

## The Invented Landscape Traditions of Post-Union Scotland

Eric Hobsbawm defines invented tradition as a set of symbolic practices that seek to instill certain values while implying continuity with the past, when in fact there has been a break in continuity.<sup>1</sup> In Scotland between 1603 and 1822, there were political, social, and cultural breaks in continuity that allowed an invented landscape tradition to emerge.

When Elizabeth I of England died in 1603, she was succeeded by her second cousin once removed, James VI of Scotland, who became James I of England. Though they shared a monarch, England and Scotland retained separate Parliaments until the Act of Union in 1707, which officially disbanded both the English and Scottish Parliaments and established a union-wide Parliament in Westminster in London, but many Scots were angered by the removal of their seat of government from Edinburgh to London. Scotland still retained separate legal (bills passed by the Westminster Parliament had appendixes conforming them to Scots law), religious (the Presbyterian Church is the Church of Scotland), and educational systems. Many historians<sup>2</sup> have suggested that this loss of a political center might have spurred on the Scottish Enlightenment as Scottish Intellectuals turned their energies to philosophy, medicine, science, art, architecture and literature in the absence of national politics (though political intrigues still abounded).

In 1688, the Catholic James VII and II was deposed in favor of his Protestant daughter Mary and her husband and first cousin William of Orange in the "Glorious Revolution", so called because it was largely bloodless in England, but this was not the case in Scotland. There and in northern England, James's supporters called themselves Jacobites, from the Latin name for James. In 1689, Jacobites attempted to restore James to the throne, but the rebellion's leader, John Graham, Viscount Dundee, died leading his forces to victory over Mary and William's forces in the battle of Killiecrankie and thereafter the Jacobite forces collapsed. Mary was succeeded by her sister, Anne, in 1702. Queen Anne became the first monarch of "Great Britain" after the treaty of union was concluded. Prior to the treaty, both the

Scottish and English Parliaments would have to agree on who the heir to the throne was. After the treaty, the Westminster Parliament was the sole arbitrator. In 1708, Anne's younger half-brother James Francis attempted to land in Scotland to lay claim to the throne, but was repelled by the British navy (this was the second Jacobite rebellion). In the aftermath, the Scottish Law on Treason was amended to bring it in line with the more severe English Law. After Anne's death in 1714, she was succeeded by her second cousin, George 1, thus ending the reign of the House of Stewart/Stuart and ushering in the House of Hanover (see Figure 1). The following year, the first Jacobite uprising occurred. James actually succeeded in landing on Scottish soil this time in his attempt to be crowned James VIII and III, but he was unable to muster enough support to successfully oppose British troops and fled to Rome. The last Jacobite uprising occurred in 1745, led by "Bonnie Prince Charlie", James's son. He came closer to reclaiming the throne for the Stewarts/Stuarts than either his father or grandfather had done, but in the end, he too was unsuccessful and was forced to flee.

Social upheaval came in other forms as well. In British country houses prior to the Baroque era, there was a very clear hierarchy from head of household down to servants, and everyone in the hierarchy was thought of as being a part of a big family centered around the household. During the 17th and 18th centuries this hierarchy started to break down so that servants were no longer thought of as part of an extended family but employees. In Scotland, this extended family metaphor had been crystallized in the clan system. The land owned by the chief could be used by the entire clan in a subsistence agricultural system. With the Scottish enclosure movement, large sections of the population were moved to create a new agrarian landscape (Figures 2 - 3). In Scotland, thousands of people were forced out of the clan agricultural system to make way for sheep grazing, depopulating large swatches of the highlands and increasing the country's central belt population anchored by Glasgow in the west and Edinburgh in the East. The enclosure movement happened in England too, but in Scotland, it, along with the Jacobite uprisings, came to symbolize a (not entirely positive)<sup>3</sup> way of life that was fast disappearing.

Clan chiefs were now members of the nobility and members of the new Parliament, spending up to 4 months of the year in London, and dividing the rest between Edinburgh and their country estates. "People did not live in country houses unless they either possessed power, or, by setting up a country house, were making a bid to possess it."<sup>4</sup> Land was how the nobility gained a seat in Parliament. In Scotland, the landscape architecture on the estates of the landed represented an attempt to reconcile identities. Prior to the Baroque era, most country houses in Scotland were tower houses and castles, long after English estates were using less defensive architectural forms. Modern warfare had made fortified dwellings just as obsolete in Scotland as they had in England, but castles had become bound up with Scottish nationalism. Beginning with the union of crowns of England and Scotland, Scottish nobility started adopting the Renaissance Palladianism adapted by Inigo Jones as British national architecture, but in the landscapes of their estates they could retain a sense of "Scottishness". In both the formal landscape style of the Baroque era, and in the emerging Picturesque, Beautiful and Sublime styles of the Enlightenment, the designers of Scottish landscapes developed a tradition of incorporating sites significant to the history of the Scottish nation into their designs. Just as the people living on these estates had to be both "British" and "Scottish", their estates were "British" in their houses (the neoclassicism associated with the Whig party and the union) and "Scottish" in their landscapes.

Many Scottish nobles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries weren't wealthy enough to completely obliterate the historical ruins that stood on the grounds of their country houses, so incorporating them and the evocative natural landscape into their designed landscapes (Figure 4) served as a thrifty way to acknowledge the past of one's family and nation. "Cultural memory - that fusion of history, topography, and national identity that still runs so deep in the life of the modern Scot, was apparently also understood by the Scots of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."<sup>5</sup> One of the earliest examples of incorporating family history into Garden design is the Pleasaunce Garden at Edzell constructed in 1604.

Sir David Lindsey, Earl of Edzell, used the Pleasaunce Garden (Figures 5 - 6) to write the Lindsey history upon the landscape. Lindsay's coat of arms and that of

his wife, Isobel Forbes, were carved above the entrance to the gardens. "A great deal of the family's history is revealed by the stone-carved Lindsay coat of arms...The Knight's helmet indicates that Lord Edzell was knighting champion of Scotland for seven years. The eyepiece, pulled down yet open, indicates that he was titled. Three muzzled bear heads state that the people of...Dame Isobel Forbes possessed enough strength to be reckoned with".<sup>6</sup> Each of the garden's walls was divided into seven sections with a repeating fez cheque motif to indicate that Lindsay became a member of the Templar Knights of St John following a crusade with Richard III. The niches in the fez cheque were planted with white alyssum and blue lobelia to represent the colors of St. Andrew (the patron Saint of Scotland) and the Lindsay family. The gates of Edzell opened out onto ancient forests and contemporary parklands.

The patron saint of Scotland was also alluded to in the 1630 garden design of Drummond Castle. Here John Mylne, a Scottish master mason and the first of three generations of the name to serve as Master Mason to the Crown of Scotland, laid out the main parterre in the form of St. Andrew's cross, which appears on the Scottish flag. Sir Alexander Seton followed a similar formula in the design of his garden at Pittmedden in 1675 by physically incorporating his family mottos, coat of arms, the Saltire and thistle into the planting pattern of his parterres.<sup>7</sup>

The King's Knot at Stirling, and the viewing platform above it, is another early example of basing landscape design upon a history influenced by many sources (Figures 7 - 8). Knot designs can be found in Roman, Celtic, and medieval Christian art as a symbol of continuity and infinity. The King's Knot is a raised mount design made to be viewed from Stirling Castle above (Figure 9). In the center of the Knot was a summerhouse surrounded by moat, from which castle rock and the Vale of Stirling could be viewed. "The mount as a feature of post-medieval gardens is thought to be a transmutation of the...motte and bailey castle...raised landscapes within gardens, with fine views and a banqueting or summerhouse in more peaceful times."<sup>8</sup> From the viewing platform at Stirling castle, one could not only look down onto the King's Knot, they could look across the landscape to Stirling Bridge, where William Wallace defeated English forces in 1297, and Bannockburn, where Robert the Bruce again defeated English forces, ending attempts to unite the kingdoms of

Scotland and England by force (as the history presented as the beginning of this essay relates, this union was eventually achieved as the result of intermarriage of the English and Scottish royal families). It is no coincidence that the castles and these battlegrounds lie within eye-shot of each other: at their center is the lowest crossing point of the River Forth, the main point for passing through the narrow central belt of Scotland to the vast northern expanse of the kingdom. Here we see all the elements of the invented landscape tradition in Scotland: the castle is linked to the historical sites by the viewing platform and the fanciful King's Knot. Through their incorporation into a planned landscape, the historic battlegrounds have become ungewollte Denkmal, (unintentional monuments)<sup>9</sup>: the sites emerged in the contemporary need to defend the river crossing, but post-union-of-the-crowns they became monuments to Scottish independence. Though a union had been achieved, the landscape was a reminder that it hadn't been achieved through conquest.

The Historic Landscape can also be found in the designs of Sir William Bruce, the King's Surveyor and Master of Works in the late 1600's and a man called "the chief introducer of Architecture in this country [Scotland]"<sup>10</sup> by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, a nobleman who was one of the few Scottish architects to write down his theories in the early 1700's. Bruce, a gentleman-architect, subtly modified landscape architecture conventions of the time "...in designs that integrated the natural and historical features at Kinross, Balcaskie, and Hamilton."<sup>11</sup> Bruce bought Balcaskie in 1665 from the Moncrieffs of Balcaskie. From 1668 to 1674, Bruce set about adding on to the east end of the 1629 four-story L-shaped house to create an almost symmetrical "U" in the British neoclassical style. Bruce laid out the gardens to the south of the house and the main axis looked to Bass Rock on the Firth (estuary) of Forth in the southwest and Kellie Law (hill) in the northwest. At Kinross House, his personal estate after selling Balcaskie in 1684, Bruce provided an axial view from the garden to Loch (lake) Leven Castle, where the Earls of Morton had imprisoned Mary, Queen of Scots (Figures 10 – 12). "To the 'fervent royalist', though, the castle meant more than an architectural feature of his designed landscape. It was also an emotive aide-mémoire encouraging thoughts of the tragic young Queen: a memorial".<sup>12</sup> At Hopetoun House, designed for the Earl of Hopetoun, Roman

remains were incorporated in the landscape design and the north flank of Hopetoun's main axial alignment looked to the church of Rosyth and the Firth of Forth (Figures 13 – 14).

Laugier wrote of French gardens in 1753 "In gardens, one should pay particular attention to places of a delightful and simple beauty; one must make use of all the fairness nature offers and embellish its creations by arranging them in a graceful and tender manner without every taking away from them that simple and pastoral air which makes their charm so sweet... the grand manner of symmetry is not at all suitable for beautiful nature,"<sup>3</sup> even while "...the avenues at Versailles extend from and lead the eye to the symbolic and literal center of government in France located in the palace of Louis XIV - the line of vision is carried along the avenues to infinity".<sup>4</sup> Scotland and France were historically joined in an "auld alliance" against England, and even after the union of crowns, Scotland continued to take many of its landscape design cues from France. But unlike France, in Scotland, the formal avenues of country houses terminated on natural and historical features "of a delightful and simple beauty" in the landscape. This system of axial landscapes was extended into town planning as well.

John Erskine, the 11th Earl of Mar (Figure 15), began refiguring his estate at Alloa in 1702 and continued to redesign it for the rest of his life, including during his exile after leading the failed 1715 Jacobite rebellion. (Though Mar had initially supported the Act of Union combining the Scottish and English Parliaments in 1707, he became dissatisfied when on Queen Anne's death the throne passed not to her younger half-brother James Francis but to her second cousin George I). Like Sir William Bruce, Mar's designs relied upon a Scottish landscape full of cultural memories (Figure 16).

"Alloa follows the Bruce formula in having its avenues directed on historic buildings. Wheel-like, they radiate from the House of Alloa and terminate on Stirling Castle 4 miles to the west, Elphinstone tower to the south, Clackmannan Tower to the east, Old Stirling Bridge and Bannockburn to the west and to natural features such as the Ochil Hills to the northeast. These places mark out the developmental history of this ancient part of Scotland abundant with associations with the Erskines who were hereditary keeps of Stirling Castle and governors of [five successive generations of] royal children...other

avenues terminate on industrial features such as the drainage wheel at Clackmannan and on Alloa Harbor, both of which Mar improved to assist the coal trade and marine industries of the town. The House of Alloa was bisected by the 'Grand Allée that ran to the town's Harbor...To the northeast of the house stood an elevated banqueting. This provided an important visual and linear connection with the extending vistas leading to the circular plantations on the hilltops of Cow Park Wood and Octagon Wood in the uplands of Clackmannanshire. The angle of these avenues was determined by the presence of an ancient inscribed standing stone, probably of Pictish origin, on the line of the right-hand avenue...The merging of industrial projects, aesthetic and urban forms, and symbols are Mar's contributions to the Scottish Historical Landscape." <sup>15</sup>

This passage illustrates how no aspect of the historical landscape was overlooked by Mar in his plans. Mar was also influenced by classical Greco-roman subject matter. Mar would have studied Virgil at the University of Edinburgh, where Virgil was read "...as a source for artistic subject-matter, as well as a model for the artist on how to compose a multiplicity of allegories in his art...like The Eclogues, Alloa was ambiguous in terms of what it purported to be - was it a piece of ambitious pragmatic engineering - a place of entertainment - a picturesque landscape - a serious historical-genealogical commentary - or a garden for retreat, or simply a place for doing a bit of digging and planting? Like Virgil's poems it aspires to be all of these and none of these things. "<sup>16</sup> Virgil was also attractive to Mar because of hints of political unrest that underlay Virgil's work, like the politically turbulent times in which he lived, and Virgil's emphasis on agriculture. "The great hydraulic schemes that brought water to Rome in ancient times were the reason for her political ascendancy then"<sup>17</sup> and could have influenced the waterworks at Alloa.

Mar's foray into town planning extended beyond Alloa. While in exile in 1728, he put together a proposal for building a bridge over the North Loch adjacent to the volcanic rock on which Edinburgh was situated and building an addition to the city on the plateau to the north. It was to be 40 years before the Town Council became committed to the idea of a new town to the north of Edinburgh.

During this time, the changing economic and social conditions were reflected in the position of architects themselves.

"The improving landowner-architects, in the Mar tradition, remain figures of power and authority, as we shall see above all in the case of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik. Now these were joined by growing numbers of designers from non-landed backgrounds, whether professional (such as James Gibbs) or operative (such as John Baxter and Robert Mylne). Especially in the post-1707 years of economic difficulty, there was a marked tendency, on the part of this type of architect, to move to England in search of work. But the most forceful and innovative of the period's 'new architects', William Adam, stayed at home and set about 'improvement' with a vengeance. Exploiting every element of the Hanoverian state and economy, Adam rose to become not only the country's pre-eminent architect of these years, but also one of its more powerful industrialists - a giant figure straddling all aspects of early eighteenth-century architect and building."<sup>18</sup>

William Adam (Figure 17), in similar platitudes to those Bruce had received, was called "the universal architect of his country".<sup>19</sup> William was born in Kirkcaldy on 30 October 1689. He began as a mason-contractor and by 1721 he had become known as an architect patronized by the Duke of Roxburghe, the Earls of Stair and Hopetoun, and Sir John Clerk (Figure 21). At the Hopetoun estate (Figures 13 – 14), William carried on Bruce's pioneering work with axial vistas carrying the eye "over two miles of the River Forth to the islands and ruins of Inchgarvie and from thence forward along the River 22 miles or more to North Berwick Law."<sup>20</sup> In 1723, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, a gentleman-architect in his own right and William Adam's patron, chose the site for Mavisbank (Figure 22) villa because he believed it was by a Roman earthwork. Clerk had a survey of Roman antiquities in Scotland, *Intinerium Septentrionale*, published in 1726, and was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in London.<sup>21</sup> At Mavisbank, Clerk and William landscaped the estate with a walk that ran along the Esk River to the Cave of Hurley, Clerk's grotto. From its entrance one could see Hurley Park and Claremont Rise. Exiting the grotto, walkers would come upon the sheltered loch of Hurley pond.<sup>22</sup> William continued to expand into Landscape Architecture in the 1730's, collaborating with Clerk on the Haddo estate for the second earl of Aberdeen, in 1730, and in 1731, advising the Earl of Stair on landscape work at Newliston.

In 1727, William and Clerk visited London at the invitation of Lord Stair - William to look into engravings for a book he was proposing (Figure 18), Clerk to



visit country houses for a poem he was writing. William's book, "Vitruvius Scoticus", was in large part meant as an answer to Colen Campbell's "Vitruvius Britannicus". Campbell was a Scot who spent most of his career in London. A draft of Campbell's book first appeared as "Brittanica Illustrata "in 1707. The first Volume entitled "Vitruvius Britannicus" appeared in 1715. A Second Volume joined it in 1717 and a third in 1725. Though it was meant to be a record of prominent contemporary architecture throughout Great Britain, it included only two Scottish works: Bruce's design for Hopetoun House, and Drumlanrig Castle, also by Bruce. A collection of unexecuted works by James Smith, who succeeded Bruce as the King's Surveyor and Master of Works in Scotland, also came into Campbell's possession<sup>23</sup>, but was not included in the book. Of the 103 buildings Campbell included, 76 were country houses. William conceived "Vitruvius Scoticus" no later than the spring of 1726<sup>24</sup> and during his trip to London he solicited subscriptions. It was to follow the basic layout of "Vitruvius Britannicus" and another book that came out during this time, James Gibbs' *Book of Architecture* of 1728: a very brief introduction by the author/architect describing the plates, followed by plates of plans, elevations, and a few sections. Like Gibbs' Book, most of William's plates were of his own designs, 48 works are by William and 23 are by other architects. Engraving of the plates by Richard Cooper in Edinburgh, where William had settled with his wife and children in the 1720's, began in 1730.

"The sequence of plates in the original series may be of some significance. The first two designs in the book, for Holyrood Palace (1-5) and Hamilton House (6-8) are the most important executed works of William Adam's principal predecessors, Sir William Bruce and James Smith. After introducing himself with his project for extending Hamilton (9-13), William placed his own most important design, for Hopetoun House (14-21) [see Image 2], in what was clearly intended to be the most important position in the book. He followed with Smith's Dalkeith (22-4), and Smith and McGill's Yester with his own additions (25 - 30), before coming to his second major design, for Newliston (32 - 6). The Drum (Somerville, 37 - 8), Arniston (39 - 44), Mavisbank (46 - 7) and Floors Castle (48 - 9) follow, so that practically all his own most important designs of the 1720s are illustrated in the first fifty plates. From then on the order is much more random, though there may be some relationship between sequence and chronology in the later parts of the book."<sup>25</sup>

In deference to the political realities of the day, William dedicated the Holyrood plates to "His royal Highness Frederick, the Prince of Wales" (Figures 19 - 20). A member of the House of Hanover, Prince Friedrich Ludwig moved to Great Britain from Hanover, Germany, in December 1728 after the ascension of his father, George II. His grandfather, George I, had named him Duke of Edinburgh and George II named him Prince of Wales in January 1729.<sup>26</sup> Prince Frederick Lewis employed landscape painter John Wootton and his wife, Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gothe, enlarged and expanded the gardens at Kew Palace that later became the royal Botanic gardens. 150 copies of *Vitruvius Scoticus* were printed at Den Hague, the Netherlands, in the 1740's, but the book remained unpublished when William died in 1748.

For a look at what William Adam's architectural theories were, we must turn to his sometime collaborator and patron, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik [See Figure 23 for a plan of the landscape at Penicuik]. Clerk was a member of the Whig party, which saw Palladianism as the national architecture of Great Britain. He was one of the first batch of Scottish Members of Parliament to serve in the Westminster Parliament of Great Britain and he wrote a history of the union of Scotland, England, and Wales, as well as having his memoirs published. At the time William was working on *Vitruvius Scoticus*, Clerk was writing his architectural poem, *The Country Seat*.

"In the mid 1720's, Clerk and Adam were probably at their closest; Mavisbank was building and, while the correspondence about the work reveals disagreements over details, it also suggests underlying friendship and mutual respect. William borrowed books and lent Sir John a drawing board, they met in Edinburgh, at Penicuik, and at Kirkcaldy [William's country estate], and they went to London together; indeed it seems most probable that, as the two men traveled from Stamford to London in March 1727, they had with them both the drawing for *Vitruvius Scoticus* and the manuscript of *The Country Seat*. The correspondence between certain passages in the poem, and the earlier part, at least, of *Vitruvius Scoticus*, is marked; where Clerk describes a Royal Palace and 'three kind of structure ... a house of State; the second for Convenience and Use; the third a little villa...', Adam illustrates Holyrood, Hopetoun, Arniston, and Mavisbank."<sup>27</sup>

That last reference, to the three types of houses, is the most often quoted section of *The Country Seat*, but the poem covers everything from the stages of design, including model making, to landscape tips. Clerk considered his poem to be "in Milton's way"<sup>28</sup> with 1,300 lines of blank verse containing rhymed couplets to end stanzas of unequal length. English poet John Milton had served as a Civil Servant for the British Commonwealth headed by Oliver Cromwell from 1649 to 1660. The Commonwealth era was still a powerful reference almost a century later. King Charles 1 of the House of Stewart was beheaded during the Civil War between Catholics and different sects of Protestants. Many members of the nobility were forced to go into hiding until the restoration of King Charles II in 1660. The hanging gardens at Barncluith, on the outskirts of the Hamilton estate were completed around 1725 and consisted of seven terraces with walks and grottos for viewing the surrounding wilderness where the Duchess of Hamilton had lived during the Commonwealth.<sup>29</sup> Clerk, however, for obvious reasons, pays more attention to Milton's style than to his Commonwealth ties.

On the subject of landscape, Clerk, like so many Enlightenment intellectuals in other fields, uses a system of classification and refined order.

Gardens must always some Proportion bear  
To ev'ry king of Structure which they grace  
For tho no Rule is fixed, the Man of Taste  
May cause each Discord slide in Harmony.  
What tho a royal Garden should contain  
In every single plot a spacious Field  
Yet more confined dimenension may content  
The Master of a humble Edifice.  
Likewise a due Proportion must be kept  
Between the Charge of laying out your Grounds  
In pompous order and their due Repairs.<sup>30</sup>

While William and Clerk agreed on building types, William's tweaking of Baroque strictures to end avenues on natural or historical views differs from Clerk's writing, which appears to endorse an earlier approach of focusing the avenues on architectural features.

The avenue will most delight the Sight  
That on some beauteous object shapes its way,  
Such is a Temple whose high towring Spire  
Divides the hov'ring clouds...

...the God, whose awful Shrine  
These sacred walls enclose and where  
With thankful Heart you often should resort. <sup>31</sup>

Even though his focus is on architecture, not nature, in his references to god, Clerk begins to approach ideas of sublimity. Forty years later, Julien David Leroy suggested "...that the sensations experienced when walking through or within even the noblest classical portico might be aroused equally successfully by an avenue of trees"<sup>32</sup> in his *Historie de la disposition et des formes différentes que les chrétiens ont données à leurs temples* (History of the arrangement of different forms given to their churches by Christians.) Though Leroy was writing in a pastoral manor, the gardens he was describing were still quite formal. As already mentioned, formal gardens in Scotland were much more site-specific than their French counterparts. A Scottish Historical site was chosen, and then the house and landscape were laid out to incorporate it, rather than starting with the house and molding the site to it.

On situating one's country estate, Clerk writes:

Choose not a seat too lofty nor too low,  
But on a Rivers Bank or downy Plain  
That gently slopes to the meridian Sun  
Let Many lofty Trees with Spreading Tops  
Defend you from the Cold of Northern Blasts  
Let here and there be seen some little Hills  
Fit Pasture for your harmless bleating Flocks.  
Let all the Fields in view be checqured round  
With flory meadow Groves and plenteous Springs  
Or Rivulets descending from the higher Grounds.<sup>33</sup>

- a description that brings to mind the pastoral landscapes William Kent and Capability Brown were beginning to create in England. Like formal landscapes in France, formal landscapes in England were not site specific to a historical landscape. "There is no evidence for the use of ruins in English landscape designs before Vanbrugh in 1709."<sup>34</sup> Sir John Vanbrugh, an English dramatist and gentleman-architect and his sometimes partner professional architect Nicholas Hawksmoor, were charged by Queen Anne in 1705 with the building of Blenheim Palace as the gift of grateful Britain to John Churchill, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Marlborough for his defeat of French and Bavarian forces at the Battle of Blenheim<sup>35</sup> in 1705. Vanbrugh wanted the ruins of Woodstock Manor, a royal hunting lodge, preserved

in the landscape design for Blenheim Palace, but was unable to prevent Sarah, 1<sup>st</sup> Duchess of Marlborough from ordering their destruction.

Clerk closes his poem with lines recalling the walk he and William created at Mavisbank.

On Esca's flowry Bank there is a Grove  
Where the harmonious thrush repeats its Love,  
There Ile observe the Precepts you indite  
But never any more attempt to write.<sup>36</sup>

The improvement of Clerk's estates continued with his son, James, who is credited with using one of the first ha-has in Scotland to allow for uninterrupted views of the landscape.<sup>37</sup> William, too, was the founder of an architectural family (see Figure 24). His Edinburgh house, Adam's Square, became a gathering place for members of the Scottish Enlightenment such as historian William Robertson, philosopher Adam Ferguson, poet/dramatist John Home, political economist Adam Smith, philosopher David Hume, and church leader Alexander Carlyle, who all came of age with William's own children, and many of them attended the University of Edinburgh with John Adam. William's daughter Sussanah married Sir John Clerk of Eldin, another son of Clerk of Penicuik.

William's eldest son, John Adam of Maryburgh (a planned village William named after his wife) succeeded William as Master Mason to the Board of Ordnance and ran the Adam's Edinburgh office. Robert (Figure 25), the next oldest son, had his studies at the University of Edinburgh interrupted by the Jacobite Rising of 1745. He was a partner in the Edinburgh office before departing for a Grand Tour of Europe in 1754. In 1758, Robert traveled from Italy to London, deciding to set up an office there. His sisters, Janet (Jenny) and Elizabeth (Betty) came south to run his London Establishment, and his younger brothers, James and William Jr., came to live with Robert as well. Two other sisters, Helen and Margaret (Peggy) stayed in Scotland with John. James made his own tour of Italy in 1760.

Robert was elected a member of the Royal Society of Arts in 1758 and of the Society of Antiquaries in 1761. He capitalized on the European-wide interest in Antiquities at the time with his own book, *Ruins of Diocletian*, published in 1764. Robert championed archaeological eclecticism (Figure 26). John attempted to get his father's book published in the 1760's under the title *Book of Architecture of the Public and*

*Private Buildings in Scotland*, but was unsuccessful. Contemporary to this, Edmund Burke was writing his *A philosophical enquiry into the origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, published in 1757. The first complete philosophical treatise separating the sublime from the beautiful, with beauty being caused by love (and ultimately God's providence) and sublimity being caused by fear. Sublimity goes beyond beauty to embody a transcendent greatness, inspired by nature and its vastness, to which nothing else can compare and which is beyond all possibility of calculation, measurement or imitation. Within Edinburgh, sublimity is provided by the siting of the medieval city on volcanic rock and the craigs that ring the city, including its new additions.

William had moved his family to Edinburgh shortly after Robert's birth in July 1728. In February of that year, the Edinburgh Town Council had voted to admit William "...as a guild brother of the City gratis for services rendered to the town."<sup>38</sup> Between 1734 and his death, William designed three of the city's major eighteenth-century buildings: The Orphans Hospital (Charity School), George Watson's Hospital (Charity School), and the Royal Infirmary (a hospital building in the American sense of the word). His sons continued to play a role in the evolving design of Scotland's capitol city.

Hobsbawm writes that one of the purposes of an invented tradition is to symbolize group identity.<sup>39</sup> The Scottish Landscape Tradition drew upon a collective memory of the historical landscape to symbolize Scottish identity with Great Britain. "The collective memory is a record of remembrance."<sup>40</sup> A Scot looking at these designed landscape would recognize the national memories incorporated into them with the inclusion of historic sites. This collective memory relied on authenticity. Historical sites as unintentional monuments were incorporated into formal Scottish landscapes, but in England historical ruins weren't incorporated into designed landscapes until a more pastoral style developed, and then the focus was more on the romanticism of ruins than the national memories symbolized by them. This allowed for the inclusion of "sham ruins" and follies in English gardens. In Scottish gardens, sham ruins were not built. Follies were acceptable because they were clearly not

meant to be historic monuments, but rather evocative of the reinvention of Scottish culture in general.

This can be seen in the Hermitage (Figure 27) built by the Black Lynn Falls on the River Braan. Tradition has it that it constructed for the 3rd Duke of Atholl in 1758 as a surprise by his son-in-law.<sup>41</sup> The Hermitage was approached through the pleasure grounds at Dunkeld, with the building itself situated to prevent visitors from seeing the falls until they could be revealed in the most dramatic fashion, in accordance with Burke's supposition that "astonishment" is part of what the sublime so powerful. Inside the Hermitage, the windows were fitted at first with colored glass, and then with mirrors, to reflect the waters of River Braan, and a sliding door kept visitors from seeing the falls until the final most dramatic moment. In 1774, a rusticated bridge below the falls was added to the approach. Dorothy Wordsworth, who visited the Hermitage with her brother William in 1803, described her visit this way:

"The waterfall, which we came to see, warned us by a loud roaring that we must expect it; we were first, however, conducted into a small apartment, where the gardener desired us to look at a painting of the figure of Ossian, which while he was telling us the story of a the young artist who performed the work, disappeared, parting the middle, flying asunder as if by the touch of magic, and lo! We are at the entrance of a splendid room, which was almost dizzy and alive with waterfalls, that tumbled in all directions - the great cascade, which was opposite to the window that faced us, being reflected in innumerable mirrors upon the ceiling and against the walls."<sup>42</sup>

The picture of Ossian was installed by the 4th Duke in place of the sliding door in 1783, after which the Hermitage became known as "Ossian's Hall". Ossian was a 3rd-century blind bard turned into a Celtic hero by author James Macpherson at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>43</sup> In 1760 Macpherson published the English-language text *Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland*, and the next year he claimed to have found a cycle of poems narrated and written by Ossian in Scottish Gaelic (Gáidhlig, which is part of the same language family, but a different language than Irish Gaelic, or Gaeilge). Macpherson published a translation of the works into English as *The Works of Ossian*, in 1765. It is now widely believed

that the works were composed of Gaelic fragments woven into Macpherson's own writings and that the most famous poem, Fingal (or *Fionnghall*, meaning "white stranger" in Gáidhlig) was largely created by Macpherson in 1762. The poems achieved international success and were proclaimed as a Celtic equivalent of the Classical writers such as Homer.

"Celtic poetry resembles Homer's in its close identification of the hero with the vagaries of nature, and also the tendency in both traditions to create mythologies from surviving manuscript fragments and oral sources...Gaelic bardic, or praise poetry described the historical and mythical actions of heroes in which the whole being is suffused by the movements of the win, or the running of deer in the forest, where the boundary between inner self and nature is blurred...Gaelic poetry, like the Homeric culture of ancient Greece, celebrated its survival through its legendary and ancestral memory."<sup>44</sup>

Writers such as the young Walter Scott and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe were influenced by the poems. Goethe even included his own German translation of a portion of Macpherson's work in a climactic scene of his loosely biographical novel *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (The Sorrows of Young Werther), which was part of a literary movement to give emotion free expression in response to the earlier confines of Enlightenment rationalism.<sup>45</sup>

In the aftermath of the 1745 Jacobite Uprising, the wearing of kilts, playing of bagpipes, and speaking of Gáidhlig had been proscribed, but only twenty years later Macpherson was capitalizing on Gáidhlig associations. All across Scotland nobles were fondly recalling the lost world represented by kilts and Gáidhlig even as the enclosure movement continued to accelerate that world's disappearance. In 1782, the proscription on wearing kilts was repealed. The popularity of Macpherson's work paved the way for Sir Walter Scott's writings in Scots<sup>46</sup> years later.

In 1752, Sir Gilbert Elliott, first Earl of Minto and a member of the British Parliament, published a pamphlet entitled *Proposals for Carrying on Certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh*. Like Mar's proposal, it was a plan for expanding Edinburgh northward, but with greater detail and post-Jacobite, pro-Whig language. In the plan, the City of Edinburgh has finally come to terms with being a capitol city without a parliament and is confidently asserting a Scottish identity within the Union. In 1766, George Drummond, Provost of the Edinburgh Town Council,



announced the building of North Bridge and a competition for the design of New Town. John was one of the Commissioners charged with judging the competition. The Commissioners selected the plan submitted by James Craig, with alterations by John (Figure 28). “James Craig’s plan also included a wide band of formal parkland to the south of Princes Street and to the north of Queen Street, although both were beyond the boundaries of the competition brief. Craig and his adjudicators were more than likely influenced by the earlier ideas of the Earl of mar, who had suggested in a pamphlet written in 1728 that this land could, with advantage be formed into pleasure ground” .<sup>47</sup>

When the Edinburgh Town Council decided to build a south bridge and expand to the south in 1786, Robert proposed a plan for the bridge that would have created a grand entrance to the city from the south (Figure 29). However, this was deemed to require too much demolition and a much simpler South Bridge was constructed (Figures 31 – 32).

William Adam of Blair Adam, John Adam's son and a friend of Sir Walter Scott, finally secured the publication of *Vitruvius Scoticus* in 1812, around the same time that George Richardson edited and published a *New Vitruvius Britannicus* expansion to Campbell. William Adam published his own book, *The Gift of a Grandfather*, in 1836. The publisher for the 1812 *Vitruvius Scoticus* was Adam Black and J&J Robertson in Edinburgh and T. Underwood and J. Taylor in London. The last page of the introduction reads “The following PLANS, drawn by the late William Adam, Esq. Architect, were engraved at his Expense by the most eminent Artists of the time, with a View to Publication. A few complete Sets having come into the Publisher’s hands, he now respectfully offers them to the Public: *No. 57, South Bridge, Edinburgh.*”<sup>48</sup>

Sir Walter Scott's organization of King George's IV visit to Edinburgh in 1822, the first visit paid to Scotland by a reigning monarch since the restoration, was complete with kilts, bagpipes, Gáidhlig, and Scots. The pageantry of this visit, like the developments in Scottish landscapes in the century before it, was a proclamation of Scottish identity within British nationalism (Figure 30).

Following the Unions of Crowns and Parliaments, Scottish landscape architects, and Scottish theorists of all disciplines, attempted to combine the many disparate elements involved in being Scottish and British. In Scottish landscapes, the writings by Scottish architects, and the burgeoning discipline of town planning (Figure 33), the designers and the nobles of the Baroque and Enlightenment eras found a way to reconcile their cultural memory with the turbulent and changing times they were living in.

---

<sup>1</sup> Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, Editors, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, (Edinburgh Building, Cambridge) © 1983, p.1 & 7

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Herman, "How the Scots Invented the Modern World, The True Story of How Western Europe's Poorest Nation created our world & Everything in It.", Three Rivers Press, Random House Inc., New York, c.2001, is but one of the latest

<sup>3</sup> "What generally struck most outsiders was the shabbiness and poverty of the average chief's existence. Like his followers, he was the product of a fundamental and intractable poverty. People lived by raising cattle, sheep, and goats, and maintaining plots of land for growing stands of oat and barley... Most of the year food was scarce, so clansmen supplemented their income by stealing from neighboring clans, with elaborate and daring cattle raids... the cattle raid, the *creach*, was not only a test of leadership and honor, celebrated in bardic song. It also paid a tidy profit, when the clan could charge ransom to return the stolen cattle. The term in Scots was blackmail - mail being the word for "rent" or "tribute" and black the typical color of the Highlander's cattle... In summer, families lived on milk and whey from their cattle and little else. Bread was only available in the spring... In the winter... deprived of other sources of protein, Highlanders often had to bleed their cattle, mixing the blood with oatmeal and frying it in the fire... Families lived in a one-room hut of mud and stone, called a bothy... The Typical highland village was a collection of bothies; to visitors at a distance, it looked like heaps of dirt in a field. It was only when they grew closer that they saw that these heaps of dirt housed human beings, with dogs, coats, and half-naked children roaming among the huts and peat fires. In poorer clans the only way to tell a chief's children from the others was that they were the ones who could speak English." (Herman, p. 127-8)

<sup>4</sup> Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural history*, Yale University Press (New Haven, Connecticut) © 1978, p. 2

<sup>5</sup> Margaret Stewart, "Mar and the Scottish Baroque", *Architectural Heritage*, IX, 1998

<sup>6</sup> Shelia MacKay, *Early Scottish Gardens*, Edinburgh University Press Ltd, (Edinburgh) © 2001, p.34

<sup>7</sup> MacKay, 2001, p.139

<sup>8</sup> MacKay, 2001, p. 53

<sup>9</sup> Riegl, Alois, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origins" (Der moderne Denkmalkultus: sein Wesen, seine Entstehung, Vienna, 1903), translated by K.W. Forster and D. Ghirardo, *Oppositions* (Fall 1982: 25) p 34

<sup>10</sup> Miles Glendinning, Ranald MacInnes & Aonghus MacKechnie; *A History of Scottish Architecture from the Renaissance to the Present Day*, Edinburgh University Press, (Edinburgh) ©1996, p. 71

<sup>11</sup> Margaret Stewart, "The Metaphysics of place in the Scottish Historical Landscape", *Studies in the history of gardens & Designed Landscapes*, Vol. 22, no. 3, 2002, ( July/Sept) Taylor & Francis, p. 16

<sup>12</sup> MacKay, 2001, p.142

- 
- <sup>13</sup> Marc-Antoine Laugier; *An Essay on Architecture (Essai sur l'architecture, 1753)*. translated and with an introd. by Wolfgang and Anni Herrmann. Hennessey & Ingalls, (Los Angeles) © 1977, p. 135 / 138
- <sup>14</sup> Stewart, 2002, p.19
- <sup>15</sup> Stewart, 2002, p.242-3
- <sup>16</sup> Margaret Stewart, "Lord Mar's Garden at Alloa", from *Aspects of Scottish Classicism, the house and its formal setting 1690-1750*. J. Frew and D. Jones (editors), St. Andrews Studies in the History of Architecture & Design (University of St. Andrews) © 1988, p. 246
- <sup>17</sup> Stewart, 1998, p. 251
- <sup>18</sup> Glendinning, MacInnes & MacKechnie, 1996, p. 112
- <sup>19</sup> Sir John Clerk of Eldin, quoted in James Simpson's introduction to *Vitruvius Scoticus*, Paul Harris Publishing (Edinburgh) © 1980, p. 2
- <sup>20</sup> MacKay, 2001, p.162
- <sup>21</sup> Tait, A.A., "William Adam and Sir John Clerk: Arniston and the 'Country Seat'", *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 792 (Mar, 1969) The Burlington Magazine Publications Ltd., p. 110
- <sup>22</sup> MacKay, 2001, p. 186
- <sup>23</sup> Glendinning, MacInnes & MacKechnie, 1996, p. 99
- <sup>24</sup> Simpson, 1980, *Vitruvius Scoticus*, p. 6
- <sup>25</sup> Simpson, 1980, *Vitruvius Scoticus*, p. 10
- <sup>26</sup> Simpson, 1980, *Vitruvius Scoticus*, p. 7
- <sup>27</sup> James Simpson's 1980 Introduction to *Vitruvius Scoticus*, p. 11
- <sup>28</sup> Piggot, Stuart; "Sir John Clerk and 'The Country Seat'", from *The Country House, Studies in the History of the British Country House*, presented to Sir John Summerson on his sixty-fifth birthday, Howard Colvin and John Harris (editors), Allen Lane The Penguin Press, (London) © 1970, p. 110
- <sup>29</sup> Cox, E.H.M.; *A History of Gardening in Scotland*, Chatto & Windus, (London) © 1935, p. 61
- <sup>30</sup> Sir John Clerk, "The Country Seat" f. 20 reproduced in A.A. Tait's, "William Adam and Sir John Clerk: Arniston and the 'Country Seat'", *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 792 (Mar, 1969), p. 136
- <sup>31</sup> Clerk reproduced in Stuart Piggot, "Sir John Clerk and 'The Country Seat'", 1970, p. 115
- <sup>32</sup> Robin Middleton introduction to Nicolas Le Camus de Mezieres, *The Genius of Architecture; or, the Analogy of that Art with our Sensations*, (*Le génie de l'architecture, ou, L'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations*, 1780); translation by David Britt. Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, (Santa Monica, CA) © 1992., p. 46
- <sup>33</sup> Clerk "The Country Seat" f. 9 - 10 reproduced in Tait's, Mar, 1969, p. 136
- <sup>34</sup> Stewart, 2002, p. 255
- <sup>35</sup> Called the Second Battle of Höchstädt in some countries, it was a major battle in the war of Spanish Succession. When Charles II of Spain died in 1700, his will left the throne to Phillip of Anjou, the grandson of his sister, Maria Theresa, who had married Louis XIV of France. Philip agreed to renounce his claim to the French throne upon assuming the throne of Spain, but the other major European powers still feared a union of the crowns of the two kingdoms. Great Britain, the Austrian Empire, the Netherlands, Portugal, Savoy, and Denmark-Norway entered into war with France, Spain, Bavaria, and Hungary (then a part of the Austrian Empire). During the war, the exiled James VII and II died in France and Louis XIV recognized James Francis as the rightful heir to the throne of Great Britain, further angering Mary and William. At the war's conclusion, Spain ceded the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, Milan, and Sardinia to the Austrian Empire, and Gibraltar, Minorca, and the exclusive right to slave trading in Spanish America to Great Britain.
- <sup>36</sup> Clerk reproduced in Piggot, 1970, p. 116

---

<sup>37</sup> Mackay, Shelia; *Early Scottish Gardens*, Edinburgh University Press Ltd, (Edinburgh) © 2001, p. 199

<sup>38</sup> Gifford, John; *William Adam 1689 - 1748*, Mainstream Publishing Company Ltd., (Edinburgh) © 1989, p. 110

<sup>39</sup> Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, Editors, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, (Edinburgh Building, Cambridge) © 1983, p. 9

<sup>40</sup> Halbwachs, Maurice, *The Collective Memory (La Mémoire Collective, 1950)* translated by Francis Ditter, Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter and with an introduction by Mary Douglas, Harper & Row, (New York) © 1980, p. 86

<sup>41</sup> Christopher Dingwall, "Gardens in the Wild", *Garden History*, Vol. 22, No. 2, The Picturesque, The Garden History Society, (Winter, 1994), p. 144

<sup>42</sup> Dingwall, 1994., p. 144

<sup>43</sup> Aonghus Mackenzie, "Scottish Historical landscapes", from *Aspects of Scottish Classicism, the house and its formal setting 1690-1750*. J. Frew and D. Jones (editors), St. Andrews Studies in the History of Architecture & Design (University of St. Andrews) ©1988, p. 223

<sup>44</sup> Stewart, Margaret; "Mar and the Scottish Baroque", *Architectural Heritage*, IX (1998), p.259

<sup>45</sup> In France, Claude-Henri Watelet's *Essai sur les jardins*, (Essay on Gardens) of 1774 made what could be considered the first reference to space as a volume, a principle of design in landscape architecture still followed today. In England, with William Gilpin's *Picturesque Beauty* of 1782 and Uvedale Price's *Essay on the Picturesque* of 1794 arguing that beauty couldn't be explained in purely rational terms. Though Scotland's beauty certainly cannot be explained in purely rational terms, the English Garden Beautiful is a more poetical and artificial construct than the Scottish Historic Landscape, in part because Scotland's natural landscape, always less sparsely populated than England's or central Europe's, retained more ruggedness and wildness than those tamed landscapes.

<sup>46</sup> When the Anglo-Saxons invaded the island of Great Britain, they spread a prototype Germanic language throughout England, Scotland, and Wales. This is what Scots developed from. When the Normans later invaded, they did not spread into Scotland, and so only the language of England got the French influence that resulted in modern English. When English was being codified during the Enlightenment, Scots, as a minority language, was largely reduced to a dialect of English. Though some people continue to speak Scots in Southern and Eastern Scotland, and pockets of Gàidhlig speakers remain in Western and Northern Scotland, since the mid-1700's the dominant language in Scotland has been Anglo-Scots or English with a few Scots influences.

<sup>47</sup> Byrom, Connie, "The Pleasure Grounds of Edinburgh New Town", *Garden History*, Vol.23, No.1 (Summer 1995), p. 70

<sup>47</sup> Adam, William; *Vitruvius Scoticus*, reproduced in facsimile from the copy in the University of Glasgow Library with an introduction and notes to the plates by James Simpson, Paul Harris Publishing (Edinburgh) © 1980

### Bibliography

Adam, William; *Vitruvius Scoticus*, reproduced in facsimile from the copy in the University of Glasgow Library with an introduction and notes to the plates by James Simpson, Paul Harris Publishing (Edinburgh) © 1980

Boyer, M. Christine, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments*, The MIT Press (Cambridge, Mass.) © 1994

Byrom, Connie, "The Pleasure Grounds of Edinburgh New Town", *Garden History*, Vol.23, No.1 (Summer 1995), p. 67 - 90

---

Burke, Edmund; *A Philosophical Enquiry into the origin of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful. With an introductory discourse concerning taste*, (1757) Basil Blackwell (Edinburgh, Oxford) © 1987

Campbell, Colen; *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Denise Addis, Paul Breman & John Harris (editors), Benjamin Bloom, inc, (New York) © 1972

Clerk, John, "The Country Seat", reproduced in Stuart Piggot's "Sir John Clerk..." and A.A. Tait's "William Adam and Sir John Clerk..." (see below)

Cox, E.H.M.; *A History of Gardening in Scotland*, Chatto & Windus, (London) © 1935

Dingwall, Christopher; "Gardens in the Wild", *Garden History*, Vol. 22, No. 2, The Picturesque, The Garden History Society, (Winter, 1994)

Gibbs, James; *A Book of Architecture Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments* (London, 1728) Arnop Press (New York) © 1980

Gifford, John; *William Adam 1689 - 1748*, Mainstream Publishing Company Ltd., (Edinburgh) © 1989

Girouard, Mark, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural history*, Yale University Press (New Haven, Connecticut) © 1978

Glendinning, Miles, Ranald MacInnes & Aonghus MacKechnie; *A History of Scottish Architecture from the Renaissance to the Present Day*, Edinburgh University Press, (Edinburgh) ©1996

Halbwachs, Maurice, *The Collective Memory (La Mémoire Collective, 1950)* translated by Francis Ditter, Jr., and Vida Yazdi Ditter, and with an introduction by Mary Douglas, Harper & Row, (New York) © 1980

Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, Editors, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, (Edinburgh Building, Cambridge) © 1983

Herman, Arthur; *How the Scots Invented the Modern World, The True Story of How Western Europe's Poorest Nation created our world & Everything in It*, Three Rivers Press, Random House Inc. (New York) © 2001

Laugier, Marc-Antoine; *An Essay on Architecture (Essai sur l'architecture, 1753)*. translated and with an introduction by Wolfgang and Anni Herrmann. Hennessey & Ingalls, (Los Angeles) © 1977.

Lowrey, John, "From Caesarea to Athens, Greek Revival Edinburgh and the Question of Scottish Identity within the Unionist State", *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 60, No. 2 (June 2001), p. 136 - 157

Mackay, Shelia; *Early Scottish Gardens*, Edinburgh University Press Ltd, (Edinburgh) © 2001

Mackechnie, Aonghus; "Scottish Historical landscapes", from *Aspects of Scottish Classicism, the house and its formal setting 1690-1750*. J. Frew and D. Jones (editors), St. Andrews Studies in the History of Architecture & Design (University of St. Andrews) ©1988, reprinted in *Studies*

---

in the history of gardens & Designed Landscapes, Vol. 22, no. 3, 2002, ( July/Sept) Taylor & Francis Ltd

Mead, M.K., "Plans of the New Town of Edinburgh", *Architectural History*, Vol. 14 (1971), p. 40 - 52 and 142-184

Middleton, Robin, introduction to Nicolas Le Camus de Mezieres, *The Genius of Architecture; or, the Analogy of that Art with our Sensations*, (*Le génie de l'architecture, ou, L'analogie de cet art avec nos sensations*, 1780); translation by David Britt. Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities , (Santa Monica, CA) © 1992.

Morgan, Prys, "From a Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period", in *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (editors), Cambridge University Press, Fourteenth Printing, © 2006

Piggot, Stuart; "Sir John Clerk and 'The Country Seat'", from *The Country House, Studies in the History of the British Country House*, presented to Sir John Summerson on his sixty-fifth birthday, Howard Colvin and John Harris (editors), Allen Lane The Penguin Press, (London) © 1970

Price, Uvedale; *Essays on the picturesque, as compared with the sublime and the beautiful : and on the use of studying pictures for the purpose of improving real landscape* (1810). Gregg International (Westmead, Farnborough) © 1971.

Riegl, Alois, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origins" (*Der moderne Denkmalkultus: sein Wesen, seine Entstehung*, Vienna, 1903), translated by K.W. Forster and D. Ghirardo, *Oppositions* (Fall 1982: 25)

Rogers, Elizabeth Barlow, *Landscape Design: A Cultural and Architectural History*, Harry N. Abrams, inc. (New York) © 2001

Stewart, Margaret; "Lord Mar's Garden at Alloa", from *Aspects of Scottish Classicism, the house and its formal setting 1690-1750*. J. Frew and D. Jones (editors), St. Andrews Studies in the History of Architecture & Design (University of St. Andrews) © 1988

Stewart, Margaret; "Mar and the Scottish Baroque", *Architectural Heritage, IX* (1998)

Stewart, Margaret; "The Metaphysics of place in the Scottish Historical Landscape", *Studies in the history of gardens & Designed Landscapes*, Vol. 22, no. 3, 2002, ( July/Sept) Taylor & Francis Ltd

Tait, A.A., "William Adam and Sir John Clerk: Arniston and the 'Country Seat'", *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 792 (Mar, 1969) The Burlington Magazine Publications Ltd.

Trevor-Roper, Hugh, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition in Scotland", in *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (editors), Cambridge University Press, Fourteenth Printing, © 2006

Watelet, Claude-Henri, *Essay on gardens: a chapter in the French picturesque translated into English for the first time (Essai sur les Jardins, 1774)*; edited and translated by Samuel Danon; introduction by Joseph Disponzio, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003

Figure One

# THE TUDORS AND STUARTS

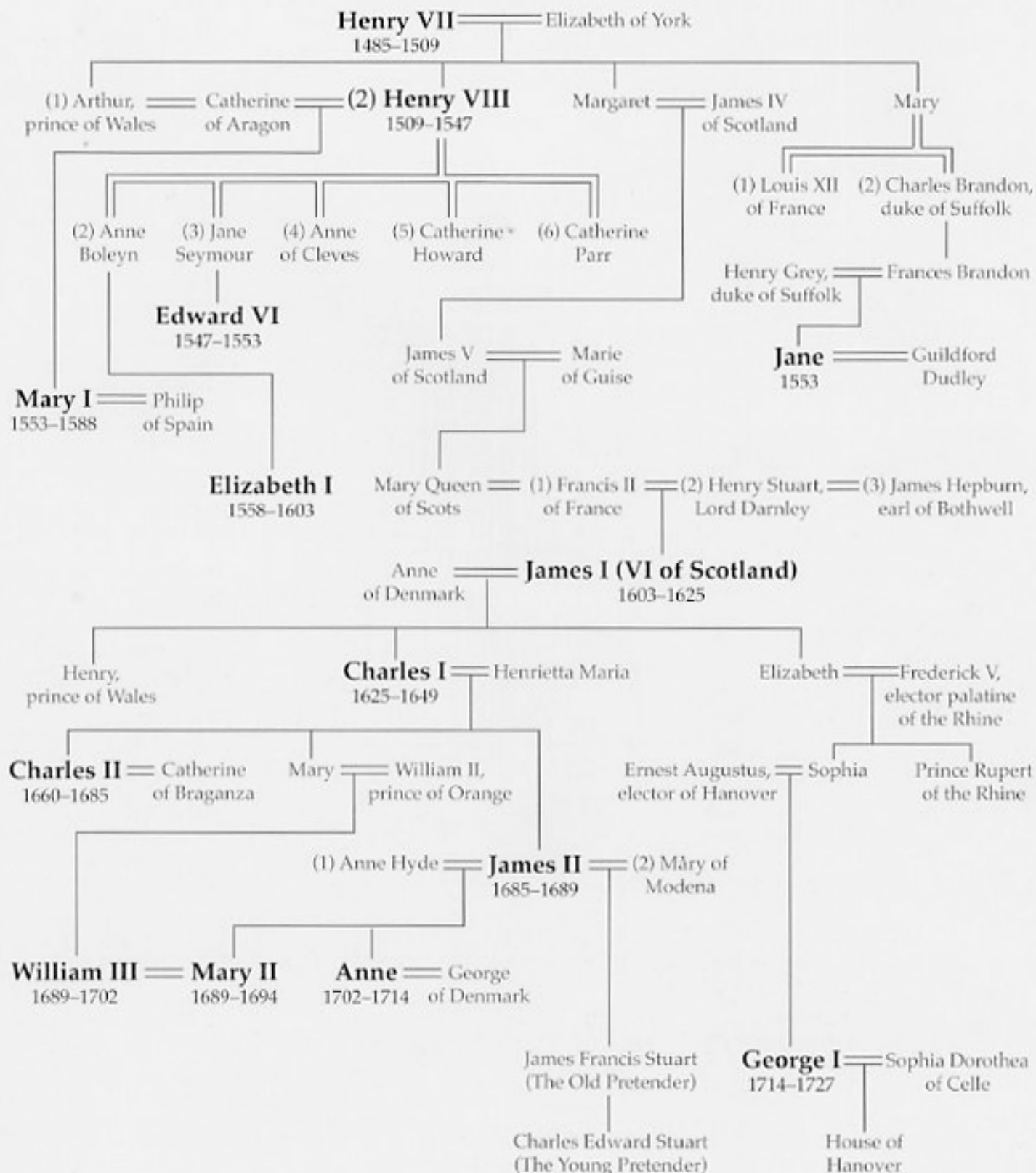


Figure 2: The Stereotypical Scottish Landscape (Farmland near Blairgowrie),  
From *Scotland: A Photographic Journey* with Photos by David Lyons, Barnes & Noble (New York) © 2006, p. 90-91



Figure 3: The Result of Clearing the Land (an abandoned homestead near Mervinslaw)  
From *Scotland: A Photographic Journey* with Photos by David Lyons, Barnes & Noble (New York) © 2006, p. 24





Figure 4: A Map of Scottish Landscape Gardens now carried for by Historic Scotland or The National Trust for Scotland , with the Landscapes discussed in this paper marked.



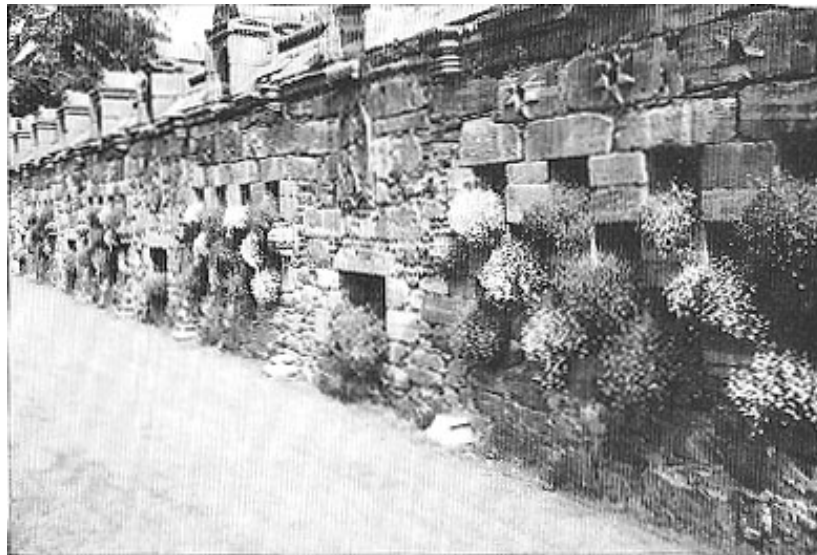
From *Early Scottish Landscapes: A Writer's Odyssey*, by Shelia Mackay, Edinburgh University Press (Edinburgh) © 2001, p. 1

Figure 5: The Coast of Arms of David Lindsey of Edzell and his wife Isobel Forbes above the entrance to Pleasaunce Garden



From *Early Scottish Landscapes: A Writer's Odyssey*, Photo by Shelia MacKay, p. 35

Figure 6: Pleasaunce Garden Wall



From *Early Scottish Landscapes: A Writer's Odyssey*, Photo by Shelia MacKay, p. 37

Figure 7: View looking to King's Knot from Stirling Castle



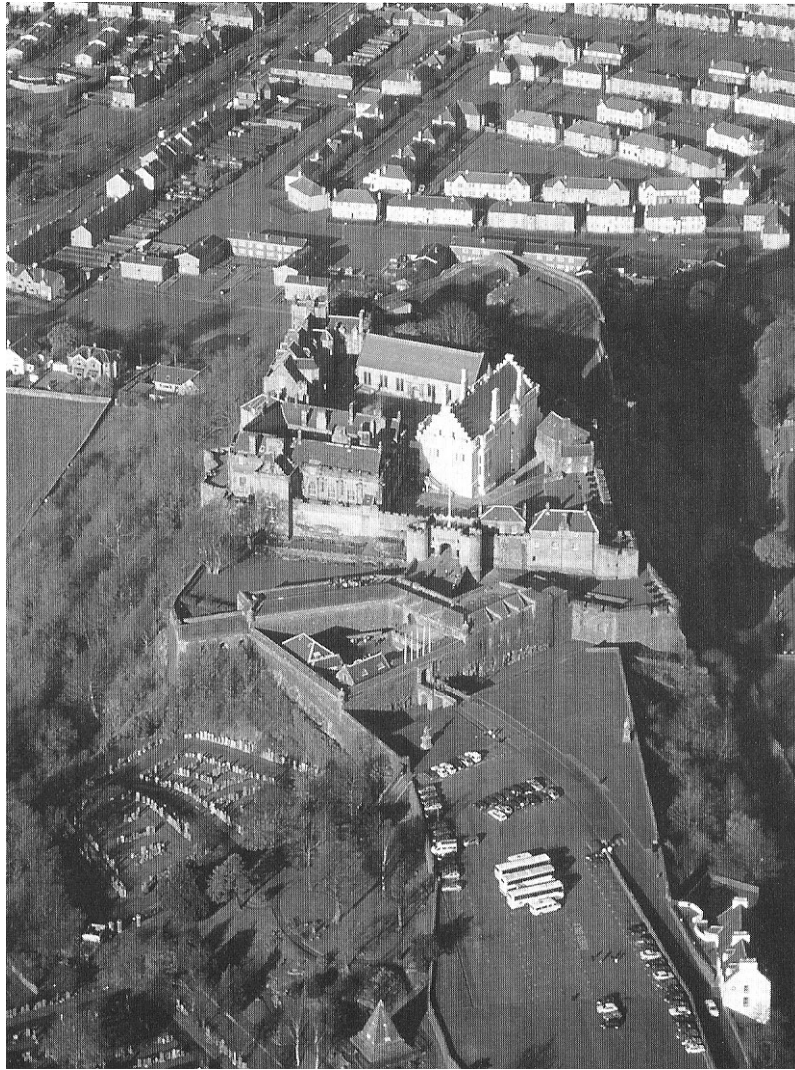
From *Mary Stuart's Scotland*, with Photographs by Eric Thorburn, Crescent Books (New York) © 1987, p.38

Figure 8: View to Stirling Castle from King's Knot



From *Early Scottish Landscapes: A Writer's Odyssey*, by Shelia MacKay, Photograph courtesy of James Crumley, p. 51

Figure 9 : Aerial view of Stirling Castle, arrow points to viewing Terrace

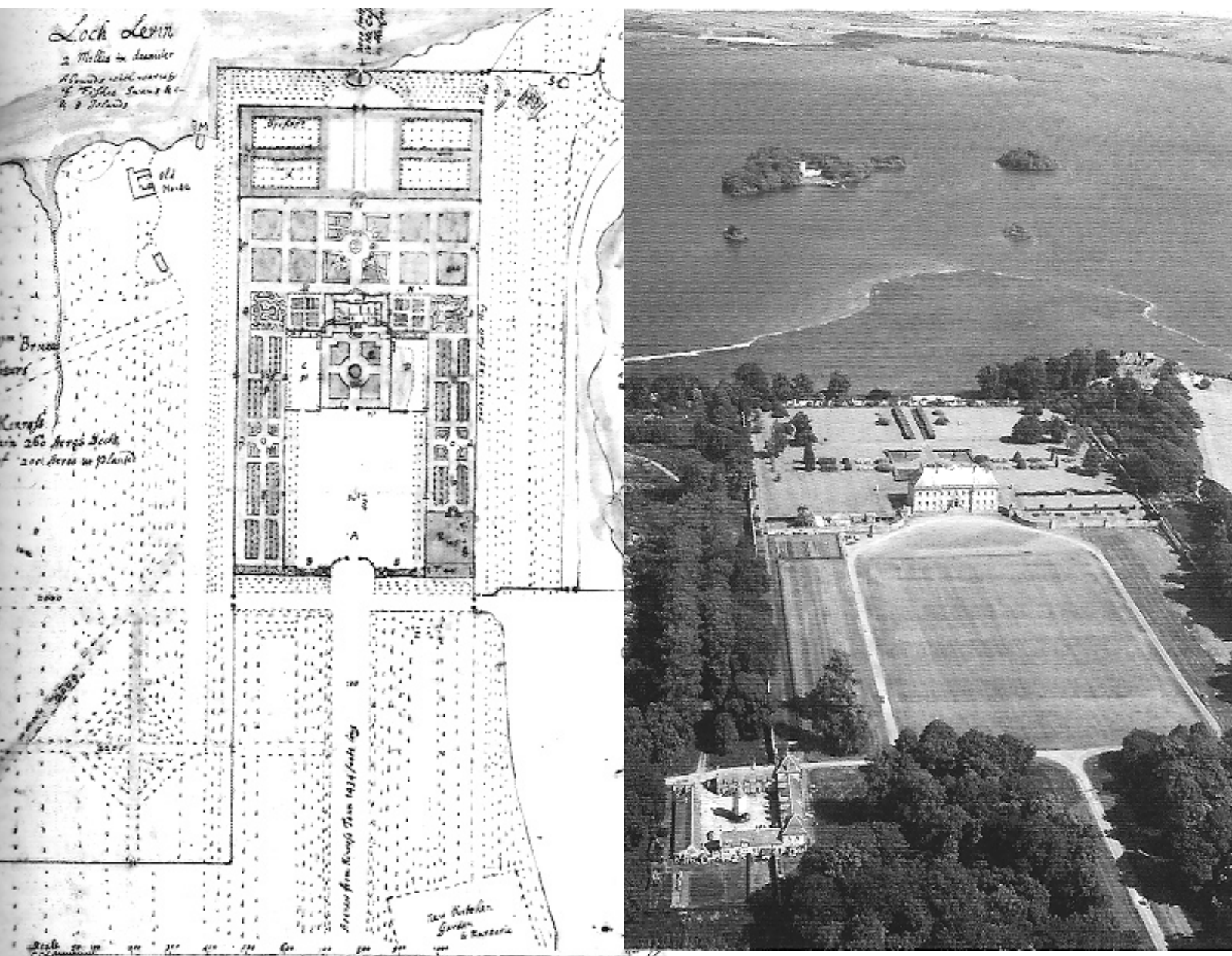


From "Scottish Historical Landscapes" by Aonghus Mackechnie, Photograph Crown Copyright, *Studies* Vol. 22, No. 3, p. 216

Figure 10

Left: Landscape Layout for Kinross House, illustrating how central axis passes through house and ground to Loch Leven  
Designed by Sir William Bruce 1679 – 93, drawing probably by Alexander Edward (1651 -1708)

Right: Present Day Aerial view of Kinross house and Loch Leven Castle



Left, Drawing from *A History of Scottish Architecture from the Renaissance to the Present Day* by Miles Glendinning, Ranald MacInnes & Aonghus MacKechnie; Edinburgh University Press, (Edinburgh) © 1996, p.95

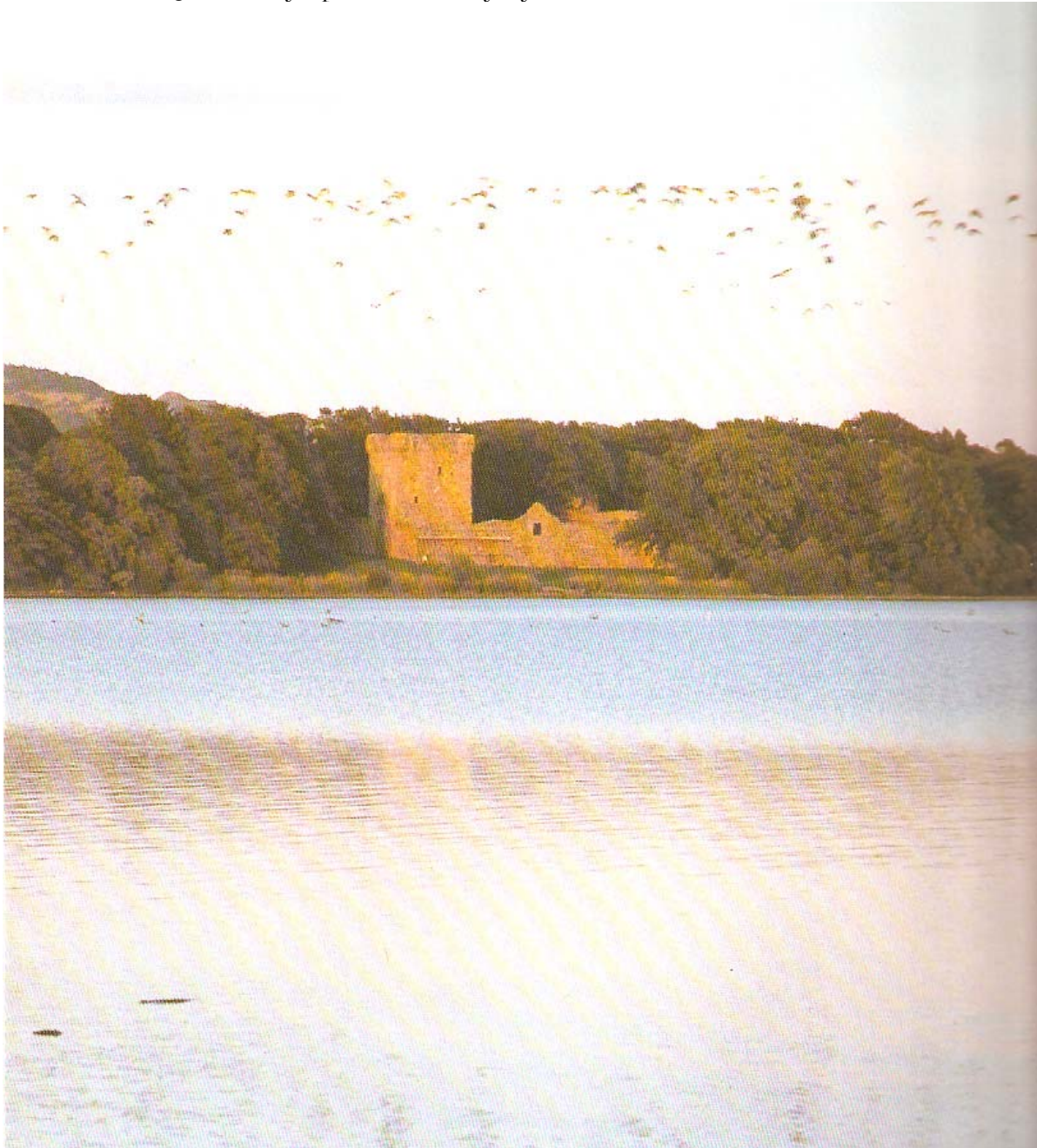
Right: From "The Metaphysics of place in the Scottish Historical Landscape" by Margaret C. H. Stewart, Photograph by Angus and Patricia MacDonald, , *Studies* Vol. 22, No. 3, p. 242

Figure 11: View to Lochleven Castle from Kinross House Garden



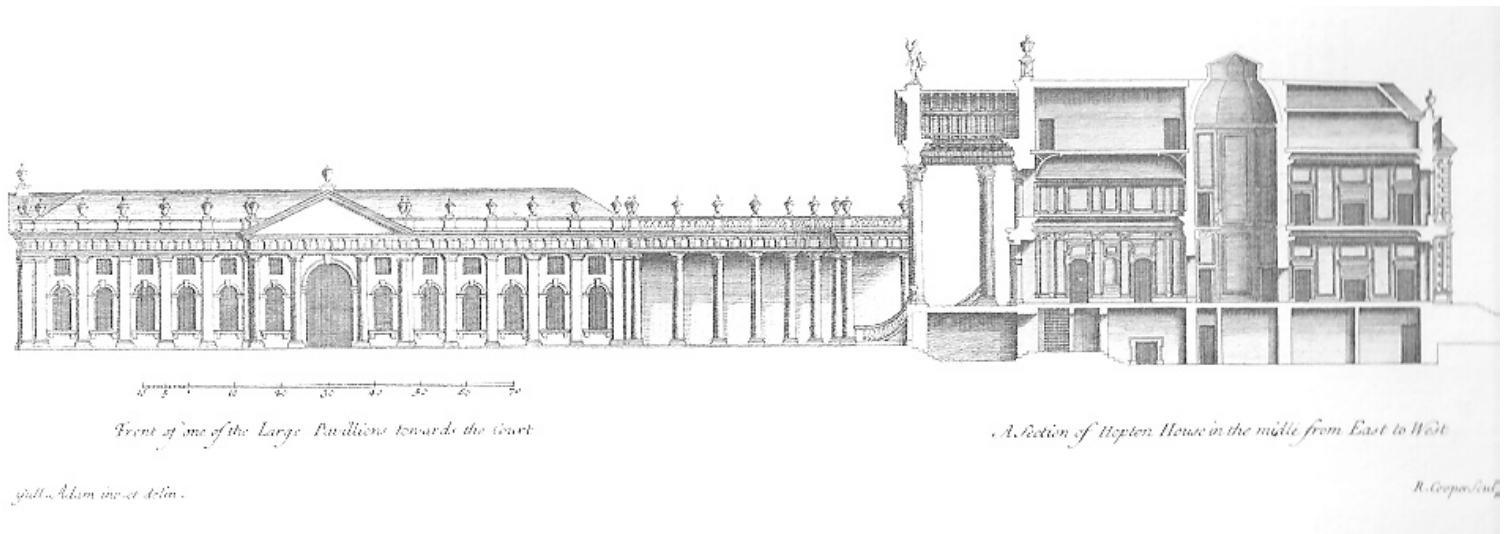
From "Scottish Historical Landscapes" by Aonghus Mackechnie, *Studies* Vol. 22, No. 3, p. 216

Figure 12: Lochleven Castle, Queen Mary's prison for nearly a year



From *Mary Stuart's Scotland*, with Photographs by Eric Thorburn, Crescent Books (New York) © 1987, p.138

Figure 13: A plate of Hopetoun House from the West of Garden Front. Sir William Bruce's 1699 structure is shown in section, while William Adam's 1721 addition is shown in elevation, due to Adam's wings curving away from the garden



From *Vitruvius Scoticus*, by William Adam, reproduced in facsimile from the copy in the University of Glasgow Library with an introduction and notes to the plates by James Simpson, Paul Harris Publishing (Edinburgh) © 1980, plate 19

Figure 14: Current View of the garden side of Hopetoun House today from across the central fountain.



From Hopetoun House image gallery, <http://www.hopetounhouse.com/index2.htm>

Figure 15: Portrait of the 11th Earl of Mar with his eldest son by Sir Godfrey Kneller,



Figure 16: Alloa Landscape Plan (1710) with later Additions and alterations by the Earl of Mar

From "The Metaphysics of place in the Scottish Historical Landscape" by Margaret C. H. Stewart, (Plan from the National Archives of Scotland), *Studies* Vol. 22, No. 3, p. 242





Figure 17: Portrait of William Adam owned by Keith Adam of Blair Adam



From *William Adam 1689 – 1748* by John Gifford, Mainstream Publishing Company Ltd., (Edinburgh) © 1989, frontispiece

Figure 18: Map of the Sites included in *Vitruvius Scoticus*, by William Adam, reproduced in facsimile from the copy in the University of Glasgow Library, with the sites discussed in this paper marked.

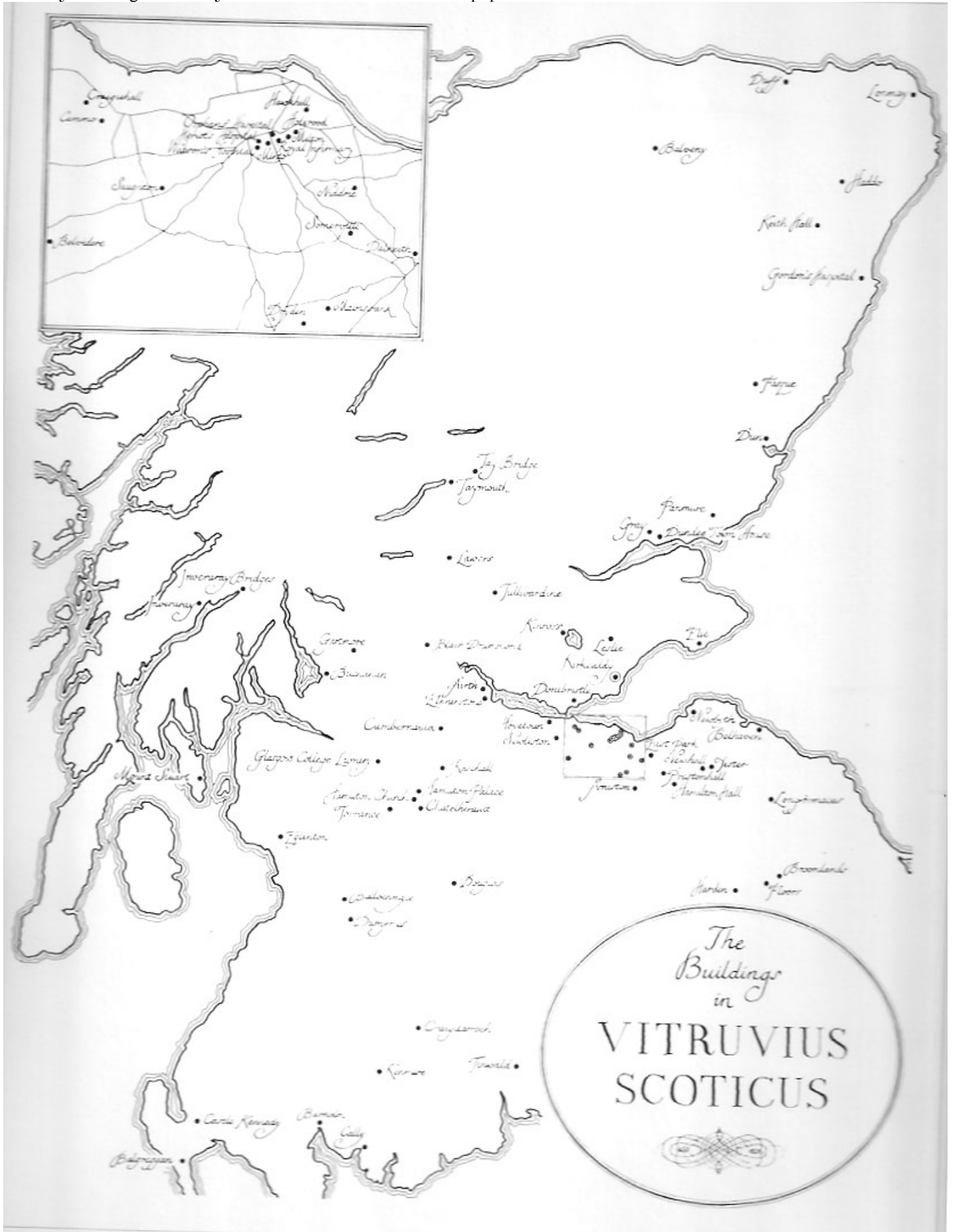


Figure 19: Plate 3 (Holyrood House) , from *Vitruvius Scoticus*

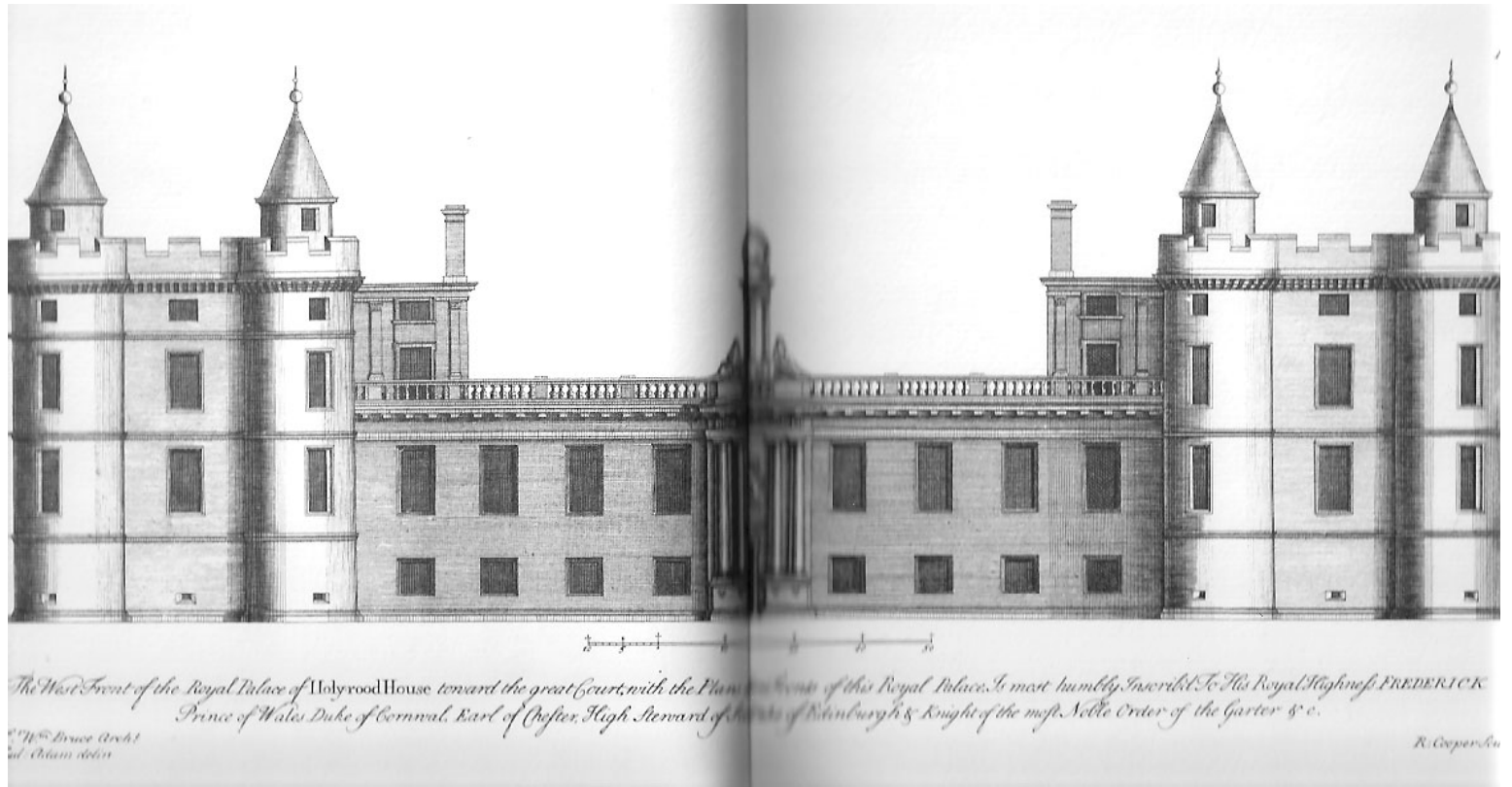


Figure 20: Holyrood Palace (foreground) and Arthur's Seat (background)



From "Scottish Historical Landscapes" by Aonghus Mackechnie, Photograph Crown Copyright *Studies* Vol. 22, No. 3, p. 217

Figure 21: Sir John Clerk of Penicuik by William Aikman,



From *William Adam 1689 - 1748*, by John Gifford, Mainstream Publishing Company Ltd., (Edinburgh) © 1989, p. 82

Figure 22: Mavisbank in its setting,



From *A History of Scottish Architecture from the Renaissance to the Present Day*, by Miles Glendinning, Ranald MacInnes & Aonghus MacKechnie Edinburgh University Press, (Edinburgh) ©1996, p. 118

Figure 23: A Plan of the landscape at Penicuik drawn by John Laurie (1757)



from *Early Scottish Gardens* by Shelia Mackay, p. 177, Plan reproduced from the National Archives of Scotland

Figure 24: Genealogies

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| William Adam (architect, wrote <i>Vitruvius Scoticus</i> ) | Sir John Clerk of Penicuik                      |
| John Adam of Maryburgh (Architect in Edinburgh)            | Sir James Clerk of Penicuik                     |
| tried to get <i>Vitruvius Scoticus</i> Published           | Sir John Clerk of Eldin (married Sussanah Adam) |
| judge in New Town Competition                              |   |
| William Adam of Blair Adam                                 |   |
| Succeeded in publishing <i>Vitruvius Scoticus</i>          |   |
| Wrote <i>The Gift of a Grandfather</i>                     |   |
| Susannah (married Sir John Clerk of Eldin)                 |   |
| Helen (stayed in Scotland)                                 |   |
| Margaret (Peggy) (stayed in Scotland)                      |   |
| Robert (Architect in London)                               |   |
| wrote <i>Ruins of Diocletian</i>                           |   |
| proposed a design for South Bridge in Edinburgh            |   |
| Janet (Jenny) (office manager for Robert)                  |   |
| Elizabeth (Betty) (office manager for Robert)              |   |
| James (practiced in Robert's office)                       |   |
| William Jr. (practiced in Robert's office)                 |   |

Figure 25: Image 4 - Portrait of Robert Adam from the Royal Institute of British Architects



from *Robert Adam & His brothers* by John Swarbrick, The Darien Press (Edinburgh), © 1915, p. 26

Figure 26: Hilly Landscape by Robert Adam, “This Romantic vision of Scotland reflects the contemporary enthusiasm for Macpherson’s Ossian, a work that contains metaphysical images of the Scottish Landscape”.



From “The Metaphysics of place in the Scottish Historical Landscape” by Margaret C. H. Stewart, Painting reproduced from the National Gallery of Scotland, *Studies* Vol. 22, No. 3, p. 242

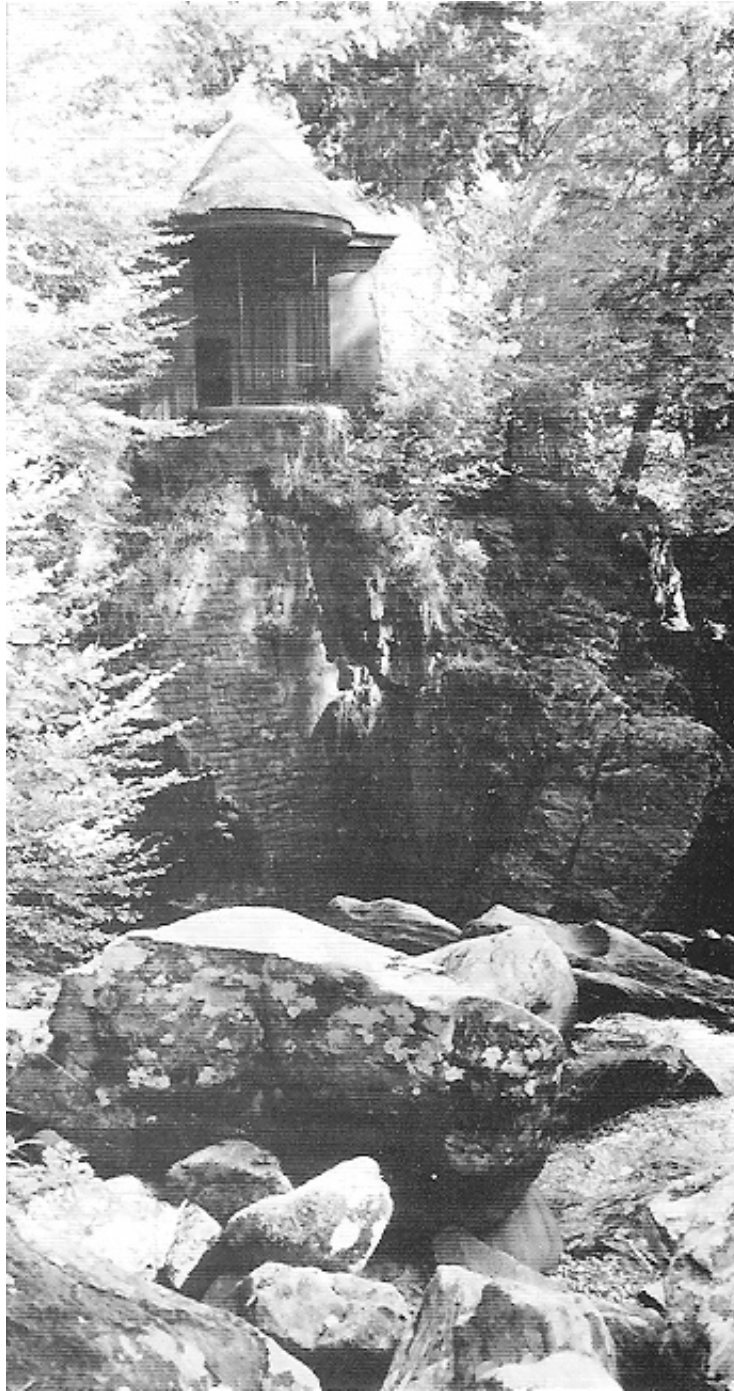


Figure 28: (next page) Plan of the New Streets and Squares intended for the City of Edinburgh, 1768, by James Craig with revisions by John Adam. "The public building is now changed to Register Office, with its shape approximating to Robert Adam's design. Its insertion caused certain alterations around it: the square building previously shown to the right of it is erased, and the Register Office encroaches to the north on Cleland's Feu. In the area to the right of the bridge Lady Glenorchy's Church and the Methodist Meeting have been inserted, while the unnamed Orphans' Hospital has been slightly twisted round. The North Side of High Street has now been inscribed at the foot of the piate to the left of the bridge and the words scale of feet have been erased. This is the final form of the January 1768 series". From "Plans of the New Town of Edinburgh" by M.K. Mead, *Architectural History*, Vol. 14 (1971), p. 49 and 145

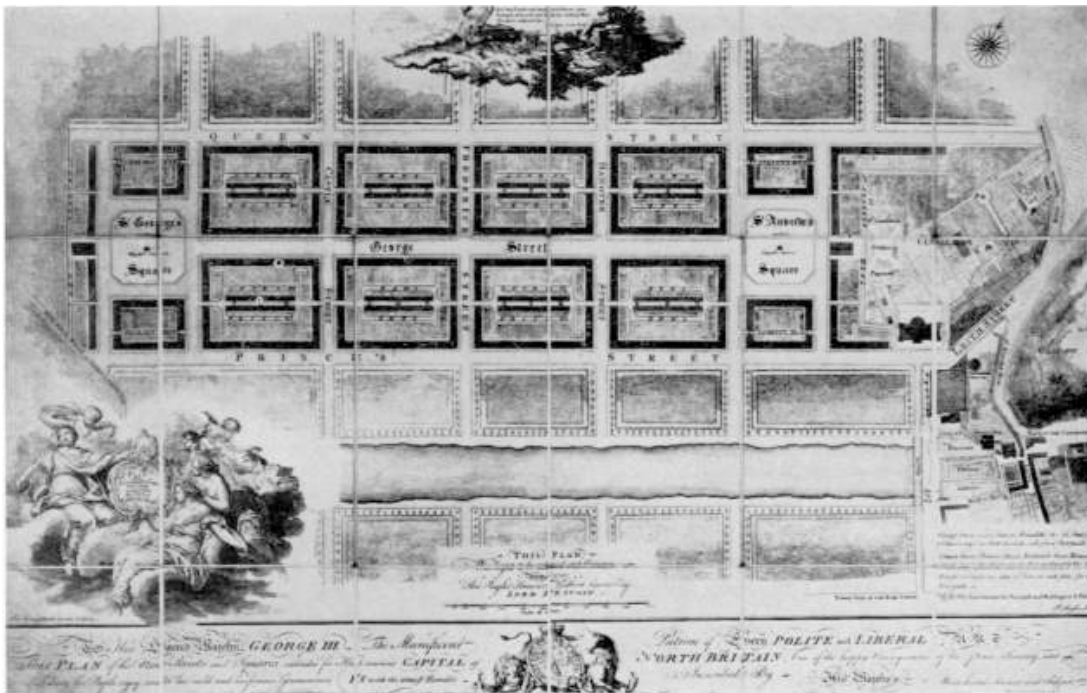


Figure 29: (below) Perspective view of proposal for Edinburgh’s South Bridge by Robert Adam, 1786, from John Soane Museum, London, reprinted in “From Caesarea to Athens, Greek Revival Edinburgh and the Question of Scottish Identity within the Unionist State” by John Lowrey, *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 60, No. 2 (June 2001), p. 149



Figure 30: Edinburgh from the Illustrated London News 1868



from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edinburgh>



Figure 31: Looking past Old College (designed by Robert Adam) to the South Bridge that was built



Figure 32: Looking off of South Bridge down to the Cowgate, taken 24 February 2005



from [http://www.woolamalloo.org.uk/2005\\_02\\_01\\_archive.htm](http://www.woolamalloo.org.uk/2005_02_01_archive.htm)

Figure 33: Panorama of Edinburgh from the Nelson Monument in October 2006



from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edinburgh>