

Ancient Without and Modern Within: The Noble Houses of Post-Restoration Scotland and their Furnishings

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‘Improvements have been mor since the time of the King’s happie restauratione than has been in a hundred years before ... Every one almost at the instance of some leaders had done more or less’.

Patrick Lyon, 3rd Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne, *The Book of Record*.¹

Writing in his diary some twenty-five years after the Restoration the Earl of Strathmore recorded that Scotland was in the process of a major country-house rebuilding, and his claims are borne out by the evidence of contemporary household inventories.² By the end of the seventeenth century, many houses had undergone significant structural alteration and were furnished in the most fashionable manner: but how were these improvements achieved when the Scottish economy remained on the verge of bankruptcy and the cultural influence of the court lay so far away in London? Who were the ‘leaders’ of the rebuilding to whom Strathmore referred in his diary? It should come as no surprise in the era of patronage, that many of the improvements were commissioned by officers of the Scottish Treasury.

Since 1660 the administration of the Treasury had rested in the hands of the Lord Treasurer who had been personally responsible for the collection and distribution of every penny of the royal revenues, but in 1667 this arrangement was the subject of a major reorganisation. The Earl of Rothes, who had benefitted handsomely from the dispensation of gifts and offices, was dismissed from the post of Lord Treasurer and was replaced instead by a board of Commissioners.³ On the face of it this reform was intended to root out the practice of nepotism; in reality, however, it proved to be the final denouement of an ambitious coup by John Maitland, 2nd Earl of Lauderdale, who sought to become the unrivalled political leader of Scotland. As Secretary of State, Lauderdale was based at court in London where he enjoyed a close personal relationship with Charles II. If he was to extend his political influence, however, he would have to overcome a serious difficulty. He could not be in two places at the same time: at court in order to retain the ear of the king and in Edinburgh to oversee the country’s day to day management.⁴ It was to resolve this problem that he delegated the routine management to a group of supporters in Scotland whom he rewarded by appointing them Commissioners of the newly-formed Treasury.

Although the Commissioners were outwardly responsible for the administration of the royal revenues, both they and the executive officers of the Treasury benefitted from

¹ Miller (1890), p. 33.

² For a list of 40 or more inventories with their archival references see Wemyss (2008), part 1, p. 138.

³ Murray (1966).

⁴ Lee (2003), pp. 3–10.

a string of lucrative endowments. Every Commissioner received an annual allowance of £500 sterling: a sum equivalent to approximately half the annual surplus from a large landed estate. Yet it was the series of rich 'gifts', dispensed by Lauderdale, that generated the greatest returns: the sale of prize shipwrecks, the gift of seizures and the monopoly of salt all provided the recipient with an opportunity for financial gain.⁵ In short, the Treasury acted as a form of private bank which allowed the members of Lauderdale's political faction to indulge in lavish expenditure despite the country's wretched economic plight: but whom did Lauderdale select as beneficiaries of his patronage? To ensure their loyalty, a significant number of Commissioners were drawn from his own family: Lord Hatton was his youngest brother, the Earl of Tweeddale was his first cousin, the Earl of Moray was his nephew and the Earl of Argyll was married to his niece. Others were chosen for their business acumen: the Marquess of Queensberry and the Earls of Dundonald and Strathmore had successfully reorganised their own estates and the Earl of Kincardine possessed the largest salt works in Scotland. Whatever the reason for their selection, the great majority of the Commissioners were of the same origin: they were all members of the Scottish peerage and each of them inherited an ancestral estate. The executive officers, on the other hand, stemmed from a different background. They were all numerate men of affairs, like Sir Thomas Moncreiffe the Chief Clerk and Sir William Bruce the principal Collector of Customs, who diverted their new-found wealth to the acquisition of a landed estate. There was, therefore, within the ranks of the Scottish treasury a division very similar to the one that existed in France, between the *noblesse d'épée* (the ancient nobility) and the *noblesse de robe* (the newly-rich); and what is more, their houses shared a similar pattern.

During the early seventeenth century France had experienced a wave of new chateaux which had been built within easy reach of Paris by a group of rich financiers.⁶ Hoping to impress the king and the leaders of the court by their enormous wealth, Rene de Longueil, Jacques Bordier and Nicolas Fouquet had commissioned Francois Mansart and Louis le Vau to design houses of breathtaking extravagance and modernity; but so overtly ostentatious were the chateaux of Maisons, Raincy and Vaux le Vicomte that they incurred the envy, rather than the admiration of the traditional nobility. When members of the *noblesse d'épée* sought to improve their standard of living, they deliberately chose a form of architecture that set them apart from the new-found wealth of the *noblesse de robe*. They rebuilt their families' ancient chateaux rather than building *de novo*.⁷ This was precisely the pattern that was repeated by the officials of the Scottish Treasury: while the executive officers built new classical country houses, the Commissioners remodelled their ancestral seats.

Although the Treasury provided the funds and dictated the nature of the 'great rebuilding', it also served a vital function in the dissemination of culture in Scotland. Until the Union of the Crowns in 1603 the royal court in Edinburgh had acted as a centre of enlightenment, but when the king had departed for London and the court had been disbanded, the country had lost its cultural hub. During the reigns of

⁵ For details of the gifts dispensed by the treasury see Treasury Sederunt Books, NAS E/6/1, 2 & 3.

⁶ Bayard (1988), pp. 394–95.

⁷ Girouard (2000), p. 21.

James I (VI of Scotland) and Charles I, when the Scots had been welcome at court in England, there had been a steady flow of architectural inspiration — many Scottish country houses, for instance, had adopted the English fashion of decorative plasterwork — but with the succession of Charles II, the situation changed dramatically. The king's bedchamber was purged of Scots who were replaced instead by 'the prime nobility of England'.⁸ Such a transformation might have led to Scotland's descent into a cultural wilderness, had it not been for the personal influence of the Earl of Lauderdale. As Secretary of State, Lauderdale was responsible for controlling access to the king: a privilege that he guarded with considerable jealousy according to Sir Gideon Scott:

When ye are come to London ye would be as little seen or knowne to be ther as can be, until you come to kisse his Majestie's hand; for till then it is not fitt to apeare att Court openlie, and it is the Earle of Lauderdale's place, as Lord Secretarie of Scotland, to present all noblemen and persons of qualitie quhen they come to be honoured with a kisse of his Majesties hand ... I know no other way bot by my Lord Lauderdale, unless ye would ingadge him to be your enemie, and if he should doe you that office slightlie, or to your disadvantage (quich indeed is verie much in his power to doe), ye must beare it patientlie and without replying. And whether his Lordship present you to his Majestie or not, ye would not neglect to pay him those respects that are dew to his dignitie and place'.⁹

Many Scots were deterred by this strict regime from travelling to court, but this did not apply to the members of Lauderdale's political faction who made regular visits to his villa at Ham. Lord Hatton had a designated bedchamber in the house;¹⁰ the Earl of Kincardine discussed its design with the architect, William Samwell;¹¹ Lord Yester, the eldest son of the Earl of Tweeddale, attended the Earl of Lauderdale's marriage to the Countess of Dysart;¹² Sir William Bruce was commissioned to design a set of new gates; and the Earl of Atholl was alleged to have enjoyed a close personal relationship with Lady Dysart.¹³ At Ham, of course, each of his supporters gained first-hand experience of one of the most fashionable and lavishly furnished houses in England; but how did they disseminate their experience when they returned to Scotland?

Like their English counterparts, the Commissioners of the Scottish Treasury were responsible for the upkeep of the royal palaces and the appointment of the Surveyor-General of the King's Works, and this was a duty to which they were particularly well suited. Having completed their education in France or the Dutch Republic, many of them had gained first-hand experience of the finest art and architecture in northern Europe. It is no coincidence, therefore, that four of the Commissioners were fellows of the Royal Society: two of them, Sir Robert Moray and the Earl of Kincardine, attended the inaugural meeting of the Society at Gresham's in November 1660. Furthermore, there is evidence that they took their responsibilities very seriously,

⁸ Brown (1995).

⁹ Fraser (1878), pp. 392–94.

¹⁰ Thornton & Tomlin (1980), pp. 36–37.

¹¹ NRA, *Tollemache Papers*, 23003/2474, letter dated 26 March 1674 from the Earl of Kincardine to the Earl of Lauderdale.

¹² NLS, *Yester Papers*, MS14403/66, letter dated 15 February 1672 from Lord Yester to the Earl of Tweeddale.

¹³ Ham House, National Trust Guide Book, p. 68.

visiting the different sites in person and commenting upon their state of repair.¹⁴ Yet, the operations of the Scottish Treasury differed from those of the English in one vital respect. As Surveyor-General of the King's Works in England, Sir Christopher Wren was faced with such an onerous workload of churches and civil buildings that he found time to design only one country house.¹⁵ In Scotland, there was only one major royal construction project - the rebuilding of the Palace of Holyroodhouse — and therefore the Surveyor-General was able to turn his attention to the design of country houses where he acted as consultant architect to those who were rich enough to indulge in building works — his fellow officers at the Treasury. So it was that this tight-knit group of well-educated and cosmopolitan individuals who had been carefully selected by the Earl of Lauderdale became the leaders of the 'great rebuilding' of the post-Restoration era.

If they were to satisfy the contrasting aspirations that existed within the ranks of the Scottish Treasury, Sir William Bruce, who was appointed Surveyor-General in 1672, and his successor, James Smith, would be forced to offer two distinct forms of country-house architecture: one for the Commissioners and another for the executive officers. As members of the ancient nobility who chose to be judged by their lineage rather than their wealth, the Commissioners were unable to countenance the demolition of their families' ancestral houses: but in so doing they created a series of practical problems. Many of these ancient buildings had been located on defensible sites, at the top of a steep bank overlooking a river, limiting the options for a perfectly straight tree-lined approach; the great majority were of vaulted construction with walls up to ten feet thick, and contained only one reception room, the first-floor Great Hall; but perhaps most important, not one of them met the exacting standards of symmetry required by the Vitruvian principles of architecture. To update these antiquated buildings required considerable ingenuity, as three well-documented examples bear testimony: Thirlestane, Glamis and Drumlanrig were all reconstructed for Commissioners of the Scottish Treasury in the twenty-five year period that followed the Restoration.

The building works at Thirlestane were commissioned by the Earl of Lauderdale (Figure 1) in 1670 and were to be executed by Robert Mylne, the King's Master Mason, under the supervision of Sir William Bruce, the Surveyor-General of the King's Works. Because Lauderdale chose to remain at court in London, the design of the house was discussed at arm's length through a series of detailed architectural drawings. These plans, which were prepared by Johan Slezer, another executive officer of the Treasury, provide a very clear picture of the issues involved in the reconstruction or creation of an ancestral seat. The old house of Thirlestane had been constructed around 1570 by John, 1st Lord Maitland, on the site of an artillery fort built by the English army at the time of the 'rough wooing' of King Henry VIII: a long narrow building, located above the Leader Water, with massive circular towers on each flanking wall. Internally, the house was arranged like many others of a similar age: the vaulted ground floor comprised the kitchen and the cellars and the principal reception rooms lay on the first floor.¹⁶ It was this antiquated structure that William Bruce was contracted to redesign.

¹⁴ Wemyss (2005).

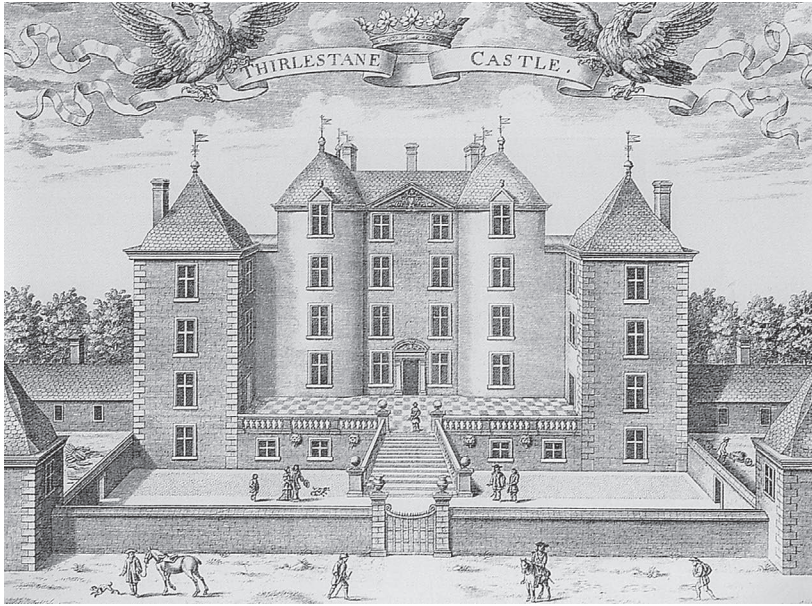
¹⁵ Downes (1988), p. 102.

¹⁶ For details of the design and construction of Thirlestane see Dunbar (1975).

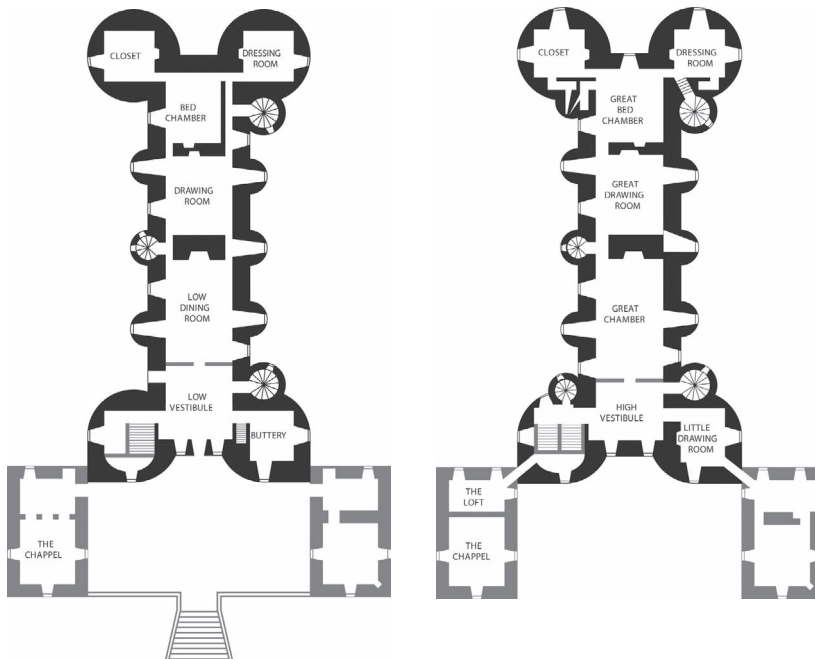


1 Sir Peter Lely, *The Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale*. Oil on canvas, c. 1675. The Viceroy of Scotland proudly disports the saxon-blue sash of the Order of the Garter.
Private collection

If he was to create a stately avenue on this defensible site, Bruce had little alternative but to reorient the axis of the original house, which he did by moving the entrance from the north to the west elevation where he designed a new façade. Retaining the gable end and the circular towers of the original house, he sandwiched them between tall square pavilions: a simple, but ingenious solution that generated an approximate aesthetic balance without losing the noble silhouette of the roofline (Figure 2). Having contrived the external appearance so that it projected an aura of antiquity, William Bruce then turned his attention to its internal layout. His proposals were anything but minor adjustments. They involved the removal of the vaults on the ground floor and the formation of two apartments: one on the ground floor and another on the first floor (Figure 3). According to Slezer's annotated plans these two apartments served different functions: the ground-floor apartment, which comprised a low vestibule, low dining room, drawing room, bed chamber, closet and dressing room, was intended for the Lauderdale's own private use; the first-floor apartment was reserved for formal state occasions with a high vestibule, great chamber, great drawing room, great bed



2 A proposal for the new façade at Thirlestane, c. 1675, published in Johan Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiae*, 1719.



3 Thirlestane, conjectural plan of the ground (left) and first (right) floors, as they were eventually executed. Black = original building. Grey = late seventeenth-century additions. *The author*

chamber, closet and dressing room.¹⁷ Unfortunately, the ground floor at Thirlestane has been emasculated, but the state apartment still provides an impression of its original extravagance. Each element of the procession contained an elaborate fretwork ceiling. Above the great stair, a ducal coronet clasped in the claws of an eagle, the emblem of the Maitland family; in the high vestibule, leaf sprays and garlands; in each corner of the great chamber, another Maitland eagle; and in the great bed chamber, where the plasterwork reached a crescendo, the ceiling was adorned with rich garlands of roses and pomegranates. One can only imagine the splendour of these rooms when they contained their original furniture.¹⁸

Although Thirlestane was stripped of its contents when the Duke of Lauderdale died, a contemporary inventory of Lethington, where the Lauderdale family stayed when they visited Scotland in 1673, indicates a profusion of fashionable furnishings: two dozen cane chairs, two Italian marble tables, six Spanish tables, an Indian screen and cabinet, a fine japanned cabinet, a pendulum clock, not to mention three gilded or inlaid looking glasses with tables and stands (Appendix 1).¹⁹ Such opulence might have been expected in the house of a great courtier, yet Lethington lay three hundred miles from Whitehall and almost every item of furniture listed in the inventory would have been shipped from London to Leith and then transported by road from Edinburgh to Haddington in East Lothian. Distance, it seems, was no barrier to the fashions of the English court.

The reconstruction of Glamis, which began fifteen years after Thirlestane, is particularly well documented. Not only did the Earl of Strathmore (Figure 4) record every detail of the building works in his diary, but two household inventories provide an accurate account of the layout and furnishing of the house before and after it was remodelled.²⁰ From this wealth of material, it becomes clear that the design of Glamis followed a very similar pattern to that of Thirlestane: both houses were deliberately antiquated in their external appearance but fashionable in their internal arrangement and their furnishing. Although Thirlestane had been acquired by the Maitland family in the sixteenth century, the lands and the castle of Glamis had been granted to John Lyon by King Robert II in 1379. This massive L-shaped tower with walls ten-feet thick and vaults on the first three floors had been refashioned between 1606 and 1620, when a wide circular staircase had been inserted into the re-entrant angle and considerable additions had been made to the inner court. Therefore you have to imagine how the house looked before the 3rd Earl of Strathmore set about his rebuilding, with a range of domestic offices distributed at random about the *corps de logis*; 'a strange confused unmodel'd piece of business and was to me a great eyesore'.²¹

¹⁷ In Slezer's most elaborate plan for Thirlestane, which was never executed, the Lauderdale family would each have had their own apartment with bedchamber, closet and dressing room.

¹⁸ An inventory of Thirlestane drawn up in 1691 shows the house to be almost completely devoid of furniture. [NRAS, *Lauderdale Papers*, 832/16/1].

¹⁹ NRAS, *Lauderdale Papers*, 832/63/65. The inventory was drawn up immediately after the Lauderdale family had returned to London.

²⁰ NLS, Livingstone Papers, 855/7/2; NRAS, *Glamis Papers*, 639/90. The earlier inventory of the House of Glamis was drawn up in February 1648. The later inventory is undated but refers to the portrait of King James VII, suggesting a date between 1685 and 1689.

²¹ Miller (1890), p. 39.



4 Jacob de Wet, *Patrick Lyon, 3rd Earl of Strathmore and his three sons*. Oil on canvas, c. 1680. Strathmore draws attention to his greatest achievement: the reformed ancestral seat of Glamis. *Private collection*

Strathmore began his campaign by sweeping away all of the unsightly outbuildings, which he relocated in a back court where they were out of sight, leaving an uninterrupted view of the façade. Having opened up the façade, he then addressed the problem of bringing an aesthetic balance to its irregular appearance: ‘Tho’ it was an old house and consequently was the more difficult to reduce to any uniformity, yet I did covet extremely to order my buildings so as the frontispiece might have a resemblance on both sides’.²²

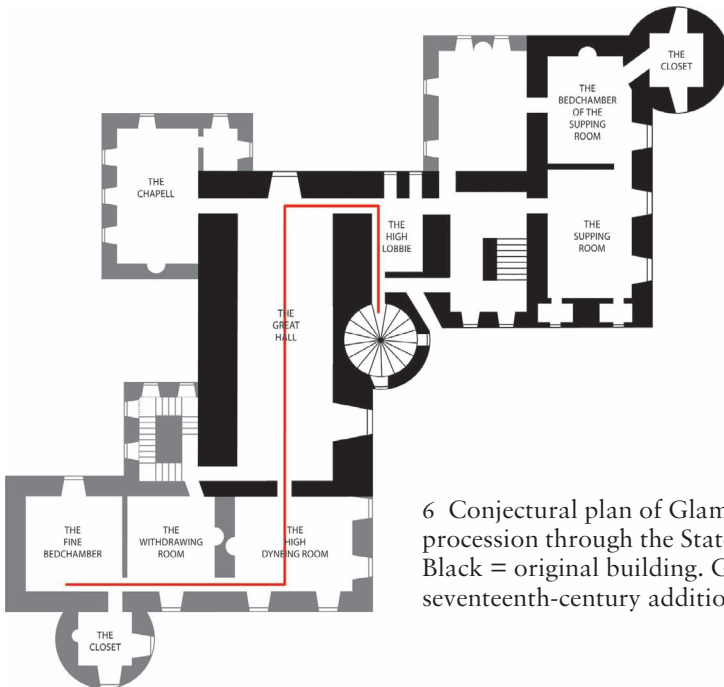
His solution was most ingenious. He began by raising the height of the existing east wing and its circular tower by one storey. Then he moved the main entrance from the east wing to the centre of the stair tower, and finally he added a new wing to the west elevation of the house that resembled the east wing. In so doing, he created a silhouette every bit as noble as that of Thirlestane, with the massive stair tower and the soaring walls of the old house at the centre, stepping down to the wings on either side: all framed by the two round towers at either end (Figure 5).²³ Yet, Strathmore’s building works were not confined only to the exterior. As Bruce had done for the Earl of Lauderdale, he divided the formal and informal functions of the Great Hall on to separate floors; but instead of demolishing the hall, he incorporated it within a theatrical state procession (Figure 6). When visitors arrived at Glamis they entered the

²² Ibid., p. 40.

²³ For the most comprehensive account of the reconstruction of Glamis see Newland (2010), pp. 208–59.



5 John Elphinstone, *The remodelled façade of Glamis*, engraving, c. 1750



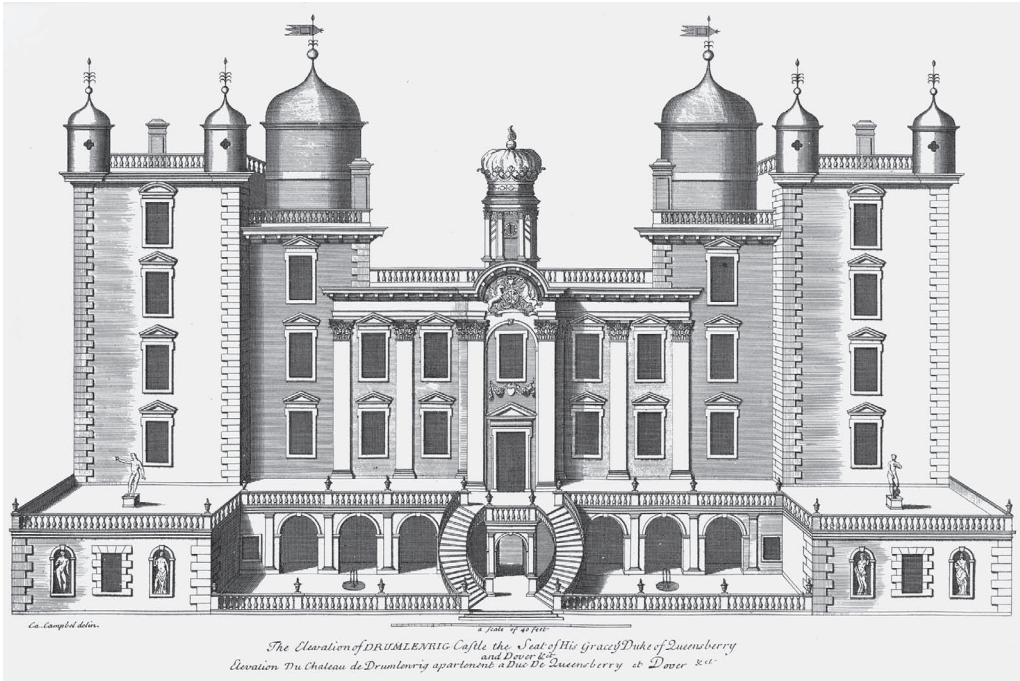
6 Conjectural plan of Glamis showing the route of procession through the State Apartments. Black = original building. Grey = late seventeenth-century additions. *The author*

7 Henri Garscars, *William Douglas, 3rd Earl and 1st Duke of Queensberry, Lord Treasurer of Scotland*. Oil on canvas, c. 1675.
Private collection



house through the new door at the foot of the great stair and climbed directly to the vestibule on the second floor. From the vestibule, they then walked the full length of the great vaulted hall with its magnificent early seventeenth-century plasterwork ceiling. By this time they would have been in no doubt about the ancient lineage of the Lyon family. From the great hall, they passed into the reception rooms that Strathmore had built in the new west wing, where the image changed from history to culture (see Appendix 2). The ‘high dyneing room’ was hung with ‘fine imagery arras hangings’ and furnished with eighteen cane chairs, three oak tables, a japanned wine cooler and fountain. In the ‘withdrawing room’, there were portraits of King Charles II and King James VII, and two looking-glasses with tables and stands, one richly gilded and the other of inlaid marble. However, it was the furnishing of the ‘fine bedchamber’ that provided the focal point of the state apartment. The bed hangings were of yellow taffeta, the chairs were upholstered in silver and the stools in silver and gold. Strathmore had created a procession that perfectly embodied the aspirations of the ancient nobility: a blend of history and tradition on the one hand, and modernity and fashion on the other.

While the Earl of Strathmore wrestled with the remodelling of Glamis, William Douglas, 3rd Earl of Queensberry, adopted the more conventional approach of commissioning the Surveyor-General to redesign his family’s ancestral seat (Figure 7) Although he had originally served as a Commissioner of the Treasury under Lauderdale’s patronage, Queensberry was appointed Lord Treasurer in his own right when the Commission was disbanded in 1680, and this appointment gave him access to all



8 'Le Chateau de Drumlanrig', from Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*

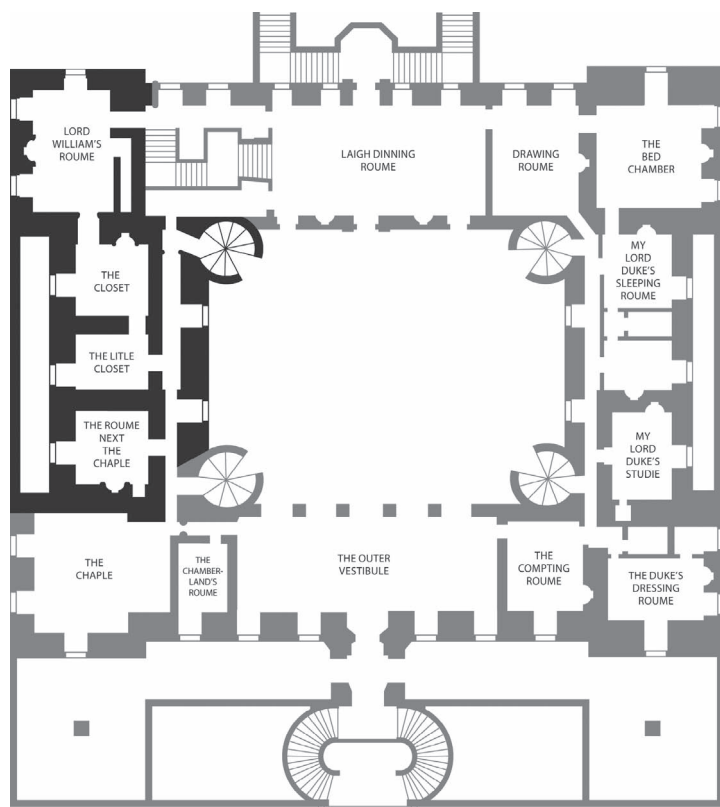
manner of gifts and offices. So it was that James Smith, with all the resources of the Treasury behind him, was appointed to oversee the reconstruction of Drumlanrig. At Thirlestane and Glamis, the aesthetic balance was confined only to the façade, but at Drumlanrig it was extended to all four elevations of the house. By demolishing much of the original building, Smith was able to create a magnificent courtyard-castle that bore the unmistakable appearance of a French chateau; but in so doing, he repeated the same composition that had been adopted at Thirlestane and Glamis.²⁴ The façade stepped down from massive corner towers to a triumphal arch at the centre, accentuating the noble silhouette of the roofline (Figure 8).

Although the house was built around a courtyard, its internal arrangements followed a familiar pattern. The domestic offices were hidden out of sight in the basement and the formal and informal functions were divided on to separate floors. Furthermore, it is possible to establish from an inventory that was drawn up in 1694, shortly after the house was completed, how the rooms were disposed and what furniture they contained (Appendix 3).²⁵ The first floor was reserved for the family's own informal use with the dining room, drawing room and bed chamber in the south quarter overlooking the garden (Figure 9). Queensberry's own private apartment, together

²⁴ In its external appearance, the design of Drumlanrig resembles the work of the French architect, Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, who had produced numerous drawings of imaginary chateaux in his *Livre d'Architecture* of 1582.

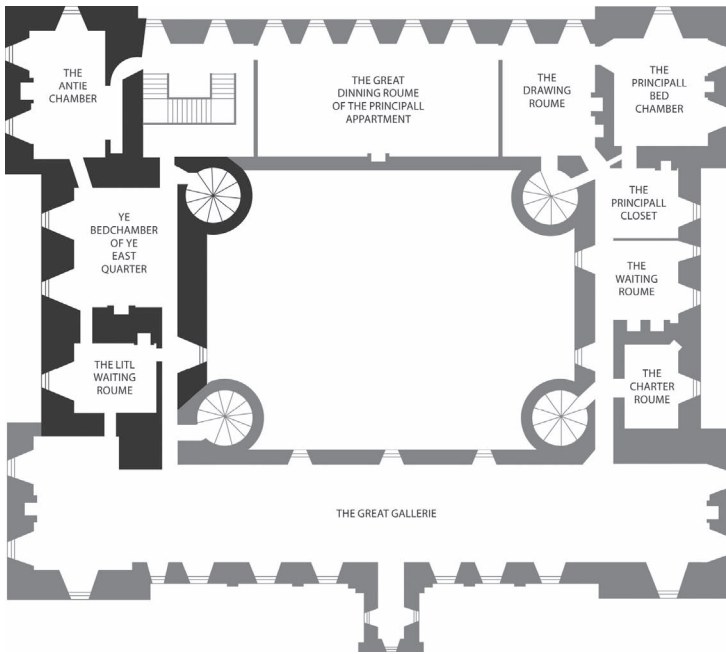
²⁵ NRAS, *Buccleuch Papers (Drumlanrig)*, 1/1335. The inventory was drawn up three years after his wife's death and reflects Queensberry's status as a widower.

9 Conjectural plan of the first floor of Drumlanrig.
 Black = original building.
 Grey = late seventeenth-century additions.
The author



with his office, was located in the west quarter and the apartment of his son, Lord William, in the east quarter. Meanwhile, the formal state apartment lay on the second floor (Figure 10). The 'great dinning roume', the drawing room and the 'principall bedchamber' lay on the south side where they enjoyed the best aspect of the gardens and the brightest light. A second guest's apartment was located on the east side with a clear view of the distant hills, and to the north there was a great gallery that stretched the full width of the façade. The main entrance to the *corps de logis*, which was situated on the south side of the courtyard, opened into the 'laigh dinning roume', a long sparsely furnished room containing only three oval tables and sixteen 'dutch' chairs. If the dining room was spartan, however, the furnishing of the family apartment was quite the reverse: in each room, the material of the chair covers matched either the wall hangings or the bed curtains. In the drawing room both the hangings and the chair covers were of gilded leather; and in the bed chamber, the bed curtains and the chairs were of the same red silk damask. Although Queensberry's 'sleeping roume' was richly adorned with 'mixed gold coloured stuff', the remaining elements of his apartment reflected their practical purpose; none more so than his 'dressing roume', which contained 'a lead close stool in a wainscot box with a lead pipe for the water to come in and a large one for the Excrements to go out'.

At the head of the great stair, the main elements of the 'principall appartment' were carefully laid out in enfilade. In the 'great dinning roume' there was a cedar-wood table,



10 Conjectural plan of the second floor of Drumlanrig. Black = original building. Grey = late seventeenth-century additions. *The author*

covered with a fine carpet, which was large enough to accommodate thirty-four cane chairs: sixteen on either side and one armed chair at each end. The walls were hung with a suite of tapestries depicting the 'Duke of Newcastle's Manadge'. Over each door there was a carving in limewood and at the centre of the chimney mantel, Queensberry's coat of arms carved in white marble. A similar theme was repeated in the 'drawing rounge' whose walls were hung with 'fine arras hangings of forest work' and the doors were again surmounted with limewood carvings and the chimney piece with an overmantel depicting, 'the History of Joseph and Ashar's wife'. Both the 'fine cabinet' and the looking glass, table and stands were of fashionable 'japanned work': and what is more, both rooms were fitted with sash windows of 'crystall glass'. Yet, however impressive the furnishing of the great dining room and drawing room, they were but a preamble to the splendour of the 'principall bed chamber': the most prestigious element of the state apartment. Once again the room was fitted with sash windows, the walls were hung with 'fine arras hangings' and the overmantel depicted the 'History of Hercules and the Dragon', but it was the state bed that received the greatest attention. Every minute detail was recorded in the inventory: the blue velvet of the curtains, the gold coloured satin of the linings, the golden taffeta of the valance, the yellow taffeta of the bedposts, the 'japanned foliages' and the 'four large plumes' on the top of the bed and 'four gilded and japanned claws' on the base. Such outstanding opulence must surely have been intended only for royalty, yet the chances of a royal visit to Drumlanrig, which lay in the remotest area of south-west Scotland, were very unlikely indeed. So what was it that led all three patrons — Lauderdale, Strathmore and Queensberry — to spend so much money in the anticipation of such an implausible event?

Since time immemorial Scotland's national identity had been inextricably linked to the antiquity of the royal bloodline. Whenever the English had claimed sovereignty over them, the Scots had invoked an elaborate myth that their kings, and therefore their nation, were of an older and nobler descent.²⁶ Such a legend would surely have died out when King James VI succeeded to the throne of England, but in fact precisely the reverse occurred. When the great gallery was constructed at the palace of Holyroodhouse at the end of the seventeenth century, it was filled with the portraits of all one hundred and ten kings of Scotland, forty of whom had never existed.²⁷ These curious allegorical paintings confirm the continuing significance of the origin myth: many Scots still believed fervently that their country's national identity lay in the ancient origins of the Stuart dynasty. Yet they also provide a logical explanation for the presence of so many formal apartments and extravagant state beds in the houses of the post-Restoration era. They were never intended to accommodate royal visitors: their purpose was purely symbolic. Like the king's bed in the *chambre de parade* at the Louvre, which was saluted by everyone who entered the room, they represented the physical manifestation of royalty, whether or not the king was in residence.²⁸ It seems that the profusion of fashionable furniture may also have been inspired by the same sense of reverence. Items such as cane chairs, japanned cabinets and looking glasses with table and stands had all emanated from the royal court in London and were therefore associated with the person of the king.

Whenever the opportunity arose, the members of Lauderdale's faction appear to have devoted time and money to the pursuit of fashionable furnishings. In 1670, the Countess of Rothes wrote to Sir William Bruce in London, while he was involved in abortive negotiations for an Act of Union, requesting that he accompany her husband to inspect a set of tapestries.²⁹ When the Earl of Tweeddale travelled to court in 1674, he ordered beds and hangings from Branzkis and acquired fireplaces at the 'Sign of the Wheel near Haymarket'.³⁰ In 1685, the Earl of Strathmore also took advantage of a trip to London, when he bought, 'a great dale of furniture, plates and statues'.³¹ If they were unable to travel south in person, they either purchased directly from a London cabinet-maker or placed orders with reputable merchants in Edinburgh, like Sir John Clerk of Penicuik or Sir Alexander Brand of Brandsfield.³² By the end of the century, however, the demand for these fashionable items had reached such a level that local entrepreneurs and craftsmen became involved in their manufacture. In 1690, William Scott, Deacon of the Incorporation of Wrights, was granted a monopoly for the manufacture of cane chairs.³³ Two years later, the merchant Alexander Brand was

²⁶ For a full account of Scotland's origin myth see Ferguson (1998), pp. 43–53.

²⁷ These portraits were commissioned in 1685 from the Dutch artist, Jacob de Wet, who was also responsible for several paintings of the Lyon family.

²⁸ Baillie (1967).

²⁹ NAS, *Bruce of Kinross Muniments*, GD29/1905, letter from Lady Rothes to Sir William Bruce.

³⁰ NLS, *Yester Papers*, MS 14403/99, letter dated 19 March 1674 from Lady Tweeddale to the Earl of Tweeddale.

³¹ Miller (1890), p. 89.

³² Brand supplied various items to different houses: a cabinet for the state bedchamber at Glamis [Miller (1890), p. 95]; three tapestries for Drumlanrig [NRAS, *Buccleuch Papers (Drumlanrig)*, 1/1335]; and a set of leather hangings and overdoors for Kinross [NAS, *Bruce of Kinross Muniments*, GD29/432].

³³ Bamford (1983), p. 107.

awarded a similar monopoly for the production of gilded leather hangings.³⁴ James Leblanc, a French Protestant, made looking glasses in a workshop in the Canongate in Edinburgh; and Sarah Dalrymple claimed to have perfected, 'the art of making japan'.³⁵ It was from these first tentative beginnings, inspired by the members of Lauderdale's faction and funded by the resources of the treasury, that the celebrated Scottish furniture makers of the eighteenth century derived their origins.

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³⁴ Lowrey (2000).

³⁵ Turnbull (2001), pp. 190-92.

APPENDICES

Selected extracts from the inventories of Leithington, Glamis and Drumlanrig

I. LEITHINGTON (1672)

NRAS, *Lauderdale Papers*, 832/63/65

... Not of furnitoure left at Leithingtoun at his gr, the Duke of Lauderdale's pairting from that place which note was exactlie taken up in the sight of my Lady Halton

In her grs Bedchamber

On bedstead, on feather bed, bolster, Tuo Quilts ffve pair of blanquetts wherof on english blanquett Courtains and vallance of Indian sessnett lyned with whit flowred sessnet, Tuo bases all with silk freing, Taister, headcloth, and counterpand of whit sessnet, Imbroidered with small freing, a tourdelit of whit serge for the same bed, ffour cups and four springs guilded, ffour silk strings to tye up the courtains with Tassells, Three peece of Hangings of red and whyt Indian silk, Tuo window courtains of whit Indian Satin, Ten quilted cushens the same of the hangings, Ten quilted backs for chayrs of the same, Ten kayn chayrs, on fyne Indian screen, on Indian cabinett, on Italian marble table, on pair of inlaid Stands, on litell Cedar table, on large Looking glass, on fyne penduland clock, on portugall Matt, Caces for the cabinet, table and stands all of whit serge, on iron grait

In her grs dressing roome

Tuo peeces of Hangings of grass damask with a mixt silk freing, On window curtain of red Indian silk, three black chayrs, three tabby cushens with silver Laice, on walnut tree cabinet, on iron grait, on firr table

In her grs closet

On fyne cutch bed, on quilt, on bolster, tuo bases, three pillows Taister and courtains all of stamped Indian taffity, ffve peece of hangings of flowred tabby, and Indian silk the same of the cutch bed, wt a silk freing, on fyne Indian screen, on fyne jappan cabinett with a guilded frame, on Italian marble table, four armed kayn chayrs, four quilted cushens the same of the bed, Tuo window courtains of whit Indian satin, The caces of the table and cabinett of whit sarge, on iron grait, on fyne Looking glass with a bordered pented flowr

In her grs privat closet

On litell marble table, on armed chayre with a crimsone velvit cushion and silver Laice

In his grs dressing rowme

Ffyve piece of Hangings of rid Indian silk with silk fring, ffve blak chayrs with fyve tabby cushens and silver laice, on Egyptian marble table on guilded squar stand, tuo blak stands, on Iron grat

In the withdrawing rowme

Sex peece of guilded Leather hangings, threttein kayn chayrs, threttein silk cushens, Tuo window courtains of strip calligo, on large Looking glass with a blak ibony frame, ffour brass sconces, on Italian marble table, sex spanish tables of Cedar, ffour guilded stands, on guilded screen, on Large cabinet of princes wood, on Iron grate

In the Lobbie

On firr table, fyve blak chayrs, on Iron grate, tuo brass sconces

In the great dynning rowme

Seven peece of needle work hangings lynd, on Large Turkie work carpet, three lesser turkie work carpetts, seven small peeces of guilded leather, Twenty four guilded Leather chayrs, ffour window courtains of green sarge, four tables, on Iron grait, Tuo old Stands and Twelff cushens belonging to the dynning rowme ...

2. GLAMIS (c. 1688)

NRAS, *Glamis Papers*, 855/7/2

Inventory of the House of Glamis ...

The High Lobie

A sute of old green Cloath hangings stript wt gilded leather, Three brass sconses eight Rushia leather chairs, Two firr Tables one covered wt a green Cloath, ane old Iron Chimney wt fire shovell and tongs

The Great Hall

A sute of old Arras hangings, four Oak tables all covered wt a fine large Carpet, Three other Oak Tables covered wt a green cloath, a large Oak Table covered wt a Carpet, Twentie three Carpet chairs, a large square picture, Twelve less picturs, all wt carved frames, Twelve large gilded sconses, Three fine hinging hearses, a great Organ, a great old bas violine, ane Iron Chimney wt fire shovell and tongs

The Chapell

A large bible, Twelve large Common prayer books, eight of a lesser vollum, ffive litle ons, ffourteen Cushens, The pulpit, Ten gilded sconses, Two large broads wt black frames, a pulpitt gown and in the Closet six kean chairs and a table

The High Dyneing Roun

A piece of fine Imagerie Arras hangings, ffour gilded sconses, a large picture wt a carved frame, Three large square picturs, Three Ovall picturs all wt gilded frames, Eighteen kean chairs, a large Ovall Oak Table, Two litle folding Oak Tables, a fine Clock, a Japan Cooler with a ffountain of the same and a black stand a gilded leather screen, ane Iron Chimney and a Chimney broad, a fire shovell and tongs a frame for keeping in the ashes

The withdrawing Roun

A piece of fine Imagerie Arras hangings a large Mirroir with Table and stands conforme Richly gilded another large Mirroir richly gilded with Table and stands of Indented Marble, Twelve gilded kean Chairs wherof four are arm'd, a firr screen wt a gilded stalk, Two gilded sconses wt Mirrors in them, King Charles the Second and King James the Seventh their picturs at large, a kean matt, ane Iron Chimney, fire shovell and tongs wt a frame for keeping in the Ashes

The fine Bed Chamber

Two pieces of fine Imagerie work Arras hangings, a standing bed imbroidered wt yellow Tafty lyneing, ane Imbroidered quilt bolster piece head piece conforme to the Courtains, a foot and head pand conforme to the Courtains, a fine gimp fringe on the upper pand, four sprigs on the top of the bed, a fine gilded Cornish, ffour gilded feet a silk fringe round the quilt and foot pand, a tourdelie of Dark stript tafty, a feather bed bolster, quilt pallas and two pillows, Three fine English blankets, a stamped Callico quilt, three fine arm'd chairs of silver stuff wt stript stuff covers a large resting chair and ffour stools of gold and silver stuff and stript covers, a large gilded Mirror and table and stands conforme wt a stamped leather cover, a fine Cabinet wt stands conforme, Two alabaster statues, King Charles the first his picture wt a gilded frame, and Iron Chimney fire shovell and tongs, a frame for holding in the Ashes, a Chimney broad, a sweet wood box pan and lyme Chamber pott

The Closet of the fine Bed Chamber

A large Mirror wt a Japan frame and table and stands conforme, a resting chair two armed chairs and four lesser all conforme to the Courtains of the bed in the fine bed chamber wt covers of stript tafty, Queen Marys picture wt a gilded frame, Two alabaster statues one the Chimney, ane Iron Chimney fire shovell and tongs and a frame for holding in the Ashes, a Chimney broad, a pair old Bellas

The Closet off the withdrawing Roun

A large Closs bed, a feather bed bolster and pillow, Three pair of plaids ane old Dark Cloath Covering, a square firr Table, six kean chairs, ane old peuther Chamber pott, a sute of gilded leather hangings, Two pair of bellases qch belongs to the Dyneing Roun and Drawing Roun ...

3. DRUMLANRIG (1694)

NRAS, *Buccleuch Papers* (Drumlanrig) 1/1335.

Ane Inventar of all kynds of furniture in the Castle of Drumlanrig as well that which hings in the severall rouns as that in the wardrobs As also the whole table linings in the saids wardrobs And this following Inventar is the Rule by which the samyn was delyvered be William Douglas to John Lamb the fourteen day of December 1694 and is to be allowd to the sd William Douglas by my Lord Duke pro tanto ...

The Third Storie being wainscot Rounes**The great dinning Rounge of the Principall Appartment**

It. The Entry door with a large brasse lock in sute

It. Above the door heads The timpanies are all of carved lym tree work

It. The chimney piece of marble with the Dukes coat of armes of the same marble The window solls all Marble

The whole Chess windows all of crystall glasse

It. A large chimney wt fender, tongs porrin iron, hooks & shovel

It. A great looking glass with threttie six lozens in gilded frams

It. Threttie four kayn chayrs yrof two of them armed

It. Ane large Cedar wood table with a fyne carpet upon it

It. Six piece of fyne arras hingings of ye Duke of Newcastles Manadge

It. Ane painted Chimney piece of the history of Scipio and two painted door pieces conforme

The Drawing Rounge

It. The Entry door without a lock The door to the turnpyke number 161 A large brass lock in sute The cariadge door wt ane brass sneck & latche

It. The timpanies above the door heids of carved work the chimney piece & window sols of whyt marble

It. The Chess windows all of Chrystall glasses

It. A stove chimney, fyre shovell fender tongs & porrin iron & hooks

It. Thrie pieces of fyne arras hingings of forrest work

It. Ane fyne Jeopand Cabinet wt a Carved & gilded frame

It. Ane looking glass, table & stands gilded & jeopand with red leather cover on the Table

It. Ane painted chimney piece with the history of Joseph and Ashars Wyfe with two painted door pieces conform

It. Twelve armed kayne chayrs

The Principall Bed Chamber

It. Ane large brass lock in sute on ye door

It. Ane painted chimney piece of ye History of Hercules & ye dragon with ane door conform yrto and ane carved door piece of lyme tree work

It. The chimney piece & window solls of black marble

It. The Chess windows of Chrystall glasse

It. Ane stove chimney, fender fyr shovel tongs porrin iron & hooks

It. A bras sneck & latche on the Cariadge door nixt to ye Closet

- It. Ffyve piece of arras hings of fyne forrest work
- It. Ane fyne blew velvet bed lyned with gold colord satten with its roof silo, bolster piece, heid curtein & cornishes all Imbroidered with silk of severall colours upon the outer pand a fyne silk freinge of Imbroidered gimpt work with twelve louns conform upon the corners of the bed The foot pand also of blew velvet with two roll of mixt silk fringes upon the bottom with ane fyne imbroidered twilt beneath the bed with a canvas bottom The sd twilt being of gold colord satine and ane holland whyt coloured twilt All the Curteins are of a silk mixt fringes round the bottom & ye edges
- It. A fyne towr delite of gold colord tafety consisting of nyne breadths with a mixt silk fringe round the bottom & edge therof conform to the bed with its Cornishes, cords, pullies and weights with all the timber & iron work therto belonging with yellow taffety slips upon the four stoups of the bed with ane pedestall for the bed to stand upon covered with fyne mute and red leatherd strips thrie silk cords for drawing up the towr de lite with two Iron hooks for fastening of them four jeopand folliadges for the top of the bed with four large plumes of feathers with four gilded & jeopand claws for the foot of the bed
- It. Thrie window drawers of fyne whyt silk dammas with fringe round the bottom & edges conform to the bed Ane yrof consisting of seven breeds and the other two of four breeds each of them with thrie curtein rods for hinging the sd curtein drawers
- It. Ane large chayr of ease of blew velvet with mixt fringes conforme to the bed with its cushion & foot stool of blue velvet the Cushione having four knoups of mixt silk & fringes conform
- It. Six armed chayrs all covered wt blue velvet & fringed conform to the bed the timber work of them being jeopand two backd chayrs & two stools covered fringed & jeopand lyke ye Rest
- It. Ane fyne Jeopand cabinet, table Glass & stands Jeopand and gilded round the edges with red leather covers for the table and stands two brass naills for the glass to hing on, Ane fyne gilded *** for the Cabinet to stand on slips of blue sarge for the sd chayr of ease Cusheon & footstool And also for all the armed & backd chayrs befor mentiond Ane slip of gold colored taffety for *** yr Round chayrs being made of a pattern befor its own slip was made.

The Principall Closett

- It. Two large brass locks in sute upon ye door yrof
- It. The Chimney piece & window soll of spotd Marble
- It. The Chess window of Chrystall glasse
- It. Ane stove chimney fyre shovel tongs porrin iron & hooks
- It. The door form the trans to ye turnpyke a large brass lock in sute
- It. Two pieces of fyne arras hings of forrest work
- It. Ane painted chimney piece of ye History of Minerver with two door pieces conform

The Waiting Rounge

- It. A brass lock in sute on the door yrof The chimney soll of marble
- It. Ane stove chimney fender fyre shovell porrin iron & hooks

The Charter House

- It. Two large iron locks upon ye Iron & timber doors
- It. A charter chist wt threttie eight drawers in it wt a new lock
- It. Ane new lock upon ye plate rounge door
- It. A steill lock from the turnpyke to the trans befor the door of ye sd Charter house door

The Great Gallerie

- It. Two brass locks in sute upon the two doors therof
- It. Two carved door pieces with two large carved chimney pieces above the cornishes of the chimney The chimney pieces and window solls all of blue Marble

- It. The chess windows all of crystall glasse
- It. Two fyne looking glasses above the Chimneys each of them in thrie divisions with a gilded frame about them
- It. The pictures of all the Emperors, Pops and Cardinalls in thrie severall frames
- It. The Earle of Perth & his first lady in two seall gilded frames
- It. The E: of Drumlanrig & his lady in two severall gilded frames
- It. Lord Wm & Lord George yr pictures in two severall gilded frames
- It. Ane picture of my Lord Duke in a gilded frame
- It. The Duke of Rothes & Lord James Douglas in 2 gilded frames
- It. Liut Gnall Douglas & Capt Rot his brother in two gilded frames
- It. The Dutches of Queensberrie and my Lord Dumbartown in two gilded frames
- It. The Map of the River Danube in a black frame
- It. Ffour other smaller Maps in black frames
- It. Six large Maps and ane lesser
- It. Two chronologicall tables
- It. The Map of the kingdome of Hungary
- It. Nyne small Maps

The litle waiting Roume to ye bed chamber of the East quarter

- It. A steill lock upon the door to ye north east turnpyk and a brass sneck & latchet on the door to ye Bed Chamber
- It. Thrie piece of arras hangings from Bayllie Brand

The Bed Chamber on ye East quarter

- It. Ane large brass lock in sute on the Entry door
- It. A blue & whyt Marble chimney piece and the window solls of the same Marble
- It. Ane stove chimney with fender fyre shovel porrin iron hooks with tongs
- It. A large brass lock on the door goes to ye turnpyk
- It. Thrie pieces of new pictured arras hingings
- It. Ane large glass with a jeopand frame table & stands conform with leather covers for the table & stands
- It. Two armed & four backd chayrs conform to ye bed of green flourd damask covers with slips of green watered china
- It. Two window Curteins of thrie breadths and a half at each window of the same watered green china stuff
- It. Ane painted chimney piece of the history of Alexr & Darius family & four door pieces conform with iron rods for ye window curteins
- It. Ane bed of green flowrd silk dammas consisting of four pieces of curteins of green dammas lyned with whyt taffety & fringed with a gimpt silk freinge The upper pand & foot pand of the same dammas of the Curteins with silk freinges the bolster piece heid curtein & roof all Imbroidered & fringed with different colord silk of whyt taffety with thrie fyne gilded & jeopand Cornishes for ye bed with four Jeopand gilded claws for the foot of ye Bed with a towr de lite of green watered china consisting of nyne breadths with all its iron rods necessar and thrie curtein Rods for the Curteins of ye sd bed with ane fyne silk imbroidered twilt to ly over the bed & ane Holland twilt to ly under the bed A feather bed with a pedestall covered wt fyne Mate for the bed to stand on wt slips of red leather for the stoups & timber work of the bed with a canvas bottom

The Antie Chamber

- It. Ane large brass lock on ye door yt leads to ye great stair
- It. A sneck & a latchet on ye undle door betwixt it & ye bed chamber
- It. The Chimney piece of blue Marble

- It. A stove chimney fender fyre shovel ongs porrin iron & hooks
- It. Thrie pieces of arras hingings of forrest work
- It. A looking glass wt ane indented walnut tree frame with table & stands conform
- It. Thrie window drawers each window consisting of thrie breadths & a half of watered china stuff
- It. Two armed and four backd chayrs covered wt rid moyhair & slips for all of them conform to the towr de lite and window curteins with iron rods for all of them
- It. Ane painted Chimney piece of Caesar Augustus & Cleopatra & two painted door pieces conform
- It. Ane rid Moy Hair bed consisting of four pieces of curteins lyned with whyt tafety with outer pand & foot pand conform the outer pand with a fyne gimpt silk freinge and the foot pand wt a narrow fringe conform to the bolster heid piece Curtein & roof all Imbroidered with different colord silks of whyt tafety the twilt yt lyes over the bed also imbroidered with the lyke silk upon whyt tafety and holland twilt to ly under the bed with the towr de lite of rid watered china consisting of nyne breadths with all its iron work with ane pedestall for ye bed to stand covered with fyne Mate with Reid Leather strips ...

