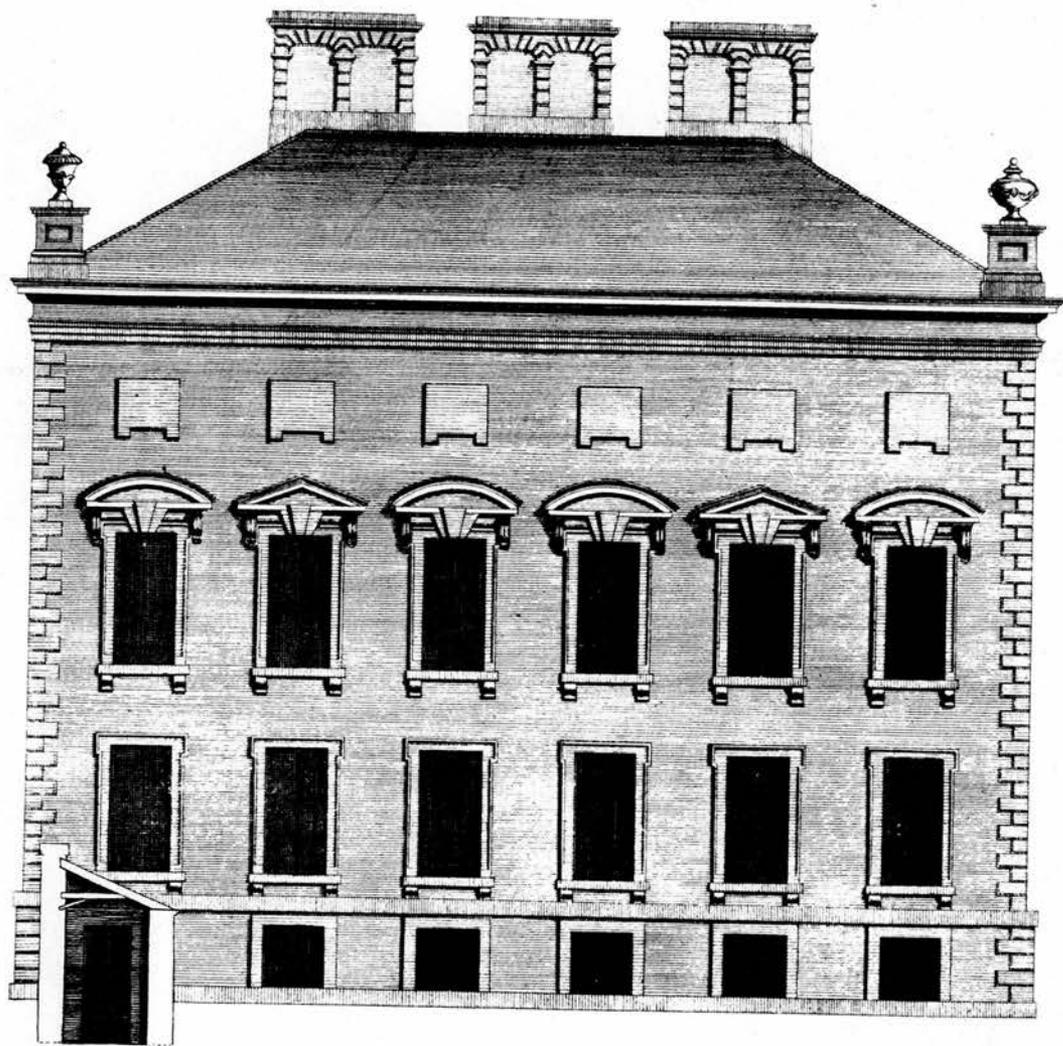
19. THE OAK ROOM, ARNISTON.



The Garden Front of Arnysten House towards the South

Joh. Adam Sow. et del.

R. Cooper sculp.



Prospect of the End Front of Arncliffe House toward the West

III: ARNISTON HOUSE

In 1726 Robert Dundas, third Lord Arniston, first President and Lord Advocate, inherited the Arniston estate in Midlothian. The estate included a seventeenth century house which had been unaltered apart from the 1690s addition of oak panelling in the principal room on the south side of the house. The second Lord had made substantial improvements and alterations to the estate, but it was his son who took on the house itself. In 1725 he had been "dismissed from the office of Lord Advocate on account of his opposition to the Government over the malt tax." [48] When his father died in the following year he turned his attention to remodelling and expanding Arniston. For this he commissioned William Adam to design and build a larger house on the site of the earlier mansion, dated c. 1640.

James Macaulay remarks that Adam's achievement as an architect "was demonstrated probably more to his own satisfaction at Arniston than anywhere else so that it remains the mansion which approximates more closely to Palladian concepts than any other country-house of its period in Scotland." [49] The main north front employs ground floor rustication(though only on the centre section) and an ornamental temple-styled frontispiece with columns supporting a pediment. The four-storeyed height and nine-bay mass of the central block is well balanced by low, single-storeyed (later heightened) passageways to the two-storeyed office blocks, originally housing stables and kitchen to the east and west respectively.

John Gifford states that, "The pomposity of Arniston's main block was given a baroque monumentality by the balustraded screen walls panelled with basket-arched recesses in which are set rusticated octagonal openings." [50] However, it is perhaps a stateliness and almost judicial grandness and order appropriate to an important legal family which comes across rather than the pomposity which Gifford suggests. Further, the connecting screen walls appear more Palladian than Baroque, as they bear an understated ornamentality and allow a common period balance and progression from high central block via low passages to wings of medium height.

Adam incorporated the old house into the new only slightly. First, the old was perhaps the approximate size of the central block and east jamb. Mary Cosh suggests:

Adam may also have extended the depth of the old house frontwards by the width of his covered passage to the service pavilions, connecting at ground level with a passage running the width of the house, so that one could walk by this means directly from one pavilion to the other - a fairly normal arrangement but here unusually unobstructed. [51]

Internally, it is the Oak Room which acts as a tribute to the old house, retaining its original seventeenth century panelling and dimensions, although Adam incorporated the space of two rooms into one, which he intended as the Dining Room.

At the time of William Adam's death in 1748 and due to a financial pause in the works at Arniston, the house stood with only the centre and the east jamb of the main block completed and the east wing and the interior incomplete. If, as it has been

suggested, the dimensions of the original house were approximately the size of the centre and east of the main block, then the original structure would have provided a substantial and convenient outer wall along the west side before the addition of the west jamb.

After his father's death in 1753, Robert Dundas (the second President) employed William Adam's son John, working in partnership with his brother James, to continue with the building of the west jamb. John significantly altered his father's plans for this part of the house, largely due to the changing fashions and priorities in the country house genre. To William Adam's generation it was apparent that London-based royalty were not going to visit Scotland routinely, let alone tour numerous houses, but the architectural traditions which demanded state apartments were still influencing William's designs. By John Adam's generation the architecture of these houses was adapting accordingly; the need for state apartments such as those designed for Arniston's west jamb was now extinct, rendering those rooms obsolete. Where William had designed two-storey rooms on the upper floor as royal apartments, John reversed the plan and brought the grand rooms to entrance level for entertaining.

In creating on this level a Dining Room and a Drawing Room with their altered ceiling heights, John also created an inconsistency between the level of the west windows and those of the rest of the house. From the west the house appears to be three rather than four storeys, and the pedimented windows which his father had planned for the upper floor John translated to the lower floor. He did remain consistent, however, with the

windows on the already established south and north fronts, employing a Georgian technique of hiding the inconsistent floor/ceiling level behind the central window bars so that from the outside the levels appear unbroken. Internally of course, one sees a window which begins rather low in an upstairs room disappear into the floor and re-appear in the downstairs room too high in the wall.

Another oddity caused by John Adam's alterations is the main staircase, which denies access to the west gallery over the hall. William originally intended for there to be a landing at this height from which one would gain access to the grand upper rooms. However, because in execution the lower rooms had grown in proportion, this level would only have given access to empty space halfway up the Dining and Drawing Room walls. John therefore relocated the landing further up in order to provide entrance to the upstairs rooms. False doors appear along the gallery wall in order to give a symmetrical appearance with the east gallery. Access for cleaning must now be gained via a step-ladder off of the staircase.

Several changes were made to Arniston by the Chief Baron in the early nineteenth century, although these changes were mainly to the grounds. Having gathered up numerous fragments from the demolition of Parliament House, he brought these to the estate and incorporated them into bridges and other ornaments. To the house itself significant alterations occurred in the South Parlour. The Chief Baron placed an extension onto this room out towards the garden. The double staircase now descends from two doors at east and west of the addition rather than from the

original south-facing door. Externally, he placed the Royal Scottish Arms on the pediment over the south front.

The most significant alterations to the house occurred in Victorian times under the first Baronet. Mark Girouard, in an article entitled "Victorian Alterations to Country Houses," states:

The reasons that led a Victorian landowner to enlarge, alter or rebuild his house were numerous, but can be divided into two main classes, of taste and of convenience. The two classes overlap. Most Victorian owners who remodelled or rebuilt their houses primarily for aesthetic reasons took the opportunity to rearrange or add to their accommodation; and additions made in the first place for convenience sometimes ended in a complete visual remodelling. [52]

Indeed, where the Victorian alterations remodelled the Adam design it was always for practical purposes and after much thoughtful deliberation. Arniston House is very fortunate to possess the extensive Diaries of the first Baronet in which he detailed his thoughts and actions concerning the house. Reflecting upon his life and work at Arniston, he wrote:

Although during the last fifty years the alterations upon the structure of the Mansion House have been comparatively few, a great deal has been done to conduce to its comfort as a residence.

In 1851 a new water supply was brought into the house, and alterations were made to accomodate sinks, water closets, and water taps on each floor. A hot water boiler was also installed at this time which provided hot water on every floor. Prior to these improvements,

all water in the bedrooms had to be carried upstairs and down again after use.

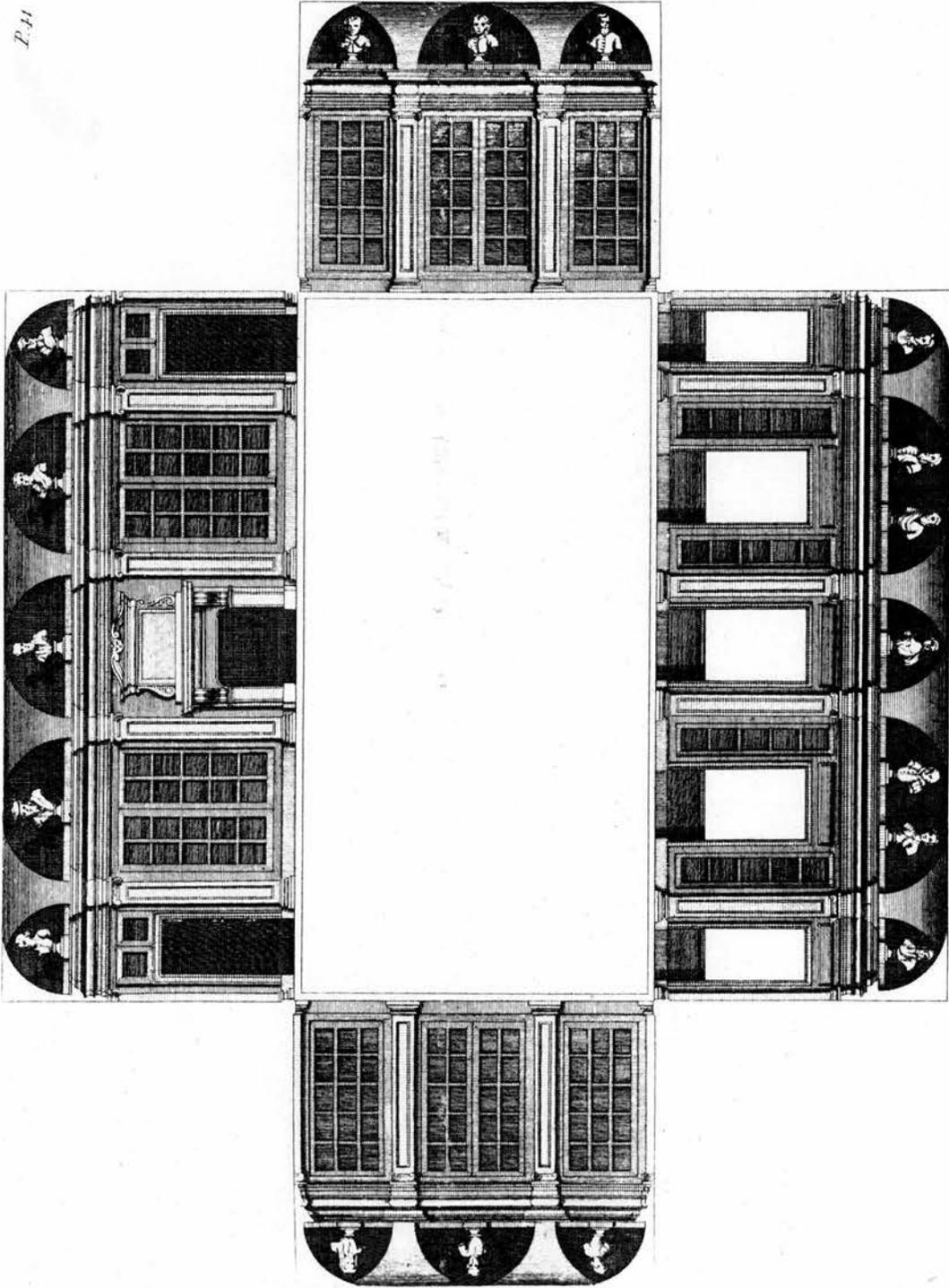
A new drainage system had to be brought into the house to cope with these alterations. Earthenware pipes had recently come into use and a tubular drain carried the water outside the house and connected with an old tunnel drain. [53]

In 1854 a gas-work was erected, and the whole house was lit with gas. The Baronet wrote, "Only those who knew Arniston in the old days of lamps and candles can tell the comfort the introduction of gas has been." [54]

With the basics of light and water improved, the Baronet turned to other practicalities. "Owing to its situation, the Library, as designed by Adam, was useless" [55], he wrote in 1868. Thus a new room was constructed out of a dressing room and closet at the north-east corner of the house which was lighter and more accessible. The original upstairs Library was at this time changed to a porcelain room and its tall, narrow sets of shelves given glass fronts to become display cabinets. It retains its original library panelling and atmosphere, reinforced by the letters of the alphabet above each case, which obviously do not denote the A, B, and C porcelain.

In connection with the construction of the new library, the old family bedroom, whose dressing room had been absorbed in the new library, was converted into a Lady's Boudoir... partly by a small slit cut off this room and partly by a space gained by excavation out of the thick old wall, a passage was formed leading into two small rooms at the S.E. angle of the house, which were thrown into one. [56]

P. 44



Section of the Library at Arncliffe

22. THESE ORIGINAL LIBRARY FITTINGS IN ADAM'S DESIGN STILL EXIST TODAY.

This room became a business room, and is now used as a Victorian nursery display.

Also in 1868 the Baronet added a railway-type dinner lift, because "In houses as old as Arniston, the kitchen was usually placed as far off as possible from the centre of the House, very inconvenient for modern requirements." [57]

Substantial structural changes occurred in 1877. The Baronet built a flat-roofed extension south of the west pavilion to house additional servants' rooms. He also changed the east stable pavilion into a guest flat, with servant quarters below. For a time, these guests had to enter the main block of the house by going downstairs, along the connecting servants' passage, and then up the servants' stair into the hall. This being cold, needlessly complicated and socially unsatisfactory, in 1877 the Baronet enlarged the colonnades for direct access from the flat into the main house. "Access was got to the wing, without visitors having to pass through the downstairs part of the house." [58] Adam's ornamental balustrades were replaced at the new top level of the colonnades where they serve to retain the eighteenth century style of the house. However, the additions can still be discerned due to the use of yellow sand-stone which does not match the original pink sand-stone quarried locally.

The Victorian porch added onto the north front was built of this same stone in 1877, although it stands out somewhat more notably than the colonnades in its obstruction of Adam's original facade. James Simpson in his 1977 Report speaks of the grandness of Adam's north rooms (the Hall and the Library) commenting, "Characteristically, William Adam shows his lack of sophistication as a designer by

the fact that his main facade does not express these interiors." [59] However, the Hall comes as an even greater surprise to one who enters it through the Victorian porch which blocks the base of Adam's frontispiece and any view of its upper portico for the visitor at the door.

As the first owner to inhabit Arniston year-round, the Baronet discovered that the house was inadequately sheltered from the cold north winds coming across the fields. His 1877 Diaries speak of practical reasons for the North Porch addition:

I pulled down the grand old flight of steps with their massive stone balustrade which formed the entrance to the house. I was sorry to do so for I fully appreciated its grandeur as a piece of architecture, but it was quite unsuited for a Scotch country house in winter. When the house was built, country houses were rarely inhabited in the winter. [60]

Built according to the 1876 plans of Wardrop and Reid, the new entrance boasts its own pediment below and in front of the original one. Internally, the bays at hall level to the left and right of the main door were pushed forward, creating alcoves, and windows were placed in the sides of these alcoves facing east and west, with views of the wings and communications rather than north, with the intended view of the landscape. The porch is entered at ground level with an enclosed, more modest staircase in place of the original grand stair designed by Adam. As a further safeguard against the cold, improved heating apparatus was installed which consisted of hot water pipes running beneath the hall floor. This system not only heated the hall, but dried out the damp in the basement as well.

In 1887, the Baronet decided that the stone flags in the Hall had been well worn after over a century and a half of use, and he replaced them with an oak parquet floor. "Though not quite in keeping with the original design of the apartment," he said, "it had the effect of making the house look warmer." [61]

Several decorative changes were made in the time of the first Baronet. He noted in 1888 that,

Owing to the soft nature of the stone of which Arniston is built, the ornamental cornices and the coat of arms and carvings in the tympanum had decayed under the influence of weathering. [62]

These carvings were replaced with stone found at Doddington Hill, near Wooler, which closely resembled the original. The Baronet's wife commissioned Frullini, a celebrated Florentine sculptor, to carve two new chimney pieces for the Oak Room. These were installed in 1879 as a present to mark her passage through the life of the house. [63]

Like Dun, Arniston acquired a strong nineteenth-century layer over its eighteenth-century self. James Simpson emphasizes that the first Baronet's work was typical of nineteenth century alterations in that it has added tremendously to the maintenance load of the house.

For the greater part of this century, Arniston was occupied by May Dundas, who, due to being infirm, neither spent full years in the house nor put great efforts into keeping it up, further exacerbating the maintenance problem. Simpson recounts the damages incurred through lack of maintenance during this period:

The main roof seems to have got into bad order, and its coverings were renewed in 1951/52. By that time, however, major damage had been done; persistent water penetration had led to dry rot and as a result the western part of the main house, including John Adam's Dining Room and Drawing Room of c. 1755, was partly stripped out and not reinstated. The nineteenth century extension to the west pavilion was similarly treated in 1966/67 and the whole house west of the Hall has fallen into disuse. This work from 1958 to 1967 was supervised by Ian Lindsay and Partners...It is an interesting historical accident that the western part of the main house which is now unusable is the same part which remained unbuilt for some twenty-five years after the completion of the rest of the house." [64]

Arniston is now in the hands of Mrs. Althea Dundas-Bekker and her husband Aedrian who have been carrying out extensive and ongoing plans for the restoration and improvement of the house. Mrs. Dundas-Bekker herself best recounts the confusing way in which the house eventually fell into her hands:

When I was born no-one would ever have thought that it would be me who would one day inherit. My grandfather Henry was brought up at Arniston but the heir was his elder brother Robert. My grandfather, though very charming, was a spendthrift, and after his debts had been paid off copiously by his father, was told he would be cut out of the inheritance of Arniston. He always thought his elder brother would inherit anyway, which he did, but only for a year, and then he died in 1909. The estate was then put into Trust for the only surviving child, a daughter May. She lived until 1970 when I inherited. The strange thing was that there were a great many male heirs throughout this century. My grandfather inherited the title of baronet. He

had six sons and one daughter. He died in 1930 when two of his sons had predeceased him. His eldest boy, my father Philip, then inherited the title, and was the heir to Arniston. My brother died tragically in 1962 aged 26 whereupon the title went to my bachelor uncle Jim who died in 1967, and my father's last surviving brother took the title and became heir. He died in 1970 four days before May [died]. It probably sounds hopelessly complicated but it is very strange how things have worked out this century. In the previous ones the heir went consistently from father to eldest son. [65]

Having worked for the National Trust for Scotland for four years prior to inheriting Arniston, the present proprietress had gained, as she says, "an awareness of our heritage and it was very awe-inspiring to find I owned part of it":

My feelings were very mixed when I first came here. I was constantly being told how lucky I was, but I knew this was only so because I had lost members of my family very close to me. The death duties were an enormous burden...The early years revolved very much around the paying-off of them and not so much on the welfare of the house. [66]

Shortly after these death duties had been paid off and before any major work on the house had been considered, she married a South African, Aedrian Bekker, who became the eleventh laird of Arniston. It is important to note that a commitment to and the pull of the house are what weighted their decision to settle in Scotland rather than in South Africa. One of the first things they did upon returning to Arniston together was to hire James Simpson as their architect. Mr. Simpson was at that time working on publishing Vitruvius Scoticus and was regarded

as the authority on Adam. In 1977 he compiled an extensive report on the condition of the house with recommendations for its preservation and restoration.

As was previously mentioned, the west jamb and west wing of the house were seriously affected by dry rot, and were internally dismantled in 1955 and 1966 respectively. Fortunately, Ian Lidnsay and Partners carefully documented their work. The re-usable mouldings were saved and have been stored in the house for over twenty years. This firm still has the records and has now been contracted to undertake the reconstruction of the west part of the house. Originally, the new owners had hoped to begin this project in the 1970s. However, Simpson's report showed that many things in the rest of the house would need attention first in order to ensure that what stood was sound before reconstruction could be undertaken. His recommendations were as follows:

A. URGENT

- (i) Minor and temporary repairs to roofs, gutters, conductors, etc.
- (ii) Open up certain areas for inspection (including investigating the cause of cracking in the Oak Room ceiling).
- (iii) Domestic plumbing should be checked.
- (iv) Main house dry rot inspection.
- (v) West pavilion dry rot outbreak (subsequent to the first one) to be dealt with.
- (vi) South front steps to be dismantled and await reconstruction.
- (vii) Orangery structural repairs.
- (viii) Routine external decoration - to ensure that everything repainted every five years.

(ix) Installations upgraded with advice from Lothian and Borders Fire Brigade.

B. NECESSARY

- (i) Secure the flat south of the west pavilion.
- (ii) Repair the east communication roof.
- (iii) Check and renew as necessary domestic plumbing.
- (iv) Main west elevation stonework repairs.
- (v) Overhaul and repair chimney heads, north balustrade...
- (vi) Main roof repairs.
- (vii) South front steps - renew and re-instate.
- (viii) Check and strip timber in Basement Passage from oval stair, W.C. and store under Oak Room.

C. DESIRABLE

- (i) Housekeeping: checking storage of furniture, books, etc.
- (ii) Where possible Basement timber floors should be stripped and replaced with solid floors.
- (iii) South front soil and waste pipes renewed.
- (iv) North porch roof renewed.

D. NORMAL MAINTENANCE

- (i) A normal watch kept for broken slates, leaks, blocked conductors.
- (ii) Every three months the roofs and drains should be inspected.
- (iii) Every year the whole building should be inspected with a builder.
- (iv) Every five years there should be an architect's inspection.

At the end of the list, Simpson summarizes by saying, "It is most economical to maintain a building on a 'plateau of good repair'. The work necessary to get a building to this level should be carried out as quickly as resources permit." Based on a 1976

survey, he estimates that costs once on the 'plateau' would be approximately:

£2,000 to £2,800 per annum,

or £500 to £1,000 each year for four years
and £8,000 to £10,000 every fifth year,

or £10,000 to £14,000 in each quinquennium.

Since Simpson's report several other cases of dry rot have been found and treated, mainly in the Oak Room, and gradually the recommended repairs have been tackled. All of this has meant that the plans for the west part of the house have been postponed.

Under the new architect, Nicholas Groves-Raines, and in cooperation with Ian Lindsay Partners, the project is at last about to begin. This does not mean, however, that all other repair and maintenance work can or will stop while the restoration is in progress. Currently, the roofs of the Victorian linking colonades and the north porch are being repaired. Mrs. Dundas-Bekker admits to not being quite certain how the cost of the past eighteen years of restoration and repair work has not led them into overdraft, but she acknowledges the great help of the HBC, whose grants can be generous for historical restoration, especially work which will ensure the survival of the basic structure, such as roof repairs. Accompanying HBC grants is the stipulation that the house be opened to the public for a minimum of twenty-five days a year between the months of May and September, with ten of these days falling on weekends.

This required opening seems, and is, a relatively small price to pay for the grant aid, but one must bear in mind the disadvantages thus incurred. For insurance purposes, various

securities must be met to a higher standard. There is, of course, the inconvenience to the private life of the owners. Most of all, however, is the added wear and tear on the grounds, carpets etc. which would undoubtedly last longer under normal use. Wear to carpets and floors may be alleviated by covering them with plastic matting or other carpet, although this in itself is an extra expense.

Mrs. Dundas-Bekker discusses the raising of restoration funds and the opening to the public:

We do not like to part with chattels to raise funds, as we feel our most important pieces (which are usually the only ones which could realise a sum worthwhile) are an integral part of the house. However, we have been lucky recently in parting with three vases for which we had no affection and which seemed to have no significant provenance, and it happened that in the market at that particular moment they were much in demand. We have parted with quite a number of cottages on the estate. This can often be unfortunate as their exteriors are rather charming, but after the sale they become adapted to suit modern tastes and lose their character. Minerals on the estate can be a good source of finance, but often lucrative things like opencast mining are not popular with environmentalists. *There isn't really a universal panacea, and certainly not opening the house to the public. This never pays, but it is much enjoyed,* and makes the house available. Whilst we are in the middle of restoration one cannot have too much ambition about commercialising the house. I do have ideas which could fit in for the future. In all of them I will always place the greatest importance on one of Arniston's most

precious asset, its peace and beauty (no theme parks allowed!). [67]

These thoughts demonstrate the way in which being a conscientious owner of an historic house is in many ways like being the curator of a museum. Numerous priorities must be balanced, demands met and decisions and sacrifices made.

Future plans seem certain to involve the implementation of many of James Simpson's 1977 remarks concerning the "Use of the House" which he prefaces with the following statement:

Any building is more easily maintained if it is fully used, and this must apply to the whole western half of Arniston; on the other hand suitable uses are rarely obvious or easily found. Any use is likely to detract to a greater or lesser extent from the amenity of Arniston as a family house, and in the final analysis only the family can judge where the balance of advantage lies.

Possible uses he suggests are:

A flat for letting in the upper rooms, above the John Adam Dining Room and Drawing Room.

Opening outside attractions to the public such as a nature trail. [Simpson suggests 'The History of the Landscape' as a theme, but as noted, the owners would like to avoid Arniston's becoming a theme park. The open grounds at Haddo House in Aberdeenshire could be an example.]

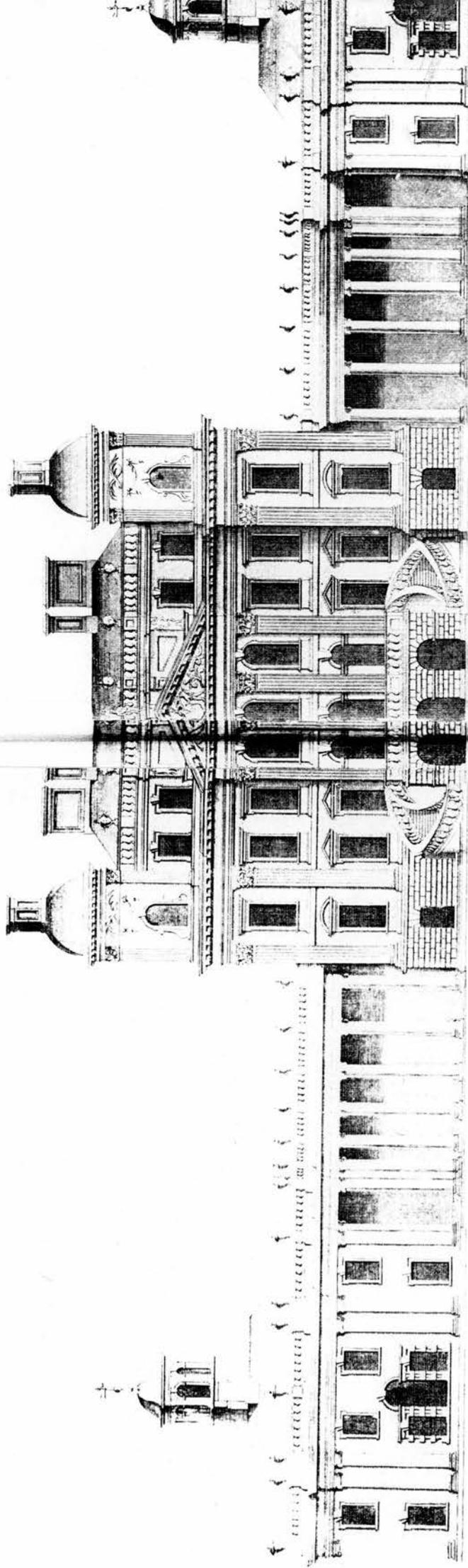
Running a small business in the west wing much like the Duke of Atholl's building business at Blair or Charles Maitland-Makgill-Crichton's furniture business at Monzie.

A residential conference, course or retreat centre.

Each of these suggestions is valid, but each would reduce the family atmosphere at Arniston. However, modern times will demand a solution for living in a house designed for the lifestyle of 250 years ago. As Simpson concludes:

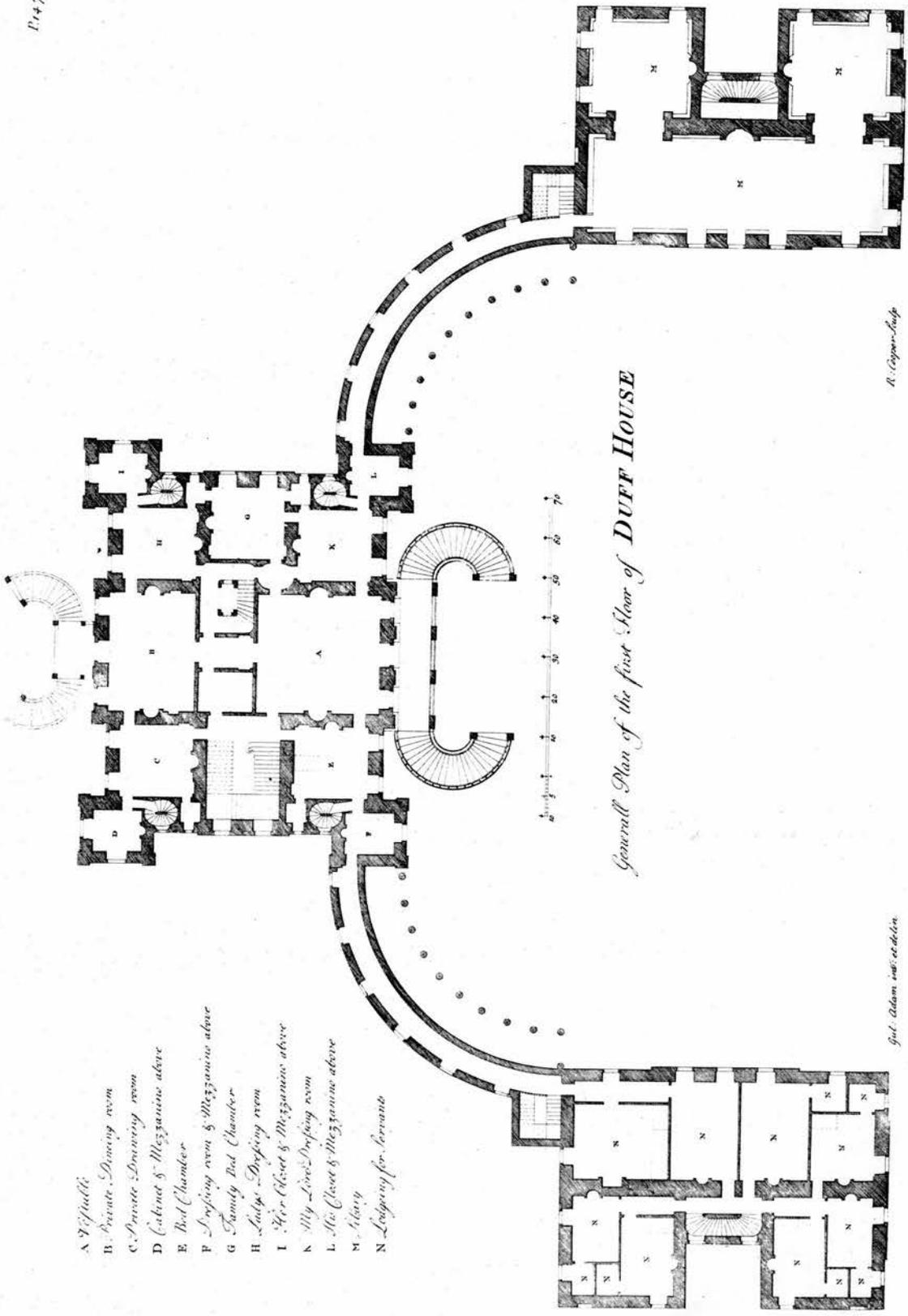
It has been assumed that the primary aims are to secure: firstly, the long-term survival of the house for the appreciation of all, and secondly, the ability of the family which has held Arniston for nearly four hundred years to continue to live there, without unreasonable disruption or loss of amenity. It is probably desirable from both points of view that a way of using the western part of the house should be found; that it should be thought of as a resource, which should generate income and pay, as it were, for its own keep.

Under the present architect, Nicholas Groves-Raines, HBC grant aid has been obtained for the current re-roofing and the flooring of the John Adam Rooms. Whatever use is eventually established for the rest of the western portion of the house, these rooms will be historically maintained. A great deal of time, money and overall commitment has gone into reaching this first stage of re-flooring the rooms. The commitment is to "the future of the past," and the future of Britain's building heritage will rely on more owners taking on the job of curator in their homes and living with and for the house rather than merely living in the house.



The General Front of DUFF HOUSE toward the Court . . . Seat of the Right Honourable the EARL of FIFE in the County of Banff.

DUFF HOUSE, FROM VITRUVIUS SCOTICUS, SHOWING THE PAVILIONS WHICH WERE NEVER BUILT.

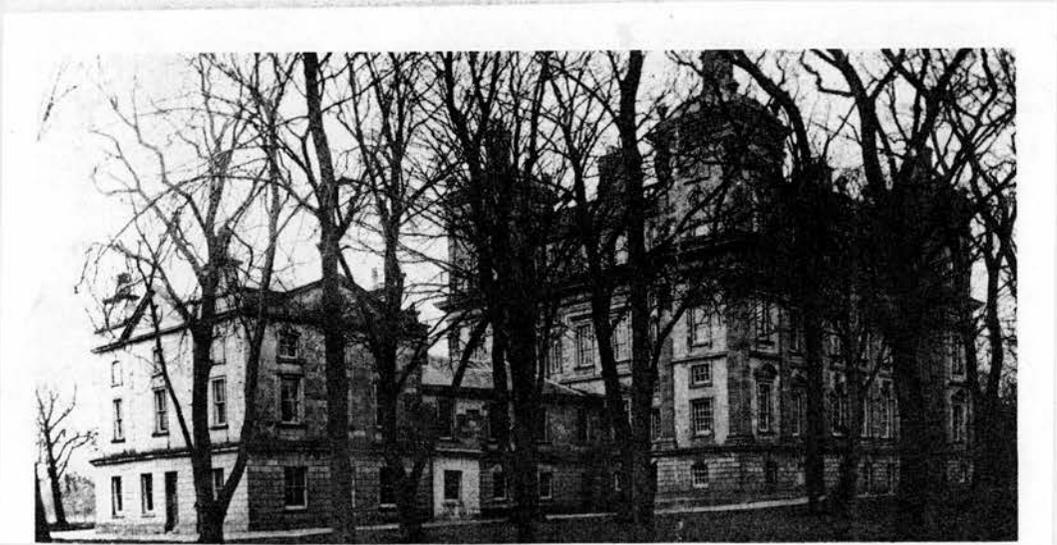


- A. Public
- B. Private Dining room
- C. Private Drawing room
- D. Cabinet & Mezzanino above
- E. Bed Chamber
- F. Dressing room & Mezzanino above
- G. Family Bed Chamber
- H. Ladies Dressing room
- I. Her Closet & Mezzanino above
- K. My Lovers Dressing room
- L. His Closet & Mezzanino above
- M. Library
- N. Lodging for Servants

General Plan of the first Floor of DUFF HOUSE



25. DUFF HOUSE, BANFFSHIRE.



26. DUFF HOUSE, SHOWING THE BRYCE WING.

IV: DUFF HOUSE

In 1734 Adam was commissioned by William Duff, Earl of Fife and Member of Parliament for Banffshire, to produce plans for the alteration and enlargement of his mansion house near Banff. Having resigned from Parliament in this year, Duff was eager to establish himself in a suitable home on the land he had inherited from his father in 1722. Accordingly, Adam produced the plans early in 1735. However, in May, just prior to Duff's ascent to peerage as Lord Braco, an unnamed but "honourable person of great judgement and taste in architecture" [68], while visiting Duff, advised that he would be better to build a new house slightly further from Banff. So persuasive was this man's argument that one month later, in June 1735, building began on a new site with a new design. Eager to begin concrete work, Duff pushed to build before Adam's new plans could be finalised, and he did not grant formal approval until October, and then only of the basement and ground floor plans. [69] This hasty rearrangement of plans was to lay the foundations for a long history in which Duff House has never fulfilled its intended role either functionally or formally. At Arniston it is the west wing which has fallen prey to historical irony; at Duff the entire house has been ill-fated from 1735 until the present day.

Adam's design was for a nine- by seven-bay main block of three storeys above an exposed basement. Appeal was made to the traditional Scottish status symbol of the tower house in the towers which Adam placed at each of the four corners, emphasising their impressive height with large Corinthian

pilasters superimposed upon the buiding and a second tier of pilasters at the attic storey level. The classical Corinthian theme is carried through the temple front with rounded arch openings and a pediment filled with heraldry. By design, this main block was to have been flanked by two pavilions, connected to the house by colonnades, one to house a kitchen and the other a massive library. The house is approached at ground floor level (but above the literal ground floor basement) via a horseshoe-shaped perron.

One finds on the central axis of this floor a vestibule hall and a private dining room, to the west a private drawing-room and cabinet and to the east the family bedchamber, dressing-rooms and closets. The great staircase ascended from the west of the hall to arrive at a saloon above the hall and a state drawing-room above the dining room. Each side of the first floor boasted a suite of rooms: bedchamber, dressing room and stool room. The attic storey was to house a long gallery with spare bedrooms behind it.

From 1735 the construction of the main block progressed, with several hiccups, until the completion of the roof in 1740. At this point all work on the house came to a crashing halt.

No formal agreements had been drawn up between William Adam and Lord Braco as to costs, the employment of workers, or materials. Although written contracts were not common at the time, the lack of one greatly heightened the difficult legal battle which ensued between architect and patron. This battle did not draw to a close until 1748, several months before Adam's death, and quite possibly had a role in speeding along his demise. It was undoubtedly, as James Simpson has described it, "one of the most remarkable disputes between an architect and his client to occur

in Scotland in the eighteenth century." [70] Adam's plan may have been very ambitious, but Lord Braco proved to be anything but an easy patron.

When he approved the plans for the lower floors in October 1735, and with the foundations laid, Lord Braco informed Adam that he wanted the attic storey removed from the design as it made the house grander than he wished and furthermore would be too exposed to the harsh coastal weather. Apart from the technical adjustments which Adam would have to make to his plans, this change would have drastic effects on his formal vision of the house and its proportions. Nevertheless, Adam complied with his patron's wishes and work continued, though not without further obstacles. In 1736, Lord Braco complained that the pavilions were too big now that the main block had been reduced in size. In 1737, with work being carried out as high up as the cornice, Lord Braco wrote to Adam saying that he had reversed his decision on the attic and now believed it necessary to the grand proportions of the house.

In 1739, the attic having been built, and armed with his patron's instructions to make decisions as they arose, Adam set out to organise the sculptural details of the facade. He decided to have the vases, balustrades and statues carved at his own Queensferry quarry and then shipped to Banff, an arrangement which enabled him to oversee the work from start to finish. For the carving of six keystones, two coats of arms, thirty-four vases, sixteen Composite and twenty Corinthian capitals, he sent Lord Braco a bill of £2,500. [71]

This bill caused a financial break in the work at Duff House, and Lord Braco's surprise at the expense of his vision led to a halt in his amicable relations with Adam. When Lord Braco stopped work on the house and declined to pay the bills with which Adam presented him, a lawyers' meeting had to be called in 1741 in an attempt to settle the disagreement. This meeting failed to reach a conclusion and beginning in 1743 Adam sued Lord Braco for his total expenses, a portion of which he was eventually granted five years later.

Lord Braco for his part claimed to have been the one to provide labour and materials for the building and said that if he were to pay the bills presented by Adam he would be paying double the costs. Adam, however, claimed that he himself had arranged all the materials and workers for the house. Adam's total bill was for £9,656, which included plans for Duff House and the House of Airlie (Lord Braco's temporary house in Banff); the building of the house; the furnishing of "several considerable quantities of stone, timber, nails, glass, and other materials," and the cost of having "employed and paid out considerable sums of money to artificers and workmen." [72] Adam credited Lord Braco with £3,936 and now required the remaining £5,720. He won only £2,576 in the end, and shortly after the first installment of £500 was paid Adam died. Lord Braco had lost all interest in the house, moved to his more modest Balvenie House, and reportedly ordered the coach blinds drawn whenever Duff House was visible from the road when passing through Banff.

From 1748 to 1759 the abandoned interior of the house was appointed on the ground and first two floors to provide a married home for Lord MacDuff, Lord Braco's son and later 2nd Earl of Fife. A. A. Tait describes the interior situation at this time:

By the time of the inventory of 1759, Duff House had been reorganised... both to function without wings, and to house a child-less family of estranged husband and wife. It was too a house where the principal staircase and at least two of its grandest rooms, the saloon and drawing room, were incomplete, although the second floor bedrooms were more or less finished. One of them was being used by Lady Fife, the mother of [Lord MacDuff], who died in 1788. Communication between this and the first floor must have been awkward, since the main staircase was only completed in 1791. [73]

Lady MacDuff used Adam's family bedroom on the first floor as her own, and her "estranged" husband kept his distance on the second floor, using the room connected to his wife's bedroom only as a dressing room.

MacDuff carried out several alterations to the Duff House of his father and Adam's time. Whereas Lord Braco had desired a library in the *corps de logis* of the house, presumably on the attic level as the dimensions he desired were too large to fit in with the rooms on other floors, Adam had other ideas and designed a gallery for the attic and placed the library in a pavilion.

It would have occasioned no surprise to find the gallery, with a prospect over the town of Banff to the sea, on the attic floor, since to have the most magnificent room at the highest level was Scottish practice, as that at Crathes Castle, Kincardineshire, in the sixteenth century... Indeed in the planning of Duff House there is something of that earlier

generation - formal but comfortable, dignified but practical - so that one senses that Adam was never the slave of Palladian architecture, with its tenets of correctness, but retained a sturdy independence. [74]

"In the planning," perhaps, but never in the execution was Adam's independence allowed to reign. His slight monetary victory in 1748 was somewhat obliterated when Lord MacDuff at long last installed the library his father had wished for in the attic storey.

Avoiding the Adam family of architects, MacDuff commissioned the Irish architect John Woolfe to design additions to the house. These plans appear in the 1770 volume of Vitruvius Britannicus, but were never executed. As in the John Adam alterations at Arniston, Duff's saloon was moved from the second to the first floor at this time, or, more accurately, the vestibule took on the public function of the saloon. As late as 1788 (presumably after Lady Fife's death) one of the upstairs bedrooms was still being finished by the estate joiner. [75] In 1791 Thomas Newte recorded that, "the best apartments are not yet finished". [76] The early haste which caused Duff's downfall seems still at this stage to be leaving a residue of slow, vague attitudes towards work in the house.

In his will, the 2nd Earl left all of his holdings to his illegitimate son, leaving his nephew the 4th Earl (his brother succeeded him in 1809 for only two years) next to nothing with which to run his heavily political and social lifestyle. Another legal battle broke out over the house, and the 4th Earl managed to regain two of the four Fife houses, Duff being one of them. He did not, however, have much success in supporting himself once in the house. In 1824 the Banffshire Sheriff ordered a sale to be held at

Duff House so that taxes could be met. The house's collection of art, furniture and silver was much dispersed at this time. The Sale Catalogue documents that Lady MacDuff's bedroom had been changed again into the "Hunting room" and Lord Fife's bedroom had been moved to the opposite (north-west) corner of the house. [77]

The 5th Earl experienced the inevitable accomodation difficulties caused by Duff's unfinished and altered state, and consequently in 1870 he hired David Bryce junior to design and build a wing to the east of the house. This wing provided the socially important billiard room as well as seven practically important bedrooms and a proper kitchen facility.

In 1889 the 6th Earl married the Princess Royal, becoming Duke of Fife, and Duff House enjoyed a brief period of good times as a shooting lodge. However, by 1906 the Princess had found Duff too large and damp to live in, and they used furniture and paintings from Duff to furnish Montcoffer House for themselves. At this time Duff House and 140 acres of land were put into trust for the neighbouring townships of Banff and MacDuff. The two towns had long been feuding over fishing rights along the coast, and the Duke hoped that they might come together over the house. True to Duff's sad history, however, neither town really wanted the house. A sale was held in 1907 which dispersed any furniture remaining from the move to Montcoffer. [78] In 1909, the Duke offered to take the house back, but it was decided instead to establish the Duff House Trust, which continued to run the house until 1956.

In 1911 the Trust first let the house as a hotel. At this time many rooms were partitioned and bathrooms added. Then in 1921 the house became a sanitorium for Diseases of Nutrition under a Dr. Spriggs. Rooms were further partitioned, bathrooms altered, and laboratories installed. Solaria were put along the east front which, when combined with the already obtrusive Bryce wing, succeeded in obliterating the Adam facade. Spriggs wanted to extend the building but the Trust would not allow it. Georgian architecture was all but appreciated in the twenties; with the by now characteristically vague architectural attitude of Duff's proprietors, the Duff House Trust was prepared to let the building fall down for lack of preservation work, but would not let it be altered. [79]

Spriggs consequently moved his sanitorium to Wales, and Duff House entered its second phase as a hotel. Unlike the first which was mildly successful as an upmarket shooting and fishing retreat, this downgraded hotel folded without profit. Duff remained somewhat of a still life until the war, when it was used by the army. Between 1938 and 1945 the building was taken more and more to bits by the succession of Polish, Norwegian, and British troops stationed within a grandeur to which they were oblivious. Yet another historical irony lies in the bombing which Duff suffered in 1941. British troops were there at the time and were bombed by the Germans who were unaware of the German prisoners being held captive in the house. The main damage incurred from the bombing was to the 1870 kitchen wing. Much more serious damage was done to the original network of the house through graffiti and through doors being left open for sheep

to wander in, both of which must have been sources of amusement for the soldiers, who also set about smashing most of the bathroom instalments. Water entering through smashed windows and through the poorly-maintained roof caused a substantial amount of deterioration in the house.

In 1950 the Ministry of Works (now the Scottish Development Department (SDD)) was alerted that the building was under threat, and the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments became keen on saving it. Thus began what has been an ongoing battle to save and use Duff House.

The Ministry at the time had 230 properties in guardianship, most of them ruins. They had neither the experience nor the financial means to tackle Duff on their own. The Duff House Trust and town councils of Banff and MacDuff had £7,500 in war damages which the Ministry felt should go towards the house in its hands. A letter from the Ministry of Works to the Trust and two Councils stated:

The Ministry agrees with the view that this beautiful and outstanding example of William Adam's work should be preserved. It recognises the efforts which have been made by the Trust, since the house was gifted by the Duke of Fife in 1906, to ensure its continued occupation and preservation, and appreciates the difficulties and circumstances which, particularly in latter years, have nullified the efforts of the Trust and have produced the present situation.

The Ministry after full consideration has arrived at the conclusion that preservation should be practicable by an arrangement between the Trust and the Ministry... The Trust would devote the total sum received for occupational and war damage to certain initial works of repair

necessary to make the building wind and water tight and presentable, and that the Ministry would accept full responsibility for its preservation in perpetuity. [80]

Although the town councils would have been happy to get rid of the burden of Duff, they were reluctant to part with such a large sum of money. They argued that the money necessary to restore the house could fund six new council houses. They offered £5,000 but the Ministry refused. They further argued that a £4,000 profit could be made through demolishing the building. A sarcastic view of this suggestion had appeared in the June 3rd edition of the Banffshire Journal, which remarked that, "The building was demolishing itself quicker than could a team of contractors." At last in 1953 another battle over the property ended as a contribution of £5,500 was agreed upon and Duff House was so gifted to the Ministry of Works. At this point the continuing restoration project was begun. [81]

With restoration came many questions, and an inexperienced Ministry of Works made some decisions which the new Historic Buildings and Monuments (HB&M) division of the SDD, with over thirty years more experience, wishes it could undo.

Problems arose with the badly buckled lead figures of Mercury and his companions, which adorn the pediment of the main facade. In danger of falling, they were removed but proved too great a financial outlay to restore at the time. They were stored in the basement and replicas in painted glass reinforced in plastic replaced them on the pediment. The Department regrets this decision to reproduce in modern materials, and have not, so far as possible, sacrificed authenticity elsewhere. [82]

Another such decision was the 1955 demolition of the Bryce wing. It was part of the history of the house, and would now be left intact - or in this case would have been repaired from the bomb damage it had suffered. At the same time the solarium were removed from the east facade; this facade was reconstructed and reglazed in 1969.

The Department set out with the intention of executing a programme of "sympathetic restoration," which respects the building and its history.

Listed buildings may be demolished, altered or extended only with the consent of the Secretary of State. Ancient Monuments such as Duff taken into guardianship are to be preserved in perpetuity for the nation; strict controls are imposed on changes in building fabric. [83]

Duff House contains a mixture of stone due to the ornamental pieces being quarried in Queensferry and the structural blocks being quarried locally. The Stenhouse Conservation Centre of the SDD has made every effort to match the types of stone when replacement work has been done. Respect is paid to other imperfections accrued through history. There is scarring on the east side from the 1941 bombing; some scars will be left, but any stone needing repair will receive it. For example, where corners are weak and eroded they will be replaced, but any other scarring which is judged as superficial will be left as part of the historical fabric of Duff House. The general rule is that if damage of any sort, such as mere weathering, is structural it will be replaced but if it is ornamental it will be repaired and left. This type of

decision involves most of the building, for Duff's situation by the sea has led to much salt erosion.

As a consequence of the amount of government money being spent on Duff House, in 1975 the Ministry was required to open up one floor of the house to the public. At this point restoration of the interior began - no easy task because despite its long periods of abandonment, Duff has nonetheless carried with it a conglomeration of stylistic layers which stretch across three centuries.

The least damaged room and hence the first to be tackled was the private dining room. The 1790 fireplace survived, so the decision was made to restore the room to this period. It was very obvious in the room what was missing and few major undertakings or decisions were necessary. Attempts have been made to employ local labour in every possible circumstance and in this capacity a painter was employed to regild the extensive mouldings in the room. A professional came from Edinburgh to instruct him and after finishing the room he had truly acquired a skill. When asked how he felt looking at his work he remarked that it was funny how different he felt about it now than he did as a young boy playing ball inside the derelict old house!

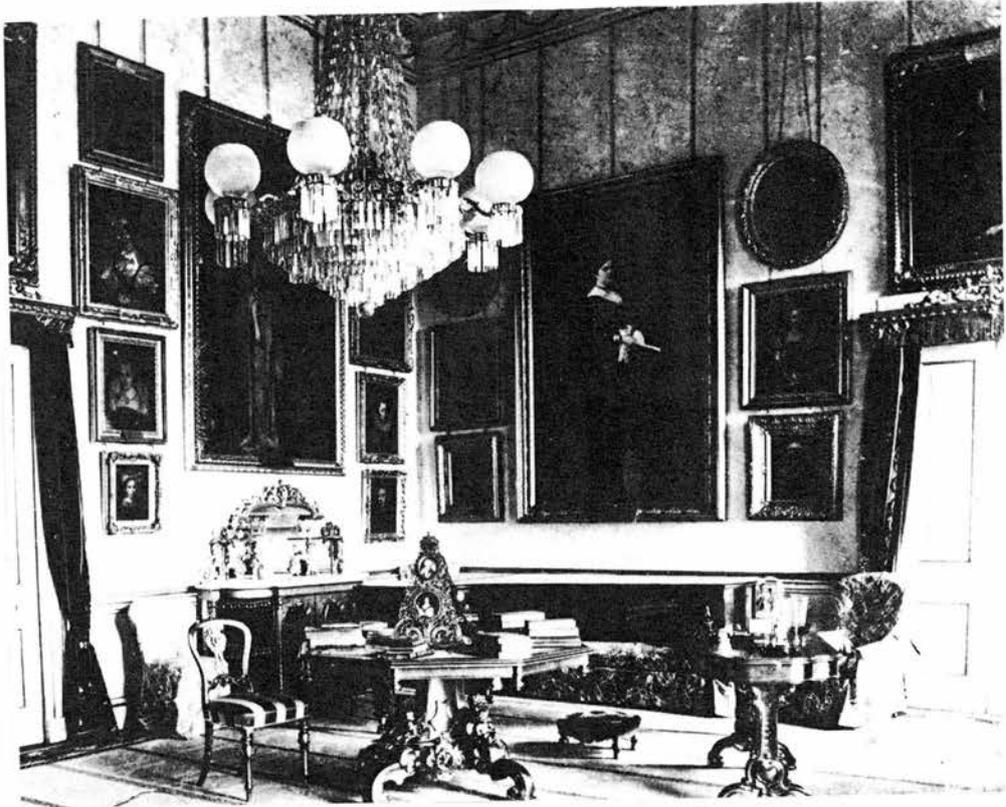
The vestibule was the next room to be restored. John Knight of HB&M stresses the importance of not letting the restorer's feelings for a period affect the restoration. A room must not be dressed up according to how the restorer thinks it should have been. Prior to restoration the vestibule ceiling and fireplace were presumed to date from the time of Adam even though it was known that little or no interior work was carried out in his time.

The plasterwork was so typical of Adam interiors and quite unfashionable during the time of the 2nd Earl when much interior work was done on the house. Papers were subsequently found during restoration confirming the ceiling and fireplace to be post-1770. Paint scrapes were then carried out to determine what colours were originally intended for the rooms decor. The 1869-70 period seemed to be the best overall option for restoration. John Knight's remarks were again applicable when traces of purple were discovered on the panels of this period. Although this is not necessarily what the twentieth century eye would choose, the doors were given purple panelling.

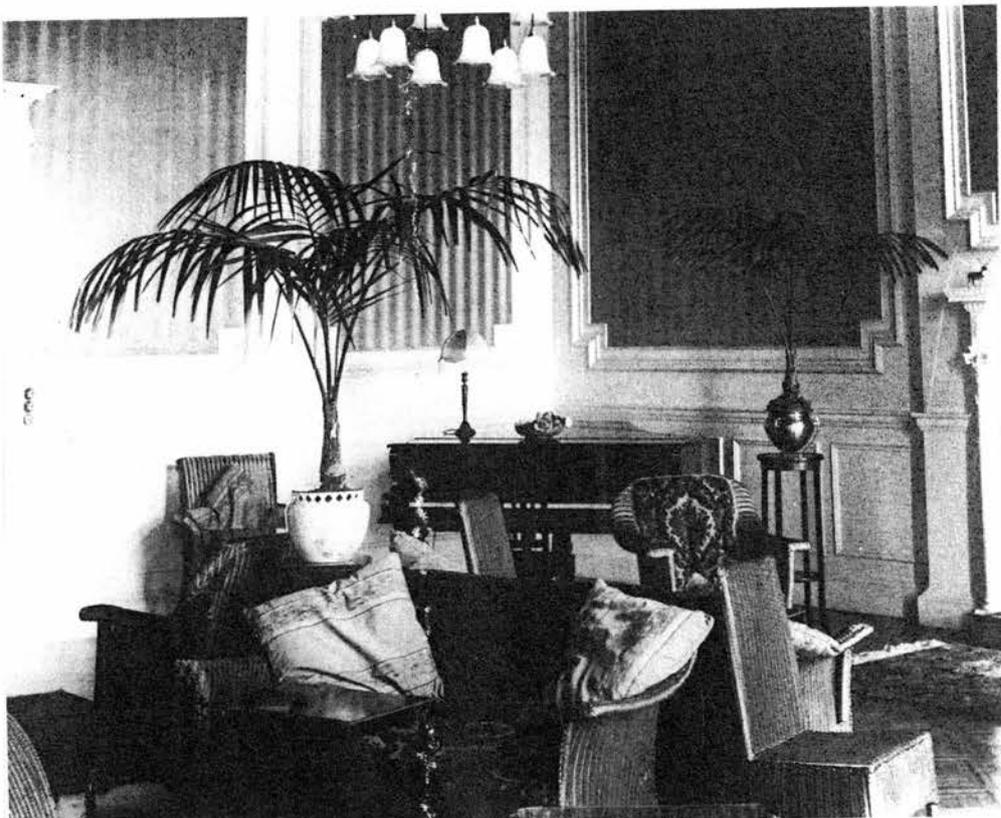
The decision was made to totally remove the commercial 1920's look of the hotel and restore Duff as a private home. The main staircase was panelled in 1914, and this panelling has been removed, revealing original trompe l'oeil work which has not been altered even though it dates over one hundred years before the general restoration period of the house; presumably if it remains intact then it would have been unaltered in the nineteenth century.

One by one the rooms at Duff are being restored. The saloon has not yet been tackled as of June 1990 although it is not nearly as grand inside as it should be to match its impressive exterior, or could be if the 2nd Earl had not spent his money on the MacDuff harbour instead.

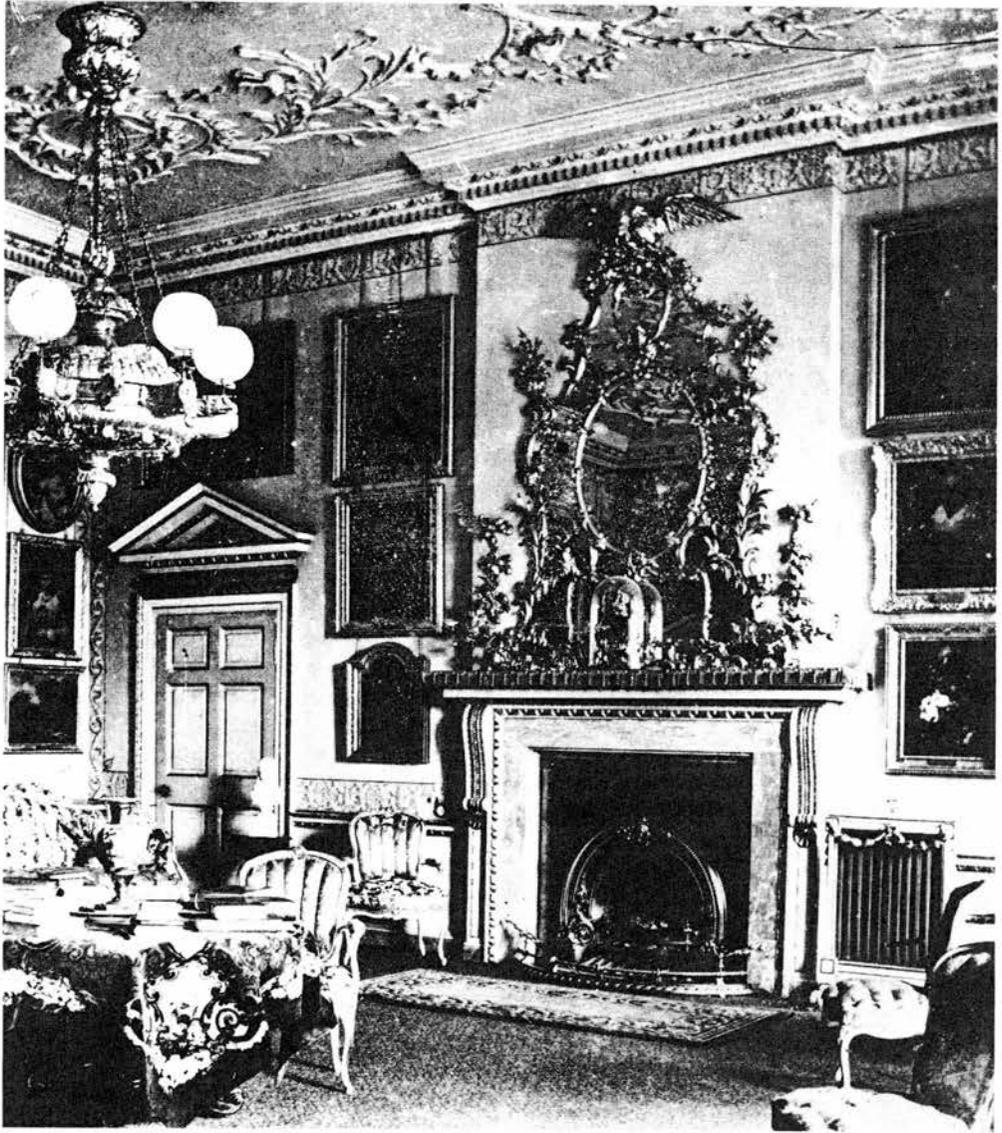
Being opened to the public has in some ways geared the restoration schedule. For example, structural work must be done during the winter months when the house is closed. Unfortunately this is also when the days are shortest. For the



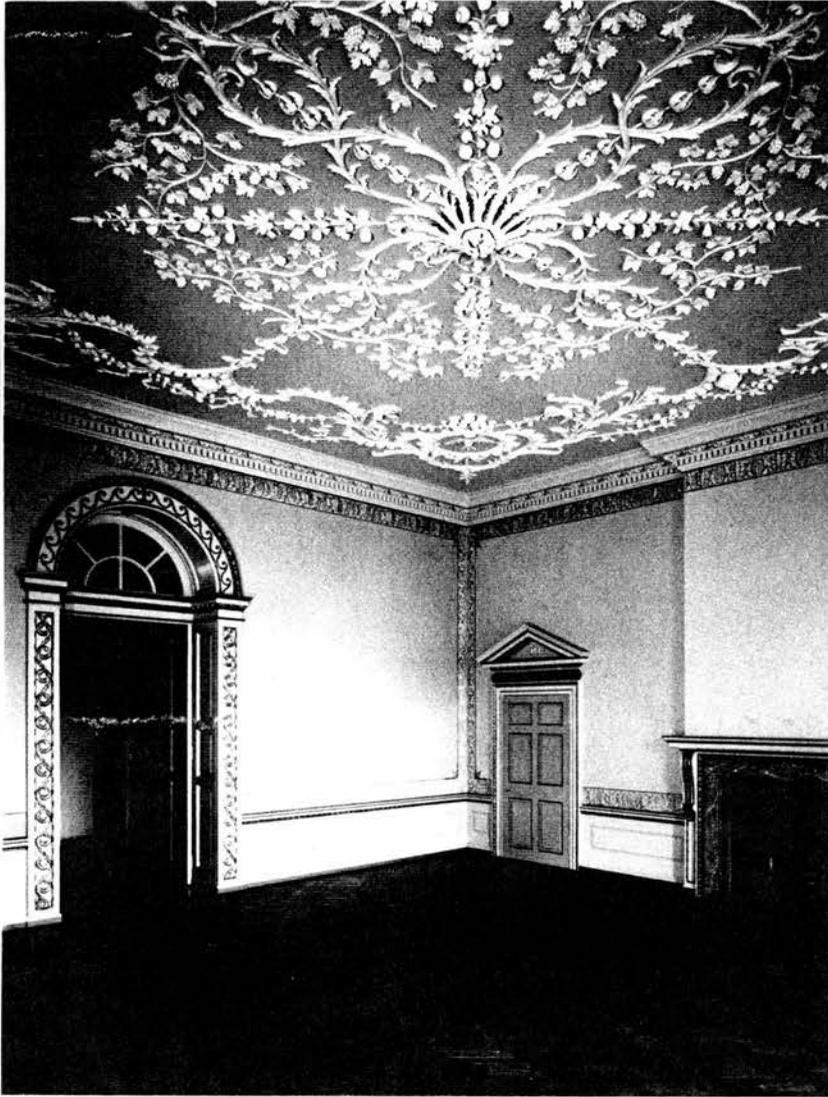
27. THE DRAWING ROOM c. 1890.



28. THE SALOON, EARLY 20TH CENTURY,
DURING THE HOTEL PERIOD.



29. THE VESTIBULE AS A DRAWING ROOM IN
VICTORIAN TIMES.



30. THE VESTIBULE AFTER HB+M
RESTORATION.

purposes of public education, the guest suite on the first floor has been restored to show both sides of the country house life. The guest bedroom and dressing room contrast with the servants quarters above them on mezzanine level. Now that this half-level is restored, it is also useful in explaining to visitors the half windows which appear on the side elevations.

The first public function of the house in the hands of the SDD was in 1975 when the piano nobile was opened and the Department of the Environment put up several displays dealing with the history of the house. In 1978 an exhibition was set up in the vestibule which included white figures to give a sense of atmosphere and proportion. Some of these figures still remain on display and serve more to give a haunted feeling to the sparsely decorated house than anything else. A house with people and no furniture makes no common sense. In 1985, A. A. Tait's guide to Duff House was published.

Two great problems exist in attracting visitors to Duff. First, it is well off the Aberdeenshire "Castle Route" and tends not to be visited spontaneously on a day out or en route to somewhere else. Secondly, it has little to offer to the visitor who does come. The collection has been dispersed and no suitable alternative has been found to fill the rooms, although numerous options have been discussed. Reproduction furniture presents a high cost for false reality. The Tourist Board would like to see the lifestyles of the Earls of Fife illustrated, although this is difficult to do without pictures or furnishings. Returning to the historically vague outlook on the house, it must be noted that the local people resent money being spent unnecessarily, but are simultaneously eager

for a big attraction in their town. Thus continued indecision hangs in the air over Duff.

The most promising option for the house is to turn it into a kind of out-house for reserve collections of the National Galleries of Scotland. In October 1979 the SDD officers met with representatives of the major Scottish museums and Colin Thompson, the then Director of the National Galleries of Scotland. Nothing came of that meeting, however, and no follow-up meeting occurred until recently, when HB&M officers have met with Timothy Clifford, the new Director. Negotiations are currently in progress, though are meeting with the usual complications. While the building desperately needs to be occupied, the SDD have restored it and continue to restore it so meticulously that it will soon be untouchable. For example, a museum will require air conditioning, but the historical work that has been done restricts all such modernisations.

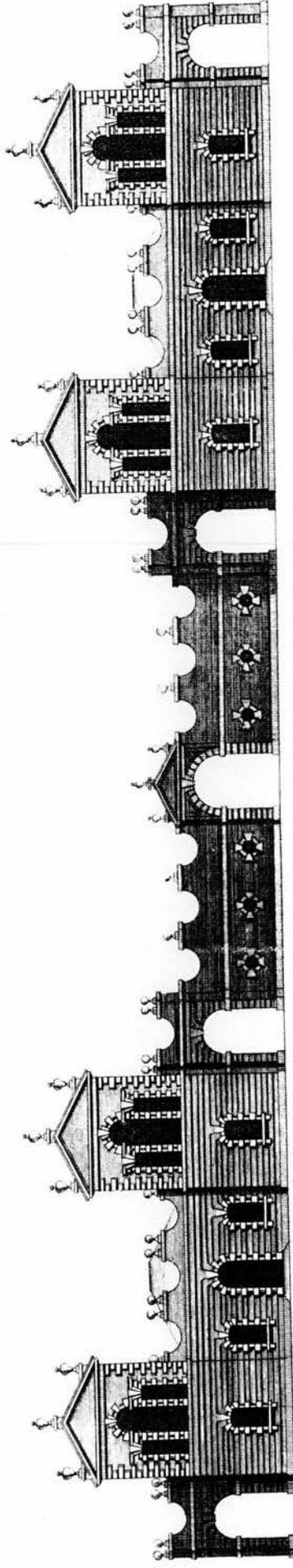
Again, Duff is left waiting, and I would like to conclude this chapter by speculating on some remarks made about the house. At the beginning of her thesis, Anne MacDonald states:

Duff House, Banff, was never very successful as the magnificent country seat envisaged by the patron, Lord Braco, and his architect William Adam. It also proved later to be rather unsuitable as a hotel and a sanitorium. It is questionable as to whether it is a big success as a tourist attraction, now an Ancient Monument under the care of the SDD.

Can one justify spending even more money for the next conversion into a museum or whatever proposal is accepted? Is

Duff House doomed to fail no matter what is done, and if so, how can one justify leaving it alone?

In 1769, Thomas Pennant described the "naked look" of Duff House. [84] James Simpson concludes his 1973 article on Duff with the ominous statement, "Thus was William Adam's most dramatically impressive conception still-born." [85] Indeed, the house stands awkwardly on an exposed site by the sea, neither protected nor balanced by its pavilions. It seems "naked" and "still-born" and yet does not allow one to ignore its sad condition. It is somehow still alive, to carry on the metaphor. Anne MacDonald finds William Adam his most ambitious at Duff, but his ambition was halted prematurely and the house seems to have been waiting for rebirth ever since. If it is the responsibility of the SDD to "preserve in perpetuity," must the answer be that they remain content to perpetuate the abandoned situation of the house, a house which is at least in far better condition now than when they received it?



General Front toward the North of the Dey's Kennell at Hamilton Situate at the head of the South Avenue a mile Distant from, & Fronting the Palace

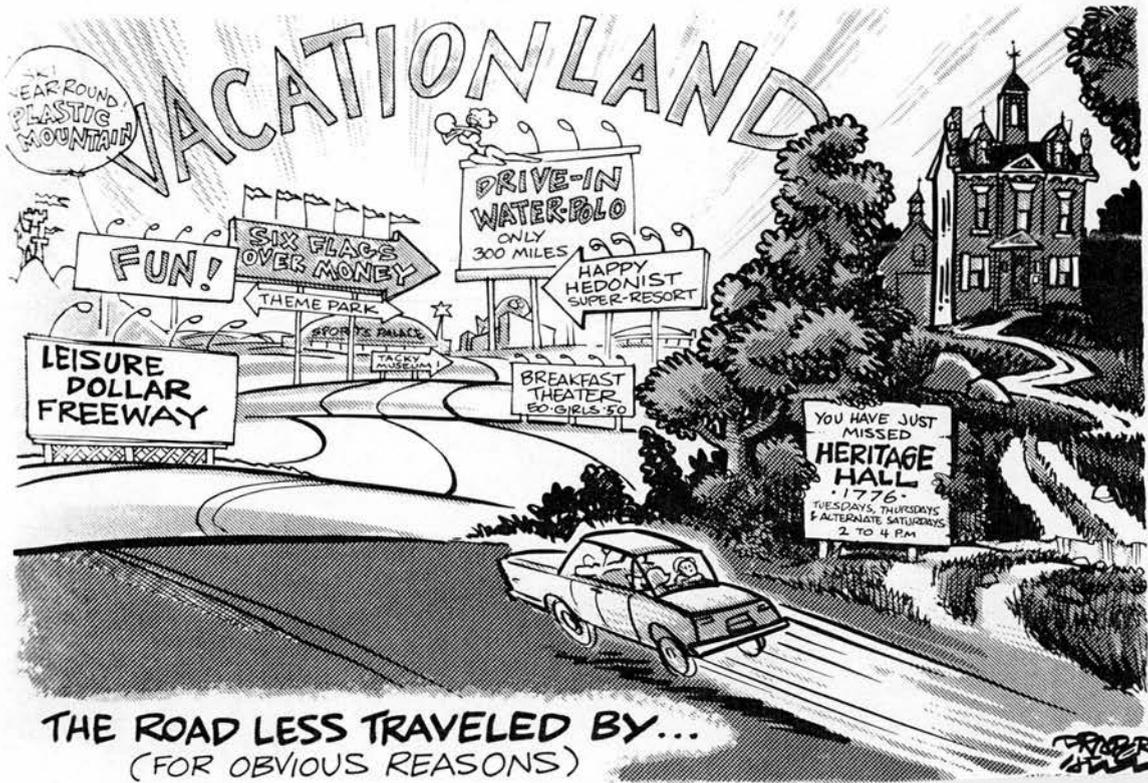
R. Cooper Sculp

God: Adam inv et delin

31. VITRUVIUS SCOTICUS PLANS FOR CHATELHERAULT.



2. CHATELHERAULT, LANARKSHIRE.



THE ROAD LESS TRAVELED BY...
(FOR OBVIOUS REASONS)

V: CHATELHERAULT

Between 1727 and 1742 William Adam was employed by James, Fifth Duke of Hamilton for work on his Hamilton estate in Lanarkshire. James Smith had designed a palace for the estate in 1693, but this was only half completed, and when the Duke was appointed a Lord of the Bedchamber for George II in 1727 he desired his palace to be improved and its "preposterous" [86] state of disproportion to be remedied. In addition, he ordered the rebuilding of the parish church and the construction of a dog kennel at the opposite end of the imposing tree-lined avenue which ran south from the palace. This latter building was the only one of the three designed completely by Adam, and though differing in form and function from the other three Adam houses examined, its history to the present provides a fascinating case study in restoration.

Chatelherault was so named after the Duke's ancestor the Earl of Arran who was created "duc de Chatelherault" in 1549. [87] The term "Dog Kennel" is a bit misleading, and seems to be sarcastic even in Vitruvius Scoticus; the true essence of the building involves the Duke in his whole relationship to outdoor life. It housed not only the dogs but the kennel keeper, game keeper and gardener as well, and was "a miniature palace in itself, serving as hunting lodge and as summerhouse for the garden". [88] To Thomas Pennant the functional side of Chatelherault was secondary; he saw it as "an elegant banqueting house with dog kennel, gardens, etc." [89] The design closely resembles a French hotel in its 290-foot long facade with protruding pavilions. Each

pavilion is of three storeys, though the view of the north facade shows only two storeys of windows. Complementing the arched windows, five arched gateways provide access to the gardens and kennels behind the pavilions. Channelled rustication enhances the horizontality. David Walker points out that "the channelling is unique in Adam's work"; the function of entire structure differs tremendously from his other commissions, and moreover "such a composition was unique in Britain at that date". [90]

The east pavilion, onto which the kennels backed, housed the servants linked with the outdoor functioning of the estate. Though architecturally parallel, the west pavilion contrasts the function of the east; here Adam designed rooms for the Duke and Duchess, a kitchen and a dining room for entertaining. Into this pavilion was put all the care that went into the ornamentation of Adam's full-scaled country houses; the rooms were decorated in plasterwork which revolved around the themes of music and hunting combined with cartouches and portraits to underline the role of the Duke.

The building of Chatelherault was not without complications. The Clerk of Works, Robert Mein, seems to have suffered from a lack of communication from the architect. Work began in April 1732, and his correspondence with Adam in that month "strongly suggests that all Adam had supplied at this point was a sketch of the north elevation of the building, indicating openings and corner rustication." [91] He writes:

Place send word what is to be huen work and what is to be rough work, send an answer of the other letter and this and the draught as sune as you can. [92]

Further difficulties arose through competition with the Parish Church reconstruction for masons, though he managed to procure thirty-three by July. [93] However, work was stopped in November due to both weather and lack of finance.

Further correspondence between Mein and Adam documents the renewed progress of the building:

The kennels were finished by around August or September of 1733 and the dogs had certainly been moved to their new quarters by 1734 if not before. There are no letters between August 1733 and November 1734, and it seems likely that the shell of the west pavilion was built during this period. Since the west pavilion is virtually identical to the east pavilion the lack of correspondence is hardly surprising since Mein would have resolved all the problems in the first building. [94]

Work then began on the screen wall, which was completed in 1735 with a minor hiccup again caused by Adam's rather unreliable schedule for producing design details. He produced the draught for the design of the middle gate so late in the project that the upper blocks around this gate "sit almost directly on top of one another and the whole effect is rather uneasy and probably less sound than the rest of the wall. This is clearly the result of Mein leaving a gap in the centre of the wall while waiting for Adam's draught, and then filling it up later on." [95]

When Chatelherault was externally complete, the Duke rearranged his priorities, causing further delay in the interior work:

At the time of building the screen wall Mein was informed that the Duke had decided to call a halt at Chatelherault because of a more pressing

project, the Chace Park dyke... Mein was aghast at the prospect of lowering himself to such a level. On New Year's day 1735 he wrote to Adam:

"They are perposing that I should go to the ches dick but I do not think to go to it for I am not aquint with drye ston dicks, I will rather be at your disposall."

It is interesting that this problem should have arisen because it indicates to some extent the Duke's priorities. When we think of Chatelherault we automatically think of the west pavilion as being the most important part, with its plasterwork and marble floor; but this was clearly far from the case at the time. At the very beginning of the project Mein had difficulties because the church seems to have taken precedence over Chatelherault. When he did start building it was at the functional side, the east pavilion and the dog yard and kennels. The west pavilion by 1735 was a shell; it is probable that it was not even floored when the Duke called a halt... The windows at the west pavilion hadn't been put in and "the shutters are all made for such windows as are designed to have shutters but not hung on yet."

It was not simply that the Duke could not afford both Chatelherault and the Chace Park dyke, it seems that he really saw the dyke as a priority (certainly he had been building up stocks of deer at this time and they had been causing considerable damage to the plantations) and wanted to concentrate his resources there. [96]

Thomas Clayton was not employed until 1742, after a sever-year delay, to do the plasterwork in the west pavilion. [97] Once completed, Chatelherault became a functionally and aesthetically important part of the ducal estate, "a building whose architectural

interest and richness of finish was in no way inferior to the Palace itself." [98]

In 1927 Hamilton Palace was demolished for the purpose of mining underneath the building. Mining, which was of great importance to the wealth of the Dukes, took precedence over the survival of their home. From this point, when the family moved from the estate, Chatelherault became functionally obsolete. In 1944 the ground-floor rooms of the west pavilion were destroyed by fire, and later vandalism added to the decay of the building. Whole chimneys were worked loose and sent crashing through the roof, destroying much of the plasterwork inside.

Coal is not the only mineral on the estate that has threatened Chatelherault, which was built at the edge of the "Wham," a Scottish word meaning "sandy place." In 1951 application was made to the Hamilton District Council Planning Department:

...for permission to extend the Deer Park sand quarry by thirty-one acres, which would involve the removal of a line of mature sycamores from the Avenue. A memo on this states:

"The avenue will be completely spoiled by removal of these trees but preservation may not be justified in this instance - the area is secluded and sand value high."

Preservation was not, apparently, justified and planning permission was granted in February 1952. [99]

In 1964, when this area had been quarried, the quarrying company began to look for further extensions of their rights: "the Company wanted the sand under Chatelherault for its own value

and in order to secure an effective scheme of restoration of the whole area, either to agriculture or forestry." Various suggestions followed in an attempt to put the building to use, the most interesting of which was to dismantle, transport and rebuild it piece by piece on the grounds of Pollok House where proposals were being made for the construction of a building to house the Burrell Collection. The idea was actually a good one, although the collection is much larger than the Council knew at the time, and the move would have greatly decreased the value of Chatelherault as a building which functions not only within but for a landscape. Another idea was to use the building as a clubhouse for the neighbouring golf club, but as they already had a clubhouse this was a bit extravagant, even for a Council made up largely of club members. A representative of the Lanark County Council saw little hope for Chatelherault, as it was "unlikely that a grant would be forthcoming from the County Council for the preservation of a building so remote from public access." [100]

David Walker's article entitled, "Threat to a Ducal Dog Kennel" which appeared in Country Life, December 17, 1964, just three months after this Council meeting, concluded with a plea for saving the building:

The recent history of the building has not been happy... and with efforts to find a use for it greatly complicated by its form, there has been doubt about its future. Its loss would be very unfortunate, for even as it is - with the internal damage, the palace gone, and its surroundings somewhat eroded - Chatelherault is a precious survival on several grounds. First, with Dalkeith, Hopetoun, Gray, Duff, Drum, Mavisbank, Arniston and Dun (one or two of

these also not in the happiest of condition), Chatelherault is one of the small group of wonderfully varied Scottish buildings whose style is so distinctly separate from contemporary English. Second, apart from mausoleums, it is unique in both scale and form among British garden buildings, and greatest of the later walled gardens. And third, it is a building of great originality and architectural quality. A way of safeguarding its future must surely be found.

In 1965, no suitable suggestions having been presented to the Council, the quarrying company put forward a formal application to extract the sand underneath Chatelherault. The application was refused, as were the appeal and a further application in 1971. Even as late as 1974 the company was still pressing for permission:

I would like to point out that sand was still being excavated in this area up to about a month ago, and because the Deer Park Quarry is so short of useable materials, it is imperative that these last pockets of sand be worked, otherwise the whole business would require to be closed down." [101]

On a different note, the year 1974 saw the publication of The Destruction of the Country House [102], in preparation for the 1975 exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum. In this book Colin McWilliam speaks of the threat to the building:

Chatelherault, the celebrated dog-kennel on the southward skyline seen from Hamilton Palace, is *in extremis*, the Ancient Monuments Board having talked about it while intruders were allowed to indulge in the popular sport of pulling off fragments of masonry to throw at plaster reliefs of the four seasons in a Rococo room of rare opulence..." [102]

Fourteen years after David Walker's article pleading for the preservation of Chatelherault, the building was at last saved in the name of history, although no suitable use had yet been found. On November 21st, 1978, the Glasgow Herald reported under the heading, "£82,000 Secures Historic Estate":

The Government is using the National Land Fund to finance the £82,000 purchase of 370 acres of the High Parks estate, near Hamilton, for the nation.

The purchase, announced yesterday, includes the famous Avon gorge, the ruined Cadzow Castle, and the disused neo-classical building Chatelherault, designed by William Adam.

The Government now plans to carry out renovation work at the Chatelherault buildings to make them wind and watertight before handing the whole 370 acres over to Hamilton District Council for public use.

Provost Charles C. Brownlie, of Hamilton, said yesterday they were planning no great innovations on the estate. There would be some picnic areas and perhaps nature trails and an information kiosk. The main attraction, as he saw it, was the unspoiled nature of the area.

Since the demolition in 1927 of Hamilton Palace - one-time seat of the Dukes of Hamilton - Chatelherault has been the architectural centrepiece of the High Parks Estate. It includes two pavilions, one used as servants' quarters and dog kennels while the other housed a banqueting hall, with plasterwork of great magnificance...

Much of the surviving plasterwork had by that time actually been removed to a garage in Ferniegair with the intention of installing it in the Hamilton Museum, as another letter from Hamilton and Kinneil Estates to the Town Clerk mentions. Some of these pieces are now involved in displays in the Visitor's Centre which occupies

the area of the original kennels. This Centre is part of a £6 million restoration project which ran from 1979 to 1987.

The Strathclyde Country Park was already in existence on the fields of the Hamilton Low Parks as an active leisure centre with activities such as canoeing and sailing. The plan was for the Hamilton District Council to create a complementary area for the more passive leisure activities such as walking and sight-seeing on the Hamilton High Parks which are heavily wooded, also in this way establishing a competitive tourist market with the Strathclyde Council. The project was under the joint supervision of the Scottish Development Department's Historic Buildings Council, the Scottish Countryside Commission, the Manpower Services Commission (which employs redundant workers), and the Hamilton District Council. When the park officially opened in Summer, 1987, managerial and financial responsibility passed solely to the Hamilton District Council, under the management of Jim Brockie who had been employed on the site since 1979.

It was thought that Chatelherault would be treated as the jewel in the crown of the park, a building which was designed for the pursuit of the outdoor leisure life and which survived as the only modern day representation of palace life on the estate. When the building was taken over, it was virtually a shell, and the landscape it was to command had begun to overrule; a tree was growing in the middle of the banqueting hall. Clearly much work would need to be done in order to raise Chatelherault to public standards. Chatelherault is a relic of an era which is out of context in today's Hamilton. The project was to benefit the community not only through providing jobs during restoration (in all, 200 people

were employed through the Manpower Services Commission), but also through creating a profitable tourist attraction which could be appreciated by members of its own community.

Therefore, a NTS-type restoration project was out of the question. With £6 million spent on the park as a whole and over £3 million spent on the house alone, Chatelherault had to be restored as an income-generator. For this reason, the dog kennels were demolished and a Visitors Centre built up in their place behind the east pavilion. The displays here are geared towards a working tourist and are in direct contrast to such displays as the Wine Cellar and Rod and Gun Room at the House of Dun: the mason at work with his stone; the gardener at work with traditional tools; and the keeper of the kennels organising the hunt. A painted mural at one end of the Centre depicts the view from Chatelherault as it would have been, from a study of historic maps of the estate. Other paintings show foxes and dogs in the Hunt.

This hunting display presents an historical inaccuracy which the visitor will take away with him. A fox hunt cannot occur in a heavily wooded area such as the Hamilton High Park. When the Duke organised such a hunt he would go to one of his other properties in Scotland, or even plan a longer excursion down to England, as letters indicate was common practice. However, although fox hunting per se was never actually done directly from Chatelherault, the Visitors Centre depicts foxes being chased through trees. It is undoubtedly easier to play up the idea of the dog kennel with the hunt centred around it than to explain that the site on which the visitor stands was more of a storage ground for dogs which were used elsewhere. This distortion of the truth

pays little compliment to the intelligence of the visitor, who cannot even see the kennels, as they have been turned into the Visitors Centre.

Another conflation of the truth occurs with the representation of other animals kept at Chatelherault. It is true that one Duke had a leopard, another two polar bears, and that these and other extraordinary animals were housed in Chatelherault. However, the visitor will come away thinking that such a menagerie was kept there all together. Indeed, in an effort to play up the role of the lower classes in country house life through displays of servant's jobs and through trying to spark tourist attention with the idea of a virtual circus, the Centre creates for the visitor a somewhat confusing interpretation in which the role of the building itself is falsely represented. The proprietorial attitude of the Dukes who built and inhabited Chatelherault should not be avoided, for it is essential in understanding the relationship of both building and owner to nature, a relationship which contrasts uncomfortably with the twentieth century view, more so perhaps in the tourist population which will visit Chatelherault than in that which tends to visit NTS properties. This difficult contrast was foreseen by the Chatelherault Research team:

It is crucial to understand Chatelherault not simply as a building but as part of a landscape design whose function was mainly for the Duke's pleasure - for hunting and feasting. It can be seen to reflect what is really the basic theme of the park; man's relationship to his natural surroundings and the creatures in it. It is intended that Chatelherault will be studied in the wider context of eighteenth century will contribute to this view, the scenes from classical mythology on the one hand link in a very obvious way to the themes of hunting and

feasting, but can also be seen to have had quite specific influences. For example, the leopard which is reputed to have been kept at Chatelherault is not merely indicative of the Duke's eccentricity but can be seen as a living reflection of the Bacchanalian iconography of the Banqueting Room ceiling (the leopard being the beast associated with Bacchus). The keeping of wild beasts like the leopard (and there were many others), is in great contrast to the attitude towards animals which the park will try to convey, and this contrast makes clear the different attitudes to the natural world of two different eras. If we understand Chatelherault in this way we can also understand why it was built and why such a building will never be built again. [103]

Unfortunately, the visitor does not leave with such an understanding. The building has become secondary to the park, and relatively little is made of the possibilities which existed to show Chatelherault off to its best advantage. Apart from the Visitors Centre, one sees the Banqueting Hall, the room to the left of this Hall which is called the "Duchess' Room," and the room above that, the "Duke's Room." The Banqueting Hall contains no table; the Duchess' Room boasts one corner of restored plasterwork copied from photographs in a 1919 issue of Country Life (the rest of the room was left unadorned, without concrete evidence to back up what it might have looked like); the Duke's Room is empty.

To the right of the Banqueting Hall is the kitchen, and above it two panelled rooms, but these rooms are not open to the public.

The entire east pavilion is closed as well, as Jim Brockie and the park rangers inhabit it. He has kept a panelled room in the west pavilion as his manager's office. Whilst it may be argued that the private use of the east pavilion is justified in that historically it has housed servants of the estate, the rooms in the west pavilion have been unfortunately misconstrued. Country house history documents the separation which occurred between husband and wife, as buildings evolved to accommodate separate apartments for each. In a building of this period with two wings, one would have been for the Duke (that to the left of the Banqueting Hall) and one for the Duchess (that to the right of the Banqueting Hall). Never would the Duchess have been off of the Hall with the Duke above her; the Duchess' bedroom would undoubtedly have been where the manager's office is now.

Upon entering the west pavilion and before reaching the Banqueting Hall, the visitor passes some cordoned-off stairs and a sign pointing up to a "Library." It was the original plan to house an educational centre in one of the upstairs rooms where school groups or individuals could have access to the extensive material collected during research conducted on Chatelherault and the Hamilton Estates. However, this plan was never fulfilled, and the files have been left untouched and inaccessible. Thus, a "Library" is advertised which does not even exist.

This is not the only room from which the visitor may be barred. In its necessity to be an income-generator, much priority in Chatelherault is given to functions such as weddings and fashion shows. The kitchen has been modernised to cater for such functions. If a visitor happens to arrive on a day when the west

pavilion is being used for a reception, he may be turned away (after paying to see the Visitors Centre) having seen only part or even none of the historical rooms. When a visitor does get in to see them, the rooms contain modern furnishings of the type used for commercial functions. Very little, therefore, has been done to create an eighteenth century atmosphere. Even in the first month of opening the gilt on the mirrors had begun to deteriorate due to the aerosol brought in with all the women wearing hair spray. In the first six months the west pavilion had seen more guests than it had in over 200 years of existence. The use of the building for modern purposes has been awkwardly limited by the historical importance placed on it.

Perhaps, however, one should question this statement and ask if the modern purposes from the very outset restricted the research and restoration work at Chatelherault. In 1984, five years into the project, a research team of five people was organised and payed for three years of work, very little of which seems to have been used. John Lowrey, the original supervisor of the research, reports that the way the building stands and works today is hardly different from the vision of it which Jim Brockie presented when the researchers arrived in 1984, which implies that the outcome was somewhat of a foregone conclusion dominated by the proponents of the tourist industry. One must ask, then, for a project so concerned with money, why was so much expense and effort put into doing an impressively extensive amount of research if it had marginal significance and is not even being used for educational purposes now.

Lowrey further relates the tale that the very week in which he arrived a debate was being held over whether the floor in the Banqueting Hall was in wooden planks or parquets. When asked to try to find this information, he happened upon evidence that the floor was originally stone, a discovery which occurred after the initial preparations had been made for a wooden floor. Such careless mishaps could easily have been avoided by employing a research team for the first rather than the final three years of restoration. With an Edinburgh-based body of decision-makers organising the nine-year project, Chatelherault could not help but suffer from not having such people on site every day. In danger of letting a theory arrange the facts, I shall but mention the theory of the historical character of a building and the fact that mistakes thus incurred are ironically similar to the problems which Mein faced due to the infrequency of Adam's communication.

Little or no respect has been paid to the original fabric of the building, which at Chatelherault involved unique design elements, and the tourist industry seems to have gained ultimate domain. Whilst this would never be justified from the purist point of view, it must be stated that a use has been found for Chatelherault (which is more than one can say for Duff House, which has been restored in an academically admirable way) and that the park as a whole is important in bringing tourists to an otherwise suffering industrial area.

CONCLUSION

Planners and administrators...seem driven by certain pressures, or "urges," to do things that depart from the ideal...

First is the urge not to fool with Mother Nature. This is the naturalist syndrome...

Next is the urge to beautify. The cosmetic syndrome is the opposite of the Mother Nature syndrome...

Third is the urge to develop. This is the self-glorification syndrome...

The final urge, to tell a story, is another dimension of the self-glorification syndrome. It is characterized by dramatic presentations in which flashy gimmickry takes precedence over substance...

The urge to tell a story has spawned two secondary, closely related urges. One is the urge to re-create history...

The other secondary and related urge is the urge to reconstruct. As if preservation of the real thing were not difficult enough, we try to recreate that which has vanished and even (if such is possible) that which never existed at all.
[104]

Of the four restoration projects previously examined, each has been influenced to varying degrees by these "urges". At the House of Dun, of the £1.5 million spent, approximately £0.5 million went towards structural work, while an astonishing £1 million - two thirds of the total expenditure - went towards decoration and furnishing. [105] From the point of view of purist

restoration, these are astonishingly disproportionate figures. The main goal of preservation is to secure a structure; however, for the sake of tourist interpretation the interior is also justifiably restored. David Learmont and Christopher Hartley, the Trust's curators, specialise in interior decoration, and through them the Trust plays out its "urges" to beautify and develop. It is certainly in the Trust's better interests to glorify itself in the eyes of its visitors and members who will hopefully be impressed enough to donate money; at £1 million the "cosmetic syndrome" and the "self-glorification syndrome" seem to have been carried to the extreme.

The House of Dun has almost certainly never looked as spectacular inside as it does today. While over the centuries additions to Adam's houses have attempted to blend into the original structure, the internal life of these houses has always involved the coexistence of old and new. There were inevitably new things to be purchased when the NTS took over Dun, but a significant amount of original furnishings survived in the house. The urge for self-glorification means that the Trust cannot leave a job partly done; in the case of furnishings, this means that an original but incomplete collection must be augmented in order to fill out the rooms and "tell a story". In this fashion, large sums of money were spent at Dun on such things as (new) wallpaper, reproduction tiles and a reproduction chandelier.

The Rod and Gun room in the basement at Dun is of arguable merit. On the one hand, the objects on display were never part of the Dun collection, and therefore are not part of the history of the house. However, on the other hand, fishing and shooting are

integral parts of country house life, and the NTS is justified in taking the opportunity to show the public a broader view of the world into which the House of Dun was born. The Rod and Gun room is therefore understandable and ethically correct in its educational role; however, it would only be truly excusable if the collection had been donated to the Trust. As it is, a large amount of money from the interior decoration funds was spent on these antiques. On this point, the specialised "urges" of the curators seem to have taken over and the decision was made on cosmetic and story-telling grounds rather than ethical and financial ones.

"The urge to reconstruct" certainly governed the choice to carve and mount the urns and the cartouche. Going beyond the "real thing" and spending a great deal of money on something which never existed in history - even though it was part of the plans - is again a means of self-glorification. Further discrepancies occur in the green marbling of the skirting board in the Saloon. June Pratt, the NTS representative, reports that the curators found this baseline provided a balance to the top-heavy room. One of the curators enjoys marbling himself, and uses this technique heavily in NTS work. Mrs. Pratt explains the justification for the marbling as coming from an upstairs room; William Kay points out that it was found in the niches at the top of the stairs. Not to fault the Trust entirely, for much can be said for Dun as a museum which fully testifies to a past way of life. The Trust has preserved, restored and presented the building admirably in the sense that it has recreated a piece of history and made that history available to the public. Purist criticism focuses on the rather unacademic use of such things as modern paints in the

name of historical restoration. The primary issue, however, lies in the presentation of "two distinct periods" in the house. The NTS efforts to deal with both eighteenth and nineteenth century structures and furnishings are admirable in their respect for the continuing history of the building. However, these efforts have led to somewhat of a jumbled picture; the relationship between the two periods in the house comes across as haphazard rather than logical. This confusion is perhaps the fault of the house itself and not of the Trust, but when their efforts to construct themes such as oak graining for eighteenth century and mahogany graining for nineteenth century parts of the house are foiled with the introduction of cedar graining (in the south-west bedroom) on the pretense that it goes nicely with the tapestries in the room [106], the Trust's works certainly play a part in enhancing the confusion.

Little can be said to criticise the work at Arniston, where the "urge not to fool with Mother Nature" is strongest, enforced by a financial situation opposite to that of the NTS. The "naturalist" syndrome, while habitually applied to outdoor parks, may be applied to the country house as a syndrome in which the urges of the present are kept at bay and the house becomes more the focus of preservation than restoration. Ironically, however, the necessity of restoration work in the west side of the house has resulted from the extreme naturalist syndrome in which no preservation occurred at all; nature was allowed to run her course destructively. After the neglect under May Dundas, the house now requires restoration work; other than this, however, the present owners are seeking only to preserve and not to alter.

Unlike the NTS or any other body to which a house falls, a private owner has no need to leave his mark upon his house when it has been marked by his own family all along. The only alterations at Arniston are to the private apartments in the east jamb. As was discussed earlier, this work may be seen as part of the continuing history of the house and a necessary adaptation to modern times. Further, altered so discreetly, the rooms were changed in an attempt to leave as little a mark as possible on the historical character of the building.

The American Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Preservation Projects define Preservation as work "to sustain the existing form, integrity, and material of a building." The family "integrity" of Arniston has been preserved in its modern alterations. The same source defines Restoration as "accurately recovering the form and details of a property and its setting as it appeared at a particular period of time by means of the removal of later work or by the replacement of missing earlier work." [107] Complications and arguments in restoration work arise because of the "or" in this latter definition. Whether it is decided to totally remove, totally replace or combine the two, the solution will never please everyone concerned. Different justifications can be found in favour of each option. Here Arniston is fortunate once again to remain on uncontroversial ground, for because of the situation in which its western rooms were altered, there is no "later work" to remove. The only option apart from not to restore at all is to replace the "missing earlier work."

The unsatisfactory situation of Duff House perhaps lies in an unhappy marriage of "urges." The condition of the building when

it was gifted to the HBC required restoration to be done before preservation could be considered, although this latter plan has always been dominant. The naturalist attitude to preserve the building in unaltered form has driven the necessary restoration work into a very tight corner. Admirable academic stipulations have been met, and the urges to beautify and develop have been curtailed. The urge to tell a story having been imposed upon the house because of restoration expenses, this story has come across as stilted because of both the ethical refusal and the financial impossibility of embellishing Duff with extraneous furnishings. At Arniston the furnishings are completely indigeneous; at Dun they are mostly so; but because of Duff's sad history they must here be either brought in or not be seen at all.

At Chatelherault, the urge to tell a story is completely fulfilled. Here the "planners and administrators" are "driven by certain pressures" which have resulted in the tourist centre, a prime example of developing "that which has never existed at all." Further, "the urge to re-create history" has dominated in the portion of the house which has been restored. Unfortunately, this history is inaccurately reconstructed in the layout and presentation of the historic rooms open to the public. The Duke and Duchess' rooms being incorrectly placed on the same side of the pavilion and the overriding modern tone of the building as a venue for public functions are both examples of a restoration project preserving a new and false character in a building.

So central is the "urge to develop" to the Chatelherault project that the development on the property as a whole has channelled the building into a secondary position in the entire

scheme of the tourist attraction. The historic building may be an important way of getting people to the Park, but once there one finds little history in it and other activities must and will fill its place. What happens at Chatelherault is indeed important to the depressed community in which it exists. No matter who the audience is, ideally a better balance of urges could have been found.

In its defense, however, it must be noted that Chatelherault more than any of the other houses was the child of parents with mixed morals and views. As there are multiple urges in each restoring body, and as Chatelherault had four bodies working on it during restoration, the present condition and use of Adam's "Dog Kennel" has been influenced by exponentially more urges than the other three cases.

While it is easy to offer criticism about any restoration project, and while none of the four here examined is ideal, it must be stated that each deserves a great deal of merit for at least being part of the heritage movement. On the one hand it would be very satisfying to see work being done which matched the high academic and ethical criteria of the purists, on the other hand this is entirely impossible to achieve. Every individual case will have its own pitfalls which will prevent its ideal completion, but every case will also have its advantages. If the financial resources of the NTS at Dun could produce as academic an approach as that of HB&M at Duff, and if the tourist profits of Chatelherault could be maintained through the historically private atmosphere of Arniston, then an ideal restoration would be achieved. As none of these criteria is possible in the cases examined, it is at any rate commendable that these

four William Adam buildings have been restored and are available to the public as tangible artifacts of Scotland's architectural history. Finding a balance between views and priorities will always be controversial because it will always be subjective. As long as some balance is reached which allows preservation to be an issue of which the public is aware, individuals and organisations participate in, and the government supports, then the controversy is justifiable. Only when controversy prevents preservation should we worry about the state of Scotland's heritage. Last year, at the Advanced Planning Law Seminar of the Law Society of Scotland, Roger Suddards brought to light a simple but useful parable in order to condone different points of view within the preservation movement. This parable makes a fitting and optimistic end to this chapter on restoration in various hands:

We should remember the delightful story of Sir Christopher Wren when he was building St. Paul's. One day he disguised himself and went into the workshop to see how the workmen were getting on. He found three of them there, all doing the same job - smoothing and preparing stone. He asked the first, "What are you doing?" The man said, "I am chipping bits off this stone until it's two foot by three foot six - a very boring job it is too." And then he said to the second, "What are you doing?" "I'm earning a few pence a day and it's very little when you've a wife and six children to feed." And he said to the third, "What are you doing?" And he said, "Ah, I'm a lucky chap. I'm helping a fellow called Christopher Wren to build a cathedral." They were all doing the same job. In heritage issues we are all in the same business. Our angles may be different - but the balance is constantly being struck. [108]



Rothco. © Punch

LAST REMARKS

In a recent article in the Times, Raphael Samuel urges Britain to adopt a different attitude towards the past in order to better comprehend the present and to approach the future with a strong sense of herself as a nation:

"Nation" is a harsher work than either "culture" or "society", and for socialists like myself many of its associations are negative. But it is an inescapable part of the historian's lexicon, and has the merit of unifying phenomena which otherwise tend to be considered in isolation. It has space for loyalties as well as material interests; hatreds and fears as well as the progress of reform. Since the nation confronts us each time we open the newspapers, we should not avert our eyes from it when we turn to the record of the past.

...Does one have to be indigeneous to engage with the national past? Must such a study alienate those whose ancestral roots lie elsewhere? On the contrary, one can argue that there are advantages in a study of history from the perspective of an outsider, and that it involves a questioning of the taken-for-granted. [109]

As an American living in Britain, I approach the issue of preservation in this country with a certain amount of objectivity; I have learned through the perspective of distance and during the course of research for this thesis how truly advanced my own country is in dealing with the past, and would like to use that new-found knowledge as a basis for my concluding remarks.

"A nation's pride is marked by that which it preserves." [110] Britain's pride has historically been based in the conquest of foreign countries. The fact that America formed part of

Britain's sense of self made America's sense of independence that much stronger. America gained through another's loss; but Britain has had to gain new perspectives from her own loss. National history in America is very strong, and so repeatedly taught to school children that everyone has an inbred sense of it. The preservation of buildings which are landmarks within this history has grown naturally out of this sense.

Scotland as a nation has historically had to fight against England for its independence. Still being tied to England, Scotland now has a rather dubious sense of herself, fueled by repeated English proclamations of superiority. The fact that books on British Architecture have until recently all but forgotten to mention Scotland has led to both a misinformed and apathetic view of architecture in this country, one which is always being defined from outside the country itself. However, it is not natural for the fighting, surviving Scottish character to accept such a definition and view. Scotland's attitude towards her heritage and the preservation of that heritage must be motivated from within, written about by Scottish scholars, and preserved through Scottish organisations like the National Trust for Scotland.

The NTS, however, must evolve to encompass a wider variety of buildings and sites as well as a majority of Scottish employees in decision-making positions. In 1976, Robin Winks remarked:

What do people wish to be remembered by? In what form will remembrance actually express itself? One looks north to the National Trust for Scotland, to find seventeen castles and twelve gardens. One learns that there is not a single

industrial site of any kind that has been preserved by that Trust, while four battles have been commemorated in some form. One might think Disraeli right: these choices represent one only of the "two nations" of class. [111]

Today, over ten years later, although the total number of Trust properties has increased to one hundred, the majority of them are castles and country houses. Further, many positions in the Trust are filled by Englishmen who lack native feelings towards anything Scottish. This phenomenon cannot help but perpetuate the sensation of English dominance. When one attributes the Trust with making numerous properties available to the public, one must bear in mind that that public is limited. The people who tend to become NTS members and attend NTS functions are often English, and for the most part are those who can afford to make donations towards the elaborate type of restoration which the Trust undertakes. There is a distinct lack of native involvement on a broad scale in the organisation which is the best known for preserving Scottish heritage.

Every state in America has at least one historic preservation trust, and the head officer is always a resident of the state:

The National Historic Preservation Act [of 1966] established a partnership between the States and the Federal Government... To nurture this partnership, the Secretary of the Interior was empowered to grant funds to the States for historic surveys and plans and to establish grants-in-aid for preservation projects. Under regulations issued by the Secretary for implementing the Act, the Governor of each state participating in the national program is required to name a State Historic Preservation Officer who is responsible for administering the various aspects of the program. [112]

Such a system inspires individual effort on the part of each state to preserve its own history. Further, working from fifty preservation trusts, the federal government has a strong foundation from which to promote and organise national heritage issues and events.

In America there is a sense of place, of preserving hallowed ground, even though little remains associated with the events that took place there; in Europe, there is a sense of the object. In both, however, the symbols must be visible - the visible symbols of an invisible past.
[113]

Buildings have the unique quality of being both places and objects. A country house is not only an object of art but an historic place as well. Most historic houses are lost when they are in private hands. The burden of maintaining them takes both ethical encouragement and funding on a national level. The larger public and government bodies must make a growing effort to establish a system of mutual support with the private sector. The Trust is not the only organisation which can be faulted; HB&M, with numerous laws and amendments backing it up, sometimes seems to be caught up in the bureaucracy of preservation, in which the trees can obscure the forest. Roger Suddards concludes his "Listed Buildings" lecture with the following remarks:

I believe that on the whole the listed buildings law acts as a help and not as a hindrance - assuming that there is to be a limitation on the funding Government is prepared to put into historic buildings... The fundamental principles are good: the relationship of central to local government is about right. When local government is yet further altered - and that

cannot be more than four or five years away - the balance will again be shifted.

Of course the balance depends on the private owners continuing to shoulder the burden of repair and maintenance. If they cannot do so then we shall have to re-consider the balance. The problem will be that as we create more and more listed buildings there will be a need for more and more money. Alterations in the VAT situation will create more hardships against owners. Do we as society put more money in the pot for grants? Can we insist that a building be not demolished if the building is not worthy of grant and the owner cannot finance repairs? Or do we take a more relaxed view about consent to demolish in the light of there being more buildings on the list? These are intractable questions to which of course there is and never will be an easy nor a finite answer. The pendulum will swing and the balance be shifted.
[114]

Listed buildings must come to be viewed by all as treasures rather than burdens. They must be cared for as part of Scotland's history no matter what class they were built for; the classical country house is only one example of Scottish architecture. Scotland must proclaim her own heritage on an international level, rather than hoping that the international view of architectural history will eventually encompass her. It is hoped that the recent William Adam exhibition, which was the culmination of new preservation efforts over the past decade, will be not the peak but the foundation of a growing movement towards the preservation and public presentation of Scottish architecture in its own right. What were built to be private must now incorporate the public, and these houses can be useful tools in the preservation of Scotland's cultural history. "Meaning goes beyond the fact, truth,

and experience of a site to place these components into a cultural unity locked into the deepest forces that shape a civilization."

[115] Classical country houses in Scotland will never again be what they were built to be; it is time that they were picked up, fixed up, and held up as national monuments.

APPENDIX A

National Trust For Scotland Press Release, April 1989

HOUSE OF DUN OPENS TO PUBLIC AFTER £1,000,000 RESTORATION

The House of Dun, an 18th century mansion house near Montrose in Angus, designed by William Adam, will open its doors to the public on 28 April following a £1 million restoration programme carried out by the National Trust for Scotland.

The rehabilitation programme - one of the largest undertaken by NTS - has involved major external and interior refurbishment of the house itself as well as the courtyard buildings - opened two years ago - and restoration of the gardens and the surrounding 845-acre estate.

Commanding a magnificent setting overlooking the Montrose Basin, House of Dun was bequeathed to NTS in 1980 by Mrs. Millicent Lovett, 20th and last laird of Dun.

Dun was bought by Sir Robert Erskine of Erskine in 1375. The original castle was replaced by a later building to be followed by the present house built in 1730 to designs by William Adam for David Erskine, Lord Dun, the 12th laird and a leading Scottish judge. The most important interior feature of the property is the exuberant plasterwork in the saloon by Joseph Enzer who was paid £216 for his work in 1742.

The house will be presented in two distinct periods - the William Adam era and the period of Lady Augusta Kennedy-Erskine, the wife of a Regency descendant and the natural daughter of the Duke of Clarence, later William IV, and the actress Mrs. Jordan. Lady Augusta carried out extensive renovation to the house in the mid-19th century. The house contains Royal mementoes of this period.

In the rooms retaining their 18th century character, the original colour schemes have been restored, doors re-grained and marbling reinstated. The saloon has been restored to its original green colour scheme, throwing into magnificent relief the ornate plaster-work which commemorates the Auld Alliance between Scotland and France and also features Jacobite symbolism and military imagery.

Nearly all the furniture belonging to the house dates from Lady Augusta's period and the rooms in which it is displayed have been decorated in an early nineteenth century manner as an appropriate setting for the collection. The basement has also been restored to achieve a balance between life upstairs and downstairs. A rod and gun room reflects the sporting interests of a 19th century laird.

Externally, much of the restoration was made possible by the use of matching stone salvaged by NTS some time ago from a nearby building under demolition. William Adam's drawings showed balustrades and urns at roof level on both north and south fronts and although these seem never to have been installed, NTS decided these features should be incorporated. Balustrades have now been erected and it is intended to install the urns.

The courtyard buildings now house a visitor reception area and exhibitions on the architecture of the house and the story of its restoration. There is also Lady Augusta's kitchen, restored as a tearoom, a gardener's potting shed, gamekeeper's bothy and a cottage in which a working weaver can be seen at his craft.

Restoration of the garden is based on a sepia print of about 1890, the only evidence of the gardens laid out by Lady Augusta in the 1840's. The main horticultural and architectural features, the petal-shaped and circular beds and the rose arbour, have all been incorporated. Other features include the establishment of new lawns and the planting of orchards.

Rejuvenation of the estate has included felling, re-planting and thinning of woodlands and the creation of a woodland walk. Walls, ice houses and other archaeological features will be restored as resources permit.

The site of an old mill has been converted into a car park for wildfowlers visiting the Montrose Basin and for ornithologists using hides in the Montrose Basin Local Nature Reserve, administered by Angus District Council and the Scottish Wildlife Trust.

A variety of labour has been used including NTS staff, Angus District Council, MSC teams, local contractors and tradesmen, volunteers and Army engineers.

Funding of the House of Dun restoration was made possible by a public appeal which exceeded its £350,000 target by more than £150,000 and by financial assistance from the Historic Buildings Council for Scotland, the Countryside Commission for Scotland and the Scottish Tourist Board.

APPENDIX B

Theodore Anton Sande, "Presenting the Truth About the Past."
Cultural Resources Management Bulletin, December 1984.

There are, it seems to me, four broad areas of concern under which to consider the fundamental purpose of historic site preservation. They are: 1) continuity, 2) integrity, 3) plausibility, and 4) meaning. Not mutually exclusive categories by any means, they represent four different ways of approaching the same important issue of historic preservation.

By *continuity*, I mean the will and the ability of a society to assure that it retains its memory. We do so in many ways [including] the way we maintain the continuity of our civilization's history through the conservation and preservation of its physical evidence.

In practical terms there are two things to keep in mind. The first is the extent to which we choose to reflect the different periods of occupancy at a historic property. Should each prior resident receive equal treatment? If not, why?...

The second consideration is more difficult to come to grips with. To what extent does the organization or agency that controls a historic property at any particular time become a part of the texture of continuity?... To what extent do we in the present have an obligation to future generations to remain detached from the historical evidence to retain its validity?

For historic sites, in general, we may...[ask] two questions that have to do with *integrity*:

- 1) How much of a site's history are we able to tell?
- 2) How much of a site's history do we choose to tell?...

What is the historical "truth" and can that "truth" ever be detached from the historian's platform, one's own ear and its preconceptions and prejudices about the past?...

Plausibility brings the professional into a closer relationship to the house museum and historic site visitor. Where continuity and integrity involve intellectual considerations, plausibility

introduces the emotional side of the historic site experience...Whatever the reason, historic sites and houses have been set aside to remind us of some clearly, or not so clearly, articulated aspect of the past and, further, that by so treating these places, an educational benefit may emerge for those who visit them...

Is it possible to take a once active farm or a once lived-in house, make it into a historic site or museum, and retain its earlier vitality?...the placement of objects from a historical period in rooms of that time or the setting aside of a parcel of land with older buildings on it, no matter how well preserved, does not guarantee the recreation of a true feeling of an earlier time.. It may be a fundamental limitation of our human existence that we can only simulate the surface of the past and that we are forever prevented from reaching a deeper understanding through the presentation of its artifacts and places.

For the visitor to historic property, *meaning* is the sum total experience gained from the physical evidence of a site or museum, measured against the mythos of contemporary civilization...

How much does a visitor fantasize about... What are the hopes, dreams, the satisfactions that such sites nurture in those who are embraced by its presence? And, how well do we understand these motivations and desires?...

Meaning goes beyond the fact, truth, and experience of a site to place these components into a cultural unity locked into the deepest forces that shape a civilization.

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