

THE FURNISHINGS OF QUEENSBERRY HOUSE, 1700–25

John Lowrey

Queensberry House (Figure 1), situated on the south side of Edinburgh's Canongate, is a seventeenth-century mansion house built by Dame Margaret Douglas of Balmakellie in the late 1660s,¹ subsuming four or five earlier properties to create a 'Great Lodging'. This house was lived in, firstly, by Balmakellie and, later, by Catherine, Countess of Errol, who rented it between 1677 and 1679.² In that year, it was purchased by Charles Maitland, Lord Hatton who, as Treasurer Depute of Scotland and brother of the Duke of Lauderdale, the most powerful man in Scotland at the time, required a house that reflected his status and ambition, close to the Palace of Holyrood. He embellished the existing house, most notably with the addition of a belvedere containing two rooms and a lead platform on the roof.³ Hatton, in his turn, sold the house on to William, 1st Duke of Queensberry in 1686⁴ and when the Duke died in 1695 his successor, James, set about a substantial remodelling of the building, with the addition of the west wing, the two closet towers on the south (garden) front and the single storey entrance vestibule, providing a main entrance directly in to the principal storey (Figure 2). The development of the house forms part of a mini-boom in aristocratic town house building in and around Edinburgh in this period. With the re-establishment of a royal presence, in the person of the Duke of York in the early 1680s, and the increased activity of the Scots Parliament around the turn of the century, there was much greater need for members of the aristocracy to have a comfortable and even an impressive base in the city. Queensberry House saw its greatest period of use around the time of the Act of Union, with the Duke of Queensberry as the major figure in seeing the Act safely through parliament on behalf of Queen Anne. Immediately afterwards, however, partly because of the great unpopularity of the measure and the vilification of the Duke by the Edinburgh populace, the Queensberrys left Edinburgh and were only occasional visitors thereafter. By 1712, the house was available for let and it was certainly used in that way for the rest of the eighteenth century.

The house remained in Queensberry hands until 1801, when it was sold to the distiller, William Aitcheson. He stripped it of its fixtures and fittings and sold it on to the Board of Ordnance in 1803.⁵ The army used the building as a barrack block and hospital, adding an extra storey to it and erecting new buildings in the grounds, as well as substantially remodelling the interior. After the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, the military had little use for the building and from that time until 1833 it was used sporadically as a public hospital, notably during the cholera epidemics of the 1820s. From 1833 until 1945 it was used as a house of refuge and, after World War II it became a geriatric hospital, continuing in that role until 1996, when it was purchased by Scottish Brewers and sold on, with the rest of their headquarters site, the following year, to the Scottish executive for the construction of the new Scottish Parliament

building. Queensberry House is the only listed building on the site to be retained by the architects as part of the parliament complex.

THE SURVIVING ARCHIVAL EVIDENCE

Many of the changes the building has undergone in the past 300 years, and particularly those associated with the institutional use of the building since the beginning of the nineteenth century, have resulted in the destruction of the original interiors and there is now almost nothing left of the original seventeenth-century decorative schemes.⁶ The archival sources are also very incomplete; there are very few clues concerning the decoration of the house under Lord Hatton, and two important inventories of 1694 and 1695 have gone missing in the Drumlanrig charter room, denying us detailed information about the arrangements of the house immediately before James Smith carried out the expansion and alterations required by the 2nd Duke.⁷ Our best information comes from a number of early eighteenth-century inventories.⁸ Some of these documents are incomplete and/or undated and the best one dates from 1723, considerably after the heyday of the house. However, taken in combination, they provide some very useful insights into the planning, furnishing and decoration of the house in the early eighteenth century, including the period of its most intensive use, at the time of the Act of Union in 1707. For the purposes of this article a total of seven of these inventories has been used. These are listed below in chronological order; in cases where the document is undated, a date is suggested and justified by the internal evidence.

Inventory 1 (1706)

The earliest is an 'Inventory of goods disposed of by Robert Cochrane, 10 June 1706'. This takes the form of a list of goods sent to Edinburgh from the Duke's house in Piccadilly, with marginalia indicating in which rooms some of the goods were to be placed. This seems to have been at least partly related to an expansion of the household at the time of the Act of Union, when all of the family and even one of the Duke's political allies (the Earl of Mar), stayed in the house.⁹

Inventories 2 and 3 (1707 & 1708)

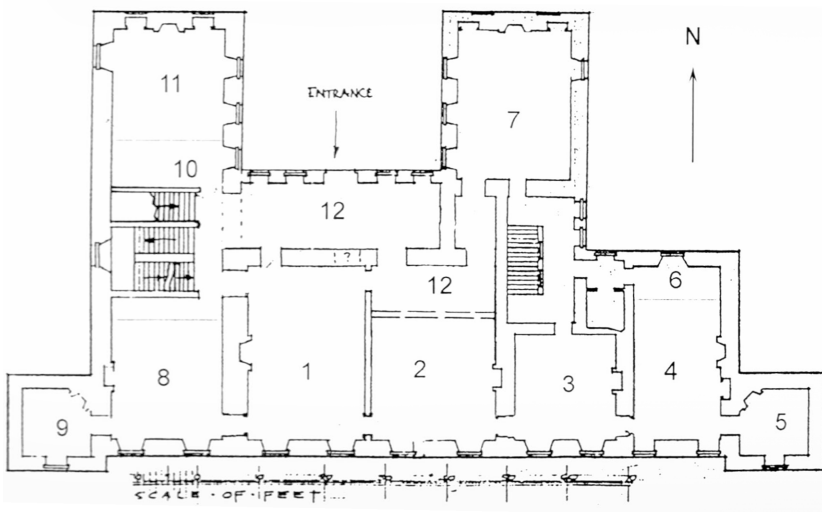
After the Union, the household was scaled down and there are two dated inventories, one by Mrs Wardlaw (presumably, the housekeeper) made on 26 December 1707 and another made exactly one month later.

Inventory 4 (1707/08)

This is an undated inventory but it is in a small notebook which contains a list of items in the gallery, based on Cochrane's 1706 inventory, suggesting that his list was still extant, and goes on to a detailed listing of the principal floor of the house, room by room; it then concludes with a more general list of the furniture, utensils, etc., in the



1. James Smith, Queensberry House, Canongate, Edinburgh, c. 1696
University of Edinburgh



2. Plan of the principal storey of Queensberry House. Based on City Architect's copy of 1808 military survey, adapted by Addyman & Kay, 1998
Original, Edinburgh City Archive

KEY

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| 1. Principal dining room | 8. Duke's drawing room |
| 2. Duchess's drawing room | 9. Duke's closet |
| 3. Duchess's bedroom | 10. 'The waiting room off my Lord Duke's drawing room' |
| 4. Duchess's dressing room | 11. 'Large dining room to the street' |
| 5. Duchess's closet | 12. Lobby and passages |
| 6. Waiting room | |
| 7. 'Old Duke's dressing room in the east wing' | |

rest of the house. All of this is in the same handwriting and includes references to children's items, suggesting the beginning of the eighteenth century when the Queensberry children were still young. For these reasons, this inventory is dated to 1707/08.

Inventory 5 (1708)

The evidence for dating this is very similar to that for Inventory 4. Cochrane's inventory is still referred to but a post-quem date is provided by a record of goods being shipped to Drumlanrig on 31 December 1707. Some of the inventory lists items in some of the rooms but things were clearly in a state of flux, the Duchess's dressing room, for example, containing a total of thirty chamber pots, suggesting, perhaps, that goods were being packed up for shipment to Drumlanrig, or at least for storage in the gallery at Queensberry House.

Inventory 6 (1707/08)

This is a catalogue of the Queensberry library at Drumlanrig and Queensberry House. It is dated here on the basis that it ties in with Inventory 5, which refers to the Duke's library at Queensberry House.

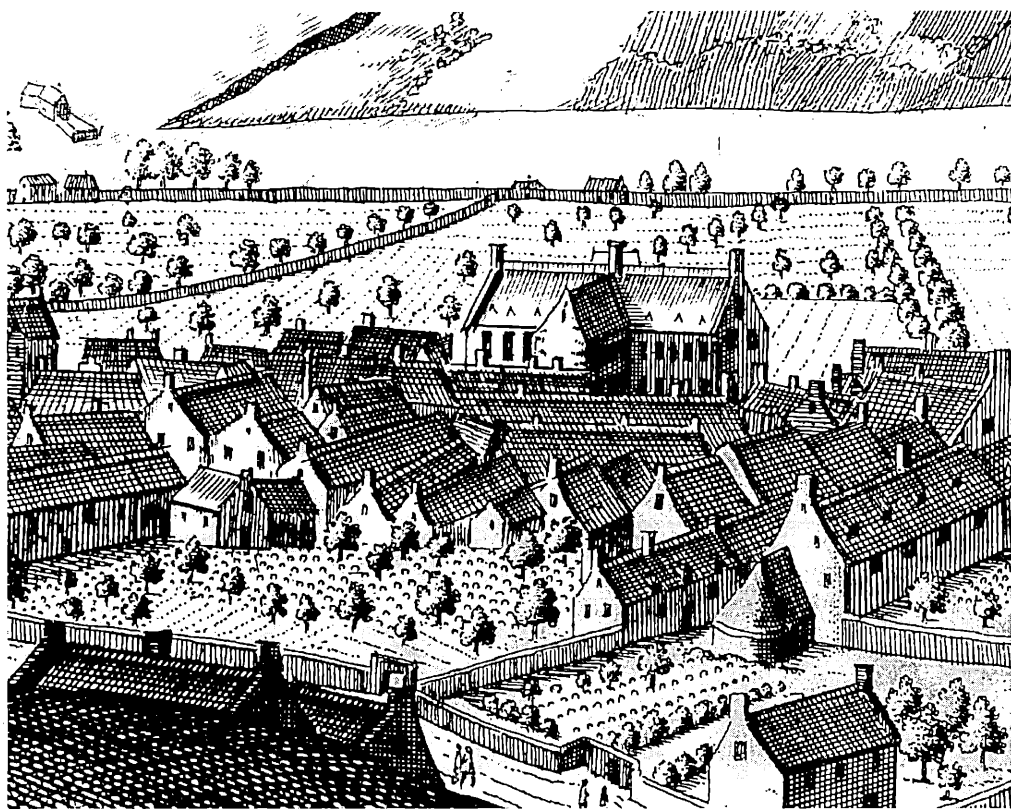
Inventory 7 (1723 — see Appendix)

This is the most systematic inventory, organised by floor and by room, giving the most complete picture of the house at that time. It is used here as a base-line against which the others are compared and in combination the inventories provide useful insights into a number of areas including the planning of the house, the furnishings of the house at different times, the continuity between the period around 1707 and 1723, despite large amounts of material being shipped out of the Canongate House to Drumlanrig, and even about the way in which things were shipped and stored.

In this latter context, Inventory 4 (1707/08) is particularly interesting. It shows that some the furniture from the Duke's house in Piccadilly had to be disassembled before it could be packed in crates for transit. This included not only large items like beds, but also some of the chairs, which are recorded in crate 30 as being packed as 'backs and bottoms'.¹⁰

PLANNING

It is beyond the scope of this article to analyse the planning of the house in detail. Suffice it to say that the inventories are a very valuable source in elucidating the original plan of the building, which is in some respects rather unusual (Figure 2). The arrangements of the house used by the 1st Duke of Queensberry appear to have been very close to those adopted by Lord Hatton, the previous owner. The original house was essentially a T-plan, with the main apartment in the long, east/west range used by the Duchess, and the short extension towards the street housing the private apartments



3. Detail of lower Canongate, Edinburgh, showing the Balmakelly/Hatton House, from John Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiae*, second edition, 1718
National Library of Scotland

of the Duke (Figure 3). The expansion of the house added to that a completely new west range, running north/south, as well as towers containing closets at each end of the main range of the building, allowing a long enfilade of some 40 metres to be opened up on the south side of the house.

The main apartment ran from the west end of Hatton's house and comprised a dining room, drawing room, bedchamber, dressing room and closet. This was a fairly standard seventeenth-century plan, except for the rather grand accommodation of the dressing room, which was as large as the bedchamber itself. One possible reason for this was that the main apartment of the house was both the major reception suite, and therefore had a formal and social function, and the apartment of the lady of the house. Providing her with a dressing room that was relatively large implies that the room functioned as a kind of private parlour and the corresponding room in the east jamb fulfilled the same function for Hatton and both the 1st and 2nd Dukes of Queensberry. The original house, therefore, adopted a fairly standard plan, but adapted it to the more modest requirements and the site restrictions of the urban house.

The core of this standard arrangement was retained by the 2nd Duke of Queensberry, but with the additional accommodation on the principal floor allowing a more elaborate and unusual plan, which can be pieced together mainly from the evidence of the inventories. The 1723 inventory (Inventory 7) confirms the retention of the original State Apartment. The only significant alteration to the original plan is the addition of the eastern tower, which has provided the space for a closet. The original closet has been replaced by a waiting room.

The addition of the new west range might reasonably have been expected to provide a complete apartment, even with the insertion of a new staircase half-way along (James Smith employed such a device at Hamilton Palace at around the same time that he was working on Queensberry House). We might expect this to provide a grand apartment for the Duke, corresponding to his wife's apartment in the main body of the original house. The inventories, however, indicate a subtly different arrangement, which provided for a series of overlapping formal and private spaces, with a great deal of emphasis on the house's function as a place of reception. Whilst the 2nd Duke of Queensberry retained his large dressing room in the east jamb ('the Old Duke's Dressing Room in the east wing', according to the 1723 inventory), he also had accommodation in the new wing of the house which was almost as far from the dressing room as it was possible to get. The inventory lists the rooms here as 'My Lord Duke's Drawing Room', 'My Lord Duke's Closet', 'the waiting room off my Lord's Drawing Room', 'the large Dining Room to the street'. The combination of drawing room and closet clearly corresponds on the Duke's side to the Duchess's dressing room and closet. In many ways, his drawing room is the crux of the plan, linking the principal apartment and of the new western suite of rooms.

Perhaps the only outstanding issue to be explained here is where the Duke slept. There are a number of possibilities, not least, that one of the rooms not actually identified as a bedchamber did indeed contain his bed. There is one mention, in Inventory 1 (1706) of some looking glasses 'Moved into his Grace's Dressing Room, Bed Chamber and other rooms at different times', indicating perhaps that there was also a bedchamber in the east jamb, alongside the dressing room. On the other hand, there is evidence that the Duke and Duchess shared a bedchamber at around this same time, since Inventory 5 (1708) lists 'My Lord Duke and My Lady Dutchess's Bed Chamber'. This separation of the drawing room and closet from the dressing room and sleeping place of the Duke is a little unusual but it fits in well with the idea of different areas of the plan fulfilling different functions, and of the need, within the relatively restricted space of a town house, to combine grand reception spaces with family and private apartments. This separation of the various elements of the Duke's accommodation is also not without precedent: the inventories of Panmure House in the late seventeenth century indicate a fluid use of the plan responding to family circumstances. In 1695, on one side of the house was an apartment that led to 'My Lord and Lady's chamber'; this formed part of the Countess's apartment; while on the opposite side of the house, the Earl had his ante-chamber, dressing room and closet. The arrangements, though on a larger scale, were very similar to those at Queensberry House.¹¹

Although the focus of this article is mainly on the principal floor, it is worth sketching in the arrangements of the rest of the house, which contains one or two other notable

features. Unfortunately, because of later alterations, it is not possible to be absolutely precise about the locations of many of these spaces. The basement contains the services and accommodation that we would expect: a 'second dining room', presumably for the higher servants; a pantry, porter's lodge, and a latter meat room, for the junior servants. There was also a 'low garden room and closet', which presumably was a room that gave direct access to the garden terrace. This is a feature that was inserted by Lord Hatton, who also used James Smith as his architect, and instructed him to furnish it with a marble floor, from Sir William Binnies' quarry.¹²

On the second floor of the house, the plan adopted was very similar to that of the principal floor. The dining room, drawing room and principal bedchamber were all repeated on the floor above, although the rest of the eastern part of that floor is almost impossible to disentangle. What does seem clear, however, is that it contained a second suite of rooms, with a dining room and bedchamber in the east jamb and a series of closets and a dressing room. The west range had two rooms towards the street and then, immediately above the Duke's drawing room and closet, a small suite of rooms for his daughter, Lady Anne, comprising a bedchamber, drawing room and closet.

On the top floor, most of the space seems to have been given over to servants' quarters. The housekeeper and housemaid, the Duke's valet de chambre and steward are all mentioned in the 1723 inventory. Some of the earlier inventories suggest that some of the rooms on this floor were used by the children, but it is impossible to be certain about this because none of the surviving inventories adopt the systematic approach of the 1723 one. The major space on this floor was undoubtedly the gallery, which occupied the whole of the west wing, running north to south. A final feature of note on this floor was the laundry, or linen room. This is not mentioned in the 1723 inventory, although the list of the gallery's contents is immediately followed by a list of new linen brought in to the house in 1723. It is, however, explicitly referred to in a number of other inventories and was clearly an important room for the storage and repair of textile furnishings of all kinds.

DECORATION

From the rather fragmentary documentary evidence that survives, we know that from Hatton's time, at least, the main rooms of the house were panelled. The Lauderdale papers contain references to 'true wainscott' panelling in the drawing room and dining room, as well as Hatton's own quarters in the east jamb.¹³ Similarly, the Queensberry papers at Drumlanrig have a reference to the panelling in the 'passage betwixt the bedchamber and the closet' of the great apartment.¹⁴ This not unexpected feature is also confirmed by a third source. In 1710, David Hay of Belton, in East Lothian, instructed his wright, William Tait, to 'line three rooms . . . with firr after the manner of the lining of the best rooms in the Duke of Queensberry's house in Canongate'.¹⁵

Combined with this timber lining, the major rooms at Queensberry House were also adorned with various hangings. In 1723, the main dining room was hung with at least one stamped and gilded leather hanging. The earlier inventories indicate that this was brought to Edinburgh in 1706 from the Duke's house in Piccadilly and that, originally, several of these hangings were to be found in the dining room.¹⁶ Such hangings were

often associated with dining rooms, because they did not hold the smell of food as textiles did.¹⁷ This material had been popular in Scotland throughout the seventeenth century. It was used as early as 1623 at Hamilton Palace and was imported directly from Holland for most of the century indeed, by the end of the seventeenth century there was even a manufactory in Edinburgh.¹⁸ It is known to have been used at Queensberry House by the 2nd Duke, in 1695¹⁹ and it was certainly in use at Panmure House, in the dining room, in the same year.²⁰

Tapestry hangings were also used at Queensberry House. These are always referred to as 'Arras' hangings and crop up in all of the inventories of the main rooms. Thus, in 1723, tapestry was to be found in the main drawing room, the Duchess's dressing room and in her closet. It was also used in the old ducal apartment in the east jamb and in the new drawing room in the west wing, as well as in some of the more important chambers of the floor above. Very little detail is provided on these hangings. Some are described as 'forest' hangings, meaning that they had an essentially two-dimensional pattern of foliage.²¹ This was the most commonly used tapestry in Scotland at this time, according to the main authority,²² although Queensberry House also had the more prestigious 'History' type. These are not specified in the detailed inventory of 1723, but are mentioned on a number of occasions, including 1695, when scenes from Ovid are mentioned.²³ Later, in 1706, a set of eight tapestries with scenes from the life of Marcus Aurelius were sent to Edinburgh from the London house and some, at least, of these were put up in the main drawing room and dressing room.²⁴

FURNITURE

Using the 1723 inventory as the starting point, it is possible to gain quite a good idea of how the house was furnished at that time, but also, by comparing it with the earlier inventories, we can see that the furniture and furnishings were very little changed between c. 1708 and 1723. This must either have been because the house was left at least partly intact after the family's departure after 1707 or because the same furniture was transported back to Edinburgh when the family took up residence again.

Dining room

The 1723 inventory starts with the Great Dining Room and lists not only the leather hangings but also a screen of the same material and sixteen 'Black Rushia leather chairs'. Inventory 4 (1707/08) indicates not only that this same furniture was in place at that time, but also that the hangings, screen and chairs were all in matching gilded, black leather.²⁵ In 1723, the other main feature of this room was a 'large wanescot oval table with turned feet'. Although large oval tables were a feature of Scottish dining rooms in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, there is no mention of this, or indeed of any large table, in the earlier period in the dining room. Instead, there was a set of black tables with stands and a glass, with two matching stands on either side of the fireplace. Most of this furniture was probably placed between the two windows as an ensemble comprising glass, table and two stands. All in all, the room seems to have been rather sombre, relieved only by the brightness of the gilding, the mirror and the

white silk lace mountings of the hangings and cushions. It seems likely that the 'rid stuff' referred to in Inventory 7 (1723) was the same as the 'crimson worstet stuff' in the Inventory 4 (1707/08), in which case, it is possible that it was the '10 curtains and 5 vallens of Red Parragon' recorded in Inventory 1 (1706) as being 'putt up in the Great Dining Room,' which were brought from Piccadilly at that time, were still in the house in 1723.

Drawing room

In the drawing room, much the same pattern seems to have been followed; there do not seem to have been any great changes made to the way the room was furnished between 1706 and 1723 and most of the original furniture seems still to have been in place by the latter date. In common with most drawing rooms of this period, the repertoire seems to have been fairly simple, restricted mainly to chairs.²⁶ In 1723, the main furniture for the room was a set of fourteen chairs: two easy chairs and twelve elbow chairs, 'all covered with aurora (F)tabbie' (?). Inventory 4 (1707/08) does not include the arm chairs, but has a detailed description of twelve elbow chairs, which were 'matted' and had 'black frames, with bottoms of blew and ridd velvett and blew and ridd tassle fringes about them'. The 'matted' chairs may be a reference to inset, upholstered seats. In 1723, the other major piece of furniture was a writing desk and a matching gilded mirror) and a 'black table and stands' matching a black-framed looking glass. In 1707/08 there was an ensemble of black Japanned table, glass and stands, similar to that in the dining room and probably positioned in the same way, between the windows. It cannot be shown that the table and mirror were the same pieces that were in the room in 1723, although a black writing table was certainly brought to the house in 1706.²⁷ Certainly, the arrangement would have been broadly similar, although, in the eighteenth century, the stands have been dispensed with.²⁸

Most of the rest of the furnishings do not seem to have changed in this room. In each list, there is the same Indian white, silk damask window curtains, with pands (and also window cushions, in 1723) and the same portrait of the Duke of Douglas hung over the fireplace. The walls were decorated with two large pieces of Arras hangings and were probably the same pieces recorded by Robert Cochrane in 1706, when two of the Marcus Aurelius set were hung in this room.²⁹ The only significant addition to the room by 1723 is the 'fine India screen consisting of six leaves'.³⁰ Again, it is possible that this is the same item as one recorded in 1706, having been brought from London.³¹

Principal bedchamber

The main feature of this room was the great bed, with blue and white striped mohair hangings and blue silk lining. This same material was used on the eight chairs and the window curtains. In addition, a large carpet under the bed; two looking glasses, one above a writing table, the other above the fireplace; two pairs of black, japanned stands and a portrait of General Ramsay, made up the rest of the furnishing in 1723. Once again, this is broadly confirmed by the other evidence. Inventory 4 (1707/08) is almost identical to the 1723 list and the set is also mentioned in the Cochrane list of 1706, as

furniture for the 'Apartment below stairs', suggesting that this rather puzzling location must be the area to the south of the staircase, as opposed to the Duke's apartment in the jamb towards the street, on the north.³² Inventory 5 (1708) also confirms the décor of the room and the combination of the earlier inventories again suggests a black japanned table, glass and stand set in use in this room. Inventory 5 (1708) is the source for its description as 'My Lord and Lady Dutches's bed chamber'. It also shows that at this date the conjugal chamber included one rather risqué item, 'Rape of Sabine a statue on a pear tree pedestal'.

One puzzle about this room, however, is that Inventory 6 (1723), also lists things that were stored in the gallery on the top floor of the house. These include 'A big box with the roof, bolster piece, Cornishes and haill timbers of the blew moyhair bed . . . the two foot stoups of the blew mohyhair bed'.³³ It does not appear that this was added at a later date so it suggests that, perhaps, the bed was not fully erected at the time the inventory was taken.

Dressing room

Beyond the bedchamber lay the Duchess's dressing room which, even allowing for subdivision at the northern end to create a small ante-chamber, was a large and impressive space. It was decorated with another piece of the Marcus Aurelius tapestry set³⁴ and furnished mainly with chairs, six ordinary chairs and a 'dressing chair', in 1723. The other items of furniture at that time seem to have been a chest of drawers with a brown-framed mirror and pair of matching stands. The chairs were covered with 'green and white stript cotton saten', matched by two pairs of window curtains and pands, further enriched with a green silk lace trim.

This differs slightly from the Inventory 4 (1707/08). At that time there were far more chairs, confirming that the Duchess's dressing room must indeed have been in this large space. Twelve chairs, two of them elbow chairs, and a 'trimming chair' are mentioned, the latter possibly being another term for the dressing chair of 1723. In either case, presumably, they must have been used in the *toilette*, possibly in connection with hair dressing. A major difference between this furniture and that described in 1723 is that the covers c. 1707/08 were of scarlet and yellow damask, which was also used for the fire screen and the curtains and accessories. That this was in the house at that time is also confirmed by Inventory 1 (1706), which lists all the chairs (with walnut frames) and informs us that they had 'stuft back and seats of lemon couler and scarlett worsted damask'.³⁵ Inventory 4 (1707/08) also gives slightly more detailed information on some of the items still in use in 1723. The combination of chest and mirror being used as a dressing table is confirmed in the description 'a dressing table with 3 drawers'.

Closet

As a result of James Smith's remodelling of the house in the late 1690s, the two towers on the garden front provided closets for the Duke and Duchess. The combined information from the various inventories allow quite a detailed picture of the way this most private and intimate of spaces was used by the Duchess in the early years of the

eighteenth century. This is the only room in the house where a fragment of the original decoration has survived. Above a modern false ceiling, archaeologists discovered the original ceiling which has a simple cornice and is coved to make an octagonal shape. The room itself is almost square, but with one corner chamfered with the fireplace. The implication of all of this is that the room was furnished in such a way as to chamfer the other corners, with shelves or with some items of furniture. In this way, the room would have been octagonal in conformity with the ceiling. The 1723 inventory describes quite a grand but intimate room. It was decorated with forest tapestry and had four chairs covered in red and green mohair, a pier glass, a walnut cabinet, a small, folding cedar-wood table, and curtains that matched those in the dressing room. Inventory 4 (1707/08) list, yet again, confirms most of this, but adds some detail and shows that some things were different. For one thing, there were more chairs, ten in all, in the same colour as those of 1723, but with a gold galloon added. An unspecified cabinet may have been the same one referred to in 1723 but there was also a black japanned one in the room in 1707/08.

For once, Cochrane's 1706 list is not helpful here, but Inventory 5 (1708) and Inventory 3 (26/1/1708) provide useful, almost identical information. Inventory lists:

Item ane fine cabinet, 2 fine stools mounted with green velvat, 3 fine window curtains of callico stript with leamond silk. Item 2 black shelves for her Grace's china. Item an indented playing table covered with green velvat. Item 2 tea tables, one red japanned the other black japanned, a fire screen, 8 fine landskip pictures covered with glass, 5 lesser of landskip, 4 picturs more. Itt. 10 pictures with the pictures of men and women one of them covered with glass, 19 lesser ones, another with a lady in green habit, 4 Dutch pictures in frames.

The picture this builds up is of a well-furnished room, in which the Duchess might entertain her friends, playing cards and taking tea. On the walls were tapestry hangings and a great number of paintings, mainly portraits and landscapes. On shelves and in cabinets around the walls, she had arranged her china collection, which is listed in detail in the inventory. This amounted to several hundred items, including five teapots, five or six tea sets, some of them missing saucers, dozens of other dishes, all in a variety of colours. Little precise detail is provided about the collection: there is a mention of 'ane pair of stoups of rope work' and the occasional mention of dishes with gilded covers. In addition to the dishes and cruets, there were also some figurines and small animal pieces, including a hart and '2 beasts that could not be named'. All of this builds up a picture of a classic female closet of this period.

WEST WING

Most of the undated and fragmentary inventories provide information on the principal apartment and it is impossible to get the same depth of information for the rest of the house. However, given the consistency between 1707 and 1723 already demonstrated, it is perhaps reasonable to assume that the same consistency applied at least in the other major spaces of the house. Having said that, the simplicity of the furniture of the 'Old Duke's Dressing Room in the east wing' in Inventory 7 (1723) perhaps indicates a room that was very much less important than in 1707. Old Arras hangings, striped worsted

curtains, a table, mirror and six rush chairs do not sound like a very luxurious private apartment.

On the west side, the new apartment contained a drawing room furnished in a very similar manner to that of the Duchess's in the main apartment. Tapestry on the walls, a dozen elbow chairs with padded seats in purple and blue velvet, a writing desk and large mirror made up the main furnishings of this apartment. The archaeology of the staircase area of this part of the house has yet to be fully elucidated. Suffice it to say that the staircase itself is almost Piranesian in its complexity and there appears to have been a strong concern with servicing this part of the house from the basement in such a way that the principal dining room, the new drawing room and the new dining room could all be served easily and independently, adding to the idea that this could have functioned almost independently of the rest of the house. The 1723 inventory mentions waiting room between the two main rooms here and that is borne out by the archaeological remains, although the precise arrangement is not yet clear.

The furnishing of the 'large dining room to the street', in 1723, seems rather basic, comprising as it does three large tables, the oval one apparently the same as that in the principal dining room.

The Duke's closet, in the tower, corresponding to the elaborately decorated one occupied by the Duchess, would have functioned in a similar way, as an inner sanctum for relaxation and a place to indulge his interests. Evidence concerning the furniture and furnishings is rather scant. The pier glass and corner cabinet mentioned in 1723 are not mentioned in Inventory 5 (1708), which lists instead a tent bed, which may have been a canopy bed, with its hangings suspended in some way from the ceiling, or perhaps a field bed. The latter is perhaps more likely given that the canopy bed was fairly rare by the early eighteenth century and some kind of fairly portable bed is perhaps what we would expect to find in a closet. Certainly, there are a number of mentions of such a piece of furniture, notably in Inventory 1 (1706), which mentions a field bed with a complete set of hangings for bed and windows in lemon and scarlet worsted damask.³⁶ The other items in Inventory 5 (1708) are a clock, a picture of Pope Innocent and a weather glass. Clearly the picture that emerges here is not nearly as consistent nor as detailed as that for the principal apartment, however, the description of the room as 'the closet where my Lord Duke's library is'³⁷ provides a vital clue as to the function of the room and it is possible to see it as the western counterpart to the Duchess's closet in the eastern tower and just as she indulged her interest in collecting china in this private space, so he used his for his books. Scarring in the corners of this room are strongly suggestive of bookshelves built in to the room and because they were therefore part of the fabric of the room rather than its removable furniture, these do not feature in the inventories. That the room was used for books is, however, unquestionably the case because a full catalogue of the library survives (Inventory 6). There are almost 300 books in the list divided into folio and quarto volumes and then into broad subject categories including History, Divinity, 'Prackticks' (which included political works but also Virgil) miscellaneous and pamphlets. Two architectural books are listed; one, simply a 'Book of Architecture', the other 'The Compleat Architect', which was probably Joseph Moxon's edition of Vignola, published in 1655.³⁸ This gentlemanly interest in architecture on the part of the man who modernised

Queensberry House is further attested to by the Drumlanrig part of the inventory, which lists Freart de Chambray, Pierre le Muet and Scammozzi.³⁹

CONCLUSION

The inventories of Queensberry House, although many of them are undated, fragmentary and unsystematic, provide a detailed picture of the house in the early years of the eighteenth century. In this paper, the focus has been only on the principal floor and the furnishing of the major rooms but it is clear that the house as a whole was lavishly appointed. There were, in total, some 300 chairs, around a quarter of them elbow or arm chairs. They included cane chairs and Dutch chairs (accounting for about half the total number) and a large number of elaborate chairs that formed part of the various suites, including green velvet, yellow mohair, blue velvet, yellow silk damask and red mohair sets, in addition to those discussed already. There were over sixty tables, ranging from the black japanned tables mentioned above to fifteen oval tables of different sizes in oak, pine and cedar. In the main rooms alone there were nearly twenty hangings, of tapestry or gilded leather, with a further fifty or so pieces of Arras in the rest of the house, as well as a number of screens in leather, tapestry, silk or painted.⁴⁰

In all of the wealth of materials and furniture that was installed at Queensberry House one major set stands out. In 1706, among the many items sent to Edinburgh by Robert Cochrane from Piccadilly, was a large set of crimson velvet furniture. His inventory includes '12 elbow chairs with gilt frames; 6 chairs without elbows, black frames; 2 stools, ditto frames, all belonging to the Crimson Velvet furniture'.⁴¹ In the rest of the inventory, which mainly lists the contents of boxes stored in the gallery, the details of this set gradually emerges. Box 30 contained the hangings and other furnishings of the great bed, including four curtains, counterpane, valance, all lined with silk and trimmed with gold. The two window curtains that also formed part of this set had the same embellishment. Box 87 contained the bolster boards and tester for this bed and its cornice was to be found in another box. Inventory 4 (1707/08), which includes a re-listing of the material stored in the gallery in 1706, confirms that the set was still in the house at that time, and adds 'a crimson velvet safoy and two cushions . . .'.⁴²

The complete set, therefore, comprised a great bed, with four main hangings in red velvet, lined with silk and trimmed with gold. These were matched by the window curtains. A sofa, or perhaps a day bed, was also included, along with twelve elbow chairs, six plain chairs and two stools. All of this amounted to a set of furniture considerably grander than anything that is actually recorded in use in the house. The principal bedchamber was certainly luxurious, but was not as rich and did not comprise so many pieces as the red velvet set. It is difficult, therefore, to see how this lavish set of furniture could have been used. It was stored in the gallery in 1706 and was evidently still in storage there at the time Inventory 4 was drawn up in 1707/08. It appears again, however, in an undated document listing 'Goods proposed to be sent from the Duke of Queensberry's Lodging in the Canongait to the house of Drumlanrig in carts'.⁴³ The author of this list has scored out the word 'from the gallery', indicating that the material

in question had been stored there prior to shipment. The dating of this document is uncertain, but it refers to the 'late Duchess', indicating a date after her death in 1709. What all of this suggests, therefore, is that a very grand set of furniture, almost certainly for the principal bedchamber, was brought to Queensberry House but for some reason was never used and in the end it was moved on to the main Queensberry residence at Drumlanrig. Finally, it has so far proved impossible to document this furniture at Drumlanrig, although research is continuing to attempt to track it down. There are, however, some suggestions that at least some of this set survives, particularly in the red velvet furniture, including elbow chairs and a day bed, in the ante-room at Drumlanrig Castle.

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REFERENCES

1. Dame Margaret Douglas of Balmakellie was the only daughter of Patrick Douglas of Spot. She married Henry Maule of Balmakellie, against the wishes of the Panmure family, and had a daughter, Margaret, by him. She purchased the property in the Canongate after his death in 1667 and remarried Alexander Douglas of Gogar ten years later. Douglas of Gogar was a neighbour of Charles Maitland of Hatton, to whom the property was sold two years after their marriage. See Robert Douglas, *Scots Peerage*, vii Balfour-Paul edition, Edinburgh, 1904–14, 21.
2. This is referred to in a 'Tack betwixt Gogar and his Lady and the Countess of Erroll of the Great Lodging in Canongate for three years after Whit 1677 . . .', Lauderdale MSS, NRA(S)833/25/4. This early phase of the history of the house is dealt with in John Lowrey, 'Archives and Archaeology: the Prehistory of Queensberry House, Edinburgh', *Scottish Archives*, 5, 1999, 25–40.
3. The remains of the belvedere were discovered in the roof space of the house in September 1998. See Lowrey, *op. cit.*
4. It was 1688 before the transaction was completed, the final dispositions being dated July and August 1688. These are listed in the *Inventar of writs and evidents of the Duke of Queensberry's house in the Canongate*, Buccleuch MSS, NRA(S)1275, vol. 12, ff. 120v–124v, item 107.
5. This is covered in a good general history of the building by M. Hume & S. Boyd, *Queensberry House Hospital: A History*, Edinburgh, 1984.
6. One survival in the building is discussed below and a number of fireplaces have been traced to Gosford House in East Lothian, having been sold to the Earl of Wemyss by William Aitcheson, c. 1803.
7. These are discussed by Hume & Boyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–66.
8. Buccleuch MSS, NRA(S)1275/1103 is a bundle containing a total of twenty-four inventories or fragments of inventories.
9. This is also evident from the marginalia.
10. Buccleuch MSS, NRA(S)1275/1103. The seventh item in this bundle, identified in this article as Inventory 4 (1707/08) includes another version of Cochrane's 1706 inventory, with a few additional details, including this one concerning the packing of the chairs.
11. Panmure MSS, SRO GD45/18/864, 'Inventar of Household Furniture in the House of Panmure', 1695.
12. Lauderdale MSS, NRA(S)832/61/68, 'Instructions for my house in the Canongait with the costs thereof', 22 March 1681.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Buccleuch MSS, NRA(S)1275/1124, 'Instructions by his Grace the Lord Duke of Queensberry to James Naismith given at London the 13th Decr. 1697'.
15. Hay of Belton MSS, GD73/1/12, Agreement between David Hay of Belton and William Tait, wright, 13 April 1710. I am grateful to Dr Tristram Clarke of The Scottish Record Office for this reference.
16. Inventory 1 (1706) mentions five pieces of gilt leather hangings, some of which were for the dining room, and two black and gold leather screens, which were both placed in the dining room.

17. Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland*, Yale, Newhaven and London, 1978, p. 285. Thornton includes among his examples the 1679 inventory of Ham House.
18. Alexander Brand was a merchant who, having imported stamped leather hangings in to Scotland from Holland, secured a seventeen-year monopoly on the production of such hangings at a new manufactory in Edinburgh, c. 1692. See SRO RH15/53.
19. Margaret Hume & Sydney Boyd, *Queensberry House Hospital, A History*, Edinburgh, c. 1985, p. 64.
20. Panmure MSS, GD45/18/864, 'Inventar of Household furniture in the House of Panmure'.
21. Thornton, p. 130.
22. Margaret Swain, *Tapestries and textiles at the Palace of Holyroodhouse*, HMSO, Edinburgh, 1988, p. 49.
23. Hume & Boyd, p. 64. No location for these tapestries is given in the book.
24. Inventory 1 (1706).
25. This also ties in with the dated evidence of Inventory 1 (1706).
26. The furnishing of this room listed in all of the Queensberry House inventories show that the room was furnished in a similar manner to both Panmure House and Ham House. See Panmure MSS, SRO GD45/18/864, 'Inventar of Household Furniture in the House of Panmure', 1695, and *Furniture History*, xvi, 1980, special issue on Ham House, especially pp. 67–71.
27. Inventory 1 (1706).
28. *Furniture History*, 1980, p. 68 discusses the evolution of the seventeenth-century ensemble of table, glass and stands into the eighteenth-century pier glass and console table arrangement, in which the stands are dispensed with and replaced by candelabra on the table.
29. Inventory 1 (1706).
30. Probably some kind of oriental screen, not necessarily Indian. See Thornton, p. 259.
31. Inventory 1 (1706) has a list of screens, including an Indian silk screen.
32. Inventory 1 (1706).
33. Inventory 7 (1723).
34. Inventory 1 (1706).
35. Ibid. NB in the marginalia is written 'moved to her Grace's dressing room, & 3 curtains'.
36. Mentioned as the contents of box 82.
37. Inventory 5 (1708).
38. Joseph Moxon, *Vignola: Or the Compleat Architect*, London, 1655. Further editions until 1694.
39. Inventory 6 (1707/08).
40. Buccleuch MSS, NRA(S)1275/1103, passim.
41. Inventory 1 (1706).
42. Inventory 4 (1707/08).
43. Buccleuch MSS, NRA(S)1275/1103, item 15.

APPENDIX

INVENTORY OF THE FURNITURE OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF QUEENSBERRY'S HOUSE IN THE CANONGATE
TAKEN UP THIS THIRTIETH OF AUGUST 1723

First Floor

In the Large Dining Room to the Garden

A large piece of gilded leather hanging, A large screen of the same leather, sixteen Black Rushia leather chairs, A large wanescot oval table with turned feet, A large looking glass, Three pair of large oval sconces, A little pair ditto, A small pair of square sconces, A concave chminey, Two pair of rid stuff window curtains pands and cornishes with two window cushions, Two pair door curtains with pands and cornishes all mounted with white silk lace.

In my Lady Dutches's Drawing Room

Two pieces of large Arras hangings, Twelve chairs and two easy chairs with cushions, all covered with aurora tabbie* Two pair of window curtains of an Indian white damask each curtain

* Unidentified material.

consisting of two breadths with pands and window cushions of the same, A fine looking glass in an indented frame with a glass top piece and gilded muller, A writing table of the same, the Glass frame covered with green velvet, A pair of large glass sconces each with two branches, A pair of lesser sconces each with one branch, A mirror (above?) the chimney piece, The Duke of Douglas's picture full length, A fine India () screen consisting of six leaves, A fine Chimney mounted with brass with tongs shovel pocker and rake, A pair of bellows mounted with brass, a hearth broom and a small bell.

In the Principall Bed Chamber

A fine bed of blew and white stript mohair lined with a blew French silk with a fine feather bed mattress bolster and two pillows with two piece of mohair hangings the same with the bed, Eight chairs whereof two are elbow chairs covered with the same stuff and all mounted with silk lace, A large carpet under the bed, A large looking glass with a black frame, A writing table covered with Green velvet, Two pair of black stands, A mirror on the chimney piece, General Ramsay's picture half length, A pair of small glass sconces, A fine chimney mounted with brass, An hearth broom and small bell.

Nota. The blew silk window hangings of this room were sent to Drumlanrig

In My Lady Dutches's Dressing Room

One piece of fine Arras hanging, Six chairs and a dressing chair mounted with a green and white stript cotton saten, Two pair of white silk and cotton window curtains of two breadths each mounted with a green silk lace and two pands of the same, A looking glass with a brown frame, A chest consisting of three drawers and two stands agreeable to the glass, A pair of small glass sconces, An old lady's picture, A mirror on the chimney piece, A hearth for burning wood with a back.

In my Lady Dutches's closet

A piece of fine forrest Arras hangings, A large peer glass, four chairs whereof two elbow chairs covered with a strip'd red and green moyhair, A walnut tree cabinet, A pair of window curtains of the same with what is in the dressing room with pands conform, A little folding square cedar table.

In the waiting Room at the back of my Lady Dutches's dressing room

A grate with a back, A little table bed with feather bed and bolster.

In the Old Duke's Dressing Room in the East Wing

Two piece of old Arras hanging, Two window curtains of strip'd worsted, A large glass with a black frame and a table conform, Six Dutch rush chairs whereof two elbow chairs, An iron grate with a back, An old weather glass.

In My Lord Duke's Drawing Room

Two piece of fine forrest Arras hangings, Twelve elbow chairs with seats of purple and blew velvet, A large looking glass with an indented frame and a top piece with a gilded muller, A writing table agreeable to the glass covered with green velvet, A old large chimney mounted with brass, An hearth broom.

In My Lord Duke's Closet

A large pier glass and a corner cupboard

In the waiting Room off my Lord's Drawing Room

A piece of old Arras and a double wainscott press.

In The Large Dining Room to the Street

A large wanescot oval table with turn'd feet, A lesser Ditto with turn'd feet, A large firr oval table, A large square firr table, A concave grate.

In the Lobby and Passages

Two gilded timber arms, A large glass lantern, Eight small lanterns in the staircase and passages, and a broad firr cover for a table.

In the first floor seventeen brass locks and six brass snecks all compleat.

The Low Floor off the Gardens

Second Dining Room

Two pieces of old Arras hangings, An oval wanescot table with turn'd feet, A square oak table.

In the Pantry

A large firr press, A firr table with drawers.

In the Porter's lodge

A firr press, and A firr table, & two little firr seats, An old grate.

In the Latter Meat Room

A long firr table and two long seats conform.

In the Room opposite to the Second Dining Room

A long firr table, A little Ditto with a drawer, A large firr press.

In the Low Garden Room and Closet

A long firr table, A square wanescot Table with turn'd feet, An old press, a grate, two brass locks and keys.

Second Floor

In the Dineing Room to the Garden

A large gilded leather screen consisting of six leaves, An Indian fire screen in a Walnut tree frame, A large looking glass with a black frame, A large grate with a cast back, Twelve dineing room chairs Rushia backs and bottoms.

In the Drawing Room

Two piece of fforrest Arras, A looking glass in a black frame with a table and drawer conform, Two pair of linen damask window curtains each one breadth with two pands, A large Grate with a cast back, Six chairs with cane backs and bottoms.

In the Bed Chamber off the said Room

Two large and two small piece of old Arras, A black writing table covered with Green velvet, An easy chair covered with blew cloath, A Grate with a cast back.

In a closet in the east wing

An old Dark coloured large bed with a feather bed and bolster, A large wanescot press.

In the Dining Room to the Street

Three piece of gilded leather hangings, A clock, A large iron grate with a cast back, A square cane table.

In the Bed Chamber off the said Room

Three piece of Forrest Arras & one piece of old history Ditto, An dark yellow silk damask bed compleat with a bed mantle of the same fine yellow bed bolster, pillow and mattress, Two pair of white linene damask window curtains with two pands of the same, A large looking glass in a black frame, A writing table conform coverd with velvet, A little glass cupboard.

In the Closet off the said Bed Chamber

A double wainscott press

In the Dressing Room off the said Room

A corner cupboard, five Dutch rush chairs, Two piece of paper hangings laid over the calico hangings which were formerly in that room, a pair of window curtains and a pand of linen damask.

In the West Wing the Little Room to the Street

A piece of old history Arras.

In the Next Room to it

Two piece of fforrest Arras, A large grate with a cast back, A large looking glass in a black frame, with a table and drawer conform.

In Lady Anne's Bed Chamber

A double white linene damask bed mounted with a silk lace, with a white fustion feather bed bolster and pillow and a mattress of the same with a linen slip on the bed, four pieces of hangings to the room of the same with the bed, A pair of window curtains and pand of the same, A new grate mounted with brass and a cast back, A little gilded japanned table with a drawer.

In the Drawing Room off the Said Bed Chamber

Three pieces of green camlet hangings consisting of ten breadths and a half mounted with a green and white silk lace, A large glass in a black frame, A table and Drawer conform, Two pair of linnen damask window curtains with two pands, A new grate mounted with brass and a cast back.

In the closet off the said Room

An old yellow silk field bed with a feather bed bolster and pillow, A quilt of white silk, five piece of cotton satin hangings white and green strips consisting of twenty one breadths and a half mpounted with a Green and Yelllow silk lace, Two cotton satin window curtains stript white and Green consisting of six breadths & a pand mounted with the same lace, A square tea table, A large Walnut tree press with mirror glass doors consisting of sixteen losens, A double wanescott press.
In the Second floor Thirteen brass locks and two brass snecks.

Third Floor

N^o 1/

In the House Keeper's Room

Four pieces of painted paper Green and Yellow, A large firr press, An iron grate with a cast back.

Nº2/ *In the Room Next the Gallery*

My Lord Duke's scrivoires etc., locked up.

Nº3/ *In the House Maid's Room opposite to the House Keeper's*

A piece of old dark coloured hangings, The hangings of an old sewed fustian bed, an old Iron trunk.

Nº4/ *In my Lord Duke's Valet de Chambre's Room*

Four piece of stamped paper hangings, A bed mounted with rid stuff hangings and bed mantle conform, An old iron grate, An old wanescott square table and drawer.

Nº5/ *In the Steward's Room*

Two pieces of painted paper hangings, A bed mounted with rid stuff hangings and bed mantle conform and feather bed and bolster, A little dressing glass broke through the middle, An old iron grate.

Nº6/ *In the Servants Room at the Stair Head, Nothing*

Nº7/ *In another Servants Room at the Stair Head*

Painted paper hangings around the room.

Nº8/ *In a Bed Chamber in the east Wing*

Four pieces of old History Arras hangings, Two bras locks

In the Closet off the said Room

Some pieces of painted paper hung round it.

In the Gallery

Very long list of stuff clearly being stored in Gallery. Includes a lot of bed-related material, both structure and dressing, chairs, tables, sconces, armour and very miscellaneous stuff like a barrell of fuller's earth.

Inventory of Table Linnen and Bed Linnen in the house

Long list of mainly Dornoch linen—all of it new—stamped 1723. Also two copper tea kettles, a chocolate pot and mill.

Inventory of Kitchen Furniture Usefull

Long list of dishes and utensils.

Inventory of Old Copper Useless

One old soup pot, Three old goblet pans, Three covers, One confection pan.

In the Stell House in the Garden

One little Copper for brewing and the head of a stell.

A popes picture

'Of the above furniture there was sent to Drumlanrick in 1729 four mattresses of blew and white check, 2 bolsters, 2 pillows, 2 frames of field beds, 8 Englishe blankets a peuther monteith.'