



THE GEORGIAN GROUP

Sydney Ayers, 'John Clerk of Eldin's
"Narrative of life and work of Robert Adam,
the architect"', *The Georgian Group Journal*,
Vol: XXIX, 2021, pp. 135–152

JOHN CLERK OF ELDIN'S 'NARRATIVE OF LIFE AND WORK OF ROBERT ADAM, THE ARCHITECT'

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Following the death of Robert Adam in 1792, his obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* read: 'The many elegant buildings, public and private, erected in various parts of the kingdom by Mr. Adam, will remain lasting monuments of his taste and genius.'¹ The obituary's anonymous author was clearly attempting to confirm Adam's contemporary popularity, and furthermore to establish his posthumous legacy; this is to be expected from an obituary, as a work of hagiography rather than an objective source. A similar kind of reputation-conscious promotional activity was repeated in the years following 1792 by Adam's remaining family members – predominantly by his brother-in-law, John Clerk of Eldin.

Clerk of Eldin was a merchant, artist and writer; he was the son of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, second Baronet, who was a patron and friend of Adam's father, the Scottish architect William Adam.² The Adam and Clerk families had a close relationship; cementing the association between the two families, Clerk of Eldin married Adam's younger sister Susannah in 1753.³ Additionally, a particular friendship existed between Robert Adam and John Clerk, who were of the same age and who both attended the University of Edinburgh.⁴ We know that the two men studied sketching with the English artist Paul Sandby when he was in Scotland from 1747 until 1752.⁵ Adam and Clerk continued to be close friends and sketching partners throughout their lives. As noted by A.A. Tait, both men produced

similar views of Crossraguel Abbey from a trip to Ayrshire in 1762.⁶ Clerk became renowned for his etchings throughout the 1770s, before going on to write an *Essay on Naval Tactics* (privately printed 1782, published 1790 & 1797).⁷ In this venture, he was assisted by Adam through the suggestion of, and instruction in, the aquatint process for the book's diagrams showing ships in action: 'I would like in your plates for the Tactics that you would draw pretty little tiny ships ... The Aquatints would do charming for the bonny wee sailings.'⁸

We see the two men again collaborating on Clerk's bound volume of etchings and drawings, given to King George III in 1786.⁹ Titled 'Drawings, Etchings, and Prints of different Places in Scotland, by John Clerk, Esq. of Eldin,' this volume also contains prints that were hand-coloured by Adam.¹⁰ Some of the prints were inscribed with 'Shades touched by R. Adam' in the lower right corner, as seen in a 'View of Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat, Edinburgh, Wryte's boards castle' (Fig. 1). This etching embodies their shared interest in the Scottish landscape, and in the Picturesque aesthetic; both men produced drawings or etchings of traditional Scottish buildings in their landscape setting. This interest can also be seen in Adam's landscape drawings of the 1780s, such as his pen and ink wash drawing of 'A Castle by a River with Mountains Beyond' (Fig. 2). In the last years of his life, as early as 1788, Adam based himself in Edinburgh for the summer and autumn of each year in order to oversee



Fig. 1. John Clerk of Eldin and Robert Adam. *View of Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat, Edinburgh, Wryte's boards castle. c.1773-1872.* Etching, monochrome wash. Sheet 14.7 × 38 cm, on mount 22 × 45.3 cm. (King's Topographical Collection, British Library. 191.g.6.)

ongoing commissions in Scotland.¹¹ During these visits, we see Adam and Clerk socialising quite frequently, with Clerk often accompanying Adam on site visits to offer advice to patrons; in September 1788, for example, he went with Adam to see the progress of Culzean Castle in Ayrshire.¹² On his last trip to Scotland in 1791, Adam is recorded as dining with Clerk and his sister at Eldin on 22 May 1791; he also spent Christmas Day that year with them.¹³

Around the turn of the nineteenth century, Clerk wrote two separate accounts of Adam, his works and British architecture more broadly: a 'Narrative of life and work of Robert Adam, the

architect' and 'A Short Retrospective view of the state of architecture in Great Britain previous to Mr Adam's time together with an account of the style by him introduced.'¹⁴ These manuscripts are part of the Papers of the Clerk family of Penicuik, now on loan to the National Records of Scotland (NRS). Clerk's 'Short Retrospective view' was transcribed and studied by John Fleming,¹⁵ but regrettably the manuscript was not completed and ended prior to a description of Adam's architectural style. On the other hand, the 'Narrative of life and work of Robert Adam' offers a more complete view of the architect's life and architectural works. Not only



is there a completed narrative, but there are four separate drafts of the same text. Additionally, it is worth noting that the NRS holds a third manuscript text containing Clerk's draft notes; they are clearly very preliminary notes with scratchy handwriting and many lines crossed out and rewritten.¹⁶ They contain new information not included in the other two manuscripts, much of which is of a highly personal or narrative nature that would not have been suitable for the intended publication.¹⁷ Yet with so little personal information left behind by Adam himself, these texts, written by someone who knew him very well, take on added significance.

This article will explore the contents and contexts of Clerk's 'Narrative of life and work of Robert Adam.' It summarises and details the narrative biography, before turning to a discussion of when and why this manuscript text was written. It reveals, for the first time, when the manuscript biography was written; and it likewise reveals that Clerk was writing his life of Robert Adam for the fourth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, a fact which has been hitherto unknown. The article afterwards turns towards the nature of the draft revisions and questions the significance of the numerous drafts. Such care and dedication to producing an accurate and complimentary biographical narrative speaks to Adam and Clerk's close friendship, but is also part of the Adam family's larger interest in protecting Robert's reputation following his death in 1792. Clerk's text also speaks to wider opinion on architecture and architectural history at the turn of the nineteenth century, and offers insight into a contemporary, although somewhat biased, opinion on Adam's works. Following these introductory notes, the article includes a full transcription, retaining the original spelling and punctuation throughout. The text has been often quoted from in the past, but never transcribed in full.

The four drafts, which all remain undated, show that Clerk was revising and rewriting his narrative account of Adam's life and career. This is judged by the various states of quality, with some pages loosely handwritten on rough paper and others nicely transcribed in cursive script.¹⁸ The four drafts are here numbered in the order they appear in the bound archival volume, though this is not necessarily indicative of the order in which they were produced. Draft 1 is loosely handwritten with several corrections and sections crossed out. Draft 3 is similarly loosely handwritten, and is a very rough draft with errors and repetition, corrections and notes written in the margins. On the other hand, Drafts 2 and 4 are more finished manuscripts, almost

formally written, in much better handwriting, with few changes and scarce margin notes.

The text itself is highly revealing about the Adam family and the early life of Robert Adam, and offers a complete view of his life and architectural works. In all his manuscript drafts, Clerk begins with a brief history of Adam's ancestors, with the highlight being an account of his father's life and works. Following short descriptions of Robert's childhood and education in Edinburgh, Clerk then moves the narrative along to describe his travels to Italy and Spalatro (Split in Croatia). This is where Draft 1 ends; although it is not notably short since it includes a larger amount of material on Adam family history and William Adam's architectural works and business pursuits. Clerk next details Robert's early career and architectural works in London, before including extensive lists of his works across England and Scotland. Drafts 2, 3 and 4 all include a similar description of his death, stating that he died following the bursting of a blood vessel in his stomach; that he is buried in Poets Corner in Westminster Abbey; and that his tomb is covered by a slab of white marble inscribed with 'Robert Adam Architect.' Following this statement of death, Draft 2 additionally goes on to detail James Adam's early life, his trip to Italy, and his later career and works after Robert's death.

In addition to discussing the contents of Clerk's text, it is also necessary to understand when and why it was written. The purpose of the texts has been previously unknown, which is closely tied to the fact that they are not dated. Fleming speculated that they were 'written shortly after Robert Adam's death for a projected memorial publication.'¹⁹ However, I have determined that the 'Narrative of life and work of Robert Adam' was written between 1794 and 1802. It was produced after the death of James Adam in October 1794, since Clerk mentioned in the text that only one brother was still living following the deaths of Robert and John in 1792 and James in 1794. This was the youngest Adam brother, William

(1738–1822). The text must therefore have been written after October 1794, and completed by August 1802, as revealed in a letter to William from Andrew Dalzell, Professor at the University of Edinburgh and husband to Clerk's niece.²⁰

In his letter to Clerk of 5 August 1802, Dalzell stated that the manuscript text 'as it is will not do for insertion' in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* to be published in 1805. Clerk had been asked by the editors to provide a short account of the life of Robert, but Dalzell criticised it for its length: 'a proper life ... of Mr. R. Adam ... might fill a volume and would require a person skilled in Architecture to compile it.'²¹ He offered instead to re-write a new version, using Clerk's manuscript as a basis, and afterwards to submit the text for the approval of his brother-in-law William Adam. So as not to exclude Clerk from this process, his sister-in-law Margaret Adam 'dissuades him [Dalzell] from inserting anything till she, her brother [William Adam] and you [Clerk] shall see and approve of it.'²² Despite the negative reception of the text by Dalzell and other members of the Adam family, this letter confirms that Clerk had completed his draft by 1802. The fact that Clerk was writing specifically for the fourth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is further supported by an undated letter he wrote to his brother-in-law William and sister-in-law Margaret. It presumably dates from between 1794 and 1802, before Dalzell's rejection of the text, since he described the process of writing his manuscript:

'I am much obliged to you for mentioning the paper for Encyclopædia. I had finished your Brother Roberts part. __ but considering a portion, for Brother James M^r Dalzel & myself we thought improper that your Brother John should be left out __ Accordingly by falling a new to work _ I am happy in having without much trouble or great length put so much together as will introduce your father for whom I have the greatest respect as well as your three brothers __ keeping Robert still as the bolder part of the Portrait __ when finished from the scrawl I will not fail to send you a copy.'²³



Fig. 2. Robert Adam. *A Castle by a River with Mountains Beyond – In the Middle Distance, a Stone Bridge and in the Foreground, Two Sailing Boats and Figures*. c.1780. Pen, brown ink and grey wash, the figures drawn in black ink on paper. 23.6 × 29.7 cm. (National Galleries Scotland. D 466.)

This letter also reveals that the revisions were completed in accordance with Dalzell's input, but as we have seen, Clerk's manuscript was not deemed suitable by Dalzell. This provides a better understanding of why four separate manuscript drafts exist, and also why parts of them feature such different content.

In Clerk's description of his 'falling a new to work,' we have better insight into the process of rewriting that surrounds the manuscript drafts. He indicates that he had first written a section for Robert Adam – much in line with the narrative focus of

Drafts 3 and 4. Yet he also mentions that additional sections on the other brothers James and John – and also their father William Adam – would be fitting. Such extensive additions are seen in the texts of Drafts 1 and 2. Draft 1 features a much lengthier portion of text on William Adam as an introduction – although the text is left unfinished, ending with Robert's time in Italy; while Draft 2 features James's life and career. Due to this extra narrative on James Adam, Draft 2 is probably the later draft referenced by Clerk in his letter to Dalzell in which he states that he was 'considering a portion, for Brother James.'

As Drafts 1 and 2 feature additional sections, their lengths are correspondingly longer at 1280 (1175 without crossed out sections) and 1830 words, respectively; Drafts 3 and 4 are shorter at 1002 and 1082 words, respectively. Another differentiating factor between the drafts is the quality: Drafts 1 and 3 are closer to rough drafts, while Drafts 2 and 4 more closely resemble finished papers. As Clerk admits in the above letter, he would produce refined copies of his manuscript 'when finished from the scrawl.' In this way, the extreme similarity between Drafts 3 and 4 can be explained by Draft 3 acting as the rough 'scrawl' for the eventual product of Draft 4. Given the length and quality of the manuscript drafts, as well as the contents of the Adam and Clerk family letters, Draft 4 appears to be closest to a finished manuscript. Yet while Clerk's intention was that this polished text would be published in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, it was in fact little employed in the subsequent published entry. The content is similar – the *Encyclopædia Britannica* entry follows Clerk's text in starting with Adam's father, his early life in Edinburgh, his time on the Continent, and his eventual career in Britain – but the published article draws more obviously on the obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

Although Clerk's manuscript was not directly utilised in the fourth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1805), his various drafts and revisions nonetheless demonstrate the family's continued concern over protecting Robert Adam's legacy. It is clear from the letters quoted above that William, Margaret and other members of the Adam family were heavily involved in shaping his posthumous memory.²⁴ The concern with the content of the text is paralleled by similar preoccupations over James Tassie's portrait medallions of Adam. As Margaret wrote in May 1792: 'John [Clerk] was to try to make out a likeness of my Brother Robert from the shade [portrait medallion]... We wish it were in his power to do it soon for we are afraid that Tassy will lose patience and bring out the likeness he had made

himself which is a most disagreeable one'.²⁵ For the Adam family it would have been 'disagreeable to transmit an unjust resemblance of a great genius,' and in doing so tarnish his legacy.²⁶ Intriguingly, interest in the life and works of Robert Adam was again revived within the Adam and Clerk families in the twentieth century, as evidenced by a new typed version of Clerk's manuscript: 'Life of R. Adam. Esq. Architect, F.R.S. &c.'²⁷ This fragment contains some variations from Clerk's texts, but begins with an excerpt from Draft 1: 'The task we now undertake is the more interesting, as it seems to involve the whole history of British Architecture during the improving period of the Eighteenth century.'

John Clerk of Eldin, 'Narrative of life and work of Robert Adam,' (c.1794–1802). Papers of the Clerk family of Penicuik. National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh. NRS GD18/4981.

The text has been transcribed as closely as possible. The original spelling and punctuation have been retained. The blank spaces seem to indicate missing or yet-to-be included information, such as the age of Adam at death or the name of a house or patron. The endnotes here provide additional information and clarification on the text.

DRAFT 1

Loosely handwritten with several corrections and sections crossed out.

'Life of Robert Adam Esq.^r, Architect to the King & to the Queen, one of the principal offices of His Majesty's Office of Works, Fellow of the Royal & Antiquarian Societies of London & Edinburgh, Member of the Academy of St. Luke at Rome, of the Imperial Academy of Arts at Florence, & of the Institute of Bologna'²⁸

The task we now undertake is the more interesting, as it seems to involve the whole history of British Architecture during the improving period of the Eighteenth century

M^r. Adam was descended of an ancient family of that name in the county of Forfar. His frugal ancestors whom the spur of ambition had never roused into action, transmitted a small paternal inheritance improved & unimpaired from father to son for many generations²⁹

Affected however by the growing caprice or the increasing dissipation of a more luxurious age, the grandfather of M^r. Adam found himself inclined to follow a profession to which he was led by a natural propensity. He fixed his residence at Kircaldie in Fifeshire, which thence forward became the limited scene of his architectural abilities. By his wife Helen Cranstun, he had an only son named William, a man of a vigorous & enterprising genius, & who at an early period of life had established himself the universal Arch.t of his country.³⁰

His works abound all over Scotland, & have left behind him a favorable impression of his professional skill. The façade of Hopton House, Fife House near Banff, the Bridge of Tay, Chatherrault near Hamilton, the Royal Infirmary, & Watsons Hospital in this city, amongst an infinite number of lesser works, will long remain conspicuous monuments of his superior talents.³¹ He married Mary Robertson daughter to the Laird of Gladney, by whom he had five sons & eight daughters. John succeeded to his Father's estates in Fife & Kinross shires. Robert was born at Kircaldie on the 3rd of July old style in the year 1728. He together with his brother James, desirous of following the profession of their father, received their education at the High School, & afterwards at the University of this city³²

In every branch of learning, Robert displayed the natural quickness of his parts. He was equally excellent & made a rapid progress in the languages, in mathematicks, & in natural philosophy; but in his earliest years, & during an attentive application to these studies, he gave proofs of the most decided predilection for those finer arts in which he afterwards so much excelled. Architecture & Landskip painting were his favourite amusements, & very sedulously occupied his leisure hours

The numerous family of M^r Adam, now grown up, the uninterrupted cordiality in which they lived, their conciliating manners, & the various accomplishments in which they had severally made proficiency, formed a most attractive society, & failed not to draw around them a set of men, whose learning, & genius have since done honor to that country which gave them birth. Amongst these were Doctor Robertson the Historian, allied to the Adams by consanguinity, Doctor Drysdale Author of Sermons, John Clerk Esquire Author of Naval Tactics, both allied to this family by marriage, Doctor Adam Smith Author of the Wealth of Nations, David Hume Esquire the Historian, John Home Esquire Author of Trajadies, Doctor Adam Fergusson Historian & Author of the progress of Civil Society, Doctor William Wilkie Author of the Epigoniad, Doctor John Blair Author of the Chronology, Doctor John Hatton Author of the Theory of the Earth, & many others whose superior taste & genius have since been displayed in elegant & useful works, which have rendered their names immortal³³

M^r. Adam having finished his education, was fully determined to follow the profession of his father, but he dying on the 24th of June 1748, as we learn from his stately monument in the Grayfriar's church yard of this city, his son Robert went soon after into England, where from a careful examination of the best works in that country, he first began to prune the exuberance of his fancy, & to correct his taste.³⁴ Returning into

Scotland, he for some years, attended to the erecting of Fort George, near Inverness, & there it was he found leisure to compleat his architectural studies, to arrange his ideas, & acquire his first rudiments in the practical construction of buildings³⁵

In the year 1756 the late Earl of Hopeton proposed to M^r. Adam to accompany M^r. Hope his son's Brother, who was then going a journey into Italy. M^r. Adam thinking this an agreeable opportunity, accepted the invitation. When passing through Flanders, France & Italy, they went directly to Rome, arrived at that scene of elegance, & of taste both ancient & modern, & prepared as he was, M^r. Adam drank in science with amazing rapidity, & soon enriched his mind with ample stores of noble ideas, taking for his models those magnificent remains of ancient grandeur, with which Rome, & its visinity abound, & of which the spirit & beauty, have so conspicuously displayed themselves in all his works³⁶

The external remains of ancient magnificence, were not however, the sole objects of M^r. Adam's attention & study. His brother James his fellow student in architecture had often suggested, while yet in Scotland, that their art must ever remain extremely deficient, until they should be able to supply some new & undiscovered resources for the internal decoration of private apartments by introducing elegance, gayity & variety, instead of that dull & elaborate sterility, which universally prevailed in the buildings of this Island, till the time of M^r Adam's return from abroad. Nor is it a little singular to say, that we do not recollect to have ever seen, during the whole course of our investigations into this subject, one suite of apartments from the time of Inigo Jones, down to the period we have now mentioned, where convenience, elegance, & variety were united, or even attempte^d

[Crossed out start] with his brother James, desirous of following the profession of their father, received their education at the High School & afterwards at the University of this city

In every branch of learning, Robert displayed the natural quickness of his talents. He was equally excellent & made a sensible proficiency with the languages, in mathematicks, & in natural philosophy, but from his earliest years, & even during an attentive application to these studies, he gave proof of the most decisive predilection for those finer arts, in which he afterwards so much excelled. Architecture & Landscape painting were his favourite amusements, & sedulously occupied his leisure hours [Crossed out finish]

In order to remedy this defeat, M^r. Adam bestowed an assiduous attention to that branch of his art, & eagerly diving with great labour & expence into all the crypts of Rome & its environs, he there discovered much hidden treasure. To this he added a large collection from the best modern masters: the works of Raphael, & of Michael Angelo, Pyrro Ligorio & Algardi, of all which he failed not to avail himself in the happiest manner, so that it may & with great truth be said that his success in this branch of his art stands unrivalled in modern Europe. These researches were afterwards continued on a more extencive scale, by his brother James, who to this superb assemblage of beauty, added all the discoveries on the Baian shore of Herculaneum & Pompeia, with vast selections from the modern Masters, hithertho unexplored, both in the apartments of the Vatican & in those of the Castel Vecchio at Florence, where Raphael, & Gergio Vasari seem to have vied with each other for pre-eminence in the variety, & beauty of their decorations³⁷

DRAFT 2

Much nicer handwriting, almost formally written.

Robert Adam of London, a most eminent Architect

His father William Adam Esq^r of Mary Burgh in Kinross Shire, descended of the Family of Adam of Fanno, in Forfarshire, his mother, Mary Robertson a Daughter or Robertson of Gladney in the County of Fife, descended of the Family of Strouan.

The Father William Adam was also a most eminent Architect, and designed and built many beautiful Houses, Banff House, the Seat of Earl Fife in Banffshire, the House of Dun, Mavisbank, small, indeed, a most elegant Villa, &c. but his best works are the grand Stables and other parts of Hopeton House, in west Lothian.³⁸

M^r Adam brought a modle of a Barley Kiln from Holland, and introduced the making of Barley, and also the making of Dutch Pantiles in Scotland.³⁹ As a man of Genius and great abilities his House was long the resort of men of genius and the Ornaments of the age, his nephew Doctor Robertson Historiographer, Doctor Adam Ferguson, John Home Author of Douglas, the Celebrated David Hume, Professor William Cloghorn, Adam Smith Author of the wealth of nations, Doctor William Wilkie Author of the Epigoniad, Doctor John Blair Prebendary of Westminster, And the unfortunate William Falconer Soaman, a near relation, and Author of the most beautiful and interesting Poem the Shipwreck.⁴⁰

M^r Adams Fortune, which was very Considerable, his own acquisition, he left to his Family, ten in number, four Sons and six Daughters. John the Eldest son although he had made Architecture his study, under his father, along with his two Brothers Robert and James, being left a Considerable landed property, by his father, showing much genius and industry, Succeeded in Decorating with large and

thriving plantations his Estate of Blair in Fife and Kinross Shire's __ the youngest brother William, still alive, was bred in a Mercantile line

Robert Adam the second son of whom we now speak, was born July 1728, in Edinburgh where the Father then resided, and received the first rudiments of his Education at the High School, then in Great reputation.

besides the closest application to drawing, and the other necessary Studies or branches of his Profession, he had an excellent voice and sung delightfully well was of such a lively genius and spirit that from his youth, and thro the whole course of his life, he was the admiration and darling of the numerous men of the age resorting to his Fathers House as before mentioned

Hopeton house the Seat of the Earl of Hopeton on the whole, but especially in the Several parts most remarkable for their beauty, as well as grandure, had long been a subject of employment for M^r. Adam the father, and even for his sons after his death. __ And it Cannot be omitted that almost on every Consultation of the Earl with his friends, the Young Robert was called on, to give his opinion before any thing could be decided⁴¹

In the Year 1746 and 1747 or soon afterwards, when it was determined to build a strong fort on Ardersire point on the Murray Firth, the three Brothers John Robert and James in Copartnary, undertook that Stupenduous work, __ And much about the same time, Dumfries House, was planned, (and more particularly Superintended by Robert as a favourite of the Earl,) together with many other Edifices at the same time carrying on, needles here to be mentioned⁴²

September 1754 Robert set out to finish his Studies at Rome and in examining the magnificent remains of Ancient architecture and also the later works at that place and the other Cities around, Florence, Naples,

Bolonia, and Venice, he spent three years and a half in which time also must be comprehended, his excursion across the Adriatic to Dalmatia, from where he returned with the compleat Survey of the Palace of Spalatro, built by the Emperor Dioclesian on his retirement from Government. ____ (which afterwards M^r Adam published in a Splendid work (the Ruins of Spalatro)⁴³ _ And sparing no expence, he brought along with him several eminent Artists and designers, together with a handsome Collection of Pictures, Bronses and plaster casts of the most beautifull moulding, of Ancient Architecture, together also with an infinite number of Sketches of Antique Ceillings discovered on the Roofs of the remains of the Palace of Nero, the Baths of Caracalla Dioclesian & C by which the greatest improvement has been made in the ornament of every kind of building Since that time whether in Scotland or in England⁴⁴

Immediately as an Architect his first work in London was the Screen before the Admiralty Office, Next followed the building of the Adelphi, Portland place, with many other Specimens thro. the City, which being Copied or imitated by others, gave Occasion to the denomination of the Adamian Stile ____ but a greater number of the first order of Excellence in building M^r Adam has executed in the Countrey. Sion House at Osterly park belonging to M^r Child⁴⁵

Lord scarsdale [blank space] at Saltram Devonshire the Seat of M^r Parker⁴⁶

Alnwick Castle for M^r. Weddle at [blank space] near Burroughbridge ____ to which many other works in England may be added, as Kanewood the Seat of the Great Lord Mansfield executed by him.⁴⁷

At Edinburgh we have the Register Office, the College, and the Bridewell of A Construction the best that can well be immagined for the purpose, ____ taken from a hint given him By a Russian Gentleman but much improved by M^r Adam, His plan for the

South Bridge however with a most beautifull Fasade for the Shops and buildings to be erected thereon unfortunately was rejected, while the presant Bridge and Street, and at a greater expence than M^r Adam's plan would have cost, was adopted and put in execution⁴⁸

It was after this that he gave designs for improvements a bout the Parliament House by plans for a new LibRARY for the Faculty of Advocates, conjoining therewith a Court House and Council Chamber, and even a new Prison for the City, all these to make part of A street and Bridge to be Carried over the Cowgate Street as a Second Access to the City from the South⁴⁹

In the Neighbourhood we have the beautifule Castle of Oxenford the seat of Sir John Dalrymple and the new house built at Gossford by the Earls of Weems a magnificent Palace⁵⁰ At Glasgow we have the Assembly Rooms, the Trades Hall, and beyond all The Royal Infirmary⁵¹

in Airshire, we have the whimsical but magnificent Castle of Collane, on which the late Earl of Cassillis, without Controul encouraged him to indulge to the utmost his romantic and fruitful genius, Near this last is the House of Dalquharn the Picturesque seat of M^r Kennedy⁵²

In the neighbourhood of Stirling is the House or Castle of Aithry and as the last of his works remains Maulsley on the Clyde, the seat of the Earl of Hyndford and the Earl of Lauderdale's House at Dunbar.⁵³ ____ Besides the many Architectural Drawings finished by his Clerks, M^r Adam as he never a moment could be idle, must have left behind him as infinite number of Valuable pieces, washed with water Colours, as well as what he has executed in Claro Obscuro, with Indian Ink studied interely for the general effect.

In May 1768 he was elected knight of the Shire for the County of Kinross, Alternate with the County of Clacmannan, and and Served the whole of the following Parliament and during the administration of Lord North⁵⁴

In the [blank space] year of his age his Sudden death was occasioned by the bursting of a large Blood vessel opening about the Region of the Stomach and he lies buried in Poets Corner Westminster Abby in the Middle of the floor covered with a Slab of white Marble ____ inscribed Robert Adam Architect⁵⁵

James Adam the third son of M^r William Adam of Blair, after making Considerable progress in Literature and the Bell Letter, as an Architect, copartner with his two Elder brothers John and Robert, he assisted at the building and Constructing of Fort George Ardesire for the first time in summer 1751 ____ And returning to Edinburgh recomenced his Studies at the College ____ the Alternate practice of which summer and winter for Continued till November 1759 At which time with his Mother and the rest of her family left Edinburgh to Join Robert who had returned from Italy the year before⁵⁶

James Adam set out for Rome in the year 1760 and with advantage of the friends acquired before, by his brother Robert, made great proficiency in the Study of his profession and Visiting every place in the neighbourhood Florence, Naples, Venice and Bologna, Cities renowned for their works in Ancient and Modern Architecture, their collection of Pictures and Statues the work of Artists, the first in the world ____ After three years he returned to England, bringing with him A very Considerable Value in Pictures Drawings, Marble Statues & Bronses, in addition to the Collection which was brought before by his brother Robert _____⁵⁷

It was soon after this that the four brothers in Copartnary, John Robert, James and now joined

by William the youngest, Conceiving designs in Ornamental building, begun upon the Adelphi, so named from the Brotherhood, remarkable for the private embankment, the first attempt of its kind [page break] kind upon the River Thames, and still more for the Substructions, in which were Controled Streets and Cross Streets giving access to stables and Coach houses to Collars and ware houses ____ The embankment formed in the bed of the River Thames giving room for wharfs furnished with Cranes required for shiping and unshipping of Goods, on the whole Convenient and new of its kind ____

Portland Place of great extent in form of an Oblong Square, having on each side a complete and regular Fasade of separate houses highly adorned was their next enterprise

About this time their Statues now amounting to a great Collection were placed in A Museum at Milbank where they had an extensive timber yard.⁵⁸

Even with such great efforts the Genius of James Could not be satisfied but Possessing himself of A Considerable farm, he made agriculture so much his study that Composing a Compleat System has published the same in a work in two comprehensive volumes is in so much request that already it has gone through editions ____⁵⁹

Upon his Brother Roberts Death taking upon him the direction of the Architectural branch of the business, he made Several Journeys into Scotland and inspected the great works which were begun and carrying on, the Colledge and Bridewell and Charlot Square at Edinburgh, the Houses for the Earls of Weems Lauderdale and Hyndford And the Assembly rooms the Halls, and the Infirmary at Glasgow,⁶⁰

Some years before his Brother Roberts death he had been so much weakened by an effusion of blood by the bursting of a large blood Vessel, that ever after

from time to time, he was threatned with a Paralytic disorder, which in the beginning of November [blank space] put a period to his life⁶¹

DRAFT 3

Loosely handwritten, and very much a rough draft with corrections and notes written in the margins.

Robert Adam a most eminent Architect to his Majesty of London, was the son of William Adam Esq^r of Mary Burgh in Kinross shire, and of Mary Robertson – By his Father he was descended from the family of Adam of Fano in Forfar Shire__

And [blank space] his mother daughter of Robertson of Gladney in the county of Fife descended of the Family of Struan _ so that M^r R Adam & the celebrated doctor Robertson historiographer were cousines german _____

He was born July 1728 in Edinburgh, where his father then resided _ and received the first rudiments of his education at the High school then in great repute _

He was the second son of M^r Adams Family which consisted of ten in number – four sons & six Daughters __ the Eldest sons John, Robert & James, in particular studied Architecture under their father — the youngest William, still alive was formed in a merchantile line

Robert of whom we now speak besides the closest application to drawing & the other necessary studies in his profession was of such a lively genius & spirit that from his early youth, not only in his youth but the whole count of his life he was the darling & admiration of the numerous men of genius of the age which resorted to his fathers House well known in the Literary world __ I above mentioned Doctor

Robertson, Doctor Adam Ferguson, M^r William Cleghorn Professor of Moral Phylosophy M^r John Home author of the tragady of Douglas Adam Smith author of the wealth of nations Dr Wilkie author of the Epigoniad Dr John Blair late prabendary of westminster

Hopeton House the seat of the Earl of Hopeton, of which on the whole but particularly in the several parts are most remarkable for its beauty as well as grandure, had long been a subject of Employment for M^r Adam the Father, and of course came to be an object in the studies of his three sons __ and it cannot be omitted that almost on every consultation of the Earl with his friends __ the Young Robert was called to give his opinion before any thing could be concluded (decided) _____

In the 1746 & 1747— or soon afterwards when It was determined to build Fort George on the Point of Ardesire point — Murray Firth the 3 Brothers in copartnary under took that stupendous work _ and much about the same time Dumfries House was superinted by Robert as a favourite of the Earl with many other Edifices then enacting needless here to mention _____

September 1754 He set out to finish his studies at Rome and in examing every thing there and the Cities — around Florence Naples Bulonia & Venice he spent three years & a half in which time also must be comprehended his excursion to Dalmatia from whenst he returned with the compleat Survey of the palace of spalatro the retirement & built by the Emperor Dioclesion on his retire of from Rome Government &c — which afterwards M^r Adam on his return to London published in a splendid work (the Ruins of Spalatro). Along with him he brought several eminent artists and designers & sparing no expence a handsome collection of Pictures Bronses —and plaster casts of the most beautifull mouldings of ancient architecture together with a collection of drawings antique Ceillings discover on the Roofs of

the Palace of Nero the Baths of Caracalla Dioclesian on mount

& C from which the greatest improvement has been made in the inside ornament of every building since that time in England as well as in Scotland ____

Immediately as an Architect his first work in London was the screen to the admiralty office next followed specimens in many other [blank space] throu the city, the Adelphi Portland Place Fitzroy Square, which being copied or followed by others gave occasion to denominate such specimens as in the Adamian (Adamitic) Stile ____ but a much greater number and of the first order M^r Adam had the merit in several buildings in the country viz at Sion House M^r Childs Lord Scarsdale at Saltram Devonshire the MR Parker _ Alnwick Castle _ at M^r Waddles near Burrowbridge ____ and many other of his executions in England may be added

At Edinburgh we have the Register office & the Colledge the Bridewell of the best construction for the purpose _ from a hint by a Russian Gentleman but much improved by M^r Adam ____ His Plan however for the South Bridge with a beautifull Fasade for the shops & buildings to be erected thereon unfortunately was rejected while the present Bridge and street of even a greater an expence was poor in execution. & in the neighbourhood we have the beautifull castle of Oxenfoord belonging to Sir John Dalrymple At Glasgow we have Assembly Rooms the [blank space] Hall ____ & beyond all the Infirmary ____ In Airshire we have the whimsical but extremely magnificent Castle of Colane the seat of the Earl of Cassilis on which the late Earl without controul encouraged him to exhaust (indulge) the even utmost romantic Caprice of his Genius ____ near to this also is the House of Daquharn the picturesque seat of M^r Kennedy of Dunure, the House or Castle of Aithrie in the neighbourhood of Stirling ____ and as his last work ____ now remains Maulesley on the Clyde the seat of the Earl of Hyndford

Besides the many Architectural drawings finished by his Clerks, M^r Adam, as he never for a moment could be idle, must have left behind him a vast collection of valuable pieces finished (washed) with water colours, as well as what he has executed in claro obscuro with Indian Ink studied intirely for the general effect ____

In May 1768 he was elected knight of the shire for the county of Kinross alternate with the county of Clacmannan and served the whole of the the following Parliment & during the Administration of Lord North ____

In the [blank space] year of his age his sudden death was occasioned by the Bursting of a large blood vessal opening in to (in the region of) the Stomach ____ and he was buried in Poets corner, Wesminster Abby in the middle of the floor & covered with with a plain slab of marble stone inscribed Robert Adam Architect

DRAFT 4

Nicely handwritten with few changes and margin notes.

Robert Adam Architect, of London was the son of William Adam Esqr of Maryburgh in Kinross shire, and of Mary Robertson. _ By his Father he was descended from the family of Adam of Fanon in Forfarshire ____ His mother was a Daughter of Robertson of Gladney in the county of Fife &c so that M^r. R Adam & the celabrated Doctor Robertson historiographer were cousines german ____

He was born July 1728 in Edinburgh where his father then resided, and received the first rudiments of his education at the High School then in great repute _ He was the second son of M^r Adam's Family which consisted of ten in number four sons & six Daughters ____ the Elder sons John Robert & James,

in particular studdied Architecture under their father, the youngest William still alive was bred in a merchantile Line ____ Robert of whom we now speak besides the closset application to drawing & the other necessary studies or branches of his profession, he had an excellent voice & sung well & was of such a lively genius & spirit that from his youth and through the whole course of his Life he was the admiration & darling of the numerous men of genius of the age who had resorted to his fathers house _ to name a few the above mentioned Doctor Robertson, Doctor Adam Ferguson Doctor Adam Smith M^r William Cleghorn John Home, Doctor William Wilkie Dr John Blair men all of them well known in the Literary world

Hopeton House the seat of the Earl of Hopeton, on the whole but especially in the several parts is most remarkable for its beauty as well as grandure had long been a subject of Emploment for M^r Adam the Father and of course came to be an Object in the studies of his three sons _ but it cannot be omitted that almost on every consultation of the Earl with his friends, the Young Robert was called to give is opinion before any thing could be decided ____ in the year 1746 & 1747 or soon afterward when it was determined to build on Ardesire point on the Murray Firth, the three Brothers in copartnary undertook that stupenduous work __ and much about the same time Dumfries House was planed and superintended by Robert as a favourite of the Earl, together with many other Edifices then at the same time erecting needles here to mention ____

September 1754 He set out to finish his studies at Rome and in examining there and in cities around Florence Naples Bolonia an Venice he spent three years & a half, in which time also must be comprehended his excursion across the Adriatic to Dalmatia, from whence he returned with the compleat Survey of the palace of Spalatro built by the Emperor Dioclesian on his retirement from

Government _ which afterwards M^r Adam on his return to London published in a splendid work (the Ruins of Spalatro) _ and sparing no expence he brought along with him several eminent artists as designers together with a handsome Collection of Pictures Bronses and plaster casts of the most beautifull mouldings of ancient Architecture together also with a infinite number of sketches of Antique ceillings discovered on the Roofs of the Remains of the palace of Nero, the Baths of Caracalla Dioclesian & C, by which the greatest improvement has been made in the ornament of every building since that time in Scotland and England.

Immediately as an Architect his first work in London was the screen to the Admiralty Office, next followed the Adelphi, Portland Place, with many other specimens throu the city, which being copied or imitated by others gave occasion to the denomination of the Adamitic Stile __ but a much greater number of the first order of excellence in building M^r Adam has executed in the country_ Sion House Osterley park belonging to M^r Childe __

Lord Scaresdale's at Saltram Devonshire then M^r Parkers at Alnwick Castle __ at [blank space] M^r Weddles near Burroughbridge _____ to which many other works in England, as at Kanewood the seat of the great Lord Mansfield, executed by him may be added __

At Edinburgh we have the Register Office, the Colledge, & the Bridewell of a construction the best that can well be imagined for the purpose _ from a hint given him by a Russian Gentleman but much improved upon by M^r Adam His Plan for the South Bridge however with a most beautifull Fasade for the shops & buildings to be erected thereon unfortunately was rejected while the present Bridge & Street, even at as great an expence was put in execution _ in was after this that he gave designs for improvements in the Paliament House for a new Librery for the faculty of Advocates &

conjoined therewith for a Court House & Council Chamber & even a New Prison for the city _ to make part of a new Street & Bridge over the Cowgate as a second access to the city from the South _ in the neighbourhood we have the beautifull castle of Oxenfoord the seat of Sir John Dalrymple _ Glasgow we have the Assembly Rooms the [blank space] Halls, & perhaps beyond all the Infirmary _ in Airshire we have the whimsical but magnificent Castle of Colane the seat of the Earl of Cassilis, on which the late Earl without control encouraged him to indulge to the utmost his romantic genius _ near this last is the House of Dalquharn the picturesque seat of M^r Kennedy ____ in the neighbourhood of Stirling is the House or Castle of Aithrie, and as his last work remains Maulsley on the river Clyde the seat of the Earl of Hyndford _____

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In the [blank space] year of his age his sudden death was occasioned by the bursting of a large blood vessel opening about the region of the stomach. And he lies buried in Poets Corner, in the middle of the floor covered with a plain slab of white marble _ inscribed Robert Adam Architect

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge the support of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain (SAHGB) in the preparation of this research. I would like to thank: my PhD supervisors Viccy Coltman and John Lowrey, Colin Thom for his insightful comments and generosity, and Geoffrey Tyack for his guidance in the preparation of the article. I also owe a large gratitude to Sir Robert Clerk of Penicuik, and Keith and Elizabeth Adam of Blair Adam, for permission to quote from their family papers.

ENDNOTES

- 1 *The Gentleman's Magazine* (March 1792), pp. 282–3.
- 2 Clerk of Penicuik was a politician, lawyer and judge. For more information on this relationship, see John Gifford, *William Adam, 1689–1748: A Life and Times of Scotland's Universal Architect* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 1989), pp. 81–4.
- 3 Clerk of Eldin married Adam's sister Susannah on 11 December 1753.
- 4 Both men were born in 1728: Adam on 3 July 1728 and Clerk on 10 December 1728.
- 5 Sandby was in Scotland as chief draughtsman on the Military Survey of Scotland following the Jacobite rising of 1745. A.A. Tait, 'Robert Adam and John Clerk of Eldin,' *Master Drawings* 16, no. 1 (1978), p. 53. For more information on Sandby, see: Helen Wyld, 'Re-Framing Britain's Past: Paul Sandby and the picturesque tour of Scotland,' *The British Art Journal* 12, no. 1 (2011), p. 29; and Luke Herrmann, 'Paul Sandby in Scotland,' *The Burlington Magazine* 106, no. 736 (1964), p. 339.
- 6 Tait, 'Robert Adam and John Clerk of Eldin,' p. 53.
- 7 Part I was privately printed in 1782, and published in 1790. Parts II–IV were published in 1797. All four parts were re-published and re-printed together in 1804.
- 8 NRS GD18/4221, as quoted in Tait, 'Robert Adam and John Clerk of Eldin,' p. 54.

- 9 The volume was devised with David Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan: *Ibid.*, p. 53.
- 10 As Tait notes, this is seen especially in the etchings of: 'Old Tower on the Harbour of Leith' (no. 28), 'Kilchurn Castle' (nos. 41–3), 'Dalkeith' (no. 54), and 'The Bay of Lamlash' (no. 59). *Ibid.*
- 11 From the mid-1780s onwards, Adam was working chiefly in Scotland with a few projects scattered about Britain. By 1790, Adam was working exclusively in Scotland, apart from Fitzroy Square in London.
- 12 Margaret H.B. Sanderson, 'Robert Adam's Last Visit to Scotland, 1791,' *Architectural History* 25 (1982), p. 35.
- 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 39 & 43.
- 14 These are: Clerk of Penicuik Papers, NRS GD18/4981 and NRS GD18/4983, respectively.
- 15 See John Fleming, 'A "Retrospective View" by John Clerk of Eldin, with some Comments on Adam's Castle Style.' In John Summerson (ed.), *Concerning Architecture*, pp. 75–84 (London: Penguin Press, 1968).
- 16 Clerk's Draft Notes. Clerk of Penicuik Papers, NRS GD18/4982.
- 17 For example, some of the anecdotes include: Adam assisting with the Edinburgh defences during the Jacobite rising of 1745; Adam's attempts to persuade the Duke of Newcastle to find an official post for him in the Board of Works, before he was made Architect to the King; his poor health following the Adelphi collapse and subsequent recuperation at Margate; and the Queen's criticism of Adam as an expensive architect.
- 18 I have not been able to definitively attribute the handwriting; however it is worth noting that the handwriting does appear to belong to more than one person. As Fleming also notes, only one of the drafts appears to be in Clerk's handwriting. Fleming, 'Retrospective View,' p. 75.
- 19 *Ibid.*
- 20 Dalzell was married in 1786 to Ann Drysdale, daughter of Reverend John Drysdale and Mary Drysdale. Mary was the daughter of William Adam; sister to the Adam Brothers; and sister-in-law to Clerk of Eldin.
- 21 Blair Adam Archives, NRAS63/Box 28 (5 August 1802).
- 22 Blair Adam Archives, NRAS63/Box 28 (5 August 1802).
- 23 Letters to William and Margaret Adam from John Clerk of Eldin and Susanna Adam, his wife. Clerk of Penicuik Papers, NRS GD18/5486/62.
- 24 It is important to note that this concern was largely limited to Clerk and the Adam sisters. Following the Adelphi collapse in the 1770s, there was a rift in the Adam Family, placing the eldest brother John at odds with his three brothers in London. But their sisters largely aligned themselves with Robert, James and William Adam.
- 25 Clerk of Penicuik Papers, NRS GD18/4961/44. Margaret Adam to Susannah Clerk, 26 May 1792. Also quoted in Iain Gordon Brown, "'The Resemblance of a Great Genius": Commemorative Portraits of Robert Adam,' *The Burlington Magazine* 120, no. 904 (1978), p. 448.
- 26 Clerk of Penicuik Papers, NRS GD18/4961/51. Also quoted in Brown, 'Commemorative Portraits of Robert Adam,' p. 451.
- 27 Clerk of Penicuik Papers, NRS GD18/5001.
- 28 Adam was appointed Architect of the King's Works in 1761, alongside William Chambers; he became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1761; and was elected a Member of the academies at Rome, Florence and Bologna by 1757.
- 29 Such Adam family history is recorded under 'Adam of Maryburgh' in contemporary publications such as *The Baronage of Scotland*. Sir Robert Douglas, *The Baronage of Scotland: Containing an historical and genealogical account of the gentry of that kingdom: Collected from the public records and chartularies of this country; the records and private writings of families; and the works of our best historians* (Edinburgh: Sold by Bell & Bradfute, W. Creech, J. Dickson, E. Balfour, P. Hill, W. Laing, A. Guthrie, J. Watson, Manners & Miller, and A. Constable: and by Cadell & Davies, London, 1798), pp. 255–7.
- 30 For more information on William Adam's career and works, see John Fleming's seminal text *Robert Adam and His Circle, in Edinburgh & Rome* (London: John Murray, 1962) and John Gifford's more complete biography *William Adam 1689–1748: A Life and Times of Scotland's Universal Architect* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company, 1989).

- 31 William Adam worked for the Earl of Hopetoun at Hopetoun ('Hopton') House, extending the house and designing the gardens, from 1721 until his death in 1748. Fife House, now called Duff House, was built between 1735–40 for William Duff of Braco. The Bridge of Tay refers to Adam's bridge built across the River Tay at Aberfeldy (1733). Adam worked for the Duke of Hamilton designing and construction the Chatelherault hunting lodge (completed in 1734). Adam designed the original Edinburgh Royal Infirmary building in 1738, and it was completed in 1745. Around the same time, he built George Watson's Hospital from 1738–41 (demolished in 2004).
- 32 John (1721–1792) was the eldest son, then Robert (1728–1792), James (1732–1794), and finally William (1738–1822). Less information is known about the Adam Sisters: Janet (1717–1788), Mary (unknown–1799), Elizabeth (unknown–1796), Helen (unknown–1783), Susannah, (unknown–after 1821), and Margaret (1731–1820). Both Robert and James attended the Edinburgh Royal High School and the University of Edinburgh.
- 33 William Robertson was cousin to the Adam Brothers, as their mother was a Robertson. As previously stated, Drysdale and Clerk were both married to Adam's sisters. During his time in education at Edinburgh Royal High School and the University of Edinburgh, Adam's contemporaries included: economist and author Adam Smith; philosopher and writer David Hume; minister and author John Home; philosopher and historian Adam Ferguson; poet William Wilkie; clergyman and chronologist author John Blair; and geologist James Hutton (referred to by Clerk as John Hatton).
- 34 Upon their father's death, John and Robert designed a family tomb in Greyfriars Kirkyard c.1750–3. At this time, John took Robert as a co-partner in the architectural firm. Robert's short trip to England was in the winter of 1749–50, when he visited a number of sites and kept a sketchbook which is now in the RIBA library: see Robert Adam, *Sketchbook of topographical sketches and designs for Richmond Gardens, Surrey & Wilton House, Wiltshire, by Robert Adam, 1749–50* (RIBA SE16/2).
- 35 The brothers worked at Fort George from 1748 with at least one of them 'on site' most summers for nearly a decade.
- 36 For a full account of Adam's Grand Tour, see Fleming, *Robert Adam and his circle*, pp. 109–244.
- 37 Robert and James both purchased substantial amounts of paintings, sculpture, and other artworks for both their own collection and their clients. See Jonathan Yarker, "'Antique mad': the Adams as dealers and their stock of antiquities," in *Robert Adam and his Brothers: New light on Britain's leading architectural family*, ed. Colin Thom (London: English Heritage, 2019).
- 38 House of Dun was completed to Adam's design in 1743, built for John Erskine of Dun. Mavisbank House was constructed between 1723–7 for Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, the father of Clerk of Eldin.
- 39 Amongst Adam's varied business interests were a barley mill and brick and tile works. For more information on Adam's business practices, see William Kay, 'What's His Line: Would the Real William Adam Please Stand Up? Some recent research discoveries,' in Deborah Howard (ed.), *Architectural Heritage I: William Adam*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990).
- 40 Here Clerk additionally includes William Cleghorn, philosopher and professor at the University of Edinburgh, and the poet William Falconer.
- 41 Upon their father's death, John and Robert completed the interiors c.1748–56.
- 42 This Fort refers to Fort George, as previously discussed. John and Robert designed and built Dumfries House for the 5th Earl of Dumfries between 1754–9.
- 43 Adam published *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* in 1764.
- 44 For more information on the Adam drawings and draughtsman, see A.A. Tait, *Adam brothers in Rome: drawings from the Grand Tour* (London: Scala, 2008).
- 45 Crucially, Clerk makes the first attempt at labelling the 'Adamian Style.' Within London, Adam designed and constructed the Admiralty Screen in 1759–61. Along with his brother James, he built the Adelphi Terrace largely between 1768–72; and undertook the development of

- Portland Place from 1773–94. Just outside London he worked at Syon House for the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland between 1760–9, and for Sir Francis Child at Osterley Park in 1761–78.
- 46 Adam worked for Lord Scarsdale at Kedleston Hall (Derbyshire) from 1758–77, and for John Parker at Saltram House (Devon) from 1768–72 and 1779–82.
- 47 Adam worked at Alnwick Castle for the 1st Duke and Duchess of Northumberland from 1769–83. The work near 'Burroughbridge,' as referred to here, is Newby Hall (Yorkshire), where Adam worked between 1767–76 for William Weddell. Adam also worked at Kenwood House (outer London) for the Earl of Mansfield between 1764–79.
- 48 Adam designed and constructed Register House between 1774–89; oversaw the beginnings of the new University of Edinburgh building between 1789–92; and produced plans for Bridewell Prison in 1791.
- 49 Adam's extensive plans for the new South Bridge scheme in 1785 were not constructed.
- 50 Adam was commissioned in 1780 by Sir John Dalrymple to rebuild Oxenfoord Castle. Gosford House was built by the 7th and 8th Earls of Wemyss, to Adam's plans, between 1790–1800.
- 51 In Glasgow, Adam worked on the Assembly Room, the Trades Hall and the Royal Infirmary all from 1791.
- 52 Adam built Culzean Castle between 1777–92 for the 10th Earl of Cassilis. He designed Dalquharran Castle c.1790 for Thomas Kennedy of Dunure, the husband of Adam's niece Jean (the eldest daughter of his eldest brother John). Kennedy and Adam married on 11 August 1779.
- 53 Adam provided designs for Robert Haldane for Airthrey Castle in 1792; Mauldslie Castle was built to Adam's designs 1792–3 for the 5th Earl of Hyndford; and he provided designs to the 8th Earl of Lauderdale for Dunbar House in 1790.
- 54 He served as the MP for Kinross from 1768 to 1774.
- 55 Adam died on 3 March 1792, and his funeral was held a week later on 10 March 1792. His full burial stone reads: 'Robert Adam Esquire / Architect / born at Kirkaldie / 3rd July 1728 / died in London / 3rd March 1792.'
- 56 For more information on James Adam's early life and career, see Fleming, *Robert Adam and his circle*, pp. 86–90, 245–252.
- 57 For more information on James Adam's Grand Tour, see Fleming, *Robert Adam and his circle*, pp. 267–312; and Jerzy J Kierkuć-Bieliński, 'Context and attribution: Antonio Zucchi's portrait of James Adam, 1763,' in *Robert Adam and his Brothers: New light on Britain's leading architectural family*, ed. Colin Thom (London: English Heritage, 2019).
- 58 The mention of a timber yard is supported by the fact that the 1821 Adams Sale, held by Christie's, held the final sale day 'In the Timber Yard of Mr. Forest, near Westminster Bridge, On the Surry Side.' *Christie's Auction Catalogue*, pp. 20–22 May 1818.
- 59 These volumes refer to James Adam's publication *Practical Essays on Agriculture ... Carefully collected and digested from the most eminent Authors, with Experimental Remarks*, 2 vols (London: Printed for T. Cadell, 1789).
- 60 Robert Adam designed Charlotte Square in 1791.
- 61 This is incorrect as James Adam died on 20 October 1794.